Nature of views (indicate personal / on behalf of an organisation): The views expressed in this paper are on behalf of Africa Solidarity Centre Limited (Africa Centre) and its members and Jabbi Group Limited

Organisations (if applicable): Africa Centre and Jabbi Group Limited

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Freedom of Information: There are no aspects of our submission that is restricted for publication or sharing.

Date of Posting submission: 28th August 2018
1. Executive Summary

This submission contains the views of Africa Centre, which is an African diaspora led community and development organisation and Jabbi Group Limited, an African Diaspora business and management consultancy company registered in Dublin specialising in African Diaspora engagement in development and trade, promoting links between African and European countries.

The submission argues that:

- Although Ireland’s development policy has provided a useful framework for global development efforts and is generally considered to be effective, the current framework from an African diasporic perspective is still problematic in many respects which will be discussed further.
- In a time of increasingly more challenging migratory issues in many African countries, sharing development resources will bring significant advantages to the country of Ireland.
- Ireland is a champion in international development programmes on the global stage but has neglected to initiate these programmes to engage the members of the Irish African Diaspora on development even though our previous policies have committed to engage the African diaspora as a priority.

2. Introduction and Background Information of the Organisations

Africa Solidarity Centre Limited (Africa Centre) founded in 2001 is a registered charity under registration number CHY 14980 and a company limited by guarantee with a registration number 350740. The mission of the organisation is to facilitate the meaningful inclusion of African diaspora as equals in all social, political and economic aspects of Irish Life.

Africa Centre main objectives are to; (a) excel at community dialogue and inclusion with African diaspora in Ireland, (b) promote the inclusion of multiple African perspectives in development education in Ireland and globally (c) champion African Diaspora engagement in international development policies in Ireland pertaining but not limited to migration and development, sustainable livelihoods, entrepreneurship
and engaging women and youth (d) leading the Irish African diasporic discourse on policy and practice in Ireland and at the European level.

The Africa Centre is the leading African diaspora organisation in Ireland’s Development Education (DE) sector and some of our members are implementing development projects in African countries. The Africa Centre has made major contributions to development discourse, policy and practice in the last 17 years in Ireland, at a European level and at events hosted in African countries.

Jabbi Group Limited was founded in 2014 by Mbemba Jabbi, Gambian and Irish citizen who specialises in international development with interest in diaspora mobilization for development in their countries of residence and origin or descent. Jabbi Group has been working with diaspora groups in Ireland and at Europe level on development and entrepreneurship and carried out consultancies on diaspora engagement for development with diaspora organisations and platforms in the last four years. The company has also been engaging with some African Union activities in the last two years, especially on migration and development and policy reviews.

Africa Centre and Jabbi Group proposal to this policy submission will focus on three areas:

a. Acknowledging the current achievements and advocating for improvements
b. The relationship between Ireland’s development policy and the African diaspora in Ireland
c. What role the African diaspora can play in shaping development policy in Ireland and connecting it with African countries

3. What elements of Ireland’s international development experience should the new policy reflect?

Africa Centre and Jabbi Group acknowledges that the Irish government has given generously to aiding African governments and NGOs and Ireland has well-established links and good relationships with many African countries. It is now time to progress and further develop this positive relationship to incorporate equality,
trade and to strengthen the relationship with the African diaspora to engage in
development education in Ireland and international development with their countries
of origin. We believe that this approach will leverage increased impact from the
current Irish Aid ODA programme.

Progress has been made since the development of the One World One Future but
there are lessons to be learnt from the areas that have underperformed or been
ignored by the policy.

3.1. Ireland and the Sustainable Development Goals

From 2013 after the publication of the last Irish government policy for international
development (One World One Future), we have witnessed significant progress with
the MDGs and the role Ireland has taken in shaping the formation of the SDGs as
co-chaired with Kenya. In many Irish Aid priority countries, successes have been
recorded in achieving the MDGs when they ended in 2015 and much of this success
can be attributed to the support of Irish Aid projects.

