

Abel Chikanda
Jonathan Crush
Margaret Walton-Roberts *Editors*

Diasporas, Development and Governance



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Diasporas, Development and Governance

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This book is dedicated to the memory of
Graeme John Hugo
(Officer of the Order of Australia)
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Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP)
ADAC	African Diaspora Association of Canada
ADFP	Africa Diaspora Fellowship Programme
ADM	African Diaspora Marketplace
AHEAD	Association for Higher Education and Development
AIANA	Association of Indian Americans of North America
AIMS	African Institute of Mathematical Sciences
ANC	African National Congress
APD	Air Passenger Duty
ATM	automatic teller machine
BHRS	Bangladesh Household Remittance Survey
BMET	Bureau of Manpower Employment and Training
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
BSIA	Balsillie School of International Affairs
BSP	Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas
CAFSACK	Canadian Friends of the South African Chevrah Kadisha
CALD	culturally and linguistically diverse
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CCASA	Canadian Chinese Association (South Africa)
CFO	Commission on Filipinos Overseas
CGMD	Coordination Générale des Migrants pour le Développement
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIDESAL	Création d'incubateurs de diasporas des savoirs pour l'Amérique Latine
CIGI	Centre for International Governance Innovation
CODEV	Cooperation and Development Center
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIBP	Department of Immigration and Border Protection
DKN	Diaspora Knowledge Networks

DZP	Dispensation of Zimbabweans Project
EADPD	European-wide African Diaspora Platform for Development
EPFL	École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne
EU	European Union
FDI	foreign direct investment
FORIM	Forum des Organisations de Solidarité Internationale issues des Migrations
GAP	Get Ahead Project
GDP	gross domestic product
GERD	gross domestic expenditure on research and experimental development
GFDC	Global Filipino Diaspora Council
GFMD	Global Forum on Migration and Development
GIZ	German Federal Enterprise for International Cooperation
HTAs	Hometown Associations
ICMPD	International Centre for Migration Policy Development
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IdEA	International diaspora Engagement Alliance
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IDRF	International Development and Relief Foundation
IDSK	Institute of Development Studies Kolkata
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IIT	Indian Institute of Technology
ILO	International Labour Office
IMDS	International Migration and Diaspora Studies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMRC	International Migration Research Centre
IOM	International Organization for Migration
JMDI	Joint Migration and Development Initiative
JNU	Jawaharlal Nehru University
KAPIT	KA Kaalamang Pinansyal Tungo Sa Kaunlaran
KNOMAD	Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development
LINKAPIL	Lingkod sa Kapwa Pilipino or Link to Philippine Development
LSIA	Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MFI	Micro-Finance Institute
MLF	Mthwakazi Liberation Front
MLPA	Money Laundering Prevention Act
MOIA	Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs
MPI	Migration Policy Institute
MTOs	money transfer operators
NBR	National Board of Revenue
NCCT	National Council of Canadian Tamils
NCMF	Nelson Mandela Children's Fund-Canada

NEDA	National Economic Development Authority
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NHS	National Household Survey
NITI	National Institution for Transforming India
NMCF	Nelson Mandela Children's Fund
NORKA	Non-Resident Keralites Affairs
NRBs	Non-Resident Bangladeshis
NRIs	Non-Resident Indians
NSDC	National Skills Development Corporation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHF	Oakville Hospital Foundation
PDP	Philippine Development Plan
PIOs	persons of Indian origin
PKB	Probashi Kallyan Bank
PNPs	Provincial Nominee Programmes
POEA	Philippine Overseas Employment Administration
PSOs	Philippine Schools Overseas
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
ReDC	Remittance for Development Council
RSPs	remittance service providers
SADC	South African Development Community
SAJAC	South African Jewish Association of Canada
SAMP	Southern African Migration Program
SANSA	South African Network of Skills Abroad
SARA	South African Rainbow Association
SLWB	Sri Lankans Without Borders
SNIS	Swiss Network for International Studies
SSI	Supplemental Security Income
TGTE	Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam
TSCd	Tamil Sovereignty Cognition declaration
TULF	Tamil United Liberation Front
TYO	Tamil Youth Organization
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UCT	University of Cape Town
UJA	United Jewish Appeal
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VFR	visiting friends and relatives
WTM	World Tamil Movement
ZIPOVA	Zimbabwe Political Victims Association

