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Questioning Spaces: Host Society Development and Diaspora - The Asociación Cultural de Ayuda Social Europa-Africa por el Progreso de Senegal

Leila Mulloy

ABSTRACT

This essay adds to the expanding literature on migration, diaspora and development by challenging the mainstream notion that development activities organised by diaspora associations contribute solely to the development of the homeland. As a case study, a Senegalese group in Southern Spain is presented: The Asociación Cultural de Ayuda Social Europa-Africa por el Progreso de Sénégal (ACASEAPS) based in the town of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Andalucía. Through examining the developmental work of the association and its relationship with the host society of Sanlúcar, this dissertation demonstrates that diaspora groups incorporate members of the host society into their associations, and argues that certain mixed-membership associations are not only playing a key role in the development of homelands but also in the development of their host societies.


SANLÚCAR SENEGAL
ONG
ACASEAPS
ASOCIACIÓN CULTURAL AYUDA SOCIAL EUROPA-ÁFRICA
POR EL PROGRESO DE SENEGAL
ROKKI MI ROKKA (DAR Y TOMAR)
COMO DEBERÍA DE SER ENTRE EL NORTE Y EL SUR
(EUROPA Y ÁFRICA)
Colabora:
EXCMO. AYUNTAMIENTO
Sanlúcar de Barrameda
Ayudemos a Pal-Seck

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Introduction

This dissertation adds to the expanding literature on migration, diaspora and development by challenging the mainstream notion that development activities organised by diaspora associations contribute solely to the development of the homeland. Using a case study of a Senegalese diaspora organisation based in Southern Spain, this dissertation demonstrates that diaspora groups incorporate members of the host society into their associations, and argues that certain mixed-membership associations are not only playing a key role in the development of homelands but also in the development of their host societies.

Before presenting a case study which illustrates the above argument, a review of literature on the topic will examine how current trends in policy-making circles view the role of migrants and diaspora groups as a positive force in 'bottom-up' development. In response to this current optimism, academic critiques have emerged, particularly in reference to the post-developmentalist and human development schools which illustrate how the concept of diaspora challenges our understandings of identity, space and development. Building on the literature review, this case study of a Senegalese diaspora association will highlight an emerging gap in the current literature, addressed neither by the optimists nor the critics: the role of diaspora associations in developing the host society.

For the case study, a Senegalese group in Southern Spain has been selected: The Asociación Cultural de Ayuda Social Europa-Africa por el Progreso de Sénégal (ACASEAPS) based in the town of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Andalucía. Key themes of the case study are the developmental work of the association, its relationship with the host society of Sanlúcar and what makes this model of diaspora development distinctive. In this introduction, I would like to briefly address how and why this association came to be selected as my case study.

I have spent nearly every summer for the last ten years in Sanlúcar de Barrameda, a provincial town with a relatively stable economic base of agriculture, manzanilla sherry production, fishing and tourism which had increasingly attracted a growing population of migrants from Africa. Five years ago I lived and worked in Senegal and became aware of the African perspective on migration and its

economic, social and cultural importance. Only on returning to Sanlúcar did I realise the African migrant population was in fact predominantly Senegalese and Wolof-speaking.

Both personal observations and Sanlúcar press stories seemed to indicate a sense of solidarity amongst the Senegalese population, a healthy relationship with local Spanish residents and visible self-help diaspora activity. An African cultural exhibition, culminating in a joint Senegalese-Spanish festival in 2009 alerted me to the work of ACASEAPS and made me consider their role in this.

This year, at the LSE, I established contact with the association and requested their permission to make ACASEAPS the focus of my postgraduate dissertation, to which they kindly agreed. I have therefore spent much of this summer in Sanlúcar, observing the association, meeting its members and finding out more about its work and objectives. It became a fascinating case study, and as this thesis will demonstrate, I believe that ACASEAPS provides a distinctive model of diaspora development, and a unique perspective on community-driven development.

Literature Review

In 2003 Kofi Annan, then Secretary-General of the United Nations, established the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM). Whilst highlighting some negative impacts of international migration, the Commission's main contention was that linkages between migration and development could be positive in offering a potential win-win-win scenario in which the migrant-sending countries benefit from economic remittances; the migrant-receiving countries gain skills and labour; and individual migrants have opportunities for economic betterment (GCIM, 2005). A 2005 report by the Commission urged engagement with migrant populations as actors in poverty reduction and economic growth strategies: *'international migration should become an integral part of national, regional and global strategies for economic growth in both the developed and developing world'* (GCIM, 2005:23). The formation of the GCIM is emblematic of the growing interest in the migration-development nexus amongst international institutions, national governments and academics.

Yet this optimism regarding the developmental potential of migration has not always been consistent within the development community. During the post-war period there was a widespread belief that migration facilitated human capital circulation and high levels of urbanisation and migration would assist developing countries reach 'take-off' towards economic development (Rostow, 1960). Arthur Lewis' 1954 paper epitomised this drive for migration, arguing that disguised underemployment in agricultural sectors could provide a pool of cheap labour for more productive jobs in the urban economy of developing countries, to be exploited through rural to urban migration (Lewis, 1954).

However, the 1970s and 1980s saw a turn towards migration pessimism, influenced by neo-Marxism and dependency theory critiques. Gunder Frank's thesis that the currently developed countries had in fact 'underdeveloped' poorer countries argued that the capitalist system had penetrated even the most isolated sectors of the underdeveloped world creating a developed metropole and dependent, underdeveloped satellites. The dependency of periphery satellites provoked high levels of migration to the metropole as third world labour became available for developed countries, further cementing dependency status (Gunder Frank, 1966). The influence of dependency theorists in migration scholarship led to increasing pessimism about the 'brain drain' of

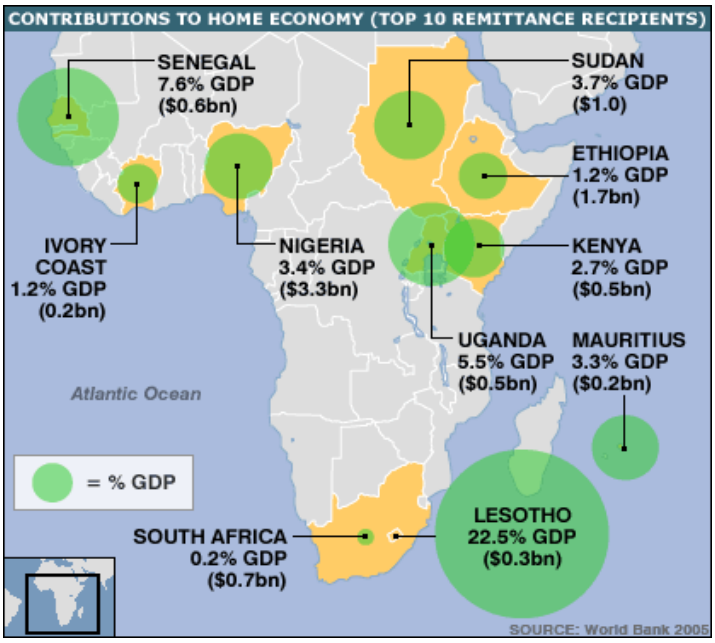
skilled workers leaving developing countries and their exploitation as cheap labour in developed economies. Migrant-receiving countries were also sceptical, as questions of integration, nationality and race became heated political issues.

The past decade has witnessed a resurgence of the migration and development optimism of the 1960s, with an increasing number of studies, forums and policies stressing the developmental benefits of international migration. The current optimism supports development trends for decentralisation, participatory approaches and the role of non-state actors; *'discursively the importance of community as a pillar of development has increased'* (Faist, 2008:23). However, there are critiques of this growing interest and optimism as Castles questions whether this *'really reflects a scientific relationship, or is it just that policy-makers have given the nod to this approach because it fits current political needs?'* (2008:10).