For us, at Africa Centre and at Jabbi group we would like to see more government
funding for development education and allocate a funding stream for African
diaspora groups to engage and or develop their already development activities in
their countries of origin.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable
Development have provided new opportunities for Ireland to rethink of how to involve
the African diaspora in its development priorities, following the partly missed targets
of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that preceded them.

The SDGs are very important to the Africa Centre and Jabbi Group as we were part
of the process in their design and attended meeting with partner NGOs in shaping
them when Ireland co-chaired with Kenya and particularly the targets that are of
pertaining important to us are related to migration and development – ensuring safe,
orderly, and regular migration; limiting exploitation and abuse of migrants; reducing
the costs of sending remittances; and improving data – place diaspora engagement at the core of the development process.

While target 1 of the SDG is focuses on ending poverty, a way to achieve this from the African diasporic perspective is the subject of diaspora remittances which as suggested by the indicators is three times more than the official ODA sent to African countries. We should not forget that even though Africa Centre members and Jabbi Group send remittances to African countries we also contribute to Ireland ODA budget and making us double contributors to development.

Similarly, target 4 which is focused on ensuring healthy lives and specifically increasing the proportion of diaspora with equal access to health services in the destination country are areas where Africa Centre members work on either in Ireland on mental health and providing referral to members to access health care, but also investing in the countries of origin helping to improve health care services.

It is also noteworthy that target 8a positions fair labour for the Diaspora as an equally important foundation for the sustainable development agenda through the creation of decent work opportunities which contributes to remittance sending and financing for development, which in recent months we have seen many diaspora groups investing in community development project moving away from sending money to their families only. And target 12 stipulates improving data with a view to establishing diaspora networks to facilitate the circulation of knowledge, ideas and technology which is fundamental in capacity building, but also for the Africa Centre our power lies on our network for public information through our development education and youth activities.

We advocate that the African diaspora in Ireland should be considered not just a source of finance for development for achieving the STGs as NGOs and government officials always mentioned during events, aside from their tokenistic views of having us to dance and sing at events, but also as development partners.
While the diaspora may have the capacity and patriotic mindset to contribute to national development, concerted efforts must be made by all stakeholders to develop policy objectives that could facilitate diaspora mobilisation. And we hope that this policy paper will address the important opportunity missed not engaging African diaspora in development before.

3.2. Peace Keeping Missions

Around the world, Ireland has been recognised for their unreserved participation in UN and UN-supported peacekeeping missions in many African countries and are actively doing that without no hesitation when needed. Ireland as a country that hasn’t been a colonizer has contributed a lot to the recognition of the country as a peacemaker and we haven’t participated in any war as an invader compared to other western countries. We are “proud of being the only nation to have a continuous presence on UN and UN-mandated peace support operations since 1958, with Irish peacekeepers highly respected internationally” (Irish Aid Website 2018).

Africa Centre and Jabbi Group would like Ireland to commit more to this noble service but also offer assistance to emerging African countries that have experience years of civil unrest to help them strengthening their defence forces to deal with security issues. This will be a great opportunity for Ireland to bring stability to these countries and our role will not be seen as invaders or syphoning resources like other countries but facilitating an everlasting peace that these countries are hoping for. Ireland new development policy should also address arms trade to reduce wars and insecurities. Arms manufactured and sell to corrupt and unstable governments will always be used against vulnerable communities and most of the affected groups are women and children leading to more humanitarian situations that we might not be able to control.

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1 https://www.dfa.ie/our-role-policies/international-priorities/peace-and-security/peacekeeping/ Accessed 20th August 2018
3.3. **Expenditure in Public Information Through Development Education**

Development education has contributed a lot changing the narratives of how interconnected Ireland and the rest of the world has been and over equal responsibility in the fight against global inequality. This new policy on international development must maintain our commitment to quality development education for public engagement. We believe that development education should be one of the key priorities in this new development policy to facilitate our commitment to achieving the STGs and Irish Aid Development Education Strategy 2017 – 2023.

