

Social Remitting Activities of Asian Diaspora in Ireland: Co-development Strategies in New Countries of Immigration

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Abstract: *The European Union (EU) is continually incorporating issues of migration and development in its policies as it stresses the need for their coherency with the aim of supporting the developmental outcomes of migration. Countries with a long history of immigration have already formed structures of “co-development” — cooperation among mainstream and alternative, migrant-led development initiatives. However, countries with a shorter immigration history are still in the process of recognition of migrants’ agency, which is the main presumption for effective cooperation among various development actors. This paper therefore deals with main aspects influencing the combination of “transnationalism from above” and “transnationalism from below” in the new countries of immigration — namely the incorporation of individual social remitting structures within the mainstream development sector. The case study of Irish Asian diaspora is used to present the social remitting practises of various migrant groups and their variable potential for cooperation with the mainstream developmental organizations.*

Keywords: *migration and development; social remittances; co-development; European Union; Ireland; Asian diaspora*

Introduction

This paper is dealing with the issue of changing approaches to migration and development policies and practises on the transnational level of the EU and the national levels of its member states. As the EU's migration and development policies increasingly support the inclusion of alternative development actors into the system of Official Development Aid (ODA), the practitioners in the member states have to deal with the transformation of this theoretical agenda into practise. This paper presents the outcomes of original research on Irish developmental networks and their potential for formation of co-development structures. The paper therefore aims at the identification of main factors, which need to be attended in order to successfully introduce the strategies of transnationalism from above in the areas where, so far, the transnationalism from below is prevailing.¹

The main aims of the described research were to identify social remitting projects of the Irish Asian diaspora and their main characteristics; describe the perceptions and attitudes of migrants and the nongovernmental development organizations (NGDOs) towards their possible cooperation; and analyse these outcomes in the context of a policy of co-development. The empirical data were collected in the period 2008–2010 in two consecutive qualitative research projects based on a series of semi-structured, in depth interviews with social remitters from Asia, representatives of Asian migrant associations and NGDO representatives and field workers.

The actual research questions were:

- Does Ireland have functional structures of social remitting?
- If yes, what are their main characteristics in the area of: goals of the projects, their organizational characteristics, support networks used in Ireland and in countries of origin receiving the social remittance projects?
- What are the attitudes of migrants active in social remitting towards cooperation with the mainstream developmental organizations?
- What are the attitudes of representatives of mainstream developmental organizations towards cooperation with migrant-led developmental structures and organizations?
- Based on the previous two points, is it possible to implement co-development policies in Ireland and what preconditions have to be taken for its effective functioning?

The paper therefore refers to the increasing body of literature dealing with both the theoretical and practical aspects of social remitting and its inclusion in co-development structures. The paper itself then brings forward the research-based theoretical analysis of the actual situation in the field of development in a new country of immigration necessary for further effective implementation of policies created in a different context of migration histories and experiences.

1 Research on Migrant-led Development Strategies

Although the migration and development discourse went through a significant change towards understanding the complex relationships of the included sectors, there still exist some serious drawbacks in both its research and practise. The main drawback is the promotion of development as purely economic phenomenon, which can be seen in the researchers' concentration on the remittance flows and political tendency to rely on free market forces and spontaneous civic actions of the migrants. (Pastore 2006: 2) Consequently there is increased interest in the developmental outcomes of the remitting activities of migrants, which are one of the most researched phenomena in the field of migration and development. The migrants' transfers labelled as remittances are defined as earnings and material resources transferred by international migrants or refugees to recipients in their country of origin. (Meyer 2008: 41)

The research on remittances therefore aims predominantly on the financial and material outcomes of migrants' activity transferred to their country of origin. In this way remittances are recognized as potential additional source for development. The current economic crisis pressures researchers, development professionals and remitters themselves to investigate on the most effective use of remittances in development. However many official bodies take remitting for granted and there is a threat that the migrants' individual or community agency will substitute the work and initiative which should be on the agenda of both developing and developed countries' governments and institutions. (Uribe and Buss 2008: 394–404) The matter is further unbalanced as there are serious drawbacks in the institutional and societal structures which prevent the effective use of provided aid, such as: corruption; ethnical, religious, gender discrimination or regional inequalities. (Hasalová 2009: 39–60) The economical assessment of remittances as a developmental tool therefore puts a disproportional amount of responsibility on a proportionally small group of migrants without providing them with adequate recognition and assistance. Blaming the migrants themselves for the lack of development can be thus analysed as a tactical approach of drawing the attention from the actual drawbacks in political, economical and aid structures. (Skeldon 2008: 5–11)

