

UNTAPPED POTENTIAL:

Engaging Basotho diasporas in the South for national development

Lulessa Abadura Brigitte Fahrenhorst Frank Zelazny

EcoDevelopment - Society for International Development Research and Planning Ltd.







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Research Report

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ACP Observatory on Migration

The ACP Observatory on Migration is an initiative of the Secretariat of the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group of States, funded by the European Union, implemented by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in a Consortium with 15 partners and with the financial support of Switzerland, IOM, the IOM Development Fund and UNFPA. Established in 2010, the ACP Observatory is an institution designed to produce data on South–South ACP migration for migrants, civil society and policymakers and enhance research capacities in ACP countries for the improvement of the situation of migrants and the strengthening of the migration–development nexus.

The Observatory was established to facilitate the creation of a network of research institutions and experts on migration research. Activities are starting in 12 pilot countries and will be progressively extended to other interested ACP countries. The 12 pilot countries are: Angola, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Haiti, Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Senegal, Timor-Leste, Trinidad and Tobago and the United Republic of Tanzania.

The Observatory has launched research and capacity-building activities on South–South migration and development issues. Through these activities, the ACP Observatory aims to address many issues that are becoming increasingly important for the ACP Group as part of the migration–development nexus. Documents and other research outputs and capacity-building manuals can be accessed and downloaded free of charge through the Observatory's website (www.acpmigration-obs.org). Other upcoming publications and information on the Observatory's activities will be posted online.

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Table of contents

Lis	t of	acronyms	۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۰۱
Lis	t of	tables and figures	vi
Ex	ecut	ive summary	1
1.		oduction and background Objectives and methodology	
	1.2	The challenges of an online study	3
2.	2.1	otho migration profile Literature review The Lesotho migration context	5
3.	3.1 3.2	otho diasporas in the South	19 22
4.	4.1	need for a diaspora policy framework in Lesotho Voices from the interviews Diaspora-related activities of Lesotho embassies	27
5.	5.1 5.2	Ommendations for a diaspora policy Characteristics of a diaspora policy Elements of a diaspora Policy Policy coherence: The role of stakeholders	33 36
6.	Con	nclusions	57
7.	Bibl	liographical references	59
Δn	nex	Interviewed nartners in Lesotho	65

List of acronyms

ACP Africa, Caribbean and Pacific

ATM Automatic Teller Machine

CARICOM Caribbean Community

CBOs Community Based Organizations
CFO Commission on Filipinos Overseas

CSOs Civil society organizations

DFID Department for International Development

EAC East African Community

ECCAS Economic Community of the Central African States
ECOWAS Economic Community of the West African States

HIV Human immunodeficiency virus

ID Identity Card

IFAD International Fund for Agricultural Development

IOM International Organization for Migration

LCN Lesotho Council of NGOs

LDA Lesotho Diaspora Alliance

LDS Lesotho Demographic Survey

LSE London School of Economics

MAPS Migration and Poverty Survey

MARS Migration And Remittances Survey

MIDA Migration for Development in Africa

MPI Migration Policy Institute

NMDS National Manpower Development Secretariat

NGOs Non-governmental Organizations

NUL National University of Lesotho

ODA Official Development Assistance

PIHS Partners in Health Sciences (University of Arkansas for Medical

Sciences program)

RQN Return of Qualified Nationals

RSA Republic of South Africa

PIHS Partners in Health Sciences (University of Arkansas for Medical

Sciences program)

RQN Return of Qualified Nationals

SADC Southern African Development Community

SADN South African Diaspora Network
SAMP South African Migration Project

SANSA South African Network of Skills Abroad

SELMIG Selective Migration Programme
TEBA The Employment Bureau of Africa

TOKTEN Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals

ToRs Terms of Reference
TU Technical University
UK United Kingdom

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

US United States

WHO World Health Organization

List of tables and figures

Tables	
Table 1:	Percentage distribution of Lesotho citizens outside the country, by age group and country of residence
Table 2:	Distribution of Lesotho citizens outside the country, by country of residence and sex
Table 3:	Distribution of Lesotho citizens outside the country, by country of residence and duration of stay outside the country
Table 4:	Percentage distribution of Lesotho citizens outside the country, by age group and sex
Table 5:	Percentage distribution of Lesotho citizens outside the country, by employment status and country/region of residence
Table 6:	Flow of remittances to Lesotho (USD millions)
Figures	
Figure 1:	The enabling role of a diaspora policy
Figure 2:	The partnership and inclusive role of a diaspora policy
Figure 3:	The catalytic role of a diaspora policy
Figure 4:	Roadmap for the Lesotho Government to develop a diaspora policy
Figure 5:	The roles and responsibilities of stakeholders

Executive summary

Lesotho's emigrants send a high volume of remittances home, which are used primarily by their family members to finance the daily expenses of their families or some investments. However, currently these funds are not collectively invested in human development in Lesotho by Basotho emigrants.

The Government of Lesotho plans to develop a national migration policy. Such a policy would be a necessary first step to national migration governance, but may not be sufficient for the country to fully engage their diaspora and enjoy the positive energy of emigrants continuing to care and be invested in the human development of the country. In this sense, the development of a specific diaspora policy would be essential.

This study proposes several key elements of a diaspora policy. First of all, it should have an enabling character emphasizing support for the diaspora and offering attractions to return and invest in Lesotho. Secondly, it should encourage partnership, expressing an understanding of the diaspora as a development partner. Last but not least, it should have a catalytic character, promoting a positive understanding of the diaspora and its activities (lonescu, 2006).

Taking into account the experiences and lessons learned from other countries as well as the IOM/MPI Handbook (Agunias, D. R. and K. Newland, 2012) and IOM paper on engaging the diaspora (Ionescu, 2006) and adapting them to the specific needs of Lesotho, the authors formulated the following key elements for a diaspora policy to be drafted for Lesotho:

- Understanding and honouring the diaspora as a development actor by building trust and organizing events that celebrate the efforts the diaspora;
- Organizing diaspora associations supported by embassies and civil society organizations (CSOs);
- Integrating the diaspora in development strategies by providing information on development goals and projects and attracting the diaspora to join in;
- Offering dual citizenship or at a minimum a special "yellow card" to protect diaspora citizens' rights, making the transnational character of the diaspora legally acceptable and allowing the diaspora to openly invest in development;
- Providing information on human development-related investments in order to attract and enable the participation of the diaspora in development

projects; providing easy access to information such as establishing so-called one-stop-offices; offering diaspora bonds;

- Lowering remittances transfer fees, introducing cost-free money transfer systems, similar to a kind of TEBA bank for all migrants, in order to reduce the financial burden of money transfers made by the diaspora;
- Alleviating taxes or custom fees for importing goods and equipment, in order to attract investments made by the diaspora and to attract the diaspora to return to Lesotho;
- Offering skills transfer programmes in order to engage the diaspora in circular migration providing professional know-how and experiences to institutions in Lesotho which are suffering from a lack of highly skilled staff;
- Negotiating transfer of social benefits (like pension funds) in order to allow the diaspora to return after retirement without losing benefits acquired abroad;
- Organizing local CSOs in rural areas as collective recipients of collective investments in human development and linking diaspora associations with local CSOs in order to promote collective rural development that goes beyond promoting benefits to individuals;
- Offering funds for topping-up diaspora investments or development aid, such as those provided by most governments in the Northern countries, which can help to promote the diaspora to act collectively and may attract their engagement in human development;
- Allowing foreign currency bank accounts in order to attract the diaspora to deposit savings in Lesotho;
- Offering investment incentives, such as land, in order to attract diaspora engagement.

A diaspora policy may extend to different political sectors and involve various stakeholders: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of Home Affairs, of Labour and Employment, of Finance and Development Planning, of Health and Education as well as the Central Bureau of Statistics, the Central Bank, the Lesotho National Development Corporation, the National University, the Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the international community. To emphasize the importance of diaspora policy for the economic and human development and to promote policy coherence, a central institution should be established as an interministerial and multi-stakeholder commission for diaspora Issues.

I. Introduction and background

I.I Objectives and methodology

The present study was conducted by researchers experienced in diaspora research and with personal experiences as diaspora members. The report proposes a set of key recommendations suggesting a short- and long-term policy strategy allowing the Government of Lesotho to sustain and foster the contribution of Basotho diaspora members to the human development of the country.

The objectives of the study, as formulated by the ACP Observatory on Migration, were to contribute to a better understanding of the contributions made by Lesotho's diaspora members to the human development in their home country; to provide evidence-based information to inform programmes and policies aimed at sustaining and enhancing the involvement of Basotho diaspora members; to look beyond the impact of the financial flows in order to better seize and benefit from the social, cultural, human capital and technical potential of engaging Basotho diaspora members.

Desk research was carried out for purposes of the literature review. In addition, three different interview questionnaires were developed by the authors: one for face-to- face interviews with stakeholders in Lesotho, with staff of Embassy of Lesotho in Ethiopia and in South Africa and with Basotho migrants themselves. In addition, an online survey was developed for Basotho migrants living abroad in countries in the South. The interviews followed a semi-structured guideline comprising of a number of questions but leaving space for a free conversation as well.

Due to challenges with the online survey, the research findings are based on the face-to-face interviews conducted with 21 stakeholders in Lesotho, 2 face-to-face interviews with the Lesotho Embassy and United Nations staff in Ethiopia and South Africa as well as 5 online questionnaires completed by Basotho diaspora members working at the United Nations or the African Union. The statistics presented chapter 2 were kindly provided by the Lesotho National Bureau of Statistics.

1.2 The challenges of an online study

During their fieldwork, the authors discovered that distributing online questionnaires was not the right tool to establish contact with Basotho migrants. Getting in touch with Basotho migrants proved difficult for several reasons, including the emigration of those leaving Lesotho to work in mines in

South Africa is officially registered. The Ministry of Labour informed the authors that many of these mine workers were illiterate or not using internet services, making online surveys impossible. Ultimately, the authors were only able to reach three embassies¹ and 14 Basotho living abroad. Of those contacted, only those Basotho migrants with whom the research team met personally or approached via personal contacts responded to questionnaires. In total, only five questionnaires were completed. All five survey respondents were employed with the United Nations or the African Union. For future research on this topic, it is important to keep in mind that face-to-face interviews are necessary for adequate data collection, rather than online surveys.

1.3 Structure and results of the study

Chapter 2 provides an overview of emigration from and immigration to Lesotho — the Lesotho migration profile. The first part of the chapter looks deeper into the literature available, summarizing the most important information on Lesotho to be drawn from it. The second part of the chapter is based on personal interviews conducted with relevant stakeholders in October 2012 and on statistics produced by the Lesotho Central Bureau of Statistics, principally the Lesotho Demographic Survey 2011. For the face-to-face interviews all relevant government agencies and offices, the Central Bank, the National University of Lesotho (NUL), the Lesotho Nation Development Corporation, the Lesotho Council of NGOs (LCN) as well as relevant consultants and international organizations (see Annex 1).

Chapter 3 describes the need for a diaspora policy framework in Lesotho. The first section presents the results of interviews with relevant stakeholders on the need for a policy framework addressing migration from Lesotho. The second section describes the activities of the Lesotho Embassy in South Africa to attract Basotho migrants to join a diaspora association promoting development back home.

Chapter 4 elaborates recommendations for elements of a diaspora policy based on lessons learned as well as IOM and Migration Policy Institute (MPI) *Handbook for Policy Makers and Practitioners in Home and Host Countries* (Agunias and Newland, 2012) as well as a study conducted on behalf of IOM (Ionescu, 2006). The chapter is divided into a section highlighting relevant lessons learned from other countries and one with specific recommendations for Lesotho.

¹ The Lesotho High Commission in Pretoria as well as the Consul and Embassy in Ethiopia were contacted seeking support regarding contacts to Basotho migrants. In addition, the Lesotho Embassy in Germany was contacted seeking general support.

2. Lesotho migration profile

This chapter provides an overview of emigration from and immigration to Lesotho. The first section gives an overview and analysis of the available literature on migration in Lesotho, while the second is based on personal interviews conducted by the research team in October 2012. All relevant government agencies and offices, including the Central Bank, the NUL, the LCN, the Lesotho National Development Corporation as well as relevant consultants, international organizations and the ACP Observatory on Migration were visited (see Annex 1).