In the 2013 international development paper, it was mentioned that government “will also work closely with partners in Ireland, including NGOs and Diaspora organisations now living in Ireland, to promote increased awareness and public engagement through initiatives such as Africa Day (celebrated around the world on May 25th each year). We collectively need to communicate on global development in ways that convey the complexity surrounding poverty and inequality” (Irish Aid White Paper 2013:35).

Clearly stated but there has not been a fair balance on how Irish Aid development education funding has been awarded especially to the Africa Centre as an African diaspora led organisations. In fact, that policy paper was drawn just before Africa Centre lost its funding from Irish Aid in 2013 and the organisation were left to struggle with a European commission funding which Irish Aid clearly rejected to support and has affected the organisation since to recover. If we are going to be serious about our commitment to include southern voices in our public information we must change attitude towards diaspora organisations.

3.4. **Africa Liberation Day (Africa Day)**

The 2013 Irish Aid White Paper “One World One Future” also stated that Irish Aid would hold an annual day to celebrate Africa Day. To date, this day has been held with some successes in Dublin but has lost focus and has concentrated on aid and

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2 One World, One Future Ireland’s Policy for International Development 2013
the work of Irish Aid and NGOs in Africa than focusing on our mutual relationship to show Ireland’s role in Africa, but also what Africa is offering to its own development. This year Irish Aid organising the day has marked 10 years, however, the African diaspora in Ireland has been celebrating Africa Liberation Day in Ireland before Irish Aid came to the scene. The organisation of the day must be revisited to reflect a day on our commitment to a partnership with countries we work with than a Public Relation (PR) stunt. As a member of the organising committee, the Africa Centre do not know the budget of the day and has no knowledge of the tender process of awarding the contract to the organising company which are questions raised by the African diaspora groups.

In 2016 a member of the Africa Centre stated at our consultative meeting that “I remember attending a consultation meeting organised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Africa Day. The only thing they did was to present their ideas and plans, which they had already agreed upon. There was no room in the meeting for me to express my opinions. So, I was wondering, why are you inviting me?”

A similar sentiment would be felt by Africa Centre and Jabbi Group but because you have embassies and other organisation in the room already agreed to the plan, our views on the matter will only be problematic and not conforming to rules, but it’s something this new policy should look into how Africa Day is organised in Ireland especially when Irish Aid is very big on value for money and transparency.

A suggestion we highlighted in our submission to the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade and Defence on Irish Aid Programme was: 
Africa Centre suggests that Africa Day is organised by the Africa Centre and Irish Aid to give it more meaning to Ireland’s relationship with Africa rather than a charity focus and NGO driven day. The Africa Centre also recommends Irish Aid to allow the Africa Centre to be placed in a leading role as part of the organisation of the day. This role would primarily focus on mobilising African Diaspora groups to participate in the Africa day by way of cultural entertainment and informative sessions to everyone within the community. This participation should not be based on only
asking a representation on a working group when plans are already agreed upon without our knowledge, but to engage in the decision-making process and be listen to as well. This has the potential to demonstrate the opportunities of which Africa holds for them. By supporting and strengthening Africa Centre member groups, Africa Day would receive a new lease on life. It is crucial that members of the media are informed of the relevance of events that take place on Africa Day and that they have access to accurate and relevant information surrounding the events on the day in general.

3.5. Africa Strategy 2011- Ireland and Africa: Our Partnership with a Changing Continent

The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade introduced a strategy: Ireland and Africa: Our Partnership with a Changing Continent (DFA & Trade 2011). The strategy outlined seeks to create new investment and trade links with African countries building on our strong existing relationships.

The then Tánaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Eamon Gilmore TD introducing the strategy stated:

“The time is now ripe for us to turn a new page in our relationship with Africa, and in doing so to recognise the way in which African countries have progressed and matured and how our approach to African countries must, in the same way, progress and mature. The strategy recognises that as Africa’s economy grows it will need solutions and goods and services that it cannot produce itself, that demand for goods and services is growing from African countries and that Irish-based companies are well-placed to play a greater role in Africa.” (ibid 2011:3)

The strategy when you read it highlighted the creation of new investment and open trade links with African countries building on our strong existing relationships.