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Disaggregating Diasporas

Abel Chikanda, Jonathan Crush, and Margaret Walton-Roberts

Introduction

Over the last decade there has been a lively global debate promoting migration as a novel opportunity for increased economic and social development in migrant sending countries (Agunias and Newland 2012; Bakewell 2009; Barré et al. 2003; Crush et al. 2013; Mercer et al. 2008; Tejada and Bolay 2010). Hein de Haas (2012) argues that discussion of the relationship between migration and development actually dates as far back as 1945. Since then, perceptions of the relationship have swung back and forth between unbridled optimism and deep pessimism (de Haas 2010). Thinking and theorizing about the relationship between migration and development has a much longer historical pedigree, however. Policy debates about whether migration contributed to or undermined the modernist project of development are

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deeply rooted in European colonial rule in Africa and Asia. On the research side, the work of the Anglo-German geographer, Ernst Ravenstein, in the late nineteenth century remains one of the iconic early explorations of the relationship between migration and development (Crush 2015a).

By the 1980s and 1990s, migration was generally viewed either as an undesirable consequence of the failure of development or as a mechanism for the extraction of wealth and talent from the South (Amin 1974; Stichter 1985). As a result, Massey et al. (1998: 272) could conclude that “migration undermines the prospects for local economic development and yields a state of stagnation and dependency.” In recent years, the policy and research pendulum has swung again. While the research community is now becoming increasingly sceptical and critical (Bronden 2012; de Haas 2012; Mullings and Pellerin 2013; Skeldon 2012; Trotz and Mullings 2013), most governments and international organizations remain bullish about the linkages between migration and development. The new twenty-first century optimism arose, in part, because of the “discovery” of the magnitude of migrant remittances and their potential for stimulating economic growth and development in countries of the South (Bronden 2012).

Remittances were labelled the “new development mantra” by Kapur (2005) while Raghuram (2009: 105) observed that they had become the “lodestar around which the migration and development industry is congregating.” Data from the World Bank shows that remittances to developing countries reached USD404 billion in 2013, and are projected to rise further to USD454 billion in 2015 (World Bank 2014). In 2013, remittances were more than three times larger than official development assistance (ODA) and, excluding China, significantly exceeded foreign direct investment flows to developing countries. Remittances have been shown to reduce the level, depth and severity of poverty (Adams 2006). A macroeconomic study by Adams and Page (2005), for example, showed that a 10 % increase in per capita official international remittances leads, on average, to a 3.5 % decline in the share of people living in poverty.

Migration and development optimism increasingly extends beyond the issue of remittances to include related subjects captured in such positive phrases as “the triple win of circular migration”, “mobility partnerships”, the “return of qualified skilled nationals” and the “engagement of diasporas in development”. Migration is no longer seen by many as a loss of human capital investment that ultimately results in a brain drain. Instead, migrants are “heroes of development” whose activities produce transformative impacts on both migrant sending and receiving societies (Castles and Delgado Wise 2007: 3). Central to the new discourse about migration and development is the role accorded to diasporas. Migrant diasporas – seen as people who live outside their countries of birth but maintain and create networks and connections with the home country and other parts of the world – are now viewed as key development resources. While remittances are recognized as the most visible measure of diaspora ties with their countries of origin (Guarnizo 2003; Sørensen 2004), there have been increasing calls to go “beyond remittances” by addressing other aspects of the social, cultural and political role of diasporas in the development process (McKenzie 2006; Newland and Patrick 2004).

The potential role of diasporas in facilitating development has attracted the attention of governments, regional bodies and international organizations. As Gamlen (2014) has noted, many states have established diaspora institutions or formal government offices dedicated to their diasporas. In 1980, only a few states had such institutions; now, over half have established them. Reasons include a “tapping explanation focused on states’ pursuit of material resources through engaging diasporas, and an embracing explanation focused on state efforts to re-incorporate ‘lost’ members of the nation” (Gamlen 2014: S183). Clearly, diasporas are being embraced to further liberal state building. States, in turn, see a potential opportunity to relinquish some of their responsibility to deliver development to other actors.