2.1 Literature review

Research on the migration-development nexus has received increasing attention over the last decade. Many studies have highlighted remittances as the major contribution of diasporas to development, with remittances being transferred from migrants' host countries in the North to their countries of origin in the South. Nevertheless, the literature on Basotho migration is not comprehensive. Statistics on migration from Lesotho and its impact can be confusing as different data is cited depending on the researcher. In several studies, only selected samples of migrants' households or migrants were interviewed, and the data collected is not always representative for the whole country over a long period of time as the results of such studies differ. Others surveyed large numbers of households but do not include all aspects of migration by concentrating on the impact of remittances to the local household management only.² Research on South-South migration and its contribution to human development in Africa has just emerged within the last years but has more or less neglected Lesotho with one exception, namely an ACP Observatory on Migration study on remittances (Nalane, et al., 2012).

Some research does exist on the relationship between migration, development and, to some extent, remittances in Lesotho before this trend started to catch the attention of established development institutions like the World Bank (Cobbe, 1976; Van der Wiel, 1977; Spiegel, 1979 and 1980; Murray, 1981; Cobbe, 1982; Gustafsson and Makonnen, 1993; Spaareboom and Sparreboom-

^{2 &}quot;A large number of studies have been conducted in Lesotho to investigate the relationship between remittance inflows and development. Even though these studies relied on representative surveys, which provided valuable insights on the developmental impact of remittances in the country, they do not provide a comprehensive or dynamic picture" (Nalane, et al., 2012:15).

Burger, 1995). Most of these studies concentrated on the socioeconomic impact of migration at the household level and often gave attention to the impact of labour migration on Lesotho women or families (especially Gay, 1980a and 1980b; Gordon, 1981; Murray, 1981; Wright, 1993; Gordon, 1994; Sweetman, 1995). At that time, the researchers perceived Lesotho primarily as a labour reserve for South African mining (Crush and Namasasu, 1985; Wilkinson, 1985; Holland and Carvalho, 1987). Subsequently, attention was principally given to Lesotho—South Africa relations, while neglecting other ACP countries. Research tended to focus on the socioeconomic costs and dependency of Lesotho on South Africa, rather than on the potential that migration held for the development of Lesotho (especially Cobbe, 1976; Bardill and Cobbe, 1985).

More recently, the South African Migration Project (SAMP), founded in 1996, published most of the literature concerning migration and Lesotho (including Secheba Consultants, 1996; Gay, 2000; Kynoch and Ulicki, 2001; Crush, 2002; Crush et al., 2010). In order to promote awareness of the migrationdevelopment nexus in the SADC region, SAMP devised the Migration and Remittances Survey (MARS), a multi-country research initiative in order to provide data on remittance flows and usage at the household level for the SADC countries Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Lesotho. In 2005, the MARS collected random household data (focusing only on cross-border migrants whose main destination was South Africa) as well as data on individuals, making a total of 4,700 households and 30,000 people. The MARS was first summarized in one comparative study between the respective countries (Pendleton et al., 2006) and included some data that are relevant in the context of the present study (like data on mutual migrant destinations and intra-regional remittances flows). Though the MARS was a big step towards evidence-based research in this field, the sample of 4,700 households could barely represent the scale of South-South Migration in the SADC region. The scale was not sufficiently large and the research not sufficiently specific to allow in-depth statements on special issues like gender (see Hughes, 2007:26).

The following research of the SAMP initiative was realized in the form of separate country studies with more attention paid to their relation with South Africa and less to relationships among each other, not to mention with Lesotho. In this respect, MARS also provided the quantitative data for the SAMP survey on migration, remittances and development in Lesotho which was supplemented by qualitative interviews conducted by Sechaba Consultants in 2008–2009 in Lesotho (Crush, 2010). Although Sechaba Consultants were working for the SAMP studies as collectors of data, the literature review yielded no evidence for an independent Lesotho-based research on the given topic.

The 2010 SAMP study on Lesotho, like other existing studies and statistics recently published (Montclos, 2005; Pendleton et al., 2006; the World Bank, 2011), focused mainly on the amount, frequency, usage and impact of remittances at the household level. Furthermore, it gave some policy advice without deeper analysis of the political and policy context in either Lesotho or South Africa. Through a study on analysing the remittance policy framework in Lesotho, the ACP Observatory on Migration began to fill this research gap (see Nalane et al, 2012). The 2010 SAMP study on Lesotho made use of the formerly collected MARS data, combining them with its national Migration and Poverty Survey (MAPS) (which was conducted in 2006 and covered all households in Lesotho). By looking primarily into the remittances issue, the ACP Observatory study is a continuation of the SAMP Lesotho study of 2010 but goes beyond the household level by analysing policies and conducting 29 interviews with respective stakeholders. The research led to several policy recommendations, like the development of a comprehensive remittance policy. In summary, the studies of SAMP remained largely South Africa-centred as the majority of Basotho migrants are found there. South-South migration links between the other SADC countries and Lesotho still need to be researched.

Traditionally, migration from Lesotho has been studied from the perspective of brain drain and of coping strategies for poor or HIV-affected households in Lesotho (see Romero-Daza and Himmelgreen, 2002; Ouchu, 2002; Ansell and van Blerk, 2004; Green, 2006; Crush et al., 2010; Cobbe, 2012) and has not taken the perspective of migration as a potential driver of development. Forward-looking questions on how to improve investment by the Basotho diaspora into human development in Lesotho are, therefore, rarely raised in past research, which is mainly occupied with critically analysing the economic poverty, inequality and exploitation of Lesotho mining workers in South Africa. The political dimension of migration, remittances and development (for example, impact of migration policy on diaspora activities) was hardly covered, although some researchers took a critical look into the South Africa-Lesotho border issue (see Gay, 2000; Coplan, 2001; Kynach and Ulicki, 2001; Crush, 2002; Steinberg, 2005). The Nalane et al. (2012) study may be considered an exception due to providing explicit policy recommendations on how to better facilitate remittances inflows and leverage remittances for development in Lesotho. However, it also reflects the strong economic and financial bias (see also Bester et al, 2010; Motelle, 2011) of most of the research.

Though social issues like gender relations and feminization of migration were taken into account (see Pule and Matlosa, 2000; Hughes, 2007; Crush, 2010;

Chaka, 2011), the social and cultural dimension of migration (such as the question of identity) remains by far underrepresented in the literature. This equally applies to anthropological research. For example, there is only one study available looking into Lesotho migrants' social networks in South Africa (Molathe, 2010), and it lacks surveys about organizational structures of the Basotho diaspora that are not related to formal mine workers' associations.

Although the SADC Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons was signed by six heads of state at the Gaborone Summit in August 2005, there is still no research on its regional, national and local impact on migration, trade, remittances and development. There is researchthat examines as a central theme the contribution of the diaspora living in other ACP countries to Lesotho's human development. This can be interpreted as a research gap. On the other hand, the existing data indicate that, due to low number of Basotho migrants known to be living in other ACP countries, there was little research need up to now until the Lesotho government has taken the initiative identifying diaspora issues as a research priority.

2.1 The Lesotho migration context

Emigration from Lesotho

According to the Lesotho Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Population Statistics Division, the population of Lesotho in 2011 was 1,894,194, with 934,357 females and 959,837 males (Interview, 3 October 2012). In 2011, there were 135,285 Basotho citizens living abroad, making up 14 per cent of the total population. The vast majority were registered in the South Africa as Table 1 shows, while merely 126 Lesotho citizens were in Swaziland and 123 in Botswana. Tanzania and Zambia hosted less than 30 and 40 Basotho migrants, respectively in 2011. In all other African countries, less than 30 Basotho migrants were registered (see Table 1).

Percentage distribution of Lesotho citizens outside the country, by age group and country of residence

Table 1:

				3	ountry of	Country of residence				
Age	South	Swazi- land	Bot-	Zambia	Tan-	Other Africa	America	Asia	Europe	Total in %
00 – 04	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4
05 – 09	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0:0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
10 - 14	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7
15 - 19	4.2	0.0	14.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	56.4	0.0	0.0	4.2
20 – 24	13.4	18.3	0.0	38.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.3
25 – 29	18.2	16.7	0.0	61.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	70.0	14.8	18.2
30 - 34	15.3	22.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	30.0	31.5	15.3
35 – 39	11.7	15.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	29.6	11.7
40 – 44	8.8	14.3	39.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	8.8
45 – 49	8.3	13.5	27.6	0.0	100	100.0	23.1	0.0	0.0	8.3
50 - 54	6.9	0.0	18.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.5	0.0	0.0	6.9
55 - 59	4.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.4	4.3
60 - 64	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
65 - 69	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
70 – 74	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
75 – 79	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
80 - 84	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
More than 85	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Total in numbers	134,773	126	123	39	27	24	82	40	54	135,285

Source: Lesotho Demographic Survey 2011.

Table 2 shows the percentage of the migrants by sex. There are nearly twice as many male migrants as there are female.

Table 2: Distribution of Lesotho citizens outside the country, by country of residence and sex

	Sex				
Country of residence	Male	Female			
South Africa	86,513	48,080			
Swaziland	67	59			
Botswana	78	45			
Zambia	15	24			
Tanzania	27	0			
Other Africa	24	0			
America	16	61			
Asia	40	0			
Europe	17	37			
Unknown	103	78			
Total in numbers	86,900	48,384			

Source: Lesotho Demographic Survey 2011.

According to these figures provided by the Lesotho Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Population Statistics Division, most migrants stay outside the country for less than one year. Farm and mine workers are required to return after 12 months to extend their permission to work.³ Although the Bureau of Statistics counts farm and mine workers with these one year contracts as staying for one year, their contracts are regularly extended. In addition, many Basotho working in South Africa stay indefinitely, often becoming permanent residents and returning only after retirement⁴ (Interview with Ministry of Labour, 4 October 2012 and interview with National Manpower Development Secretariat, 5 October 2012). Professionals (teachers, doctors, nurses, among others) often acquire South African citizenship. Especially after the South African liberation from apartheid, the African National Congress (ANC) encouraged the migrants to take up South African citizenship.

³ The Lesotho Labour Code Decision No. 24 requires them to return once a year; Interview with the Ministry of Labour and Employment, 3 Oct. 2012.

⁴ There is a South African pension fund for mine workers, the Mine Workers Provident Fund

Table 3 shows the duration of stay of the migrants outside of Lesotho.

Table 3: Distribution of Lesotho citizens outside the country, by country of residence and duration of stay outside the country

		D	uration o	of stay ir	n foreign c	ountry		
Country of residence	Less than 1 year	1 to 3 years	4 to 6 years	7 to 9 years	10 to 12 years	13 to 15 years	35 years	Un- known
South Africa	114,142	16,855	1,757	531	1,068	242	0	0
Swaziland	72	54	0	0	0	0	0	0
Botswana	96	27	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zambia	24	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tanzania	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Africa	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
America	17	44	0	0	0	0	16	0
Asia	28	0	0	0	12	0	0	0
Europe	37	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	113	22	0	0	0	0	0	46
Total	114,580	17,033	1,757	531	1,080	242	16	46

Source: Lesotho Demographic Survey 2011.

According to Table 4, the majority of the migrants are between the ages of 20 and 54. Children seem to stay at home, and migrants seem to return home after their retirement (Interview with LCN, 2 October 2012).

Migration usually starts at the age of 25 years⁵ (LCN, 2 October 2012) for mine and farm workers. Professionals tend to migrate later, generally at 30 or 40 years of age (NMDS, 5 October 2012 and Crush et al. 2010:14).

There are no national figures that disaggregate migrants by occupation. The World Bank (2011⁶) revealed that the emigration rate of tertiary-educated people was low in the year 2000, namely at 4.3 per cent. According to Clemens and Pettersson (2006, cited in the World Bank 2011), between 33.3 and 57 per cent of physicians born in Lesotho and 36 nurses or 2.8 per cent of the nurses born in Lesotho have emigrated in 2000. Annually, 20 to 25 students

⁵ A law allows every Basotho older than 18 years to migrate (Ministry of Labour and Employment, 3 Oct. 2012).