Remittances and Development Policy

A crucial factor in this optimism towards migration and development is the 'discovery' of large flows of money transferred by migrants to their countries of origin, known as economic remittances. In 2003 the World Bank devoted an entire chapter out of just seven in their Global Development Finance Report to workers' remittances, noting that they were *'an important and stable source of external development finance'* (World Bank 2003: 157). The report identified three key points. Firstly, remittance flows to developing countries are much higher than total official development aid: in 2001 remittances were equivalent to 260% of all official aid. Secondly, remittance flows amount to almost half – 42% in 2001 – of all foreign direct investment into developing countries, their largest source of finance. Finally, migrant remittances although smaller than foreign direct investment are a more stable source of development finance, growing annually and with fewer fluctuations in relation to broader economic patterns (World Bank, 2003:157).

Depending on population, geography or history of outward migration, remittances can be an especially important contribution to GDP. After Lesotho, Senegal's economy is the most dependent in Sub-Saharan Africa on remittances; in 2005 making up 7.6% of GDP, as demonstrated in the illustration below (BBC, 2006). It is estimated that 15% of the Senegalese population works abroad, over 70% of whom send money home, making up 70% of their families' budgets (Bedford, 2009). The flow of remittances to Senegal has risen considerably over the last decade from US$233 million in 2000 to US$1288 million in 2008 (World Bank, 2009).



Source: BBC News, 2006 available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/6228236.stm

It is important to note that the statistics presented above include only official remittance transfers. The total value of remittances, both formal and informal, is likely to be much bigger, with some estimates that official remittances are less than half the real total (Mohan & Zach-Williams, 2002:225). A World Bank study conducted by Adams and Page linked remittances to poverty alleviation programmes with the estimate that a *'10% increase in the share of remittances will lead to about a 2% decline in the depth and severity of poverty in the developing world'* (2005:291). Therefore, facilitating remittance flows has become a key policy target for multilateral organisations and national governments alike, as the IMF recommended that making formal transfers more accessible and cheaper to migrants would both improve the developmental potential of remittances and limit their vulnerability to fraud, money laundering and terrorist finance (IMF, 2005:6).

Individual remittances constitute the largest economic flow from migrants to home countries, but there has also been growing interest in collective remittances as an example of community-led development and civil society participation. Hometown associations are established by migrants with shared cultural or ethnic identity and operate from the host society to support fellow migrants and collect remittances for development projects in a specific region of the homeland. Collective remittances can be seen as more 'productive' than individual remittances, which are primarily spent as income on consumption needs. Although it is debateable whether this consumptive spending is 'unproductive', as providing income still has multiplier effects in the local economy, policy-makers

have been keen to maximise the potential of collective remittances (Goldring, 2004). An oft-cited scheme is Mexico's *'tres-por-uno'* in which federal, state and municipal governments agree, for defined development projects in Mexico, to match the sum raised in collective remittances from Mexican hometown associations abroad. In 2005 alone, Mexican hometown associations raised $20 million, matched by $60 million from Mexican federal, state and municipal government contributions (Orozco and Rouse, 2007).

Cultural and social flows have also attracted policy-makers to the non-monetary dimensions of migration and remittances. Levitt identified the importance of social remittances, defined as *'the ideas, behaviours, identities and social capital that flow from receiving to sending country communities'*, as a form of micro-level cultural exchange and potential development tool (1998:926). In addition, the potential benefits of human capital circulation are also targeted by policy-makers. The GCIM's triple win scenario emphasised the potential 'brain gain' as international migration could facilitate greater circulation of human capital, skills and knowledge. The United Nations has long focused on this idea of brain circulation through the UNDP project 'Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals' (TOKTEN) which sends highly-skilled volunteers on placements in their countries of origin working in specialist fields such as health, technology and governance.

The role of diaspora in development has been celebrated by academics and policy-makers in recent years as an example of decentralised, participatory development. It is an affirmative discourse, portraying diaspora members not as victims of economic and structural inequalities, but as development actors with human agency and a key role to play in the development of their 'homelands' (Mohan & Zach-Williams, 2002:211). The following section will address the academic debates regarding the application of the term 'diaspora' and its distinction from 'migrants', and consider how these understandings of diaspora can in fact unsettle notions of space, identity and development.

Diaspora and Transnationalism

In studying diaspora, the centrality of the Jewish experience is often recognised as being *'at the heart of any definition'* (Cohen, 2008:21) or indeed *'the archetype'* (Safran, 2004:11). A critical work by Safran defined three key concepts from the Jewish experience that are central to modern understandings of diaspora. Firstly, the idea of forced dispersal that *'they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original "centre"'* (Safran, 2005:37) has associated diaspora with loss,

displacement and exile, and has emphasised a centred origin in the formulation of diasporic identity. Secondly, diaspora consciousness is informed by exclusion from, or an uneasy relationship with, host societies. Finally, Safran emphasises the continued relationship between diaspora communities and the homeland, whether through collective memory, political engagement, or cultural practice (2005:37).

Safran's rigid definition has been criticised for neglecting the fluidity of diasporic identity (Clifford, 1994:306). Cohen's work expanded Safran's typology to include the positive cultural aspects of diasporic identity, the relationship between co-ethnic members of the diaspora outside the homeland, and *'groups that scatter for aggressive or voluntarist reasons'* (2008:24-25). Cohen argues that *'conceptions of diaspora, even from the earliest times, are far more diverse than the commonly accepted catastrophic tradition'* (2008:25) and include trade, labour, refugee, colonial and cultural diasporas (2008:177). This argument dramatically widens the scope of which groups constitute a diaspora, and how diasporic identity is formed.

Cultural studies scholars, in particular Gilroy, Hall and Clifford, focused on the transatlantic slave trade and formation of 'black' cultural identities to further widen the concept of diaspora and present an anti-essentialist notion of identity. Hall suggests that identity formation has two interpretations: arising from shared experiences and culture, or through difference, conflict and rupture (1990:225). Hall contends that centring Africa within black cultural identity imposes *'an imaginary coherence on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation'* (1990:224). Instead he accepts the second interpretation, arguing that Afro-Caribbean people constitute a diaspora not because *'identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must at all costs return'* but because a metaphorical interpretation of diaspora describes the hybrid, diverse and fluid creation of identities (1990:235).

Gilroy's 'The Black Atlantic' echoes much of the anti-essentialist sentiment in Hall's work and attacks the Afro-centrism of black cultural history, in privileging roots and origin (1994:211). Using the metaphor of a ship to demonstrate the historical exchange of ideas and culture, Gilroy challenges *'cultural insiderism'*: an absolute sense of ethnic difference (1993:3). Instead of being merely *'abstract embodiments of the triangular trade'*, Gilroy suggests that ships are *'micro systems of linguistic and political hybridity'* (1993:12). This image of a ship is a clear allusion to the slave trade but is also a symbolic image evoking continuous movement thereby implying that there is no essential African identity applicable to all members of the African diaspora. This discourse on hybridity, diversity and heterogeneity rejects essentialist identities, whilst equally acknowledging the racial structures of power and subordination which make racial identity more than merely a

social construct (Gilroy, 1991:282). Clifford suggests that diaspora language is *'supplementing minority discourse'* and reviving older ideas such as Du Bois' 'double consciousness' theory, often cited by Gilroy (1994:311). Furthermore, Clifford argues that *'the empowering paradox of diaspora is that dwelling "here" assumes a solidarity and a connection "there". But there is not necessarily a single place of exclusivist nation'* (1994:322). Diaspora is thus '*a useful key to the untidy workings of creolised, syncretised, hybridised and impure cultural forms'* (Gilroy, 1994:211).