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3 Africa Centre submission to the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade and Defence on Irish Aid Programme
We feel that the trade links with African countries haven’t developed as outlined in this policy. The trade between Ireland and African continent hasn’t been mutual, because what we see is the promotion of Irish businesses in Africa and not African businesses in Ireland as we would expect. The Africa Ireland Economic Forum (AIEF) has contributed to promoting African business sector in Ireland but it only stops at the talking state and very low movement of African products in Ireland as we expected that the gathering would have facilitated. In our submission to the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade and Defence on Irish Aid Programme in 2017, we stated that:

_We feel that this trading link should be based on mutual benefit and balance and not only to promote trade for Irish businesses to African countries but facilitating ways for African businesses to access Irish and European markets. Irish Aid needs to make sure that in building this relationship Irish businesses comply with corporate socially responsible when investing in Africa and be tax compliant. This should be the case also for Irish NGOs, whose migrant workers in African countries are not tax compliant. The new policy should address the lack of Irish Aid funded NGO workers who are not paying their tax liabilities to African Governments._

As we make this submission, we don’t know of any Irish NGO, whose migrant workers are paying tax on their income in any African countries

It is not just Ireland’s aid programme that impacts on international development, but also our policies and actions more widely. So, while the 2011 strategy mentioning the links with Africa promoting trade, the policy fell short in its implementation. We now have an opportunity to incorporate 2011 strategy into this new policy in a more meaningful and realistic way that will give both benefits, engaging the African diaspora entrepreneurs on trade with their countries of origin shaping a more equal relationship between Ireland and the African continent.

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5 Africa Centre submission to the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade and Defence on Irish Aid Programme
We are confident that the importance attached to the consultation for this policy and recent shift of direction as evidenced by Tánaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade Simon Coveney T.D, speech titled “Ireland and Africa – a rich relationship” at the Institute for International and European Affairs (IIEA) on 13th July 2018, are all indication that Ireland is ready to take centre stage in international development but also reshaping its relationship with Africa better.

4. **What are the implications of the changing global context for Ireland’s international development cooperation and humanitarian action?**

Much has changed within Irish society in the last 5 years since the last development policy One World One Future was drawn in 2013. The diversity of Ireland as a country has reached record high according to the 2016 census, which is one of the highest in Europe. It is important that this diversity is fully understood, respected and indeed in many instances utilised. Many of these people not born here are actively involved in development work in their countries of origin as an individual or as a community. They also provide a percentage of Irish Aid budget with an ideal resource as taxpayers and it is vital that their contribution is fully recognised, not only attending Africa Day events but informed the making of the event and offer them opportunities to participate in international development.

Most Africans living in Ireland are not only taxpayers but are also sending remittance home to families and friends, which makes them double contributors to sustainable development in their countries of origin and there is a greater need to be engaged in the development discourse in Ireland.

4.1. **The Role of Ireland’s African Diaspora in Development Policy**

Ireland international has been credited for meaningful engagement with its diaspora globally, but this is not the case of the diaspora living in Ireland, especially the African diaspora. Of the population of Ireland, over 17% of its residents were born

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6 Diversity of people living in Ireland
outside the country, this percentage represents 535,475 people as stated in the 2016 census figures. Of those residents, over 70,000 are now people of African descent and this proportion hasn’t reflected in Ireland development policy direction.

Members of the African diaspora hold crucial expertise and insights that could greatly increase the public information on the effectiveness of aid if they are engaged, which is increasingly important given the changing economic profile of the country. For this reason, the Africa Centre needs to be fully supported by Irish Aid not only to fund its Development Education activities but fund it to develop its capacity to facilitate the Africa diaspora communities to engage them on development activities here in Ireland and in their countries of origin.

To facilitate diaspora contribution to development of countries of origin, Ireland also needs to establish specific funding for diaspora development (Diaspora Development Fund) outside main civil society and development education funding. Irish Aid can explore this more with their counterparts in DFID (UK development fund through Comic Relief\(^7\)) and French Development Agency funding for diaspora groups through FORIM\(^8\), just to name a few.