⁶ http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1199807908806/ Lesotho.pdf.

are selected by the Lesotho Government to receive a scholarship for medical studies abroad (Interview with WHO Lesotho, 2 October 2012). According to WHO Lesotho (interview, 2 October 2012) most of them do not return home for work after their studies. In addition to emigration to South Africa, farmers migrate to Botswana, while professionals tend to prefer Swaziland (Interview with Ministry of Labour and Employment, 3 October 2012). The data of the Ministry of Labour and Employment (ibid.) confirm the observations of the WHO Lesotho that 20 medical science students leave Lesotho for South Africa per year. During the last year, 20 pharmacists left for Botswana (ibid.). Since 2011, a similar number of professionals have emigrated to Botswana each year, and it is expected that of these, only one or two may return to Lesotho (ibid.). In the last 10 years, around 200 medical professionals stayed abroad (ibid.). Similar figures can be assumed for nurses. The Lesotho Ministry of Health tries to retain health professionals in Lesotho or to encourage return, for example by topping up salaries (Interview with Ministry of Health, 5 October 2012). Given the fact that all of the above figures include only reported cases and that there are no statistics that present a full overview, it can be assumed that the number of Basotho professionals working outside the country is much higher. The five highly-skilled Basotho migrants that completed the questionnaires, for example, also confirmed having left Lesotho for professional reasons and planning to return.

Both mine and farm workers tend to leave Lesotho alone in contrast to professionals, who often leave with their entire family. The families of mine workers frequently follow and settle in the slums around the mines. Because migrants gain professional experience while working abroad and students gain academic experience, it can be assumed that the skills of any migrant returning home has increased (Interview with Ministry of Labour and Employment, 3 October 2012).

As mentioned above, the literature conflicts concerning the number and professions of Basotho emigrants. Interviews conducted in Lesotho in October 2012 suggest that the majority of the migrants work in the South African mines, followed by migrants working on farms and domestic workers (Interview with LCN, 2 October 2012). The migration of farm workers is not organized. They are recruited individually by South African private labour recruitment agents. Some men are legally registered with South African construction companies but mainly on a short-term basis. Basotho women are often hired as domestic workers, employed by richer Basotho living in South Africa as well as for South Africans. Domestic workers work irregularly in South Africa (Interview with

LCN, 2 October 2012, Nalane et al., 2012:5; Crush 2010). Without a South African work permit, these migrants often return to the Lesotho border to get their passport stamped on a monthly basis in order to avoid irregular stay in South Africa (Interview with Foreign Ministry, 3 October 2012 and Ministry of Labour, 4 October 2012).

Table 4: Percentage distribution of Lesotho citizens outside the country, by age group and sex

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
00 - 04	1.5	3.8	3,188
05 - 09	1.0	2.4	2,043
10 - 14	1.4	2.4	2,356
15 - 19	3.4	5.7	5,715
20 - 24	12.7	14.4	18,047
25 - 29	18.3	18.1	24,660
30 - 34	16.1	13.9	20,741
35 - 39	12.6	10.1	15,845
40 - 44	9.8	7.2	11,972
45 - 49	8.8	7.5	11,284
50 - 54	7.2	6.5	9,376
55 - 59	4.5	4.1	5,876
60 - 64	1.6	1.5	2,087
65 - 69	0.8	1.3	1,300
70 - 74	0.1	0.5	335
75 - 79	0.1	0.5	306
80 - 84	0.0	0.1	67
More than 85	0.1	0.1	87
Total (percent)	100.0	100.0	

Source: Lesotho Demographic Survey 2011.

Table 5 below shows that most migrants work in their host countries as employees earning regular wages or salaries. Those employed as mine workers fall under this group. Most of the professionals are employed by the South African Government, in universities or in specialized agencies (Interview with LCN, 2 October 2012).

Table 5: Percentage distribution of Lesotho citizens outside the country, by employment status and country/region of residence

Employment status	South Africa	Other countries in Africa	Other countries*
Employer	0.0	0.0	0.0
Own account worker	4.8	16.0	19.4
Regular wage/salary earner	85.0	84.0	80.6
Casual worker	9.6	0.0	0.0
Unpaid Family work- er	0.2	0.0	0.0
Homemaker	0.3	0.0	0.0
Total (percent)	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total (number)	102,889	250	83

^{*} Refers to other countries such as those in Asia and Europe, as well as the United States, Australia and China.

Source: Lesotho Demographic Survey 2011.

Mine workers are officially registered as a group and hold South African residence permits. South African employers wanting to recruit workers from outside the country can receive a corporate permit from the South African Ministry of Home Affairs allowing them to bring migrants into the country. They then apply at the Lesotho Ministry of Labour/The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) to request Basotho workers. In 1973, South Africa and Lesotho signed an agreement on the recruitment of mine workers. Lesotho created TEBA as a special agency monitored by the Lesotho Ministry of Labour. TEBA recruits and acts as an intermediary assisting with employment contracts that are then signed by all three parties: TEBA, the employer and the employee. TEBA and the Ministry of Labour verify that the contract is respected by controlling the agreed wages, work location, period, provision of protective clothing, etc. Women do not normally apply at TEBA as mine workers although there are some female mine workers.⁷ Before the 1980s, mine workers tended to return home only every three to five years, leaving their families alone for some years. Nowadays, however, many return monthly (Interview with National University of Lesotho (NUL), 6 October 2012).

⁷ In cases in which men fall sick or die in mines, the wife or son is allowed to take over his job.

Immigration to Lesotho

Although exact figures are not available, stakeholders interviewed noted that that some South Africans are moving to Maseru for security reasons and that some Basotho women have married men from Mozambique or other neighbouring countries who then stay in Lesotho (Interview with Foreign Ministry, 3 October 2012). While visiting Lesotho the authors met several Ethiopians working in Lesotho. One interview partner stated that Lesotho is a kind of transition country for professionals who ultimately aim to work in South Africa: when there is a job opportunity in South Africa, the immigrants leave Lesotho again (Interview with Ministry of Health, 5 October 2012).

Remittances sent to Lesotho

In 2011, the World Bank (2011:160) published a table showing the flow of remittances to Lesotho:

Table 6: Flow of remittances to Lesotho (USD millions)

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010 e
Inward remittance flows	288	355	327	361	451	439	450	525
Of which:								
Workers' remittances	11	14	7	4	13	7	ı	-
Compensation of employees	276	341	320	357	438	432	-	-
Migrants' transfers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: World Bank 2011.

The World Bank compares the remittances with the net official development assistance (ODA) received in the amount of USD 100 million and with the export of goods and services in the amount of USD 800 million in the year 2008. The remittances are more than four times higher than the received ODA. According to the World Bank (2013), in 2011, remittances made up 28.6 per cent and 27 per cent of the GDP in Lesotho, respectively – the second-highest proportion in the world.

According to the Central Bank of Lesotho (Interview with Central Bank, 5 October 2012), 2.8 million Maloti (USD 318,436) were transferred as remittances to Lesotho from all over the world except South Africa in the last quarter of 2011.

Mine workers and other workers in South Africa alone transferred 1.1 billion Maloti (USD 125,100,185) in the same period of time.

SAMP (Pendleton et al., 2006:4) research found that 95 per cent of households with migrants abroad received remittances in cash and 20 per cent received remittances in the form of goods. According to Crush et al. (2010:2f), remittances are sent through informal channels, mostly carried personally by migrants during their home visits (54%) or by a trusted friend (33%). Only five per cent of the migrants use the post office and two per cent use banks (Crush et al. 2010:2). All of the Basotho migrants interviewed in this studied stated that they were using bank transfers. The Central Bank noted that remittances are difficult to trace as there is nothing like Western Union or Money Gram (Interview 5 October 2012). The banks in Lesotho are branches or franchises (ibid.) of South African banks and any migrant can open a bank account in South Africa and withdraw from the account in Lesotho. Family members using a bank partner card can also withdraw cash in Lesotho. As a new form of payment, South African supermarkets, such as Shoprite, are going to start a pilot project with the Capitec Bank that will allow migrants to send remittances from and to the shops. The eWallet system allows migrants to use mobile phones for money transfers by using a code and sending a text message. This system only works for families with close access to an ATM machine (Nalane et al., 2012 and Interview with NUL, 6 October 2012).

As a formal channel of remittance transfers, the South African mining industry uses the TEBA Bank. According to a special law for mine workers, 30 per cent of the mine workers' wages are transferred directly to the TEBA Bank in order to prevent the mine workers from spending all income in South Africa and forgetting their families in Lesotho. No bank fees are deducted. The workers may transfer the money from the TEBA Bank to other banks later.

SAMP detected that a migrant-sending household in Lesotho receives remittances between 7,800 ZAR (roughly USD 900) and 8,400 ZAR (roughly USD 1,000) in cash and 1,000 ZAR (roughly USD 115) in goods annually (Pendleton et al., 2006:4-5). According to Montclos (2005:18), "each migrant worker supported between seven and nine people." According to research by Crush et al. (2010:3), households use remittances for the following: food: 90 per cent, clothing: 76 per cent, school fees: 56 per cent, transportation: 34 per cent. Only a small amount is put into savings (about 19% of the households, ibid.). The five migrants surveyed and personally interviewed in Tanzania and Ethiopia as part of this study, revealed that they send between USD 300 —

6,000 monthly to Lesotho and that the remittances were used for financing the daily life of the dependents, their education and health care as well as land purchase, personal investments in business and agriculture, saving accounts and to support religious organizations.

Although the number of migrating mine workers has declined tremendously, the total amount of remittances has increased over the years. Mine workers' wages increased, "but rising remittance flows are directed to a shrinking number of households thus increasing inequality between households and accelerating levels of poverty and food insecurity for households that do not have a mineworker" (Hughes, 2007:13),

Investments by migrants

Remittances are invested in private businesses and land, but rarely in collective human development initiatives. Crush (2010:3) and Crush et al. (2010:4) found that women in rural villages often pool remittances through burial societies, grocery associations and egg circles. "These associations comprise an important forum in which women exercise control over resources and could serve as a mechanism to spread the benefits of remittances beyond the immediate household. However, more research is needed as to their operations, benefits, and potential for improving the development benefits of migration through collective organization and action" (Crush et al. 2010:4). Some migrants invest in shops but rarely in agriculture (Interview with LCN, 2 October 2012). Mine workers may use their income to buy cattle, and professionals may invest in property (Interview with National Coordinator of Women and Law in South African Research Trust, 3 October 2012 and Nalane et al. 2012:15).

Reasons for emigration

The SAMP (Pendleton et al. 2006:4) study observed that migrants often follow a family tradition of migration. About 50 per cent of the interviewed migrants reported that their parents and 24 per cent that their grandparents had been cross-border migrants.

Crush et al. (2010:2) highlighted poverty and high unemployment as the major reason for emigration from Lesotho. The SAMP Household Survey found out that 89.2 per cent of households interviewed depended on remittances in order to have enough food. Similarly, interviews (with LCN, 2 October 2012 and Ministry of Labour, 4 October 2012) suggested that domestic workers, mine workers, street vendors, and farm workers migrate due to poverty and high unemployment rates.

Professionals are more likely migrate to achieve higher incomes and better living standards. The Ministry of Labour noted that low wages in Lesotho are a primary factor in the decision to emigrate (4 October 2012). While a director in a Lesotho ministry earns 15,000 ZAR (USD 1,730) monthly, in South Africa the wage for the same position would be 45,000 ZAR (USD 5,200) or even more. Factories in Lesotho employ mostly women for a monthly wage of 700 Maluti (USD 79) (Interview with Ministry of Labour, 4 October 2012). A domestic worker in South Africa may earn USD 100 monthly (Interview with LCN, 2 October 2012).

3. Basotho diasporas in the South

Stakeholder interviews in Lesotho revealed that the term "migrant" rather than 'diaspora' is more commonly used. This chapter reflects on the both definition of diaspora and the profile of Basotho diasporas in the South.

3.1 Characteristics of a diaspora

A diaspora is a transnational community living outside of the country of origin and giving itself its own identity assuming to represent either the entire country of origin or certain social and political groups of the country of origin (Demmers, 2007: 8f). The adopted identity of the diaspora does not automatically match the de facto national identity of the country of origin or of any social or political group (Shain, 2002:121). Often the adopted identity is based on nostalgic memories which do not necessarily correspond to the current situation in the countries of origin (Lyons, 2006:9). On the other hand, actors in the countries of origin are quite interested in the services of the diaspora and in turn, they strive to correspond to the image assumed by the diaspora, at least apparently. To what extent the diaspora indeed influences the identity-building process inside the country of origin is dependent on the flow of finanacial and social remittances, cultural influence, leadership and the existence of transnational political parties (Shain, 2002:118-119).