The criticism of remittances also aims at lack of control, creation of dependency, unequal distribution and consumption use. This attitude omits the fact that remittances are just one part of a complex socio-economic system; their income can therefore release other resources, which would be otherwise linked to primary consumption. The analysis of their influences should therefore look further than just at the direct outcomes as there are often secondary ones, which are still socially desirable. (Skeldon 1997: 160–162) Criticism of remitting also seems to be based on the presumption that there can be one universal solution to the problem of underde-

velopment. Remittances are effective as far as they are underpinned by an inclusive approach; therefore, their main attribution to the development scheme lies in the effective combination with other channels of development cooperation.

1.1 Alternative Concept of Social Remittances

Migration and development studies are embedded in the economics-based discourse, which has important consequences for the research of the remitting activities of migrants. Remittances and their development impact are researched mainly from the quantitative point of view e.g. through statistics on volumes of transferred finances; the transfer institutions and paths; shares on the receiving states' GDP and ODA or comparison to received foreign direct investments. This approach has two main drawbacks: omission of the social aspects of migration and isolation of the local communities in the process of development decision-making. (Skeldon 1997: 26)

To reflect these problematic areas there emerges a new concept of remittances. Its aim is to include the social aspects of remitting activities and the transnational reality of migrants' lives and activities. The main difference lies in going beyond simplistic optics viewing migrants as market driven economic actors. The actual reality of migration is a complex and dynamic process driven by a mix of social, political and economic motivations. Therefore explaining migration in the context of the free market is at least biased, as there are present both individual and collective motivations, influences and outcomes. (Ibid) Concentration on financial remittances also omits all other forms in which migrants may contribute to development of their home countries. The perspective of social remitting enables one to pay attention to activities going further than the material and financial transfers. Therefore the concept of social remittances also gives space to the alternative approaches to the prevailing development discourse by research of post-developmental strategies of development, which concentrate on grassroots, community-based projects using the local knowledge and traditions. (Johnston et al. 2000: 615)

The definition of remittances was therefore broadened to form an inclusive definition of social remittances, recognizing them as material and nonmaterial transfers such as skills, know-how, knowledge, techniques, methods and values used for and by a wider community exceeding family relationships; submitted by individuals or groups of international migrants or refugees and used in various forms of collective projects with the motivation of giving back to the community and improving its welfare. (Meyer 2008: 41) As remittances are considered to be one of the main alternatives to the failing structures of development cooperation, the main focus should be paid to the post-development characteristics of social remitting projects. The migrant organizers create mainly community-based, self-sustainable and small scale projects, which originate from the needs and skills of the target community.

The great advantage of this approach is the possibility to create alternative power structures and channels and enable emancipation of local communities, which are often marginalized in the global system of development cooperation.

The new concept of research on remittances is innovative thanks to the extension of the understanding of the process beyond the financial, family, kin and ethnic bonds of migrants. Remittances have many forms and therefore further research is needed on the social aspects of this phenomenon, including the attitudes to the official structures of development cooperation. Social remittances extend the theoretical understanding of transnationalism from below (Nyberg-Sorensen et al. 2002: 15) — the specific local grassroots reactions to the processes of globalization enabling the use of personal potential to individuals and communities in otherwise marginalised regions and positions.

2 Co-development in EU Migration and Development Policies

The strategy of co-development is an outcome of the attempts of the EU to create coherent policies. Till the end of the 1990s migration and development were seen as two separate areas of policies and were mainly dealt with in the national context of the member states. The clear inefficiency of restrictive policies shifting migrants into an irregular status increased the interest in deeper understanding of the broad context of migration processes. In this way the migration and development nexus received official political recognition. The coherency of EU policies was to be reached not only by the members' cooperation but also by partnership with the third countries — whether they are the source or transitional ones. This holistic approach takes into consideration both countries of origin and destination and the migrants themselves. It was labelled as co-development — strategy oriented on management of migration flows. (Weil 2002: 41–44, Pastore 2007: 56–57)