In an effort to identify the knowledge gaps, conceptual challenges and governance dilemmas of diaspora engagement, the editors convened an international conference on Diasporas, Development and Governance in the Global South at the Balsillie School of International Affairs in May 2013. The wide-ranging discussions by leading researchers in the field form the foundation for this volume. This introduction attempts to capture something of the richness and complexity of the debate while the chapters that follow are based on presentations delivered at the conference. Together, the conference and this book highlight important themes to inform future research and policy perspectives on the relationship between diasporas, development and governance. Here, we identify five of the themes that emerged at the conference and are addressed in this volume.

Governing Diasporas

Unlike other cross-boundary issues such as finance, trade and the environment, global migration is a relative newcomer to the global governance literature and is characterized by institutional actors and discourses that often work at cross-purposes (Betts 2011; Gamlen 2013; Gamlen and Marsh 2012; Kalm 2008; Koser 2010; Newland 2010). Global migration governance differs sharply from other issues in that the governed are mainly mobile people, yet the focus in the literature tends to be on how states jealously guard the right to control the entry of persons to their territory (Castles 2004; Guiraudon 2000). States generate mobile classes of persons who can access their territories based on wealth, lineage and economic output, while tightly restricting access by less skilled labour, which ensures an “immobile class” who retain fewer rights (Castles 2011; Walia 2010). Sending states, on the other hand, benefit from their mobile workers through circular migration, remitting, trade and philanthropy (Bakewell 2011; de Haas 2010; Gamlen 2008; Levatino and Pécoud 2012).

Governance issues run like a thread through most of the chapters in this volume. Whether it be states reaching out to diasporas, diasporas selectively engaging with state initiatives, diasporas avoiding states altogether and pursuing their own initiatives, or diasporas so internally divided along political and other grounds that a coherent unified response is all but impossible, this volume shows the variety and

complexity of issues that are subsumed under the general heading of “diaspora engagement”. The first two chapters in this volume examine concrete examples of diaspora engagement by governments at very different scales, multilateral and individual. While there is an element of following the herd in the current global state interest in diasporas, the first chapter by Irena Omelaniuk shows how diaspora engagement has been progressively articulated and concretized at the multilateral level as well. In its few short years of existence, the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) has “recognized diasporas as key actors in migration and development, and called for public-private partnerships to engage with them as central planks of any national or regional development strategy.” Tracing the evolution of discussions about diasporas from Brussels in 2006 through to Stockholm in 2014, she concludes with the pertinent question of whether the informal collaboration and consensus building of the GFMD might signal the emergence of a coherent global agenda for migration and development, “including for (and with) interested members of diasporas.” Even though significant strides have been made in understanding the potential and obstacles to diaspora engagement in development, information on the issue remains incomplete and fragmentary.

One of the few national governments with a coherent strategy for engaging the diaspora is the Philippines. In her chapter in this volume, Secretary Imelda Nicolas discusses this experience at length and from her position as chairperson of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), a cabinet-level secretary position under the Office of the President of the Philippines. She suggests that there is no other country in the South that is more strategically positioned than the Philippines to reap the potential development benefits of international migration with 10 % of the country’s population living abroad in over 200 countries. Her chapter discusses a wide range of government-led diaspora engagements and reflects on their effectiveness. She concludes that for all the progress that has been made there is a need for greater institutionalization of various initiatives at all levels of government. Greater policy coherence and effective coordination amongst relevant government agencies is particularly needed.

Much more analysis is needed of how sending and receiving states actually influence the diaspora-development process (Hugo 2013). We need to understand how diasporic engagement both informs and is informed by sending and receiving nations’ governance mechanisms. What partnerships and institutional frameworks can optimize this engagement and maximize returns from it? National policies may contradict diaspora development processes; immigration regulations are one key example. Initiatives to engage with diasporas are at the centre of the emerging international governance framework for migration and development, and actively promoted in forums such as the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD). While multilateral action suggests attention is being directed at diasporas, their development potential can sometimes be invisible to states and, in many cases, the private sector plays a more important role in engaging diasporas (Leclerc and Meyer 2007).