Building a diaspora identity happens after arrival in the host country:

- A so-called long-distance nationalism (Demmers, 2007:17; der Überblick, 2001:6) may be created. For instance, some liberation movements were born in host countries, such as the Kosovo Liberation Army⁸ (ibid.). The London School of Economics (LSE) Global Civil Society Yearbook defined the diaspora as "regressive globalisers" groups following nationalistic ideas through transnational channels (Kaldor et al., 2003, cited in: Østergaard-Nielsen, 2006:1).
- Identity building is strongly connected with the culture of the host countries, and whether it is welcoming towards migrants or discriminating (Fuglerud, 1999). Diasporas are not only interested in keeping linkages with their countries of origin they also serve as social nets assisting the migrants to find their way around in a new and unknown environment (Lyons, 2006: 6).

⁸ The beginnings of the KLA are obscure, some authors trace the movement's emergence to Macedonia in 1992, and others claim it was founded in the early 1980s in Germany and/or Switzerland (Demmers, 2007:22).

 At the same time, different identities may be developed while living in host countries which may even compete with one another. Furthermore, there are social nets reaching beyond ethnic or national identity, such as religious or cultural nets (Lyons, 2006:6).

Demmers (2007:9-10) defines diasporas:

"Collectives of individuals who identify themselves, and are identified by others as part of an imagined community that has been dispersed (either forced or voluntary) from its original homeland to two or more host-countries and that is committed to the maintenance or restoration of this homeland. I put emphasis on defining diaspora as an identification with dispersal (and not so much dispersal itself); as presupposing global dispersal (as opposed to transnationalism); and as having a homeland orientation: the image of the homeland, of original soil and roots lies at the symbolic centre of diasporic imaginations."

Safran (1991: 83f) defines a diaspora as an expatriate minority community whose members (a) have been dispersed from the original centre; (b) retain a collective memory about their country of origin; (c) believe themselves to be insufficiently recognized in their host country; (d) want to return to the country of origin; (e) engage in the maintenance or re-establishment of their country of origin; and (f) possess a community consciousness and a solidarity nurtured by the continuous links with the country of origin.

Additionally, it seems that the most well-organized and most influential diasporas emerge where there is a sufficiently high number of migrants living in one host country coming from one country of origin. According to Lyons (2006:5), a critical mass has to arise such as in the case of Ethiopians in the United States (especially in Washington, DC or in Oromo, Minneapolis), of Kurds in Germany, of Tamils in Canada and in the United Kingdom or of Armenians in California.

Previous research conducted by the authors (Fahrenhorst and Abadura, 2011:5f) discovered that diaspora organizations typically engage both in their countries of origin as well as in their countries of residence by:

- Sending remittances to improve the livelihoods of their extended families in their home areas. Remittance transfers are higher than foreign direct investments or means from developmental cooperation.
- Providing emergency help for an individual family, a clan or village members in case of an urgent need, for instance to fund some emergency health

treatment. In the case of particular neediness money transferred may be used by more than only the migrant's family.

- Supporting the education of selected a family member, clan or village member by taking over the costs.
- Supporting school or health projects in regions of origin which are carried out by people personally known to the migrant.
- Donations to orphanages or other social institutions in the country of origin even on an anonymous basis.
- Collecting donations for charity through their religious community associations, mosques or churches or for the building of mosques and churches in the country of origin.
- Investing in state development projects.
- Financing activities of local partner NGOs in the country of origin.
- Investments in their countries of origin, such as though building houses or chicken farms for the extended family or for making profit.
- Supporting political parties or actors in their countries of origin.
- Supporting other diaspora members in residence countries, such as newcomers.
- Supporting their own community within the residence country through, for example, running social facilities.
- Investing in their own role as development actors in the residence country.
- Investing in their own NGOs by paying membership fees and investing voluntary work.

Money transfers (financial remittances) or voluntary work are, therefore, not only invested in in a migrant's family alone but in anonymous facilities or unknown members of the community as well, and this within the host country as well as in the country of origin. A significant contribution is additionally invested in NGO work in the residence country as a personal contribution.

Previous research by the authors (Fahrenhorst and Abadura, 2011:7) also showed that diaspora organizations do not fit into common typologies or classifications. They carry out activities in various sectors. A special feature of most diaspora organizations is to be flexible – sometimes doing lobby work, carrying out development projects, concentrating on certain communities but

being open to different kinds of members, integrating women and different generations – depending on their specific targets, needs and options for obtaining funding. The activities carried out depend for the most part on the evolving circumstances and the conditions the organizations are working under. If any funding is available, it seems the majority of the diaspora organizations are donor-driven. Diaspora organizations in Europe, for example, have noted that funding for children's projects is easier to receive than for other kinds of projects, leading to many initiatives in this area (Fahrenhorst and Abadura, 2011). The same holds true for the health and education sectors.

In the literature, such loose structures and targets are often understood as a weakness. In contrast, the authors tend to interpret them as a strength and rational when acting in an unstable environment and under pressure to satisfy a huge number of needs with very few options for external aid.

Diaspora organizations normally cooperate with small groups of local people, leading to small-scale local-level interventions. Given the nature of long-distance cooperation and insecure funding environment, they often prefer working with partners whom they know personally (Fahrenhorst and Abadura, 2011:11).

Bernal (2006:176) denotes "the transnational migrant" as "a key figure of global modernity" describing the global diaspora linkages and networks crossing any border. The Somali diaspora members interviewed by the authors during previous research (Fahrenhorst and Abadura, 2011:10) reported regular group telephone conferences and use of email lists. Diaspora organizations not only cross borders by communicating transnationally but also through concrete cooperation. Living in different countries or continents, some jointly support local projects. Not only development and humanitarian projects are discussed during group phone conferences, but also various political issues of the country of origin. Members of such communication groups do not necessarily belong to one clan but are connected by similar world views. People with a strong oral culture prefer to use the phone as a communication tool. The younger generation gives priority to the internet or to social media such as Facebook, text messages, Twitter, group mails and so on.

3.2 Definition of a diaspora

The authors define diaspora as follows for purposes of this study: migrants maintaining a relationship with their countries of origin in order to contribute to their development. Such migrants form associations, develop a certain identity as a community living abroad but also feel responsible and linked to their country of origin. Many of them finance their extended families and

additionally invest in companies, farms, buildings; donate to the building of schools, hospitals or finance civil society organizations; support the development of their home country by working there voluntarily as teachers or medical doctors on a temporary basis, and often engage politically with their country of origin as well.

The authors' definition takes into account the definition adopted by the ACP Observatory on Migration: "[p]eople living outside their country of origin, irrespective of citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of their origin country and/or community" (adapted from the AU, 2005, in: ACP Observatory on Migration, 2011:19). The ACP Observatory on Migration definition is more open than the one of the authors. It neglects the very important characteristics of the diaspora: to feel, identify with and act as a group of migrants held together by common interests of mutual aid and of development of the country of origin. Not all migrants engage actively with their countries of origin. Nevertheless, some migrants gather themselves in organizations aiming at engaging with the countries of origin and only these groups of migrants are called diaspora. "Migration is a complex process; only a small portion of migrants form diaspora networks engaged in the political affairs of their homeland. What defines a diaspora is the participation in networks engaged in activities designed to sustain homeland linkages" (Lyons, 2006:4).

However, the aim of a diaspora policy is to encourage that as many emigrants as possible act as "diaspora" members, namely actively engage and organize with others to contribute to the development of their origin country or community.

3.3 Lesotho diaspora profile

Stakeholder interviews revealed that the term diaspora is not commonly used, but instead Basotho emigrants are referred to as "migrants" abroad. The interview partners were very interested in the topic of the study, although the authors were told that most migrants leaving Lesotho were not used to investing in their home country, were not organized and did not participate actively in development activities. As part of this study, the authors were unable to secure interviews or surveys with many Lesotho migrants to determine whether they are organizing themselves in groups or networks. However, stakeholders in Lesotho highlighted that there are no civil society organizations (CSOs) in Lesotho working with the diaspora (Interview with LCN, 2 October 2012). However, the Lesotho High Commissioner in South Africa has started a diaspora association.

Crush et al. (2010:5f.) also found no evidence of Basotho diaspora associations investing or engaging in development matters back home, apart from the many individual migrants financial and social remittances to their family and friends. Basotho migrants in South Africa do not work far away and could visit their families within three to four hours and thus maintain close links.

Montclos (2005:33) mentions that Basotho migrants do not regard themselves as foreigners in South Africa, which makes the development of a diaspora identity difficult. Reflecting on possible reasons to explain why the situation of Basotho in South Africa situation is different from that of migrants in other countries, the following factors may play a role:

- South Africa and Lesotho are closely linked and migrants may not feel they
 are far away in a foreign and strange environment so they do not establish
 cultural associations to feel at home. The migrants in South Africa do not
 develop a feeling of having emigrated.
- There are no refugees who are engaged in political issues of their home countries.
- Many migrants obtain South African citizenship. Often they find new or second families in South Africa, and they simply send some money to their dependents in Lesotho;
- As the laws of Lesotho do not allow dual citizenship, migrants with dual citizenship are not interested in engaging in activities that could lead to detection of their dual citizenship by Lesotho authorities.
- South Africa, Lesotho or the international community do not provide any kind of funding for development activities conducted by migrants. Donor funding requirements would lead to the need for establishing officially registered NGOs as pre-conditions for access to funding.
- Migrants, who receive scholarships for studying abroad, are requested to return the funding. In order to avoid repayment, they stay abroad and avoid activities that would lead to their detection by Lesotho authorities.
- There are no diaspora policies or programmes in Lesotho that attracts migrants to invest like there are in other countries.
- There are no CSOs that could act as local partners of diaspora associations (Interview with NUL, 6 October 2012).
- In the countryside, traditionally, women are not supposed to make business-related decisions. Although they have been legally permitted to

do so since 2006, this is only partially practiced as the change in behaviour and cultural norms takes longer (Interview with NUL, 6 October 2012). For buying or selling cattle, making contracts, opening bank accounts, obtaining loans, opening small businesses or introducing new agricultural activities, the permission of the husband was previously required. When men are abroad, decision-making by the women in origin communities is more difficult. This may be one reason for the lack of local community-based organizations (CBOs).

• Traditionally women have no access to land. Although legally permitted now, the new Married Persons Quality Act is not yet fully implemented (Interview with NUL, 6 October 2012).

Interestingly, some kinds of diaspora activities were organized during the period after the coup d'etat (1986-93) as migrants in political exile organized funding for the political opposition in Lesotho (Interview with NUL, 6 October 2012).

4. The need for a diaspora policy framework in Lesotho

This chapter presents the opinions of the interview partners on the need for a policy framework addressing migration from Lesotho. All interview partners were concerned about the emigration of professionals and promoting Basotho migrants to build a diapora and contribute to the development of their home country and communities. The second part of the chapter describes the activities of one embassy to attract Basotho migrants to join in a development association. Unfortunately, the authors had no opportunity to collect in-depth information on the initiatives undertaken by this association.

4.1 Voices from the interviews

According to Montclos (2005:39), there were no instruments or mechanisms in place that encouraged migrants to invest in Lesotho (financially or through the transfer of know-how). Montclos identified "seven obstacles to entrepreneurship" in his research:

(1) [t]he small size of the remittance package and the fact that most of it is consumed on basic needs; (2) the lack of capital and loan financing for those who wish to develop a business; (3) the considerable reduction in net worth of remittances through transaction costs, double taxation and corruption; (4) the absence of the type of diaspora associations that are emerging in other international contexts and that are used to support community-scale projects rather than simply household-scale activities; (5) an inhospitable regulatory framework governing movement between Lesotho and South Africa; (6) the structural development constraints inherent to Lesotho; and (7) gender discrimination and gendered patterns of poverty and deprivation, which present further structural constraints impeding the development potential of remittances.

During the term of the former government, migration was primarily associated with brain drain and was seen as having a negative impact on Lesotho (as per stakeholder interviews, 2012). Consequently, the benefits of a diaspora were not sufficiently recognized, and no initiatives introduced to attract the diaspora (Interview with LCN, 2 October 2012).

Aiming at sensitizing regional organizations and governments, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) started an African capacity building and research programme with the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), East African Community (EAC), Economic Community of the Central African States (ECCAS), Economic Community of the West African States (ECOWAS), Partners in Health Sciences (PIHS), and the SADC as well as with 12 countries in these regions. Of

these, Angola and Lesotho are the two countries in the SADC region. As a result, the Lesotho Government requested the Intra-ACP Facility on Migration and the ACP Observatory on Migration to support the drafting of a national migration policy, to develop a curriculum for the training of public civil servants and non-state actors on migration and development issues and to draft a strategy and an implementation framework for attracting Basotho health professionals living abroad to return. The present study responds to the request of the Government by providing information and recommendations for drafting a diaspora policy in the near future. Stakeholders interviewed revealed that the characteristics and advantages of having an engaged diaspora are still widely unknown. However, after having discussed the diaspora's role and activities in other countries, all interview partners expressed their strong interest.