The first period of political recognition of the interconnectedness of migration and development issues was based on the theory of root causes of poverty and the presumption that increasing economic development of developing countries will lead to decreasing immigrant flows from these areas. (Skeldon 2008: 5–11) This period of searching for policy coherence within the EU policies was officially represented by the Tampere European Council in 1999. The influence of the root cause approach is clear in the concluding document of the meeting:

“The European Union needs a comprehensive approach to migration addressing political, human rights and development issues in countries and regions of origin and transit. This requires combating poverty, improving living conditions and job opportunities, preventing conflicts and consolidating democratic states and ensuring respect for human rights,

in particular rights of minorities, women and children. To that end, the Union as well as Member States are invited to contribute, within their respective competence under the Treaties, to a greater coherence of internal and external policies of the Union. Partnership with third countries concerned will also be a key element for the success of such a policy, with a view to promoting co-development.” (European Council 1999: 3)

This meant mainly concentration on the push factors in the countries of origin and attempt to take them into account while creating the EU policies. However the last decade has proven that a shift in the root causes paradigm is needed as the empirical research introduced the close link between mobility and development labelled as “the migration hump.” This term is taken from the graphical representation of the link between growth of outwards mobility and growth of national economic productivity — simply said economic development of a certain area leads in the short and middle term to an increase in the internal and external mobility of its inhabitants. After the realization that migration and development policies need to be under way for long periods of time to have any profound effect on the migration volumes, the sector has shifted to considering international mobility as an integral part of development. Therefore the current main aim of the co-development policies is the management of migration to maximize its positive impacts in the influenced areas. (Pastore 2003: 1–3)

The change in EU development discourse and its orientation towards coherence with migration policies was also influenced by emergence of United Nations Member States’ initiative of Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD), which since year 2007, enables a joint process of discussion and action by the national governments and civil society representatives. The objectives of the GFMD are providing space for informal and non-binding discussion and exchange between the policy makers and practitioners in the field of migration of development; exchange of good practise and experiences; set up of partnerships, cooperation networks; create the migration and development agenda, and identify areas in need of further research and synchronizing. (GFMD 2011) The practice-oriented activities of the EU are further strengthened by its joint initiative with the United Nations called Migration for Development (M4D) which transforms the current migration and development policy goals into action by enabling a space for international linking of relevant projects and providing them with informational and discussion forums. (M4D 2011) Through these processes, policies and initiatives the migrants started to be considered as potential development actors. The co-development strategies are based on the transnational character of current migration where migrants keep the networks and contacts to their country of origin. The development sector is therefore searching for ways of effective use of the migrants’ potential and agency as these activities represent an interesting alternative to the mainstream system of development cooperation.

3 Social Remitting Activities of Irish Asian Diaspora

Although the EU is trying to create a unified system of policies reflecting the migration and development nexus, there are many differences among its member states in this area. That is mainly the outcome of different migration histories of these states. France, Great Britain, Italy, Spain and The Netherlands are ahead in the implementation of co-development policies due to their long-term history of immigration. (De Haas 2006: ii–iii) On the other hand Ireland represents the member states, which recently changed their status from countries of emigration to countries of immigration and are suddenly dealing with the new reality of diversification of their societies.

The Irish Asian immigrant diaspora follows the general patterns of Irish immigration — the proportion of foreign-born population of Asian origin grows over time. The stock of Asian nationals residing in Ireland has increased almost seven times between years of 1996 and 2006.² (IOM 2006: 16, CSO 2006) The empirical research on social remitting activities of Irish Asian diaspora identified projects undertaken by the Chinese, Indian, Pakistani and Malaysian nationals. The development activities of these particular nationals are not surprising as they constitute the first, third, fourth and fifth biggest migrant groups from the stock of migrants of Asian origin in Ireland.^{3,4} (CSO 2006)

The research identified the Asian migrants as active, though officially unrecognized actors in the field of development whose activities aim mainly at the grassroots projects in their countries of origin. The migrant-led projects of Asian diaspora were undertaken mainly in the areas of healthcare, childcare, social work and women empowerment. In general, the projects run by the interviewed Asian migrants tend to be small scale, community-based, with a strong emphasis on sustainability and effectiveness. These projects form an important alternative in the areas of non-existent or ineffective official development cooperation networks. The migrants themselves localize their projects according to the needs and requirements of the local communities, which are insufficiently involved in the official development structures. The identified projects enable people to overcome the established cultural, political or religious structures which otherwise deter the inflow of international development cooperation — such as in the case of conflict-stricken Kashmir or Pakistani regions struggling with corrupted governments.