For the purposes of this thesis, the definition of diaspora as proposed by Cohen and built upon by the cultural studies school will be accepted. This definition includes groups that scatter for 'voluntarist reasons', trade and labour diasporas, and groups with anti-essentialist, hybrid identities allowing them to operate as members of two societies. This understanding of diaspora is accepted because its emphasis on the ability to dwell both 'here' and 'there' better acknowledges the complexity and heterogeneity of identity, the emotional connections to both 'home' and 'host' societies, and the possibility of belonging to different social groups simultaneously. Moreover, Gilroy's interpretation of diaspora as *'creolised, syncretised and hybridised'* is crucial to the case study of this thesis, and understanding how diaspora groups can challenge essentialised identities.

Diaspora unsettles notions of space and the relationship between nation-states and identity. Taking Lefebvre's argument that *'absolute space cannot exist because at the moment it becomes colonised through social activity, it becomes relativised and historicised space'* (Hubbard, Kitchin & Valentine, 2004:5) this thesis argues that through social activity diaspora links two apparently separated spaces. This idea also relies on Soja's conceptualisation of space as composed of a *'three way dialectic between perceived, conceived and lived space'* (Hubbard, Kitchin & Valentine, 2004:5). Diaspora unites at least two spaces through perceived and conceived hybrid identity, but also through a lived experience in a transnational social field.

Transnationalism, defined as *'sustained cross-border relationships, patterns of exchange, affiliations, and social formations spanning nation-states'* (Vertovec, 2009:2) has been increasingly applied to migrant groups. The scale of economic remittances, communication improvements and the extent of globalisation have enhanced the ability of migrant groups to live both 'here' and 'there'. This transnational experience impacts both the home and host country of migrants. Levitt explains transnationalism as the means by which *'ordinary people are incorporated into the countries that receive them while remaining active in the places they come from, and about how life in sending and receiving countries changes as a result'* (2001:4).

Transnationalism creates social fields that *'are not bounded by national borders'* but instead *'new forms of representation and participation are emerging that do not require full membership or*

residence'. Therefore *'transnationalism means going beyond the binary of emigration and immigration to understand migration and mobility as manifold processes linking together countries of origin, destination, and onward migration'* (Levitt, 2001:5). A transnational social space is created through historical migration trajectories, in which *'continual transactions across borders'* occur through transnational family ties, trading networks or developmental organisations (Faist, 2008:27). In their paper on Africa and Europe, Grillo and Mazzucato describe life in this transnational social space as a *'double engagement'* (2008). This is a critical way of looking at the migration-development nexus, as discussed above, and helps explain the complex development linkages that emerge through diaspora.

Diasporas and Development

A framework for analysing the developmental activities of the diaspora devised by Mohan divides development into three categories (2002). Firstly, development '*in'* the diaspora refers to the use of diasporic connections in the immediate locality to ensure social and economic well-being of the diaspora members (2002:107). Development *'through'* the diaspora expands upon development '*in*' the diaspora engaging global, as well as local networks (2002:113). Both types of development also help economic development in the host country, through trade and investment. The third category is the most relevant for this thesis – development *'by'* the diaspora. Mohan's typology refers to the economic, political, social and cultural diasporic flows which facilitate development of homelands (2002:123). This thesis will expand upon Mohan's typology to consider how development *'by'* the diaspora can apply to both the home and host society.

Academic studies on development *'by'* the Senegalese diaspora have traditionally focused on the Islamic Murid brotherhood. Originating in nineteenth century Senegal, the Murid brotherhood was founded by Cheikh Amadou Bamba, a powerful religious leader who died in 1927 after thirty-two years imprisonment by the French colonial rulers. Two aspects of the Murid brotherhood have attracted scholars. Firstly, Murid identity, sense of belonging and diaspora consciousness focused on Touba, the site of Cheikh Amadou Bamba's burial, as the place where *'Murid memory and imaginaire are elaborated'* (Diouf, 2000:688). Secondly, Touba has become the centre of an extensive economic network amongst the Murid diaspora. The importance of Touba as a religious and economic centre has built *'a sense of solidarity and a cohesive, group-centric organisation'* within the Murid diaspora and taken *'a key role in shaping Murid transnational formations'* by linking the brotherhood to a project of developing the homeland (Riccio, 2001:584-587). Murid

development of Touba has transformed the site from a village of just 500 people in 1913 to Senegal's second city with a population of 500,000 (Diouf, 2000:698).

Current diaspora patterns of the modern Senegalese diaspora are increasingly diverse, as are the destination countries for Senegalese migrants. In 2005 the top ten Senegalese migrant destination countries included six neighbouring African countries (Gambia, Mauritania, Gabon, Republic of Congo, Guinea-Bissau and Nigeria) but also three European (France, Spain and Italy) and the United States (World Bank, 2005:170). Following Cohen's typology, the Senegalese in Europe can be indentified as a classic labour diaspora; composed primarily of young male traders and labourers who retain strong links to their homeland and aspirations for return (Sinatti, 2006:32).

With regards to the modern, more diverse Senegalese diaspora many academic studies have focused on development *'in'* the diaspora. Carter's examination of Senegalese in Turin takes the title of Calvino's novel 'Invisible Cities' as a metaphor for *'cities of memory and imagined cities that become the focal points of certain communities'* (1997:21-22) echoing Sinatti's work on the 'Little Senegals' (2006) and the solidarity of the Senegalese diaspora as noted by Riccio (2001:584). Ethnographic studies of the modern Senegalese diaspora, such as those above, often consider development *'in'* the diaspora. This thesis will examine development *'by'* the Senegalese diaspora but applied to non-Murid groups and spaces in both the host and home society.

In relation to the wider literature and with reference to non-Senegalese groups, much research on development *'by'* the diaspora focuses on hometown associations. Hometown associations are celebrated for using personal ties in developing countries, thereby making diasporic development organisations more relevant, more sustainable and more accountable (Mohan & Zach-Williams, 2007:227). It is also argued that the work of hometown associations is distinctive in comparison to more traditional development organisations (Mercer, Page & Evans, 2009). However, hometown associations are critiqued for reinforcing the position of elites, incorporating social dynamics into development projects and reinforcing a sense of absolute ethnic identity. These criticisms force a re-consideration of the role of diaspora in development and the assumptions of the migration and development nexus. In the following section three specific questions will be asked. Firstly, what is the true relationship between migration and development? Secondly, what exactly is understood by the term 'development'? Thirdly, how do diasporas challenge notions of space, identity and development?

Unsettling the Migration and Development Nexus

The celebratory vision of migrants as development agents, as discussed above, contrasts with the restrictive immigration policies of migrant-receiving countries. Therefore, we must be cautious of this current round of migration and development optimism. Raghuram argues that just as development is perceived to be an outcome of migration, migration can also be perceived as an outcome of development (2009:105-108). In migrant-receiving countries which view immigration as a problem to be controlled, *'politicians, officials and the public still believe that if we can tackle the "root causes of international migration" we can reduce it drastically'* (Castles, 2008:2). The *'root cause'* understood here is that migration is a consequence of underdevelopment: a rational response to poor economic conditions in home countries which encourages migrants to seek employment and opportunity in more developed economies.

De Haas highlights two problems with the current approach of restrictive immigration policies in developed countries, and the linking of migration patterns to underdevelopment (2007). Firstly, restrictive immigration policies have largely failed to curb migration: *'paradoxically the ability to control migration has shrunk as the desire to do so has increased'* (Bhagwati, 2003:2). The demand for both skilled and unskilled labour in developed countries is relatively constant so continued levels of immigration are highly likely. Moreover, migration patterns once established gain momentum and are hard to control (Massey et al. 1998). Restrictive policies, instead of limiting migration, encourage dangerous and irregular migration, as increasing border death rates and decreasing apprehension rates illustrate. A highly militarised zone around the Senegalese coast has not halted Senegalese migration, but increased the fatality rate as an estimated 10% of migrants leaving Senegal for Europe die in crossing (Al-Jazeera, 2007).