Even supranational organizations appear more organized in their diasporic engagement than states, as evidenced in the Joint Migration and Development

Initiative (JMDI), the World Bank's "Knowledge for Development" (K4D) programme (Kuznetsov 2006) and, more recently, the Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development (KNOMAD). Governments in the Global North are encouraging diasporas in their own domain to engage with the South, mostly to promote trade and investment links. The International Diaspora Engagement Alliance (IdEA), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID's) Global Diaspora Alliance, and the Global Diaspora Forum are prime examples of such initiatives. Some governments are now reaching out to their diasporas (de Haas 2006; Hugo 2006; Ionescu 2006; Kunz 2008; Mercer et al. 2008; Nurse 2006), and the IOM and the Migration Policy Institute recently launched the first diaspora engagement toolkit for governments (Agunias and Newland 2012).

At a policy level the option for countries of origin to take advantage of their foreign-based skilled diasporas to promote state development has been termed "the diaspora option" (Meyer 2001; de Haas 2006; Merz et al. 2009). The diaspora option enables the transfer of knowledge, skills and further financial and social capital. Recent studies identify the central role played by diasporas in innovative technology transfer and knowledge spill over, scientific cooperation, transnational diaspora networks, business and investments links and eventual return to the home country (Agunias and Newland 2012; CODEV-EFPL et al. 2013; Hollanders and Soete 2010; Katseli et al. 2006; Lowell and Gerova 2004).

Factions and Fissions

Much of the policy dialogue on diasporas in development assumes that they are cohesive and homogenous groups that differ only in the length of time they have been away and in the intensity of their linkages with their countries of origin. In contrast, the chapters in this volume explore the heterogeneity and divisions that often exist within diaspora groups and which, in turn, affect the ways in which they interact with those countries. Geography has always been a powerful source of separation and fragmentation within diasporas. While migrant social networks tend to ensure that migrants cluster in certain cities and neighbourhoods, there are often powerful countervailing forces of dispersal at work in modern economies, including the geography of employment opportunity. To speak of a single African diaspora in Canada, for example, is inherently problematical when migrants from over 50 countries are widely dispersed over the 8,000 km between Victoria on the west coast and St John's on the east. The constraints of distance are, of course, being reworked in the internet age and it is notable not only how many diaspora groupings have sprung up on social media sites but how their membership is extremely spatially dispersed (Bernal 2006; Crouch 2011; Crush et al. 2012; Mano and Willems 2010).

Geography is certainly not the only source of fragmentation and heterogeneity. Class, race, ethnicity, religion, political affiliation and social status have all acted as potential lines of cleavage at certain times and in particular places. While this volume cannot explore all of the fissures that exist, several of the chapters provide

important insights into the social and cultural heterogeneity of diasporas. There is considerable diversity and division within the diaspora especially along lines of religious affiliation and political factionalism. Three chapters on various diaspora formations shed further light on the nature of heterogeneity. In their chapter on the ethnically-homogenous Tamil diaspora in Canada, Amarnath Amarasingam and Ahila Poologaindran argue that there is considerable “organizational rivalry and infighting between diaspora groups in Canada and around the world.” As a result, it is rare to see individuals from rival groups attending each other’s events or working together for common objectives. In her chapter, Sujata Ramachandran examines diaspora philanthropy amongst South Africans abroad and finds that the racial demarcations and political affiliations of the apartheid past intrude into the present and generate considerable barriers to any notion of a common South African diaspora identity and set of engagement practices. Finally, Huzan Dordi and Margaret Walton-Roberts question the very idea of an “Indian” diaspora given that “the more salient social, economic and political diaspora processes are nested at other scales and sources of affiliation and are distinctly mediated through different axes and intersections of identity.” Rather than characterizing the Indian diaspora as a coherent homogenous whole, they disaggregate the diaspora along the four axes of region of origin, gender, caste and religion.

To argue that diaspora communities are not homogenous entities is, of course, nothing new. The problem is rather that the current migration and development policy discourse treats them as if they are. Governments seem to have bought into the fiction that they have single, undifferentiated diasporas with which they can partner. The heterogeneity and social divisions that exist within diaspora groups are therefore important to acknowledge and assess. Migrant transnational engagement hinges on the emotional and social bonds migrants maintain with their communities of origin, though they rarely identify with the abstract notion of the nation-state. Other aspects of identity, including region, locality, ethnicity, religion, caste, class, clan and kinship, amongst others, strongly influence and sometimes constrain these relationships. Large-scale emigration produced by fraught colonial histories, and political and economic instability in the postcolonial period, underscore the complicated and ambivalent relationship between immigrants and the governments of their countries of origin.