The motivation of the social remitters originates from religious beliefs, family upbringing or personal philosophy, which are the characteristics that are not influenced by the economic downturn in the developed world. The overall respondents' motivation for social remitting is "giving back" to their community of origin. As an expression of gratitude the remitters wish to share the expertise and experience, which they obtained while abroad. This basic motivation is further increased by religious beliefs,

mainly in the case of Indian remitters — regardless of their particular denomination. In general the motivation for remitting also results from the aim to further empower the “spirit of volunteering” — a majority of the social remitters expressed the hope that their activity would serve as a role model for the rest of their community. Generally the motivation of the individuals who were interviewed was very strong as simultaneously they had to deal with the complex migration experiences. Therefore the research findings further support the theoretical approach which calls for recognition of migrants as social beings whose actions and agency go beyond the economic networks as they are driven by a mixture of stimuli. (Castles 2004: 205–227)

Migrants’ willingness to act for the benefit of their country of origin is influenced also by other than individual factors. The external influences, such as attitudes in the home and host country or community towards such activities, prevailing values and levels of organisation may shape the kind of development activities they undertake. The other issue related to motivation for remitting is the length of residence in Ireland — all of the identified Asian social remitters were people who have lived in Ireland for a long period of time with legal status.

3.1 Networks in the Countries of Origin

The EU supports the concept of co-development as coordinated developmental cooperation of all stakeholders — migrants and representatives of both host and home countries. That represents a significant shift from the focus on the political institutions in the developing countries towards the potential cooperation in the developed countries. (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2010b: 1625) Nevertheless it is important to note some of the aspects of the receiving countries, which influence the development projects of the Asian diaspora. As the social remitters aim on different countries and different areas of interest they have also different experiences and opinions about the availability and effectiveness of existing support structures.

Due to their general focus on the receiving community, the projects always included the cooperation of the local community or were actually directly run by the local community. The local support for the project often came from the notion of common origin and from the inclusion of the community in the organisational structure.⁵ Family and community networks are usually an important part of the establishment of the project in the area and this approach is a clear sign that migrant-led projects have a tendency to further spread the idea of activism as the active incorporation of local people as their core aspect.

Support from local and national governments also depends on the actual political and economic situation in the country and the character of the project. In order to gain local support the projects tend to be strictly apolitical. In cases of some isolated areas the migrants are the only possible alternatives for delivery of development co-

operation. The cooperation with NGOs working in the area is quite frequent and concentrates mainly on technical cooperation and training, in some cases also financial assistance is achieved. A common practise is the sharing of contacts and referring the NGOs to activities happening in the field and thus creating further networks of cooperation. In this way, the transnational network of connections between areas of origin and destination and their mutual transformation is created.

3.2 Irish Networks

The second part of the research on networking between transnationalism from above and transnationalism from below was mapping the development actors' positions on possibilities and preconditions for cooperation within the Irish developmental sector. In this part of research there were three groups of respondents: migrants from developing countries, policymaking representatives of main Irish NGOs and their field workers. The aim of this research was to compare the development discourses prevailing within these groups, their mutual imaginations and opinions on creation of co-development structures.

The experiences described by the interviewees in terms of ability to gain support for a project in the Irish environment were very different and sometimes even contradictory. The general opinion of the character of networks available in Ireland ranged from very positive to negative. In general the networks from which migrants draw cooperation and support for their remitting activities include all types of actors — family, friends, ethnic communities, the non-governmental sector and governmental assistance. It was clear that the availability and openness of these structures increases in line with a migrant's integration in the host society.

The issue of Irish immigration policies also arises. Overall Irish migration policy is seen as restrictive, due to its primary concentration on economic migrants from the EEA, while migrants from Asia encounter lengthy and costly bureaucratic systems. Although migration policies may not seem to be directly linked to the issue of development, they have important consequences for the field of migration and development. Migration policy is influencing the forms of migration and levels of integration, which take place in a particular place. The migrants dealing with lengthy processes of legalization and stabilization of their status and lacking supportive systems of integration in the new society are less prone to be able to use their developmental potential. Therefore there exists a complex relationship of migration policies and developmental performance of migrants. (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2010a: 2–6) The negative influence of Irish immigration policies on the incorporation of the immigrant in society and using their personal potential to the fullest is a reality acknowledged in many of the interviews where mainly excessive bureaucracy, problematic work permit structures and family reunion issues were highlighted. As a

consequence the carrying through of a social remittance scheme in Ireland requires strong determination.