4.2. **Growing African Diaspora Diplomacy with their Countries of Origin**

The nation-building process also relies on social and political dialogue, advocacy and awareness, and stability for sustainable development. African governments have recognised the need to engage their diaspora by providing an enabling environment for potential contributions of the latter. This includes creating economic and social linkages, accelerating structural reforms and providing incentives.

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\(^8\) FORIM - French Government Diaspora Funding [https://www.forim.net/contenu/praosim-0](https://www.forim.net/contenu/praosim-0) Accessed on the 28th August 2018
The African Union considered the African diaspora as the sixth region of the continent as many African countries adopted the same idea regarding their diaspora as a region, but also offering them diplomatic services abroad. Ireland should find a way to work with the African diaspora here to cement relationship with their countries of origin as many of us are working closely with African governments.

In recent years we have seen Irish-Africans taken higher positions in African governments and these are good examples of diaspora diplomacy to be incorporate into the new policy.

4.3. **Diaspora Remittance Flows to Countries of Origin**

African diaspora remittance sent to countries of origin is far more than the development aid received by those countries in any given time. It is estimated that Remittances to Sub-Saharan Africa accelerated 11.4 percent to $38 billion in 2017, supported by improving economic growth in advanced economies and higher oil prices benefiting regional economies.

Diaspora remittances and financial contributions are well mobilised through various instruments including, but not limited to, bonds, securitised remittances, and special banking arrangements, diasporas are facing high cost of sending money from countries like Ireland. However, the challenge for reaching the SDG 10C of reducing the cost of remittance is still high. “The global average cost of sending $200 was 7.1 percent in the first quarter of 2018, more than twice as high as the Sustainable Development Goal target of 3 percent. Sub-Saharan Africa remains the most expensive place to send money to, where the average cost is 9.4 percent (World Bank Press Release on April 23rd 2018). The new policy must address to reduce

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9 Draft African Diaspora programme of Action


the cost of remittance for diaspora efforts contributing to sustainable development in countries of origin.

4.4. **The Development of Inter-Regional Trade and Opening of Trade Opportunities Between African Countries**

The organisation of the Africa Ireland Economic Forum (AIEF) is great but a deeper engagement on trade relations with Africa needs to be formulated. This includes making it easier for Africans to get the necessary visas to enter the country on trade missions and offer opportunities for diaspora businesses linking Ireland to African countries. There are already trade agreements developing on the African continent for African countries to trade with each other and when all these are finalised, without proper structures in place promoting trade between Ireland and African countries, Ireland will be losing and now is the time to develop these partnerships with mutual benefit before it is too late.

> “Currently intra-Africa trade accounts for only 12% of Africa’s total trade – compared to 60% in Western Europe. There are interesting moves afoot to eliminate barriers to free trade across the continent – a summit in Kigali last March agreed to launch the African Continental Free Trade Area, the largest such area agreed since the formation of the WTO” (Tánaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade Simon Coveney T.D, 13th July 2018)

4.5. **Migration and Development Discussion Missing in Ireland**

Even though migration is not often viewed negatively in Ireland due to our own past migrating, the debate on migration and development is lacking within the development circles. The Irish government is engaged on the Global Compact for Migration (GCM) but there is no involvement of diaspora organisations. The Africa centre and Jabbi Group have been involved on GCM discussions around Europe funded by the German and Swiss governments through GIZ and Swiss Agency for

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Development. It was a missed opportunity, African diaspora are not engaging by 
Irish government on GCM, which can be of useful negotiation with their European counterparts.

It is for this reason that the Africa Centre and Jabbi Group advocates for the voice of 
the African diaspora to be included in development policy planning on migration in 
Europe, especially on GCM. It is our opinion that well-managed migration policies 
would bring about a huge difference to the migration crises happening now. This 
development policy should highlight the need for African diaspora engagement on 
the Global Compact for Migration and our presence can be deterring factor to silence 
the critics.