These divisions and fractures are important because they influence how diasporas engage with both sending and receiving states, and if they engage at all. Certainly not all emigrants strongly identify themselves as diaspora communities or want to align themselves with their areas of origin (Crush et al. 2013). All of the chapters referred to above take their analysis of diaspora heterogeneity a step further to ask how this impacts on the way in which different factions decide to “engage”. Amarasingam and Poologaindran show that the rivalry and factionalism within the Tamil diaspora relates, in part, to fundamental disagreements about whether and how to engage in the post-war reconstruction of Sri Lanka. Most wish to avoid working directly with the Sri Lankan government (a mutual antipathy in fact) but they differ fundamentally on the issue of assistance to Tamil communities, which might involve collaboration with what they see as an army of occupation.

Ramachandran argues that a fundamental distrust of the African National Congress-run South African government has prompted wealthy white philanthropists to work either with civil society organizations outside state structures or to “turn inwards” and direct their giving to Canadian causes. Finally, Dordi and Walton-Roberts suggest that while the Indian central government has recently reached out to diaspora associations, these associations had already coalesced around state and regional based affiliations and governments within India. Others, such as elements of the Sikh diaspora in Canada, have an ambivalent relationship with the Indian central government.

Diasporic Economies

The large research literature on remittance impacts has recently begun to overlap with the emerging policy discussions on diaspora engagement. Remittances are certainly the most obvious indicator of an individual’s continued linkages with the country of origin. But study after study has demonstrated that remittances are primarily private transactions and not motivated in any significant way by subscription to any grand state-led development plan or idea. States have sought, on occasion, to “capture” these private flows with some success in the case of the Mexican 3x1 remittance matching programme and with abject failure in the case of the Zimbabwean Homelink programme (Aparicio and Meseguer 2012; Maphosa 2007). The nub of the debate on remittance impacts is whether these private household-to-household transnational transfers of cash and goods have any significant impact on broader national and regional economic and social development indicators. A collection of essays on diaspora engagement certainly needs to move beyond remittances but it also needs to assess whether diaspora remitting does stimulate productive investment in any significant manner.

Much of the literature remains sceptical although the Bangladesh case does provide some grounds for optimism. In his chapter in this collection, Mohammad Moniruzzaman advances the concept of “remittance governance”, defined as “a process aimed at ensuring the proper functioning of remittance markets (involving) designing and implementing policies to create a favourable investment climate, reducing transaction costs, improving financial intermediation, devising investment instruments, promoting financial inclusion, (and) assuring the active involvement of state and non-state actors, private sectors and financial institutions to manage programmes and policies to pursue socio-economic development.” He further suggests that good remittance governance can turn remittances into investment even when they are directed by emotional connections and commitments to the homeland.

The call to move “beyond remittances” has led, in part, to a new focus on diaspora entrepreneurship. In making the “business case for migration”, for example, the World Economic Forum (2013) profiled the business and investment activities of migrant diasporas. Diasporas build bridges between their sending and receiving countries through enhanced trade, investment and business links (Lodigiani 2009).

Diaspora bonds have provided a secure and stable source of external finance for countries like India and are vital to national development, especially in times of crisis (Chander 2001; Ketkar and Ratha 2010). Some see in these developments the shadowy hand of neoliberalism (Mullings 2012; Mullings and Pellerin 2013). Others view this as a positive sign, arguing that direct foreign investment with an emotional attachment to the country of birth is likely to have positive outcomes (Newland and Tanaka 2010). Diaspora entrepreneurs are seen as potential “pioneer investors”, especially when major capital markets regard these economies as too risky (Kuznetsov 2006).