Secondly, De Haas argues that development does not and will not stop migration. In fact, as Martin and Taylor's 1993 study of the 'migration hump' illustrates, the relationship between development and migration is an inverted 'U-shape': initial increases in development levels lead to an increase in migration as peoples' aspirations are raised, and migration levels only fall after a significant development level is reached and countries become net-importers of labour (2007:819). This finding is supported by Skeldon, arguing *that 'development increases mobility'* and *'migration is essentially the response of individuals to changing development conditions'* (2008:1). De Haas' critique undermines the assumptions upon which current optimism in the migration-development nexus is based, and exposes the contradictions between this apparent development optimism and simultaneous tightening of border control and immigration levels. In particular, this critique raises questions about the meaning and understanding of development in the mainstream framework.

Post-Developmentalist Approaches to Migration

Post-development critiques have been applied to the migration and development nexus to consider how discourse on migration and development is shaped to include or exclude specific meanings. Raghuram argues that mainstream approaches to the migration-development nexus envisage destination countries as *'spaces of acquisition and countries of origin as spaces deserving redistribution'*. This understanding of migration and development makes certain politics and geographies 'visible' or 'invisible' thereby framing our perception of what constitutes legitimate development (Raghuram, 2009:103-107). An example of a *'disappearing migrant category'* is proposed by Agustín's case study of trafficked female prostitutes (2006:29). This argument regarding the construction of accepted forms of knowledge is heavily influenced by the work of Foucault and in turn Ferguson and Escobar's application of Foucault to development studies.

Foucault believed that modern society had transformed sovereign power over non-citizens into a disciplinary power seeking the improvement of designated groups. This commitment to 'improvement' lay at the heart of Ferguson's argument about the 'development discourse'; a form of non-coercive, invisible power which nonetheless frames our understanding of development and directs development projects and influences their outcomes (1990). The power of this discourse was supported by Escobar's 'Encountering Development' which argued *'development has achieved the status of a certainty in the social imaginary'* (1995:5). By framing poverty as a mere 'technical' problem power is transferred to development 'experts' who can 'solve' these problems. Ferguson suggests that '*the hegemonic problem of "development" is the principle means through which the question of poverty is depoliticised in the world today'* (1990:256).

Post-developmentalism has been applied to the migration and development debate (Goldring, 2008). The calculation of the nexus, in terms of recording migration patterns, counting remittances and evaluating hometown association development projects normalises certain forms of knowledge. Proponents of this post-developmentalist approach warn that the dominance of this discourse *'has a danger of elevating a comparatively small number of international migrants to an unwarranted instrumental role in development and diverts attention away from the much more important obstacles to development located in home country populations, economies and institutions'* (Skeldon, 2008:1). Thus a relatively small number of migrants are positioned as agents of economic redistribution, leading to sharp criticism that *'migrants' bodies bear critical migration theorists' global sense of responsibility for addressing issues of poverty'* (Raghuram, 2009:105).

Castles asks whether *'using the world's most exploited workers to provide the capital for economic growth where official aid and government programmes have failed is really development and for whom?'* (2008:14). Money sent to developing countries as remittances can be viewed as bottom-up or community-led development, but equally represents money lost for migrants. Remittances neither address the structural determinants of poverty nor do they contribute to the human development of migrants themselves. For such reasons, the 2007 Americas Migration Conference declared that remittances should not be considered development finance (Goldring, 2008).

A case study of Haiti by Glick-Schiller and Fouron demonstrated how development *'by'* the diaspora can be re-essentialising, as *'transnational politics are being built on a concept of national identity rooted in concepts of blood and descent'* (1999:343. See also Carter, 2005). By tying the diaspora to the project of national development, *'ideology of the transnational nation state engages impoverished people in a nationalist rhetoric that obscures...the reasons for Haiti's continuing economic and political crisis'* (1999:343-358). Despite these criticisms many international organisations and national-level governments include remittances as a legitimate source of development finance that needs to be maximised. It can be argued that whilst the debate over the meaning of development has moved forward in development studies, this has not yet been fully applied to the relationship between migration and development (Piper, 2008:96).

Diaspora Challenges Development and Space

It is useful at this point to consider what is understood by the term 'development'. The literature on development *'by'* the diaspora has largely focused on tangible development objectives such as economic remittances and infrastructure projects. Considerations of social remittances are raised in the literature, but these can be attacked as 'colonialism of the mind' (Fanon, 1952) simply acting as a means to transfer the 'right attitudes' to the poor. Different definitions of development need to be considered and applied to the study of migration and diaspora.

Amartya Sen's 'capabilities' approach has been widely adopted in development studies. Rather than defining poverty as absolute or relative, Sen views poverty as a condition that occurs when people fall below some absolute level of the quality of life. This absolute level is determined by the 'capabilities' people have to better their situation, rather than their incomes (1999). Sen's argument that *'freedom is both the means to and ends of development'* (1999:36) challenges our understanding of development as solely linked to economic situation. In development studies these principles have been largely adopted through measuring of life expectancy, literacy and using

the UN's Human Development Index (UNDP, 2010). This has been crucial in widening the understanding of development to encompass social and human development, in addition to GDP (Gasper, 2004 and Corbridge, 2001). However, if this understanding of development is applied to migration studies, the entire migration and development nexus must be questioned. The conditions under which people migrate, while 'voluntarist' according to Cohen's definition, may still be 'unfree' in the sense of Sen's approach. Mohan and Zach-Williams argue that migration has become a *'survival strategy for many African households'* and a form of *'portfolio diversification'* for families struggling in a difficult economic climate (2002:225).

The 'capabilities' approach also challenges the dichotomy between Northern developed and Southern undeveloped spaces. An oft-cited example from Sen's work is the life expectancy of African-Americans being lower than that of Sri Lankans, Jamaicans and Costa Ricans despite having far higher GDP per capita income in America (1999:96). This is important in the context of migration and development, in highlighting how development can, and needs to, occur in Northern countries as well as the more traditionally-understood sites of development in the South.

Massey argues that through development studies *'spatial differences are being reconvened in temporal terms'*. Instead of viewing different spaces in terms of different identities, cultures and trajectories, we view the South as backward or temporally behind the developed North (1999:280). This geographical interpretation has political ramifications as it creates a Eurocentric vision of development which neglects the potential for different paths and understandings of development. Migration and diaspora challenge us to imagine multiple identities and trajectories. Nation-states, often envisaged as 'absolute spaces', map-able, contained and bounded areas, are associated with different levels of development. Yet the ability of migrants to live 'here' and 'there' simultaneously contributing to two supposed separate nation-states unsettles these geographical assumptions. This thesis argues that diaspora challenges the dichotomy between Northern and Southern, by opening up new spaces for development within their host country as well as homeland.

A 2008 Special Edition of the journal 'Population, Space and Place' addressed some of these concerns within the migration and development literature. The Editorial argued that taking a broader social perspective was crucial to consider the positive impact migrants have on their host countries, as well as the *'notion of multiple developments'* as migrants wish to *'develop here as well as there'*, perhaps simultaneously (Piper, 2008:98). This understanding of spaces of development draws on the transnationalism literature, as *'a transnational approach means looking not only at developing countries and countries in transformation, but also at highly industrialised countries'* and the ability of migrants to contribute to the development of both through living transnationally

(Faist, 2008:27). It is crucial to widen the scope of migrant and diaspora development activities to include spaces in the host society. Moreover, this development is not just economic in terms of labour, trade and skills but also includes social and human development in the host-country. Using Mohan's typology for development *'by'* the diaspora, the case study of this thesis examines the development work of a Senegalese diaspora association in Southern Spain and its impact and contribution in both locales: Senegal and Spain.