All interview partners agreed on the need for a migration and/or diaspora policy to help to keep skilled professional in Lesotho or encourage their return. It was pointed out that there is a lack of migration and diaspora policies throughout the SADC region, leaving the diaspora to behave passively rather than engage in the development of their home countries (Interview with Ministry of Labour, 4 October 2012). Interviewed spartners noted that the current Lesotho government is placing emphasis on developing the country, and migrants could play a crucial role in supporting development. Some detailed recommendations were formulated by them:

- Skilled Basotho farm workers living in South Africa could be offered land for farming and irrigation around the water reservoirs in Lesotho;
- Bottled water could be produced from the reservoirs in Lesotho; the diamond mine in Letséng could be extended by employing skilled Basotho migrants from the South African mines;
- A programme to keep medical professionals in the country or to attract them to return back should be developed;
- Information should be collected on how diaspora members can contribute to the development of the health sector (Ministry of Health 5 Oct. 2012);
- Professionals should be recognized in order to encourage them to engage in the human development of their home country;
- Medical professionals returning home could act as role models for youth;
- Regional migration should be actively facilitated by the SADC governments and research should be done on the implications of SADC intramigration to investment and on the possible benefits of a common currency;

- It seems that more than a fund for topping up their salaries is needed;
- Partnerships should be made with existing associations, for instance three teachers' associations in Lesotho;
- Funding could be offered for diaspora projects supporting development in Lesotho (interview with Ministry of Education and Training, 5 October 2012);
- Dual citizenship should be allowed as it plays a vital role in attracting migrants, especially professionals, to invest in or to return to Lesotho and (as many already have dual citizenship) to get legalized as well (interview with LCN, 2 October 2012 and Ministry of Health, 5 October 2012);
- Additional support is needed for the domestic workers in order to make them legally recognized and entitled to receive a work permit in South Africa;
- Bilateral talks between the governments of Lesotho and South Africa should be encouraged (interview with LCN, 2 October 2012);
- More valuable data and surveys concerning building a diaspora should be collected (interview with Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, Bureau of Statistics, Population Statistics Division, October 2012);
- Based on the results of the current study, the government of Lesotho could formulate recommendations to the SADC (interview with IOM Intra-ACP Facility on Migration and ACP Observatory on Migration, 2 October 2012);
- In order to attract medical professionals who emigrated to return for some weeks or months as participants in skills transfer programmes, the Lesotho government could reflect about renouncing the obligatory repayment of the scholarships in such cases.

Additionally, although it lacks the ability to become active yet, the World Health Organization aims to develop a programme to recruit Basotho migrants with a medical education to return and work in Lesotho on a short-term basis. In addition, WHO plans to support the opening of a medical school in Lesotho in cooperation with the Queen Mamohato Memorial Hospital in which the medical professionals having migrated and returned teach and provide medical services for a period (Interview with WHO, 2 October 2012). According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), there are no international diaspora programmes yet (Interview with UNDP, 5 October 2012).

4.2 Diaspora-related activities of Lesotho embassies

As one of the two Lesotho embassies in African ACP countries, the authors visited the embassy in Ethiopia and held interviews with embassy staff members, who informed them that there were only few Basotho residing in Ethiopia, and they tended to work for the AUC and the UN. The research team conducted interviews with several Basotho migrants working in these organizations, who also completed the questionnaires. In Johannesburg, face-to-face interviews and with embassy staff and one Basotho domestic worker were carried out.

The embassy in Ethiopia was in close contact with the Basotho working in the country, although it did not initiate any programme to promote diaspora activities. The High Commission of the Kingdom of Lesotho in South Africa, has begun activities to encourage Basotho migrants to organize as a diaspora association (see text box below).

Lesotho Diaspora Alliance in South Africa [LDA] was officially launched on 3 October 2009 in Johannesburg during the celebration of Lesotho's 43rd Independence Anniversary. For a long time Lesotho regarded outflow of educated and skilled Basotho to countries around the world and specifically to South Africa as brain drain. There is now paradigm shift [*sic*], the Basotho in diaspora are now regarded as brain drain* to Lesotho. These intellectuals and business people serve Lesotho's interest in more ways than just the remittances.

The membership is open to all friends of Lesotho and includes those who:

- Are linked to Lesotho by heritage
- Have an affinity towards Lesotho
- Have an interest in the progress of Lesotho

The **Vision** of the **Lesotho Diaspora Alliance** is to facilitate the economic, social as well as cultural development of Lesotho.

The **Mission** of the Basotho Diaspora Alliance is to create a platform of effective information dissemination between the Government and the Diaspora in order to:

- Promote social and economic development.
- Facilitate trade, investment, and private sector development.
- Provide a "think tank" for input into decision-making at all levels of Government.
- To create a networking forum for diaspora members.

The LDA embraces the following strong core values forming a solid base from which it is able to execute its mandate:

- Non partisanship
- Integrity
- Honesty and good faith
- Mutual respect
- Fairness
- Constructive engagement

The LDA interacts with different bodies at both Government level as well as private to individual level. The most eminent stakeholders are:

- Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho
- South African High Commission to Lesotho
- Lesotho High Commissioner to South Africa
- Individual members of the alliance
- Business entities within Lesotho

Source: Lesotho/Basotho Diaspora Alliance (BDA) http://lesothopretoria.com/?trade 14.

* It can be assumed that the embassy aimed at emphasizing on brain gain instead of brain drain.

5. Recommendations for a diaspora policy

Based on lessons learned from other countries and taking into consideration the recommendations elaborated by IOM and Migration Policy Institute (MPI) Handbook for Policy Makers and Practitioners in Home and Host Countries (Agunias and Newland, 2012) as well as a study conducted on behalf of IOM (Ionescu, 2006), the following chapter elaborates on recommendations for a potential diaspora policy. Through the National Consultative Committee on Migration in Lesotho, the Government has expressed interest in engaging with the Basotho diaspora and asked the ACP Observatory to commission this report.

Although formulating a migration policy is a necessary first step, a specific diaspora policy would go further in ensuring that Lesotho fully enjoys the positive energy of a diaspora caring for the human development of the country.

The first section below describes the basic characteristics of a diaspora policy with the particular context of Lesotho in mind. The second section elaborates a roadmap for the Lesotho government and recommends certain elements in greater detail to be considered in the process of drafting a diaspora policy.

5.1 Characteristics of a diaspora policy

In the last two decades, diaspora engagement in countries of origin as well as in countries of residence has become increasingly recognized. A number of countries such as China, India, Mexico and Israel have benefitted significantly from their diaspora (Newland and Patrick 2004: iv). Somalia/ Somaliland constitutes the best example of a diaspora not only feeding the entire population, but investing and transferring skills as well. Several African governments and the African Union have acknowledged the importance of migration for development (AU, 2006) and have initiated policies, legislation and incentives to create an enabling environment for the diaspora to contribute to development (ICMPD, 2010:32). The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), for example, aims at "reversing the brain drain through retention of African talent and through involving the African diaspora in development 'at home'" (Spaan and Moppes 2006:4).

Worldwide, remittances are the major contribution to national economies, exceeding ODA three times. In 2010, the World Bank estimated the remittances received by developing countries were about USD 325 billion (World Bank 2011: vii) sent via formal channels, and it is estimated that the amount of remittances

sent via informal channels is significantly higher. Remittances constitute the largest source of external capital in many developing countries, the "major source of foreign direct investment (FDI) and market development (including outsourcing of production)" (Newland and Patrick, 2004: iv). Nevertheless, "technology transfer, philanthropy, tourism, political contributions, and more intangible flows of knowledge, new attitudes, and cultural influence" (Newland and Patrick, 2004) as well as social/human capital and skills transfer play an important role informing the development of the country of origin.

Diaspora policy aims to create favourable conditions for diasporas and support them in engaging in activities that promote the development of origin countries. Thus, diaspora policy takes on certain characteristics and roles, namely enabling, partnership and inclusive as well as catalytic roles (Ionescu, 2006:53-54)

As Ionescu (2006:53-54) highlights, policymakers can support, attract and enable diasporas by: "Iowering transfer costs, alleviating the bureaucratic burden, simplifying procedures, allowing dual citizenship, identifying investment projects, offering security for business transactions or ensuring the portability of rights"; "raising public awareness, [....] clearly defining development priorities and strategies requiring diaspora involvement"; creating trust and "access to rights, status and provisions"; ensuring "the recognition of diasporas as full citizens"; strengthening politicians' knowledge on the behaviour of the diaspora in order to find the right ways to attract diasporas to engaging in human development initiatives.

Ionescu notes that incentives targeting diaspora contributions should be linked to diaspora rights:

Dual citizenship, voting rights, property rights, pension and social security benefit transfers, savings schemes, identification cards that also offer remittance transfer services at low rates are all examples of rights and services that can be provided to diaspora members and that formally acknowledge their transnational belonging. The granting of dual citizenship appears to be one of the most significant measures, formalizing the double belonging of diasporas [...] In addition, a very strong incentive for diaspora contributions to home development is the simplification of bureaucratic procedures such as being able to register or update papers online and access to a one-stop-shop for investment or business matters. Policy should be able to define what incentives will encourage a specific diaspora group, according to their needs and expectations (lonescu, 2006: 58).

To summarize, there are three major roles for a diaspora policy, shown by the figures below (adapted from Ionescu, 2006: 53-54):

Figure 1: The enabling role of a diaspora policy

	Ensuring the portability of rights, pension and social security benefit transfers, savings schemes			
	Raising public awareness by informing the diaspora and about the diaspora			
	Identifying investment projects, offering security for business transactions			
Policymakers	Creating trust and access to rights, status and provisions: ensuring th recognition of diasporas as full citizens, with voting and property right			
can support, attract and enable	Alleviating the bureaucratic burden/simplification of bureaucratic procedures (e.g. by making it possible to register or update papers online or provide access to a one-stop-shop for investment or business)			
diasporas by:	Allowing dual citizenship; formally acknowledge the diasporas' transnational belonging			
	Clearly defining development priorities and strategies requiring diaspora involvement			
	 Issuing identification cards that also offer remittance transfer services at low rates and lowering transfer costs 			
	Strengthening politicians' knowledge regarding the behaviour of the diaspora			

The partnership role implies understanding diasporas as partners in development through supporting and recognizing existing diasporas initiatives and attracting migrants to form diaspora initiatives. This can be done through building alliances with diaspora associations and organizations and through building new forms of partnership by reaching out to collaborate with the host countries, regions and municipalities, as well as to private institutions, academia, public enterprises and other development stakeholders (see Figure 2).

As per Ionescu (2006:54), the catalytic role implies the promotion of a "positive consideration of diasporas as development actors" (see Figure 3).

Figure 2: The partnership and inclusive role of a diaspora policy

	Supporting and recognizing diaspora initiatives			
Understand	Attracting migrants to form diaspora initiatives Building alliances with diaspora associations and organizations Building new forms of partnership by reaching out to collaborate with: The host countries, regions and municipalities			
diasporas as				
partners in				
development				
through:	- Private institutions, academia, public enterprises and other			
	development stakeholders.			

Figure 3: The catalytic role of a diaspora policy

Through:	Promotion of a positive consideration of diasporas as development
	actors

Programmes and measures to attract the diaspora to engage in human development have to differentiate between: (a) genders; (b) migrants willing to return permanently to the countries of origin; (c) migrants returning for retirement reasons; (d) short- and long-term migration; and (e) return of talents and skills (lonescu, 2006). Diasporas cannot be put into one basket and be treated in a standard way. "Diaspora individuals and groups feature diverse interests and strategies, therefore policies targeting human capital benefit from mixing short- and long-term perspectives and offering temporary and permanent return incentives" (lonescu, 2006: 44).

5.2 Elements of a diaspora policy

Lesotho is at the beginning of formulating a migration policy. The following recommendations are designed to contribute to the policy formulation process, providing specific information on integrating the special character of a diaspora policy.

Based on the recommendations of the IOM/MPI Handbook (Agunias and Newland, 2012), general recommendations are formulated (see Figure 4). Each general recommendation is followed by specific recommendations tailored to the needs of Lesotho.