Members of the diaspora who have been particularly successful economically are certainly positioned to do much more than send remittances to family members in their countries of origin. Diaspora entrepreneurial activities of note include “nostalgia trade” (which meets the demand of diasporas for products from their country of origin) and “diaspora-led import/export businesses”, which have a more diverse product base and clientele (Wong and Ng 2002). The extent of global diaspora entrepreneurship and investment is not known with any certainty, although the cases of China and India are well-documented (Bajpai and Dasgupta 2004; Guha and Ray 2000; Roy and Banerjee 2007; Smart and Hsu 2004; Tsai 2010; Zhu 2007). A study in 2001, for example, showed that the diaspora provided an estimated 70 % of FDI in China in the 1990s (Devan and Tewari 2001). The Indian diaspora is estimated to have invested USD2.6 billion out of USD10 billion of FDI between 1991 and 2001 (Yingqi and Balasubramanyam 2006). More recently, a study of diasporas in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) found that a one percent increase in migration from a particular country leads to a 0.1–0.25 % increase in FDI in that country (Gormsen and Pytlikova 2012).

Not a great deal is known about what motivates diaspora individuals and groups to invest in their countries of origin and why levels of investment and entrepreneurial engagement differ considerably from country to country (Galetto 2011). Two models have been proposed to try to understand the factors that influence the level and type of engagement by diaspora investors and entrepreneurs. The first focusses almost exclusively on the availability (or absence) of investment opportunities in countries of origin and argues that it is the interaction among factors that creates the conditions for investment (Galetto 2011: 301). This model identifies four basic factors: the earning capacity of the migrant and the amount of money remitted; a minimum level of local development; suitable investment opportunities; and intra-household arrangements that facilitate the adoption of new investment opportunities. Each factor is, in turn, influenced by a set of sub-factors in countries of origin and destination. A second psycho-social model focusses more on the decision making of the potential entrepreneur investor, arguing that there are three specific categories likely to impact on the motivation to engage: financial, social and emotional (Nielsen and Riddle 2007). The model also tries to take into account cultural and structural variables that might affect motivations to invest. Both models help to identify factors that interact and impact on diaspora entrepreneurial engagement. Other important variables that need to be taken into account include the reasons for leaving the country of origin; the opportunities for creating wealth and

raising capital in the country of destination; the facilitating role of diaspora organizations; the degree of personal and community identification with, or alienation from, the political system of the country of origin; and financial and other incentives for investment put in place by origin governments (Nielsen and Riddle 2008; Riddle et al. 2008).

Three of the chapters in this volume contribute directly to our understanding of diasporic economic activity beyond remittances. In her chapter on the Caribbean diaspora, Indiana Minto-Coy argues that the diaspora represents a key source of external investment, as well as a vehicle for innovation and creative adaptation in an increasingly challenging global economy. She examines some of the obstacles facing diaspora investors. However, there is also a “pervasive but problematic” idea that diasporic engagement is a unidirectional endeavour involving the diaspora “giving” to the home country. To illustrate the point, she examines the case of Caribbean businesses that have had notable market success outside the region precisely by tapping into the emotional connections and purchasing power of the diaspora market.

Keith Nurse, in his chapter, points to the sizeable contribution that diasporic communities make to the Caribbean in terms of financial transfers, trade, tourism, travel, telecommunications, new media and the creative economy. His analysis focuses on the growth and impact of diasporic tourism to the Caribbean and demonstrates that the diaspora has emerged as a major market in the region’s primary economic sector. This form of diasporic engagement has considerable development impacts throughout the island economies and occurs largely outside the purview of national governments that tend to privilege more conventional, non-diasporic tourism.

Finally, Graeme Hugo charts the complex and changing forms of migration between Asia and Australia and the ways in which migrant transnational connections have changed over time and vary with the immigration categories of Australian policy. Contemporary Australia’s skills-based immigration policy has produced a diaspora that is “less likely to be engaged in sending money home for the livelihood needs of their families” but with strong potential to be associated with “knowledge transfer/exchange, trade and other linkages beyond family relationships.” Already, the Chinese and Vietnamese diaspora in Australia have been major investors in those countries even though Australia itself has no official policy to support diaspora engagement.

Networked Diasporas

The very concept of scientific diasporas refers to networks of emigrated scientists and engineers involved in the circulation of knowledge via transnational cooperative links with their home country (Barré et al. 2003; Tejada and Bolay 2010). The transnational practices of scientific diasporas are only possible when adequate scientific and technological infrastructure is in place, meaning that certain policies