Case Study : The Asociación Cultural de Ayuda Social Europa-Africa por el Progreso de Sénégal

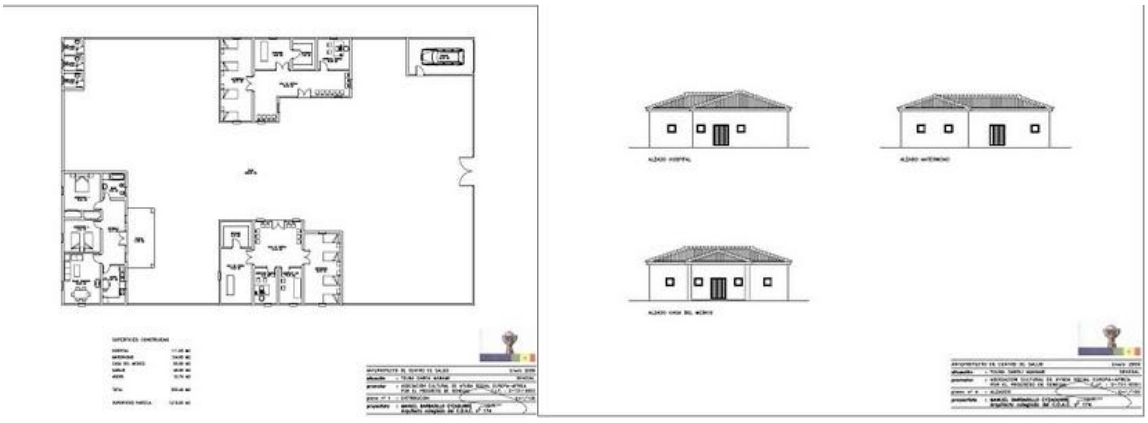
The Asociación Cultural de Ayuda Social Europa-Africa por el Progreso de Sénégal (ACASEAPS) was founded in 2008 in Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Andalucía, Spain. A town of 60,000 inhabitants, Sanlúcar has a growing population of Senegalese migrants, who have established trading networks throughout the area. A local self-help group was formed, the Asociación de Senegaleses de Sanlúcar de Barrameda, to promote Senegalese solidarity and help newly-arrived migrants with accommodation, work and support (Rodriguez, 2009). This organisation reflects Mohan's typology of development *'in'* the diaspora, but the formation of ACASEAPS is the first Senegalese hometown association in Sanlúcar following the development *'by'* the diaspora model of hometown associations. Inspired by accounts of Senegalese hometown associations in France and Italy sending collective remittances to Senegal, Mbaye Diakhere Diouf founded ACASEAPS. In July 2010 the association had ninety members based in Sanlúcar de Barrameda, the main site of the association's fundraising activities. Whilst inspired by the growing trend for hometown associations across the Senegalese diaspora, this thesis argues that ACASEAPS presents a new type of diaspora development, distinctive from other cases in the migration-development literature.

ACASEAPS is a developmental NGO with the central objectives of improving public health, promoting good agricultural practices and contributing to the development of Pall-Seck, a small village of 4000 inhabitants in Touré Mbonde, Diourbel Province, Senegal. Although there are plans for an agricultural project next year – to modernise fruit production in the area – development activities have initially concentrated on health and infrastructure projects. The prevention of endemic diseases, in particular cholera and malaria, is listed as the primary aim in the association's mission statement (2008). With only one well for twenty-seven villages and poor clean water access leading to cholera outbreaks, an early project was the installation of a potable water tower in Pall-Seck (ACASEAPS presentation, 2010).

Source: ACASEAPS website, available at: http://acaseaps.blogspot.com/

Other early campaigns included a December 2009 shipment to Pall-Seck of goods including 120 bags of rice, 108 bags of millet, clothes, toys, sweets, baby milk, wheelchairs, mosquito nets and medical materials. All items in this delivery were donated by association members and the local Sanlúcar community. This inspired the 2010 building of a medicine and food bank in Sanlúcar to store donations.

This year the association's focal project is building a small health centre in Pall-Seck. Most fundraising activities in Sanlúcar, including a televised appeal on Telesanlúcar, a twenty day exhibition on African culture, and a benefit concert hosted on 11th July 2009, raised money for this centre. In addition to Sanlúcar providing the fundraising site for this project, local Spanish architect Manuel Barbadillo donated his professional services to design the plans for the health centre, illustrated below. Building work begun on the centre in early 2010, and was recorded by the ACASEAPS president, Mbaye Diakhere Diouf, to show as a promotional film to association members back in Sanlúcar. Longer-term objectives also include the improvement of traditional crafts and agricultural practices in order to *'give back to Senegalese villages the possibility of development'* (Mission Statement, 2008) and help reduce youth unemployment.



Source: ACASEAPS archive

What makes ACASEAPS distinctive?

As discussed in the literature review, the diaspora model presents a unique form of development for two reasons. Firstly, diaspora development is organised neither at the supranational nor the national level, but is also unlike traditional community development, often linked to the community of a defined and bounded space. Diaspora development is a transnational form of community development, organised at a level below the state but through at least two different spaces – the dwelling 'here' and 'there' paradigm. This case study provides a 'trans-local' model of diaspora development, as the connected sites of 'here' and 'there' are on a micro, local scale as opposed to transnational projects such as TOKTEN. The translocal relationship is between two apparently unrelated spaces but united through a diasporic Senegalese population: the town of Sanlúcar in Spain and the village of Pall-Seck in Senegal.

Secondly, the diaspora model of development has been celebrated for its 'bottom-up' developmental character, breaking from imposed top-down 'planners' development (Easterly, 2006). ACASEAPS represents this celebrated participatory discourse, through stressing the self-help, responsibility and ownership aspects of their development projects. The Secretary of ACASEAPS, Arame Niang, argued that it was crucial for the Senegalese diaspora to engage in the development of their homeland (Niang, 2010). Diaspora members are important non-governmental agents of development with a personal, emotional or cultural connection to their main site of development. Although ACASEAPS represents these characteristics common to hometown associations, this case study demonstrates a distinctive model of diaspora development. Two features are highlighted: the choice of Pall-Seck as a 'hometown' and the mixed membership base of the association.

Hometown associations are based around a central point of origin, a physical hometown that unites the association. This has led to some of the criticisms, raised in the literature review, that diaspora organisations can be essentialising, reinforcing narrow ethnic or geographic identities by using the central point of origin as a definition of membership. However, ACASEAPS challenges this assumption. The original founders of ACASEAPS are not from Pall-Seck, but originate from Dakar and St-Louis; large cities in different provinces. When questioned about the choice of Pall-Seck both the association's president and secretary referenced the poverty of the village, its remote location, and the absence of NGOs operating in the region (Niang, 2010 and Diouf, 2010). Whilst emphasising the importance of a personal relationship to Senegal, the language used to explain the choice of Pall-Seck as a beneficiary hometown reflected a more professional discourse of

development NGOs, than an emotive hometown association connection. Building upon Goldring's (2004) typology of remittances which separates individual and collective remittances we can disaggregate collective remittances further. There are collective remittances sent to a hometown of origin and, as the ACASEAPS case study demonstrates, collective remittances sent to the diaspora's country of origin but via a selected, representative 'hometown'.

The second distinctive feature of ACASEAPS is an even greater challenge to assumptions about diaspora development. Although the association appeals to the involvement of local Senegalese, the majority of their ninety members are in fact Spanish residents of Sanlúcar, known locally as Sanluqueños (Niang, 2010). ACASEAPS is a diaspora-founded organisation focusing on development of the 'homeland' of Senegal, yet the association membership contains a majority of non-migrant, non-diaspora, non-displaced people of the local Spanish community. It is not accidental that the membership of ACASEAPS is mixed Spanish and Senegalese; this is a purposeful strategic move by the association. Their very name – Asociación Cultural de Ayuda Social Europa-Africa por el Progreso de Sénégal – stresses the double engagement of Europe and Africa. Their website, communication documents, films and presentations are all in Spanish, to maximise the inclusive nature of their membership. Fundraising activities are also linked to Spanish language and culture, such as the benefit concert of 11 July 2009 which included both Spanish and Senegalese music and dance.