Identify goals and Match goals to Inventory of capacity (e.g., diaspora existing diaspora investment. resources activities knowledge, (human and remittances) financial) Survey on reasons Analysis of **Know your** for migration of census data diaspora professionals Mapping of professional migrants Survey on and their skills attractions to return Help your diaspora (farm/domestic workers, etc.) **Build trust and** Explanation of Allow dual diaspora formation, and feedback organization and citizenship on Government activities policies Services to the diaspora (documents, social services) Active Media consular Privileges to non-resident involvement. networks expatriates and decendants webpages High-profile events, **Facilitating investments** recognize diaspora (one-stop centres, consultation, information) Creation or adaptation of Government institutions (consular networks, Policy coherence ministries, councils) Create funds for **Build local CSOs** diaspora projects, link Mobilize with CSOs stakeholders Skill transfer (Government, programmes diaspora, civil Sponsored travel for society) opinion leaders, youth, diaspora spokesperson Attracting diaspora (incentives) Promoting partnership, Integrating diaspora into not top-down development planning and policy implementation

Figure 4: Roadmap for the Lesotho Government to develop a diaspora policy

Sources: Agunias and Newland, 2012; adapted to Lesotho.

Identify goals and capacity and know your diaspora

Lessons learned from other countries

According to Ionescu (2006:16), certain data have to be collected in order to develop a policy that specifically fits the needs of the diaspora and of the country of origin. This may include data on individual diaspora members, data on diaspora organizations, data on transnational financial and trade flows, qualitative data and gender-differentiating data.

To register individual members, diaspora members have to be defined and classified by: their citizenship and residence permission or informal residence, their demography, the locations where they are living/the counties of destination, their gender, their age, their qualification, their occupation, the length of their stay (Ionescu, 2006:16). Additionally, it is useful to know if diaspora members are first or second generation. Compiling statistics on diasporas is hampered by severe challenges: "[s]ome migrants will have acquired citizenships while others have not, some will remain undocumented or lose their ties with their home land. Some home countries will include second-generation migrants in their diasporas, some host countries will consider only the foreign-born as diasporas. Furthermore, for some countries their communities abroad are too widely dispersed to be able to collect data" (Ionescu, 2006:19). Data on transnational financial flows, such as remittances, trade and foreign direct investments driven by diasporas must be collected as well.

To gain knowledge about their forms of cooperation and collective activities, statistics should be compiled on diaspora associations, networks, community organizations, clubs and societies, including non-profit, religious, political, human rights, educational, professional, and scientific ones (Ionescu, 2006:17). It is important to consider that the organizations may have various forms. They can be registered and formal or informal. Often they do not have any office facility. To understand the behaviour of diasporas and their changing interests over time, qualitative data have to be collected and surveys must also be conducted through face-to-face interviews, rather than online surveys. It is important to make sure that the data collected is gender-differentiated as female and male diaspora members may have different needs and interests. To understand the diasporas' activities in an in-depth way, local partner organizations or beneficiaries in the countries of origin have to be considered as well.

Recommendations for Lesotho

During their interviews in Lesotho in October 2012, the authors could not find all data needed for designing a policy aiming at a successful cooperation with the diaspora. In addition, it became clear that Basotho migrants do not act as typical diasporas. Lesotho, although being a country of emigration, never developed detailed statistics on emigration and the activities of the emigrants. The Basotho migrants, although transferring large amounts of remittances to Lesotho, never formed identities and activities typical of other diasporas.

In order to "identify the goals and capacities of the migrants and in order to make the Lesotho government know the potential diaspora" (see Figure 1), the National Bureau of Statistics would need to start nearly from scratch collecting all relevant data ("mapping of professional migrants and their skills," "surveys on attractions to return," "surveys on reasons for migration of professionals," "analysis of census data," and an "inventory of existing diaspora activities," see Figure 4). Discussing with the diaspora, the first surveys should be designed as face-to-face meetings between researchers and a representative selection of migrants. It is important that the research teams consist of independent researchers (such as universities, consultants, NGOs) in order to open the door for understanding the issue and for data collection in the future. Additionally, initiating discussions on diaspora issues is the first step towards building and organizing a diaspora. The independence of the researchers is important as migrants with any kind of irregular status will react suspiciously and cautiously. It would be best to establish international interlinked university research teams. The international and academic character indicates neutrality and data protection. Besides producing data and insightful views, it stimulates research conducted by African universities. It also enables African university researchers to gain regional insights and experiences - knowledge which is widely missing. The NUL may support this exercise by sending researchers as well as Master's candidates of the Department of Statistics and Demography to collect data locally. After trust has been built and data protection has been guaranteed, statistical surveys can be conducted by the Lesotho National Bureau of Statistics. Having the sensitivity of the subject in mind, the authors assume that the attempts at organizing a diaspora made by the Lesotho High Commission in Pretoria could be more successful if independent researchers would make the first steps of reaching out to the migrants.

After being initiated by the university researchers the Lesotho National Bureau of Statistics should start data collection in South Africa as the majority of the migrants live there and the High Commission has started to

reach out to the migrants. For classifying the different types of migrants, statistics of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) may be studied as well as the statistics of the United Kingdom and Canada, being countries of immigration. For classifying the Basotho diaspora, own classification parameters should be developed after having conducted representative surveys.

Build trust and diaspora formation, organization and activities Dual citizenship and government institutions reaching out to the diaspora

Lessons learned from other countries

The "granting of dual citizenship is a significant measure adopted by home countries to formalize the belonging of their diasporas to the home country, both in a symbolic and concrete way" (lonescu, 2006:37). Likewise, it is barely contested that dual citizenship "...provides multiple incentives to maintain ties with family, friends and communities, therefore facilitating the development of transnational solidarity and business networks" (Oloufade and Pongou, 2012:1).

In 2005, Algeria introduced dual citizenship, providing Algerian citizens residing abroad the right to vote. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has assumed the role of protecting their rights and interests, "...notably with regards to civic, administrative and commercial matters. It is furthermore charged with monitoring Algerian competencies abroad and fostering the utilisation of emigrants' potentials for economic, social and cultural projects" (ICMPD, 2010:14). Cape Verde introduced dual citizenship in 1999, allowing migrants the same civic rights as national citizens. Returning diaspora members are offered customs incentives such as tax exemptions and/or alleviation on the importation of vehicles (ICMPD, 2010:11). There is an Institute of Communities that aims "to foster emigrant communities' contribution to development; to stimulate investments of Cape Verdean citizens abroad in Cape Verde; to provide relevant information to emigrant communities; to promote cultural and sportive exchange programmes as well as implement measures on educational and professional advancement in cooperation with migrant associations abroad; to promote the undertaking of research on migration..." (ICMPD, 2010:14).

The Egyptian Emigration and Sponsoring Egyptians Abroad Law No. 111 of 1983 has as objectives "[...] to arrange both a permanent and temporary emigration system; and to outline the provisions dealing with providing the necessary

care and extending facilities to Egyptian emigrants before their departure from Egypt, after their arrival in the host countries and to those who decide to return to Egypt" (ICMPD, 2010:10). Egyptians holding dual citizenship enjoy all civic rights except the possibility of being elected as a member of the People's Assembly and to be president of Egypt. The Emigration and Sponsoring Egyptians Abroad Law No. 111 lists financial incentives to encourage Egyptian migrants living abroad to invest in Egypt, such as exemption from all taxes and fees (ICMPD, 2010:10).

Ethiopia is offering an Ethiopian Origin Identity Card (yellow card) to diaspora members that allows entry into the country without any visa and the right to live in Ethiopia; access to employment opportunities in Ethiopia without the need for a work permit; the right to invest as a domestic investor, with corresponding benefits; access to economic, social and administrative services available to Ethiopian citizens (Proclamation No. 270 of 2002). The General Directorate for Diaspora Engagement Affairs (EEA) (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and, amongst others, the Ethiopian Diasporas Coordinating Office (Ministry of Capacity Building,) and the Diasporas Desk in the Addis Ababa City Government Investment Authority provide information and investment support. Incentives are given, such as access to land.

The Ghanaian Citizenship Act 2000 (Act 591) allows dual citizenship and the Representation of the People (amendment) Act 669 (EN) allows Ghanaian migrants to vote in public elections and referenda (ICMPD, 2010:10). Malians holding dual citizenship enjoy all civic rights, including the right to vote during presidential and parliamentary elections (Electoral Law No. 06-044 of 2006 in: ICMPD, 2010:10). There is a Ministry for Malians Abroad and African Integration which is heading a Consultation Framework on Migration acting as inter-institutional coordination of migration and development issues; labour migration; as well as issues relating to reception and reintegration of returning migrants (ICMPD, 2010:10). India granted dual citizenship in 2003 to Indians living in particular countries, namely the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, Finland, the Netherlands and Italy (Ionescu, 2006:38). India differentiates between non-resident Indians (NRIs) and people of Indian origin (PIOs) (Ionescu, 2006:14).

⁹ See also www.ghanaimmigration.org/ACT.htm; http://www.ghanaimmigration.org/ACTS%20 AND%20REGULATIONS/ACT%20591.pdf.

¹⁰ See also http://www.globalmigrationgroup.org/uploads/UNCT_Corner/theme5/diaspora/loM_ICMPD_Inventory_EN.pdf; «Loi N° 2013_/Du, portant modification de la loi N°06-044 du 04 septembre 2006 modifiée par la loi N°2011 du 30 décembre 2011 portant loi électorale», au lieu de « Loi N° 2013_/Du, portant modification de la loi N°06-044 du 04 septembre 2006 modifiée portant loi électorale », http://lerepublicain-mali.com/?q=node/347.

"The NRI status is for Indian citizens holding an Indian passport and residing abroad for an indefinite period, whether for employment, business, vocation or any other purpose, while the PIO status designates foreign citizens of Indian origin or descent, including second and subsequent generations [...] The Indian PIO Card scheme is a visa-free regime for persons of Indian origin up to the fourth generation to simplify their returns and offer a range of financial and educational facilities" (Ionescu, 2006:39).

Armenia, Georgia, India, Israel, China, Mali, Serbia, Syria, among others, have established diaspora ministries; other countries established commissions under the president's office and directorates in their foreign ministries.

Meanwhile, more than half of states worldwide allow for dual citizenship (Faist and Gerdes, 2008:3).

Recommendations for Lesotho

The interviews held in Lesotho revealed that the provision of dual citizenship for Basotho migrants may be a basic condition to allow Basotho diaspora engagement to emerge. According to the latest study of the ACP Observatory on Migration on remittances in Lesotho, dual citizenship "...may increase remittance inflows and thus helps to offset the negative effects of brain drain" (Nalane et al., 2012: xiv).

Especially those Basotho migrants living in South Africa do not recognize themselves as foreigners living in a foreign country and due to the South African labour regulations many of them have taken South African citizenship secretly without informing the Lesotho government. In order to allow them to appear publicly as diaspora members investing in Lesotho, their status as holders of both Lesotho and the South African citizenships should be legalized. The same may be important for the Basotho living in other Southern African countries, although their number is rather small.

As a first step, other forms of special IDs (like a yellow card) allowing Basotho migrants holding another citizenship to enjoy special rights and privileges as investors and remittance senders should be introduced in the meantime.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs with its embassies, high commissions and consular offices should take a leading role in reaching out to the diaspora, as was already initiated by the High Commission in Pretoria. In close cooperation with the ministries (Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance and Development Planning) and the Central Bank, the

NUL, the LCN, the Lesotho National Development Corporation could take over a leading role in exploring and offering different kinds of support and information to attract migrants to engage in economic and human development in Lesotho, such as offering the arrangement and monitoring of investment and development cooperation opportunities. In order to guarantee a coherent diaspora policy (for example, integrating it into the existing frameworks like the National Strategic Development Plan and the Poverty Reduction Strategy, transparency and information flows, to represent the rights and interests of the diaspora and to offer state services – such as incentives, IDs and so on) a diaspora commission may be established under the Office of the Prime Minister.

Bilateral agreements between Lesotho and South Africa should be promoted to legalize the status of farm and domestic workers.