4.6. The Chinese Approach to Development in African Countries

One of the challenges facing Ireland and many European countries with regards to 
development or trade with African countries is the emerging of China in Africa.

What China is offering to Africa countries towards their infrastructural development is 
not addressed by international aid. In Ireland many do not see infrastructural 
development, investment or trade as a priority for African countries. For some, they 
think African countries should not be developed as Ireland as they think that is not 
sustainable, but what if that is what is needed in African countries to cater the needs 
for the growing population.

China is winning the hearts and minds of many in African countries based on the 
evidence that “in Africa, … China had lent at least $95.5 billion between 2000 and 
2015. It has been noticed that Chinese loans … were performing a useful service: 
financing Africa’s serious infrastructure gap. On a continent where over 600 million 
Africans have no access to electricity, 40 per cent of the Chinese loans paid for
power generation and transmission. Another 30 per cent went to modernizing Africa’s crumbling transport infrastructure” (Deborah Bräutigam, 2018).  

The challenge for Ireland is not only China but most of the emerging economies like Brazil, Russia, India and South Africa, the BRICS). The BRICS are also keen on influencing political processes in Africa and we need to be mindful of that. Like Ireland, China is the highest contributor of peacekeepers amongst the members of the UN Security Council, with many operations in Africa and this is also a motivating factor for Chinese influence. For us our experience in peace keeping, agricultural, high performance in science and technology and foreign direct investment are our selling points to African countries incorporate all these into our development policy to influence the needed development to addressed high youth employment and lack of infrastructural development.

5. Do the proposed priorities respond to the changing context and contribute to the achievement of our vision of a more equal, peaceful, sustainable world?

The proposed priorities are very important for Ireland to consider in its development policy. Ireland has many instruments to promote participation of the Irish African diaspora in shaping our development programme and help shape democracy, peace and economic development in Africa countries through our development policy. It thus has a range of options to respond to the increasing development need in Africa countries in collaboration with the Africa Centre, Jabbi Group and other African diaspora groups in Ireland.

First, Ireland needs to recognise the presence of its African diaspora as partners in development, especially when these are groups of people coming from a continent where you have most of your partner countries.

13 The WorldPost, U.S. politicians get China in Africa all wrong, Deborah Bräutigam April 12th 2018
Second, Ireland development policy needs to shift from donor driven to partnership building, looking at the needs of the African countries by building alliances in entrepreneurship, science and innovation and facilitate African diaspora engagement in every aspect of its development policy. Ireland should also encourage more Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) as a development policy more in African countries, create a financial mechanism to support Irish companies (including the African diaspora ones) and continue to make them uphold high standards of corporate social responsibility.

Finally, Ireland is doing it through the Africa Ireland Economic Forum (AIEF), but we should continue facilitating cooperation between African and Irish businesses, building the manufacturing sectors in African countries as opposed to only producing raw materials.

6. How can we improve delivery of Ireland’s international development cooperation and humanitarian action?

For the Africa Centre and Jabbi Group, we strongly believe that putting the African Diaspora at the Centre of Ireland Development Policy will improve the delivery of our international development. The African diaspora knows better African countries than the NGOs and government departments.

We need to have confidence in the African diaspora, they are citizens here and some are dual citizens. Africa diaspora are engaging in reshaping the politics in African countries and some will go back to assume positions in high offices which is already happening, and we need to grab the opportunity before it is too late.

We must support capacity development and skills transfers for the diaspora because at times they are the forerunners of development quicker than our NGO community. We know as diaspora that we have galvanised public-private partnerships (PPPs) in sectors where such expertise is not locally available and evidence of that was during the Ebola epidemic. Sierra Leonean diaspora health workers quickly volunteered by working with public health officials to provide cultural awareness training for anyone
travelling to Sierra Leone at the time and they didn’t wait for donors to give them financial assistance. This is one of the many stores that diaspora can do without donor money. We do need to work with diaspora groups at every stage of international development because the funding or resources we alienate them getting is their money too.