ACASEAPS distinguishes itself as a diaspora development association by appealing for membership not on the basis of shared ethnic or even national identity. Instead they seek a mixed Spanish-Senegalese membership by appealing to the current shared geography of Sanlúcar, and adopting the language and presentation of a NGO to stress their legitimacy as a development organisation. This distinctive mixed membership raises a second area for research: how the local host society of Sanlúcar shapes, contributes to and benefits from ACASEAPS.

Relationship with the host society: ACASEAPS and Sanlúcar de Barrameda

Historically wealthy during the early period of Spanish colonialism in the Americas, Sanlúcar's economy is now dominated by traditional activities such as agriculture, fishing, the production of salt and manzanilla sherry, and a growing tourism industry. A town of 60,000, an increasing section of the local Sanluqueño labour force is provided by foreign migrant workers. Officially, immigrants

represent 8% of Spain's population of nearly 44 million people (Spanish National Institute of Statistics, 2010). Whilst this is not an unusual percentage for the European Union (Germany's population is made up of 10% immigrants) it marks a significant change in recent Spanish history; changing from a net emigration and labour-exporting nation to a migrant-receiving, labour-importing nation. This is especially relevant in rural Andalucía and in small towns such as Sanlúcar which have until recently been amongst the lesser economically developed areas of Spain and prominent migrant-sending regions.

In this context of rising immigration to Spain, the Spanish-Senegalese diplomatic relationship is increasingly important as the majority of migrants, whether or not Senegalese nationals, travel through Senegal to reach Spain. Moreover, in 2006 more than half the 26,000 migrants who reached the Spanish Canary Islands were Senegalese (BBC, 2006). In January 2010 the Spanish National Institute of Statistics found that following Moroccans and Algerians, Senegalese are currently the third largest national group of foreign-born Africans living in Spain, and the second largest in Andalucía.

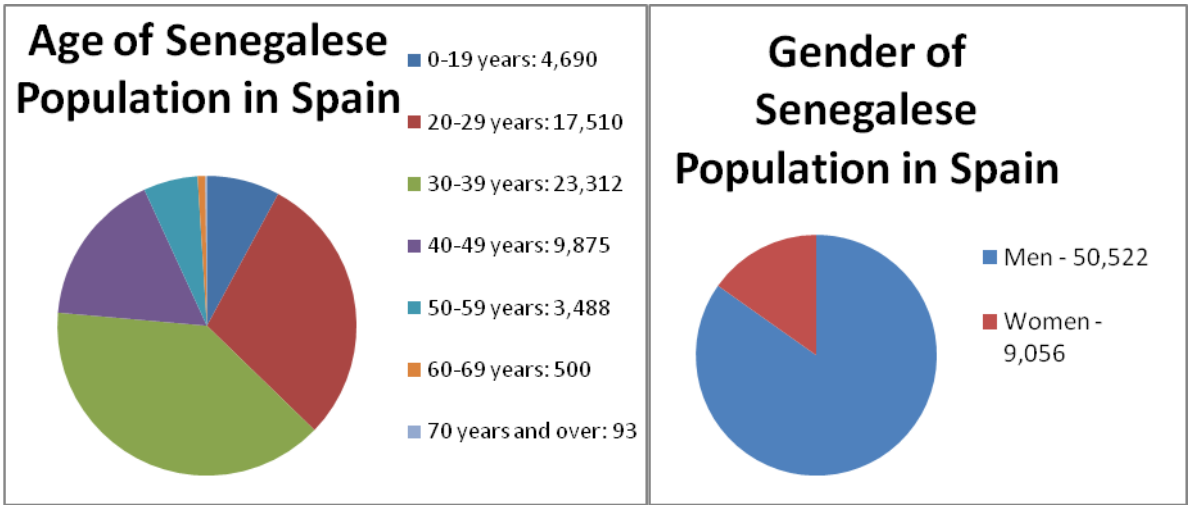
African Country of Origin	Population in Spain	Population in Andalucía
Morocco	754,114	128,948
Algeria	60,008	6,164
Senegal	59,578	9,920

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadístcia, available at: http://www.ine.es/welcoing.htm (For full statistics of African populations in Spain please see Appendix 1)

It is important to note that these figures are official, and therefore only include the legally-registered and permanently-based Senegalese population in Spain. It is widely accepted that estimates including irregular or circular migrants are higher. However, it is clear that the Senegalese are the largest Sub-Saharan African population in Spain and the most visible black African population in Spain and in Andalucía, where ACASEAPS is based.

Regarding questions of race and Senegalese immigration to Europe, more research and ethnographic studies have been conducted on Italy than Spain (Carter 1997, Sinatti 2006, Grillo & Riccio 2004). Many of the same themes are relevant as numerous juxtapositions exist between the Spanish and Senegalese populations of Sanlúcar in terms of race, religion and gender. Sanluqueños are predominantly white and Catholic, whereas the Senegalese population is black and Muslim.

Furthermore, the demographic statistics for the Senegalese population in Spain reflect a classic labour diaspora in Cohen's definition; a diasporic group composed primarily of young males. As the graphs below illustrate, 85% of Senegalese in Spain are male and 69% of Senegalese in Spain are between 20 and 39 years old. The same demographic composition applies to the Senegalese population of Andalucía (Appendix 2).



Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadístcia, available at: http://www.ine.es/welcoing.htm

Carter's ethnographic study of Senegalese migrants in Italy is relevant also in the context of Andalucía. Drawing on Foucault, Carter examines how designated groups have been classified, then excluded from mainstream European society. This division of people into separate social spaces isolates them as an 'Other'. Carter argues that this 'othering' applies to African immigrants, portrayed by European media as marginal figures, difficult to map or classify due to the invisible status of many irregular migrants, and with negative associations to criminality, poverty and disease (1997:110-112). This is exacerbated in Spain, in particular Andalucía and the Canary Islands which are immediate destination points for migrants, as incidences of migrants' corpses washing up on Spanish beaches are frequently reported in the Andalucían media, compounding a sometimes uneasy relationship between the host society and migrant populations. Race riots have occurred in the region, notably in Roquetas de Mar in September 2008 following the murder of twenty-eight year old Senegalese trader Ousmane Koté.

The demographic composition illustrated above is significant because the disproportionately large numbers of young males in the Senegalese population adds to the differences between the more gender and age diverse Sanluqueño population and the young, male 'other' of the Senegalese. The

racial and demographic profile of the Senegalese diaspora makes them a highly visible presence in Sanlúcar. This heightens the potential for racial tension. Yet there are more positive features of the relationship between migrant communities and the host society, which this thesis argues make ACASEAPS distinctive and challenge the conventional interpretations of diaspora and development.

Existing migration networks establish momentum thereby facilitating more migratory movements between two connected locations (Massey et al. 1998). The movement of Senegalese people to Spain despite no linguistic, historical or colonial connection between the two countries has been facilitated by the existing Senegalese population of original migrants. This is applicable on a micro scale also via the local Senegalese trading networks around Sanlúcar. Consequently, in Sanlúcar, the Senegalese population is significantly larger than any other Sub-Saharan African population. The large number of Senegalese, as opposed to other black Africans, identifies them as a cohesive national group. This helps break down the negative images of African migrants often represented in the Spanish media. Particularly in a local context, like Sanlúcar, this disaggregation of African migrants is crucial in minimising the marginalisation of the 'other' as the Senegalese are a clearly identifiable group with shared geographic origins. Secondly, this establishes a connection between Sanlúcar and Senegal specifically, which would be unlikely given a more diverse African population in the town. The emerging relationship between Sanluqueños and Senegal is illustrated by the range of local Spanish partners to ACASEAPS.