Awareness raising, trust building and mobilization of stakeholders (Government, diaspora, civil society, international community)

Lessons learned from other countries

Living in a foreign country, diasporas often tend to be reticent, especially migrants living abroad under irregular conditions. In some cases, diasporas members left their country of origin for political reasons, forcing them to be cautious and unobtrusive. Some others have "weak confidence in institutions back home and [...] fear that governments do not provide sufficient guarantees for sustainable investments" (Ionescu, 2006:49). Evidence from the OECD revealed that "[t]he existence of close social ties and mutual trust can facilitate trade relations and reduce transaction costs, while a lack of trust in relation to the government and its institutions, other migrants, the private sector and among diaspora members themselves hinders the development and application of policies involving diasporas for development" (in Ionescu, 2006:49). In order to regain or win the trust of diaspora members some countries reach out to them by organizing special events, such as Ethiopia celebrating the Annual Ethiopian Diaspora Day or India declaring a Celebration Day of Diasporas commemorating Ghandi's return to India from South Africa (Ionescu, 2006:36). Others establish webpages and networks. Many governments keep close contacts with their diasporas through their embassies by regular invitations and involve them in official visits of government officials.

Recommendations for Lesotho

As mentioned above, the Lesotho High Commission in Pretoria started to establish a diaspora association through its webpage¹¹. Thus far, this seems to be the only existing initiative of the Government of Lesotho to reach out to Basotho migrants. It is recommended to organize further events and webpages to encourage and enable migrants to engage actively and openly and to build closer links with the government. As mine workers tend to return once a year in order to extend their contracts, this opportunity could be used for celebrating their tremendous contribution to the Lesotho economy. TEBA could take on an active role in this regard.

The media of Lesotho could be encouraged to look deeper into migration and diaspora issues in order to create a weekly broadcast service for Lesotho migrants in South Africa allowing an interactive participation in order to exchange experiences and views. This would help clandestine domestic and farm workers to build confidence as well.

The Lesotho National Development Corporation and the Lesotho Council of NGOs could open an office specifically approaching Basotho professionals living abroad and offering information services.

Ways to incorporate diaspora contributions into development strategies and facilitate investment in human development

Lessons learned from other countries

Financial and entrepreneurial capital includes FDI, trade, remittances, savings, start-up or business investments, purchase of real estate and humanitarian support (Ionescu, 2006: 44). The World Bank established in 2003 that the FDI increased from USD 106 billion in 1995 to USD 143 billion in 2002, a large part of this increase resulting from diaspora investments. In some countries, such as in China, more investments are made by the diaspora than remittances sent (Ratha, 2003:157).

Ghana established a special agency for investments of Ghanaians abroad. "Senegal launched a diaspora entrepreneurship programme channelling diaspora investments towards some productive sectors" (lonescu, 2006:44). In

¹¹ Unfortunately, no contact with the High Commission could be established during the present study. It was therefore not feasible to study the steps undertaken and the possible successes or challenges.

2004, a first Africa Recruit Investment Forum and in 2006, an African Diaspora Investment Forum took place (Ionescu, 2006: 47).

Bonds are one option to attract diaspora members to invest in their countries of origin. Ionescu (2006:47) describes that Israel used bonds very successfully to attract the American Jewish diaspora to invest (different types of bonds, freely transferable, possibility to offer them as a gift, among others). The Indian Government started offering a guarantee by the State Bank of India in 1998 for non-resident Indians. Ethiopia is attracting the diaspora to purchase shares of state development projects, such as hydro-power plants.

Ethiopia, as well as other countries, offers different kinds of tax exemptions to diaspora members returning or investing (on vehicles, personal belongings and investment goods). Another attraction is to provide the right to buy land and property. Ionescu (2006:39) cites Portugal eliminating sales tax on property transactions and offering subsidized interest rates for the acquisitions of properties by diaspora members.

Orozco (2003, in: Ionescu, 2006:23) summarizes the economic involvement of diasporas under the Five Ts: tourism, transportation, telecommunications, trade, and transmission of monetary remittances. The extraordinarily active diaspora of Somalia and Somaliland have made been active in telecommunications, trade and money transfers. In Ethiopia and Kenya, tourism plays an important role for diaspora investors. Furthermore, the various kinds of utilities for urban settlements, such as water and electricity, are favoured sectors to invest in. Investments in housing and office construction are very common worldwide. In many countries, investments in the rural economy are favoured, such as in poultry farms. Ionescu (2006:23) reported that "19 of the top 20 Indian software businesses were founded or managed by professionals from the Indian diaspora. The software industry has created 400,000 new jobs in India and exported over USD 6 billion worth of goods and services in 2002. This is a successful example of the contributions made by diasporas." In the Philippines, diaspora companies were created supported by the consultancy of the Filipino Brain Gain Network (Ionescu, 2006:33).

Ionescu (2006:52) cites so-called local-to-local programmes implemented by the Senegalese and Ghanaian diasporas and Italy's municipalities in the Lombardi, Veneto and Toscana regions aiming "...to link local communities in Senegal and Ghana with local communities in Italy to use local entrepreneurial knowledge to create businesses back home." She also notes China "developed regional structures targeting diasporas, for instance the Henan province,

through its Chinese and Overseas Centre that actively searches for Chinese professors overseas to teach back home" (Ionescu, 2006:52).

Furthermore, many diaspora organizations are actively involved in the humanitarian sector, such as in education and health, supporting schools and health dispensaries or orphanages in their home areas. In Ethiopia, some medical professionals from the Ethiopian diaspora in the United States work voluntarily in a partner hospital in Addis Ababa for a certain period of time. Others invest in peace by supporting local peace education centres (for example, in Somalia and Sierra Leone). Interviewing the diaspora from the Horn of Africa living in Europe, the authors were told that the major concern of the diaspora is to create jobs for the youth and to improve their education (Abadura and Fahrenhorst, 2011).

In order to attract the diaspora to invest in human development in their countries of origin, the Philippines' Office of the President, Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) initiated a project seeking:

[...] a broader and deeper partnership between Filipinos overseas and Filipinos in the home country to advance the collective good of the Filipino people and to realize national development. Literally LINKAPIL 'service to fellow Filipinos', provides means for the transfer of various forms of resources from Filipinos overseas to support small-scale, high-impact projects to address the country's social and economic development needs.¹²

The CFO identifies possible projects, provides information to diaspora communities, arranges the transfer of resources from the diasporas, coordinates with the relevant government offices, and assists in implementation and monitoring, including providing regular feedback to donors. The diaspora provides the financial, material or technical support directly to the beneficiaries or through the CFO¹³. Another example from the Philippines, mentioned by lonescu (2006:48, citing Newland, 2004), describes the activity of the Filipino Overseas Workers Welfare administration issuing an "[...] identification card to all workers that serves as a visa card and enables remittance transfers at less than GBP 1.65 per transaction." The United Kingdom and Germany provide information to diasporas on international banks and money transfer

¹² See CFO website: www.cfo.gov.ph/index.php?option=com_content&view_earticle&id=1360:linkapil-a-partnership-for-national-development&catid=144:socio-economic-development.

¹³ See CFO website: www.cfo.gov.ph/index.php?option=com_content&view_earticle&id=1360:linkapil-a-partnership-for-national-development&catid=144:socio-economic-development.

organizations charging the lowest transfer fees via web pages. In Uganda, the International Fund for Agricultural Development is working on establishing micro finance institutions with sufficient capacity to deal with financial remittances.

Diaspora activities supporting the development of their countries of origin are manifold, and only few examples were given above. In order to channel the engagement of the diaspora to satisfy certain development needs, the countries of origin not only need to reach out but also offer programmes and projects, in which diaspora members can participate.

Recommendations for Lesotho

The Government of Lesotho could analyse and examine its foreign direct investment policy so that obstacles caused by bureaucracy, inadequate transaction procedures and weak business environments will be eliminated and new "windows of opportunities" (Ionescu, 2006:23) may open for Basotho migrants.

In order to attract and channel financial engagement from the Basotho living abroad, the Parliamentary Committee on Planning, the National Planning Board, the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, the Lesotho National Development Corporation, the NUL and the LCN may identify certain priority areas of support. The Lesotho National Strategic Development Plan should clearly identify areas and projects for Basotho living abroad to invest in. All projects should be clearly described, and monitoring for transparency should be a priority.

Differentiation must be made between profit-oriented investment activities and non-profit donations for human development. Accordingly, different kinds of incentives may be offered, from investment gains, tax or customs reductions and exemptions as well as special credit schemes for investments and bonds/shares for investing in larger development projects to celebration days, certificates/prizes/awards (like the Ethiopian "Green Hero" for diaspora members planting trees), project visits, co-funding, and others.

In the case of investments and trade, the Lesotho Chamber of Commerce and the Lesotho National Development Corporation can be seen as significant partners in development linking the Basotho living abroad with business options in Lesotho. In order to facilitate investment in human development and the humanitarian sector, another agency is needed. Based on the Lesotho

National Strategic Development Plan, the agency should be dedicated to facilitating the implementation of human development programmes or projects funded through donations. The agency should guarantee successful project or programme management and ensure transparent administration of funding. A foundation could be established that compliments the donations provided by Basotho living abroad with more funds or the other way around: a foundation that collects donations from the diaspora in order to bolster government or NGO development projects (like the Civil Society Foundation in Tanzania). Another option could be to attract local community-based organizations (CBOs) and NGOs to design project proposals to be submitted to and evaluated by the development agency. If evaluated positively, funding could be received from Basotho diaspora members. Here the Lesotho Council of NGOs could play an important role.

In all cases, information must be provided widely to Basotho living abroad, via embassies, high commissions, consular offices and webpages. In order to reduce the financial burden of bank transfer fees, agreements may be made with private banks. The TEBA bank could set up a programme to receive financial transfers from all Basotho migrants without charging fees.

Funds supporting diaspora projects

Lessons learned from other countries

In a number of countries, bottom-up diaspora initiatives have been able to raise awareness, to influence and to drive development forward. European governments, for example, have provided different kinds of diaspora funding. For instance, the Netherlands established a budget line to be used exclusively for diaspora projects and programmes; Denmark, among others, finances the transportation costs of goods collected for schools and hospitals; and many governments provide funding for projects to be implemented locally in the countries of origin and for exchange and volunteer programmes. There seems to be a correlation between the funding offered and the establishment of diaspora organizations. Governments usually require diaspora groups applying for public funding to form an officially registered non-profit organization and partner with a local school, hospital, orphanage or local CSO.

Recommendations for Lesotho

Government funding schemes can be used to encourage migrants to form diaspora organizations and to cooperate with local partners in their countries

of origin. During their research in Lesotho, the authors did not come across any such diaspora projects and funding mechanisms in Lesotho. The international community active in Lesotho could open a fund for diaspora projects to be implemented with local partners. This could create incentives not only to form diaspora organizations but also to form local CBOs and other CSOs to act as beneficiaries. As there is no such experience in Lesotho up to now, the conditions for receiving funding should be as simple and non-bureaucratic as possible. The Lesotho Council of NGOs may act as an intermediary and additionally provide training and know-how to assist local people in forming CSOs and designing and managing projects.

Linking migrants and civil society

Lessons learned from other countries

Civil society can be understood as an important driving force in development. Non-state actors contribute to organizing people, especially the rural population, and provide an avenue for them to learn to articulate their needs and manage development challenges collectively. Diaspora organizations are a part of the civil society as well. In recent years, civil society in many countries in the North has become aware of the contribution of the diaspora to development and has started specific activities to improve the integration of diaspora organizations and to strengthen their capacities in project management.

Professional networks and scientific/academic networks also form part of civil society and contribute to human development as well. According to lonescu (2006:32), diaspora organizations are "[...] particularly dynamic and effective when they are related to a particular academic and entrepreneurial environment."

Recommendations for Lesotho

While conducting research in Lesotho, the authors did not come across any professional or academic networks engaging with the diaspora. This being said, the NUL has begun cooperation with the ACP Observatory on Migration. Some researchers of the NUL and the authors discussed the possibility of establishing a research network on diaspora issues in Southern and Eastern Africa in order to build capacity and know-how of academia and political decision-makers. The African Union Commission expressed its appreciation, but funding will be needed to realize the initiative.

Skills transfer

Lessons learned from other countries

Literature on diaporas assumes that the presence of a diaspora influences the cultural and human development in countries of origin "[...] changing role models, influencing gender roles, altering demographic and familial behaviours and perceptions of what a successful life should be." Ionescu, 2006: 23). Furthermore, it is assumed that the skills of the diaspora increase while working or studying abroad. A good example is the above-mentioned Chinese and Overseas Centre of the province of Henan, attracting Chinese professors living abroad to teach back home. The Chinese government especially targets students to return after their studies.