4 Irish Co-development Potential

The researchers dealing with the issue of co-development have identified the main theoretical presumptions for the establishment of effective cooperation between the mainstream and migrant-led development structures. For co-development projects to be effective the development actors should unambiguously acknowledge the value of migrant initiatives in development. The primary presumption is that co-development projects are initiated by the mainstream development actors, which therefore need to be able to clearly identify potential partners inside the immigrant diaspora. It is important to avoid the presumption that the origin in developing country equals to an obligation to be interested in developing issues. Overall it is necessary to avoid patronizing approaches to the migrant-led initiatives and hidden agendas of return of immigrants to their countries of origin. (De Haas 2006: 91–102). Another theoretical approach to co-development stresses the need of mutual trust and the role of imagery and presumptions the potential partners have about each other. The next important issue is that the co-development is not based just on inclusion of alternative actors at the donor side of the host countries, but it should also increasingly aim at cooperation with the actors in the receiving countries of origin. (Ionescu 2006: 53–67)

The outcomes of the field research in Ireland show that although co-development is a strategy supported within the EU's migration and development policy, the new approach is not easily introduced in a state lacking a long-term interaction between migrant and mainstream development structures. The majority of NGOs' policy makers are doubtful about cooperation with migrant diasporas as they interpret it as a form of affirmative action — preferring specific national and ethnic groups. This proves that the sector is unable to acknowledge the development potential of migrants and actively seek reliable and long term partners among the social remitters. The overall marginalization of migrants in the Irish social, political and economic structures seems to be connected to the prevailing negative public image of migrants. In the area of development migrants become representatives of the passive and drawback imagery of developing countries and their inhabitants; that makes their incorporation into the official structures seemingly impossible.

The field workers of Irish NGOs seem to be more prepared to acknowledge the fact that migrants carry a certain development potential — probably due to their practical experiences from the developing countries and the growing inclusion of the local communities in the development projects. This group of development actors is

opened to inclusion of different and alternative approaches based on specific knowledge of migrants active in development. Due to the openly democratic structures of the Irish NGDO sector we can presume that the approach of field workers will continually receive wider attention.

It is necessary to deal with the preparedness of the social remitters themselves as well. Although the Irish Asian diaspora contains many examples of social remitting projects, they are mainly an outcome of individual agency. The informal development sector is suffering from lack of organization, fractionalism, lack of information and know-how, which decreases their development potential. Due to the difficult integration into Irish society the Asian immigrants often labelled the majority society and the development sector itself as elitist, closed and discriminatory. Although in general the interviewees described their possibilities of participation as improving, after more detailed investigation they often expressed frustration and a prevailing feeling that, notwithstanding their various activities, they are not recognised as valid actors in the sector. This is even more worrying in a time of the Irish economic downturn when financial resources have become scarce. In this particular economic environment many of the interviewees feared that the willingness and ability to donate would decrease even in the group of emotionally interested donors.

On the other hand the Irish social remitters show great invention, which makes them the main initiators of the cooperation with other development actors. An example is the development education sector where the migrants created the Global South work group in order to transfer their knowledge and know-how into the national curriculum. The Irish Asian diaspora also deals with creation of long-lasting networks, which would be identified as reliable partners by the mainstream NGOs. For example the Chinese diaspora has a tendency to be cooperative just within itself, supporting remitting projects of strictly Chinese character. In this way they isolate themselves from possible cooperation with other migrant diasporas and the mainstream development actors. On the other hand the Indian diaspora is well organized inside as well as outside on both national and religious level. This particular immigrant group generates initiatives of cooperation with other migrant groups, the Irish development sector and local and national actors in India. In this way the Irish Indian diaspora creates the true sense of co-development as promoted by the EU. Therefore Irish co-development cooperation is not totally prohibited by the lack of recognition of migrant agency from the NGDO sector as the migrants themselves take over the initiative. On the other hand the other identified social remitting projects of migrants of Malaysian and Pakistani origin were, in character, also based on co-operation of various actors; however the projects lacked any organized structure and were an outcome of the agency of several individuals more or less reacting to the actual needs or crises in their country of origin. These projects clearly showed the prevailing individual character of social remitting, based predominantly on bonds of

ethnicity or kin but lacking or slowly forming organized structures identifiable by the NGDO sector as potential partners.