Many individual members of ACASEAPS, including committee members, are Sanluqueños but local businesses, organisations and city council are also association partners. In November 2009 before the delivery of goods to Pall-Seck in December, the association needed €2800 to fund the shipment (ACASEAPS Blogspot, 6 February 2010). The list of contributing organisations was incredibly diverse, including the Catholic Brotherhood of Humility and Patience, the City Council of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, the Mariners Association, as well as numerous restaurants, shops and local community groups. One group which contributed materials and goods, as well as their expertise, was Mujeres Solidarias. A local women's group, they described their relationship with ACASEAPS:

'Solidarity knows no borders and nor do we. We will be there to do our bit to help construct a fairer and more equal world' (Mujeres Solidarias).

This relationship between the host society of Sanlúcar and the Senegalese population is crucial in understanding what makes ACASEAPS distinctive as a development model. The following and final section of the case study will consider how ACASEAPS forces questions about our definition of development and its location.

Dar y Tomar – 'GIVING AND TAKING' is our motto'

In development studies there have been many critiques to our understanding of development, from critiques of the entire discipline (Escobar, 1995 and Harvey, 2003) to advocates of reform (Sen, 1999). Whilst some of these criticisms have been applied to the migration-development nexus, most notably recently the emergence of post-developmentalist migration scholars such as Raghuram, the definition of development in the migration and development literature is still too narrow. This case study offers two findings. Firstly, development is more than economic growth, infrastructure projects and the provision of social services. Development has social, cultural and human components that are equally important. And secondly, this case study demonstrates how the spaces of development are not fixed in a binary between the rich, developed North and the poor, undeveloped South.

The central objective of ACASEAPS is to participate in Senegalese development, through mobilising the resources and connections of the Senegalese diaspora in Sanlúcar. Their work in Senegal supports the current strategic drive of the Senegalese government for decentralised development. A May 1996 reform in Senegal created 'collectivité locales': community-based councils acting as local development agents and strengthening local democracy. There are currently 543 collectivité locales operating in Senegal, allowing *'responsible local people to intervene in matters which directly touch the daily life of the population'* and providing a sense of ownership over development projects (ARTGOLD, 2010:6-7). A 2003 law reinforced the capacities of collectivités and created 'ART Sénégal', an organisational body to provide support networks for decentralised collectivités, identify necessary projects, and engage actors from different countries, including the Senegalese diaspora (ARTGOLD, 2010:9).

Two future projects for ACASEAPS involve cooperation with collectivité locales. The association was contacted by Thierno Seck from the Communauté Rurale of Touré Mbonde requesting fundraising support and partnership on a fruit production modernisation project in the region surrounding Pall-Seck. The cooperation between ACASEAPS and the collectivité locales demonstrates ACASEAPS and their work support the strategic plans of the Senegalese government, and include more mainstream development projects, such as hospital-building, the provision of potable water and agricultural practice reform.

The crucial part of this argument is that it is *in* Senegal, where the more traditional developmental activities of ACASEAPS take place. However, if we consider the spaces of development as more flexible, and include spaces in countries that are considered to be developed, such as Spain then we

can question what is meant by development and whether it goes beyond the activities listed above. In order to assess this understanding of development, we also have to consider the second key finding of this study concerning the spaces of development.

ACASEAPS flips the assumptions of the migration-development nexus that the locale of migrant development activity must be the homeland. Their mission statement clearly establishes the intention of ACASEAPS to contribute towards development in Sanlúcar:

'This association does not only ask for collaboration. We also give. Our members want to offer to the Sanluqueños their culture through educational workshops which...will allow young children to gain knowledge of African geography and the way of life in Senegal. GIVING AND TAKING is our motto' (Mission Statement, 2008).

Indeed the motto of ACASEAPS as displayed in Spanish on their website is 'dar y tomar'. Both the president and secretary of the association were keen to stress that there are two sites of ACASEAPS' development activities: Pall-Seck and Sanlúcar, and that part of the Senegalese diasporic self-help was to contribute towards development in their host society (Niang, 2010 and Diouf, 2010). The development ACASEAPS offers to Sanlúcar is more than the economic gains of cheap labour and small-scale trading; it is also cultural and educational development. The provision of educational workshops in schools across Sanlúcar is one of the association's central objectives, and they plan to extend this across the wider region. The workshops focus on a range of topics including African culture and geography, poverty and development, as well medical and health lectures. Three slides from a presentation given to primary school students are illustrated below:

Source: ACASEAPS archive

Organising these workshops for Spanish students is a *'powerful culture exchange'* which offers *'a small piece of African culture'* and an educational exchange in *'any way possible that helps the local community'* (Rodriguez, 2009). The educational and cultural exchange provided by ACASEAPS is not

limited to students. The majority of ACASEAPS fundraising involves a strong element of Senegalese cultural exchange. In summer 2009, the association held a twenty day exposition of African culture with music concerts, dance lessons, food stalls and photo exhibitions throughout the town. Whilst these events were aimed at raising funds for the association's work, they also represent the 'giving and taking' ethos of ACASEAPS by providing a cultural fair for the town and promoting good inter-cultural relations (Niang, 2010).

These education workshops and cultural fairs contribute to long-term human capital accumulation amongst the Sanluqueños through the exposure to other cultures, exchange of ideas and the unique learning platform these provide. The first anniversary of ACASEAPS, although an informal meeting, was viewed positively by the ACASEAPS members as a celebration with *'light-hearted and amusing speeches'*, *'a magnificent spicy cous-cous meal'*, dancing, *'laughing and joking'*: *'all in all it was a great meeting between friends, neighbours and citizens of the world'* (ACASEAPS Blogspot, 12 June 2009). This also helps reinforce community cohesion thereby diffusing potential racial tension, which has erupted in other towns across the region but not yet Sanlúcar. This thesis argues that the cultural and educational work ACASEAPS performs in Sanlúcar constitutes development, thereby justifying their claim to having two sites of development.

Areas for Further Research

Two areas for further research are raised by this case study. The early growth of ACASEAPS coincided with a relatively buoyant period in the Spanish economy, particularly in Andalucía, which benefited from construction and tourism investment. However, the Spanish economy is one of the worst affected by the current recession, and it remains to be seen whether this affects the solidarity between Sanluqueños and Senegal. Arame Niang warns that increasing economic hardship threatens the basis of ACASEAPS founding collaboration between Spain and Senegal. Membership has declined recently and Niang believes that the recession priority of Spanish members and the local council has become the 'here' of Sanlúcar as opposed to the secondary 'there' of Senegal (Niang interview notes). The effects of the economic recession on ACASEAPS and its appeal to a mixed Spanish-Senegalese membership are a research area for future consideration.

A second area for further research is the link between ACASEAPS and the Murid Senegalese diaspora. ACASEAPS does not conform to the typical model of Senegalese Murid development nor does it promote any connection to Muridism. Pall-Seck itself is situated in Diourbel, the neighbouring department to Mbacke where Touba is located. This may be coincidental, and no evidence from my interviews demonstrated a Murid connection, but the influence of Muridism in Senegalese society and its links to migration and diaspora organisations are deeply embedded in Senegalese culture. This raises the question of whether Murid links play a discrete role either amongst the ACASEAPS Senegalese membership base, or in the village of Pall-Seck and the contacts ACASEAPS has forged there. This is an interesting area for further research, requiring a field study of Pall-Seck and the ACASEAPS beneficiaries in the region.