There are several circular migration initiatives that invite diaspora members to return to their countries of origin in order to share their knowledge, either for a short stay or for more permanent relocation after retirement. According to Agunias (2012:168), IOM has been active in returning qualified emigrants for over 50 years and has developed various programmes in this regard, beginning with the Selective Migration Programme (SELMIG) in the 1960s, followed by the Return of Qualified Nationals (RQN) and the Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) programmes. The IOM MIDA programme is working with different diasporas and countries supporting temporary and even virtual transfers of human capital (IOM, 2004:3). The MIDA strategy encompasses country-specific needs assessments, capacity-building, dialogue with the diaspora, partnerships with private investors and the promotion of policy coherence (Melde and Ndiaye-Coïc, 2007:31f). The Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN) is another programme implemented by the UNDP. Challenges arise if employers in host countries do not provide opportunities for a longer stay abroad. Ionescu (2006:41) describes three other initiatives: "AfricaRecruit is an initiative that facilitates the matching of professional skills available in African diasporas and job offers in African countries, supported by the Commonwealth Business Council and New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) [...] The African Experts and Diasporas database was launched in 2002 at the Third African Development Forum in Addis Ababa in collaboration with IOM. [...] The South African Network of Skills Abroad (SANSA) was created through a governmental call..." Afterwards, a second diaspora network was aimed at being established by South Africa, the South African Diaspora Network (SADN, 2003). Unfortunately "[...] both networks atrophied due to lack of funding and sustained interest among members" and having "[...] been attributed

to over centralization" (Agunias and Newland, 2012:175 and 184). Another noticeable trend is the development of sector-based programmes that focus on specific human resource needs in the home country and target the respective professional groups within the diasporas. According to Ionescu (2006), especially the diaspora members trained in health and education feel attracted by these programmes.

Recommendations for Lesotho

Facing an unemployment rate of about 50 per cent and push factors like "poverty, hunger, landlessness, unemployment, widowhood or abandonment, supporting AIDS orphans, and no money for school fees, medical treatment or clothing" (Crush et al., 2010:15) returnees programmes should be driven by the demand of Lesotho, especially for highly skilled workers.

The authors' research in Lesotho detected that students leaving Lesotho with scholarships rarely return home. Professionals, especially in the health sector, are leaving the country, especially due to recruitment of health professionals by Great Britain in Southern Africa. As a balance, the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) should be requested to provide special funding for new scholarships. Return programmes could also be aimed at professionals with other destinations, such as Botswana.

Special incentives for professionals to stay in Lesotho could be designed. The project envisaged by the WHO seeks to encourage medical doctors and nurses to return to their home countries after their education could be a promising entry point. Other incentives such as topping up salaries of returning professionals should be explored. Options could include: providing housing or granting quality education free of charge for children of returning professionals, and so on. Surveys should be conducted to understand the reasons behind why professionals often stay abroad.

A circular migration programme may be established in order to attract teachers and health professionals living abroad to work on a short-term basis in Lesotho. The three teachers' associations and the Lesotho-Boston Health Alliance may be direct partners for implementation.

First steps to encourage students to return after their studies have been initiated by making families liable for the repayment of scholarships. Nevertheless, attractive job offers or additional facilities need to be available to encourage them to return voluntarily. Again, a survey needs to be conducted to understand the reasons behind why migrants tend to remain abroad.

Portability of social benefits, rights and employment

Lessons learned from other countries

The possibility of transferring social security benefits and social rights is understood as important for attracting migrants to return home, in particular pension and health benefits (the World Bank, 2005).

"However, this portability is usually achieved through bilateral social security agreements between the sending and the receiving countries, and targets in particular temporary labour migrants. Hence, diaspora members who have been living abroad for a long time but would be interested to return to their home country are often not included in such agreements" (lonescu, 2006: 39).

For diaspora members willing to return, employment facilities and social services (pensions, health insurance and education) need to be created. Especially for professionals, jobs need to be offered guaranteeing a certain income. On the other hand, experiences from other countries show that the diaspora is quite active in business and employment creation.

Recommendations for Lesotho

It seems that there is no constraint for Basotho migrants having worked legally in South Africa to transfer their gained social benefits and rights to Lesotho after having returned. Migrants working illegally in the informal sector normally do not receive any social benefits. The regularization of the Basotho farm and domestic workers in South Africa should be accompanied by the establishment of a health insurance and pension scheme. In order to attract professionals to return from other countries in Africa, bilateral agreements and arrangements must be made.

Some steps have already been taken in Lesotho to offer topped-up salaries to health professionals returning home from abroad. These experiences should be analysed. In the case of positive conclusions, further projects may be established.

A government web page targeting professionals living abroad should provide information on open positions for professionals willing to return, on new programmes being designed to attract Basotho migrants to engage in human development at home, as well as on investment opportunities. The obligation to pay back scholarships could be abolished and a fund, financed by diaspora members, could be established to support another generation to study abroad.

5.3 Policy coherence: The role of stakeholders

In Lesotho, there are a number of stakeholders relevant to the formulation and implementation of a diaspora policy. In order to guarantee policy coherence, an interministerial and multi-stakeholder Commission for Diaspora Issues should be established to act as a coordinating body. To highlight the importance of the disapora policy, the Commission should be given prominence by being established in the Office of the Prime Minister.

International community Ministry of Foreign Affairs **Central Bank** Lesotho National Ministries of Home Development Corporation Interministerial and multi-stakeholder Ministry of Finance Central Bureau of Commission for and Development Statistics Diaspora Issues/Office Planning of the Prime Minister National University Lesotho Council of Lesotho Ministries of Aliabour and Employment of NGOs Ministries of Education

Figure 5: The roles and responsibilities of stakeholders

The roles and responsibilities of the different stakeholders and members that should be involved in a Commission for Diaspora Issues are the following:

Interministerial and multi-stakeholder Commission for Diaspora Issues to be established under the Prime Minister:

Creation or adaptation of Government institutions to enable diaspora, Policy formulation,

Policy coherence, coordination;

Central data administration, analysis of census data,
Attraction to the diaspora: incentives and privileges to non-resident
expatriates and their descendants,

Match goals to diaspora resources (human and financial) Explanation of and feedback on Government policies, Public awareness,

High-profile events, recognize diaspora, Inventory of existing diaspra activities, Sponsored travel for diaspora opinion leaders, youth, diaspora spokepersons.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

Reach out to the migrants, active consular networks,
Make them form diaspora associations,
Support migration/diaspora policy formulation in SADC region,
Bilateral agreements with the host countries on dual citizenship, "yellow cards".

Ensuring the portability of rights, pension and social security benefit transfers, saving schemes,

Help domesting and farm workers and all other migrants in informal sector.

Ministry of Home Affairs:

Dual citizenship - formally acknowledge diasporas' transnational belonging - if impossible at the moment introduce yellow card,

Trust and access to rights, status and provision: recognition of diasporas as full citizens, voting and property rights,

Alleviate the bureaucratic burden/simplification of bureaucratic procedure (register or update papers online),

Issue identification cards that also offer remittance transfer services at low rates/lowering transfer costs.

Central Bureau of Statistics:

Collect relevant data (quantitative, qualitative),
Provide data to strengthen knowledge on diaspora,
Conduct mapping of professional migrants and their skills,
Create inventory of existing diaspora activities.

Ministry of Finance and Development Planning:

Define development priorities and strategies requiring diaspora involvement.

Lesotho National Development Corporation:

Identify investment projects, offering security for business transactions,

Create one-stop-shop for investment or business,

Provide investment consultation,

Facilitate projects, contacts, co-operations.

Ministry of Labour and Employment/Central Bank/Ministry of Finance and Foreign Affairs:

Ensure the portability of rights, pension and social security benefit transfers saving schemes,

Issue identification cards that also offer remittance transfer services at low rates.

Low remittance transfer costs: Extend the TEBA type of services for all migrants, Agree with selected international banks on lowering fees.

Ministries of Health and Education:

Promote skill transfer programmes, Attract professional diaspora to return.

International community:

Provide funds for diaspora projects and link with CSOs.

National University of Lesotho:

Conduct research on diaspora (identity, activities, needs),
Administer surveys to help offering attractions to return,
Administer surveys to better understand reasons for emigration of professionals,
Create inventory of existing diaspora activities,

Create inventory of existing diaspora activities Build research networks regionally, Offer policy advice.

6. Conclusions

Lesotho's migrants send a high volume of remittances. These are mainly used to finance the daily expenses of their families, but may also be invested. However, currently these funds are not collectively invested in human development in Lesotho by Basotho emigrants.

The Government of Lesotho plans to a national migration policy. Such a policy would be a necessary first step to national migration governance, but may not be sufficient for the country to fully engage their diaspora and enjoy the positive energy of emigrants continuing to care and be invested in the human development of the country. In this sense, the development of a specific diaspora policy would be essential.

This study proposes several key elements of a diaspora policy. First of all, it should have an enabling character emphasizing support for the diaspora and offering attractions to return and invest in Lesotho. Secondly, it should encourage partnership, expressing an understanding of the diaspora as a development partner. Last but not least, it should have a catalytic character, promoting a positive understanding of the diaspora and its activities (Ionescu, 2006).

Taking into account the experiences and lessons learned from other countries as well as the IOM/MPI Handbook (Agunias, D. R. and K. Newland, 2012) and IOM paper on engaging the diaspora (Ionescu, 2006) and adapting them to the specific needs of Lesotho, the authors formulated the following key elements for a diaspora policy to be drafted for Lesotho:

- Understanding and honouring the diaspora as a development actor;
- Organizing diaspora associations;
- Integrating diaspora in development strategies;
- Offering dual citizenship or at least a special "yellow cards" to allow diaspora members citizenship rights;
- Offering information on human development related investments;
- Lowering remittance transfer fees and introducing fee-less money transfer systems like a kind of TEBA bank for all migrants;
- Alleviating taxes or custom fees for importing goods and equipment;
- Offering skill transfer programmes;

- Negotiating transfer of social benefits (like pension funds);
- Organizing local CSOs in rural areas as collective recipients of collective investments in human development, linking diaspora associations with local CSOs;
- Offering funds for topping-up diaspora investments or development aid;
- Allowing foreign currency bank accounts;
- Offering incentives for investments, such as land.

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Useful links

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http://www.topix.com/forum/world/botswana/TIAE8MDVQRMBR936S

http://www.topix.com/forum/world/lesotho/TKFRIEUU0NHDV4GJJ

http://www.topix.com/forum/world/lesotho/T790NJ9V8ROURFA82

http://www.topix.com/forum/world/lesotho/T3M14688M99EJGJQP

Lesotho Expat Forum (Immigrants)

http://www.expat-blog.com/forum/viewforum.php?id=101

SADC Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons

http://www.sadc.int/index/browse/page/149

Annex: Interview partners in Lesotho

List of organizations interviewed	Date
ACP Observatory on Migration/IOM	02-10-2012
World Health Organization (WHO)	02-10-2012
Lesotho Council of NGOs (LCN)	02-10-2012
Intra ACP Migration Facility (WYG International)	02-10-2012
National University of Lesotho (NUL)	03-10-2012
National Coordinator of Women and Law in South African	03-10-2012
Research Trust, National Consultative Committee	
Ministry of Gender, National Consultative Committee	03-10-2012
Public Service, National Consultative Committee	03-10-2012
Ministry of Labour and Employment	03-10-2012
Ministry of Labour and Employment	03-10-2012
United Nations Development Program	03-10-2012
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Relations	03-10-2012
Ministry of Development Planning	03-10-2012
Lesotho National Development Corporation	03-10-2012
Ministry of Labour	04-10-2012
Bureau of Statistics	05-10-2012
Bureau of Statistics	05-10-2012
Bureau of Statistics	05-10-2012
Principal Information Officer – Ministry of Manpower	05-10-2012
Development	
Ministry of Manpower and Development	05-10-2012
Director General of Health Services, Ministry of Health	05-10-2012
Sechaba Consultants	05-10-2012
Central Bank	05-10-2012
Ministry of Education and Training	05-10-2012
ACP Observatory on Migration/IOM	05-10-2012
National University of Lesotho (NUL)	05-10-2012

As a landlocked country with high rates of emigration, Lesotho widely relies on the resources of its migrants. This study seeks to analyse how Basotho emigrants in the South can become more engaged in the human development of their home country?

In the framework of the development of a new migration policy, the Government of Lesotho has requested the ACP Observatory to explore potential ways to enhance the contribution of diasporas.

This publication reviews the existing evidence on Basotho diasporas in the South and proposes key elements of a diaspora policy, in line with practices implemented in other contexts and major recommendations emerged from international migration debates.









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