Conclusions

The research on the Asian diaspora in Ireland identified an increasing number of social remitting activities in various forms and stages of organization and implementation of the projects. The projects were organized mainly along ethnic and national bonds and oriented predominantly on areas of healthcare, childcare, social work and women empowerment. The main characteristics of projects were small scale, long-term, community-oriented and of grassroots character. Nevertheless the size of the projects the social remitters were able to use various structures of support both in Ireland and their countries of origin, which are described in previous chapters.

As the research confirmed the existence of social remitting activities in Ireland and identified their shared developmental characteristics it was relevant to research the attitudes towards mutual cooperation within the Irish development field. The research identified the differences in the development discourses of new and traditional development actors, which need to be attended in order to create an effective network of cooperation and overcome the exclusiveness and initial distrust among them. The research findings demonstrated that migrant-led projects in sending countries have the potential to succeed because of migrants' familiarity with the local environment; they also start the dynamics of motivating and empowering locals; tend to be oriented to problem-solving, long-term and avoid the politico-economic influences at both the local and global level. On the other hand the projects are often based on individual agency, therefore potentially unstable and influenced by the discrimination the migrants are experiencing in the Irish society as individuals. Overall the migrant-led developmental sector expresses interest in cooperation with Irish NGDOs based on mutual capacity-building, skills training, experience sharing and exchange of methodologies. However the individual projects lack capacity and structures to catch the attention of the mainstream structures which demand organized and transparent structures to invest their time and resources into them.

On the side of the NGDO sector there is an expressed willingness towards cooperation with migrant-led initiatives, however in practice there are very few concrete plans or ideas about the actual form of cooperation. This fact is probably linked to the rather dispersed form of social remitting in Ireland, which makes it difficult to identify partners for cooperation. For successful implementation of co-development strategies there need to be primarily organized remitting structures within the migrant communities themselves. As the case of the Indian community shows after

there is arranged a structure recognizable to the outer developmental organizations an effective cooperation can be started.

Another factor, which needs to be addressed, is the prevailing reluctance to include the migrant development actors in the actual work of the NGDO sector as it is presumed to be a form of positive discrimination. However the NGDO representatives are, in this way, neglecting the actual discrimination the social remitters are facing in their attempts to create recognizable developmental structures, which their direct support may help to overcome. As many of the Irish NGDOs mention inclusion of "Southern perspectives" as one of the main aims of their work, then they should be interested to include the alternative perspectives not just in their field work, but also in the processes of planning and methodology formation undertaken within their structures in Ireland. As the inclusion of migrants is dismissed by the majority of NGDO representatives on the basis that origin in developing country does not make you a development expert, there needs to be created some form of promotion of the migrants active in development that are able to provide relevant insight into the topic.

Therefore to conclude the analysis of the research with some practical suggestions, it is clear that in the current stage the Irish development sector lacks a platform for sharing of information, resources and experience which would make the social remitters visible to each other and the mainstream development actors. For effective implementation of co-development policies the actors involved have to be able to draw information about each other, make themselves visible and recognizable and have a platform on which they can undertake the processes of discussion, sharing and exchange. Whether it should take the form of a web-site, social network, discussion platform, nongovernmental organization or use already existing international initiatives is a question for further discussion.

Notes

¹ The development discourse in EU's member states varies depending on their history of immigration. The new countries of immigration like Ireland lack the political recognition of the co-development strategies on the national level. The migration and development policies are therefore enforced mainly by the supranational (EU) and local (migrant associations, NGDOs) actors.

² The actual numbers of Asian nationals residing in Ireland were 8,150, 27,500 and 55,628 in the years 1996, 2002 and 2006 respectively.

³ In year 2006 the Chinese diaspora in Ireland counted 11,218 persons, the Indian diaspora in Ireland counted 9,342 persons, the Pakistani diaspora counted 5,850 persons and the Malaysian diaspora counted 3,409 persons.

- ⁴ The fact that the research has not identified other nationals' development activities does not mean they do not undertake them, rather their activities remain on the individual level, scattered and isolated from the information and support channels as the respondents were identified through the method of snowballing.
- ⁵ Many social remitting projects of the Irish Asian diaspora aim on the native village or region of the remitters.

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