Conclusion

ACASEAPS is a diaspora association engaged in development through the third category of Mohan's typology: development *'by'* the diaspora. Yet it is atypical. This thesis has argued that the double engagement between Sanlúcar de Barrameda and Pall-Seck is a case study of trans-local development which flips the migration-development nexus on two points. Firstly, the outward focus of diaspora development towards the home country is turned inward to incorporate development in the host country. Secondly, whilst diaspora organisations are often focused on infrastructural, economic or 'modernising' development projects, ACASEAPS through its activities in the host society also engages in less tangible forms of development such as social, cultural and educational.

This thesis has demonstrated how ACASEAPS disrupts assumptions held about diaspora hometown associations. ACASEAPS members are not from the designated 'hometown' of Pall-Seck but are a combination of Senegalese migrants from diverse regions of Senegal and Sanluqueños with no connection to Senegal other than engagement with ACASEAPS. Yet it has been argued this atypical hometown association is still part of the diaspora model of development because it is fundamentally based on the emotional and personal connections to 'homeland' by which diaspora organisations are characterised.

The Spanish members of ACASEAPS do not have a diasporic connection to Senegal in the classically understood sense, but they have developed a personal relationship with Senegal, and in particular Pall-Seck. An appeal for Sanluqueño support for the 2009 ACASEAPS benefit concert concluded with the declaration that *'Pall-Seck will thank you for it'* (ACASEAPS Blogspot), re-affirming the direct, personal link between Sanluqueños and Pall-Seck. ACASEAPS has consciously incorporated the local Spanish population into their concept of diaspora and successfully built a trans-local relationship between Sanlúcar and Pall-Seck.

Methodology

Qualitative and Quantitative Data Collection

The literature review criticised the dominance of quantitative measures and focus on economic remittances for neglecting key issues in the migration and development nexus: the development of the migrant, reasons for migration, and relations between migrants and the host society. Therefore, research methods in this case study were primarily qualitative in order to better address these questions. Furthermore, as a situationally-specific case study, qualitative research was constructive in finding features that made this model distinctive from generalised, larger development and diaspora narratives (Uwe, 2009:12). Interviews, ethnographic field study, and analysis of primary source documents were employed in this qualitative approach, as will be discussed below. Some quantitative data was used, particularly statistics from the Spanish National Institute, gathered to establish the size and demographic composition of African populations in Spain, to support academic theories about labour and trade diasporas.

Ethnographic Approach

An ethnographic approach was selected as a relevant and appropriate research method for facilitating detailed investigation into a single case study and as a flexible approach for *'exploring the nature of a particular social phenomenon'* – in this case diaspora associations and development – *'rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them'* (Atkinson & Hammersely, 1998:110-111). In this respect, ethnographic study has been noted to work with 'unstructured' data. Therefore, data collection was not restricted to a pre-defined set of analytic categories but followed Uwe's understanding of ethnographic field research:

'Ethnographic research involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research' (2009:233).

A key reason in selecting this ethnographic approach was the sensitivity of the research topics; migration, race and social cohesion. An informal and relaxed relationship was maintained between researcher and subjects in order to avoid influencing or intimidating ACASEAPS members and secure their participation in the research process.

Research was carried out in the field of Sanlúcar de Barrameda through participatory observation: attending the association's activities, visiting homes and market stalls of senior ACASEAPS members and observing interaction with Sanluqueños, and other members of the Senegalese community. All members were aware of my status as a researcher and interviews used a semi-structured, open-ended approach, taking notes after meetings where possible. As common with field-based study, the opportunity to ask questions and discover information about ACASEAPS often occurred spontaneously and naturally.

Example Questions from Interviews

1. What are the objectives of ACASEAPS?
2. How many members does ACASEAPS have?
3.Who joins ACASEAPS?
4. How does ACASEAPS raise funds?
5.Does ACASEAPS have partner organisations?

These questions were open-ended but raised certain key research topics such as membership base, developmental activities, and local community involvement.

Interview Techniques

Supporting the ethnographic approach of observation and field research, interviews followed Spradley's definition of *'friendly conversations'*, designed to build trust and rapport by introducing new elements and questions slowly to ensure co-operation (Uwe, 2009:169). Again the use of this method related to the sensitivity of the research topic and desire to make the interviewees feel comfortable and able to talk honestly about the association. By applying a flexible approach with interview questions provision was made for answers to arise organically from respondents, and be as free from interviewer-leading as possible. Achieving this openness while still addressing key research objectives relied upon Uwe's suggestion for ethnographers *'the interview should not try to discover theoretical concepts but the lifeworld of the interviewee'* (2009:172).

To distinguish interviews from *'friendly conversations'* two key figures in the association were approached for individual, scheduled interviews. Important research objectives were prepared

before the interviews and some questions pre-designed considering appropriate wording of questions so as to exclude overly-scientific or academic terminology. Interviews were conducted in Spanish and French. I was comfortable interviewing in these languages but also had support from a translator to ensure that nuances from Spanish questions and answers were noted.

Semi-structured interview methods were selected to ensure key research questions were answered, in the event of an open approach allowing interviewee digression. Secondly, semi-structured allowed greater comparability between the two interviews by considering different responses to the same questions.

Document Analysis

A final research method was the analysis of documents provided from the ACASEAPS archive. These included Senegalese government development reports, aims and missions of the association, and their external communication guides. All these documents were provided by the association, therefore the issue of internal bias and self-selection of materials was considered. However, as the case study concentrated on the communication of ACASEAPS' development and objectives in the broader Sanlúcar community, the use of these documents was appropriate, useful and representative. Access to photo and film sources was provided but image analysis was not necessary for the research aims of this thesis, rather it was the existence of such films, slideshows and photo displays that was of interest, in examining the external communication message and presentation of ACASEAPS.

Appendix 1

African country of origin	Population in Spain	Population in Andalucía
Angola	4176	333
Algeria	60008	6164
Benin	396	53
Burkina Faso	1123	176
Green Cape	4608	83
Cameroon	5857	371
Congo	2276	159
Ivory Coast	3151	389
Egypt	4118	472
Ethiopia	2768	201
The Gambia	18924	1106
Ghana	15028	2194
Guinea	12841	973
Equatorial Guinea	22735	881
Guinea-Bissau	6829	1869
Kenya	1349	350
Liberia	905	141
Mali	22937	4134
Morocco	754114	128948
Mauritania	11287	1683
Nigeria	38019	5160
Democratic rep. Congo	1576	65
Senegal	59578	9920
Sierra Leone	1111	87
South Africa	2467	570
Togo	479	85
Tunisia	2636	289
Rest of African countries	6166	889

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadístcia, available at: http://www.ine.es/welcoing.htm

Appendix 2

Senegalese Population by Gender

Gender	Spain	Andalucía
Men	50,522	8,853
Women	9,056	1,067
Total Population	59,578	9,920

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadístcia, available at: http://www.ine.es/welcoing.htm

Senegalese Population by Age

Age	Spain	Andalucía
0-15 years	2,431	237
15-19 years	2,259	257
20-24 years	5,839	1,197
25-29 years	11,671	2,328
30-34 years	13,199	2,243
35-39 years	10,113	1,576
40-44 years	6,190	914
45-49 years	3,785	552
50-54 years	2,427	368
55-59 years	1,061	166
60-64 years	359	45
65-69 years	141	19
70-74 years	54	7
75-79 years	29	7
80-84 years	8	3
85 years and over	2	1
Total Population	59,578	9,920

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadístcia, available at: http://www.ine.es/welcoing.htm

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Interviews

Interview with Arame Niang, Secretary of ACASEAPS, Tuesday 6th July 2010

Interview with Mbaye Diakhere Diouf, Creator of ACASEAPS, Tuesday 13th & Wednesday 14th July 2010

Informal interviews with members of ACASEAPS, as they arose during participatory observation of the association's activities, July 2010

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