What Development Means to Diaspora Communities

November 2015

our world
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2015
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Acronyms

AAT	Aid Attitudes Tracker
AFFORD	African Foundation for Development
APPG	All-Party Parliamentary Group
CGI	Comic Relief's Common Ground Initiative
DDO	Diaspora Development Organisation
DFID	Department for International Development
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FBO	Faith-based Organisation
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
UKTI	UK Trade and Investment
VSO	Voluntary Service Overseas

Foreword

As aid and development come under increased scrutiny and experience a decline in public support, Bond believes we need a diverse range of voices supporting and speaking up for our shared concerns. Throughout the European Year for Development we've been using the unique opportunities provided by 2015 to engage new audiences in development conversations.

We see working with UK diaspora populations as central to these efforts. At the end of the Enough Food for Everyone IF campaign – one of the biggest development-focused campaigns in recent years – the evaluation recognised the "efforts by the sector to involve diaspora organisations in an inclusive and meaningful way" but highlighted the need to build on this to "sustain partnerships and maintain momentum."

With strong links to countries engaged with development cooperation, diaspora communities often have a unique insight into development and how it is perceived and communicated, but as this research shows, too often this is not recognised in mainstream development efforts. As we seek to build public support for development across the UK, if we are not communicating appropriately to this (potentially receptive) audience, then those opportunities to build further support could be lost.

Coming from a diaspora community (the term 'diaspora' is not always recognised, understood or welcomed), I am aware that diaspora communities' approach to development can manifest differently from the mainstream, albeit motivated by the same drive to make the world a better place. The approach is often more immediate, more familiar and less remote, although not to the exclusion of seeking to address structural issues. Decisions and activity made by diaspora communities often reflect having come from the communities they now seek to support.

This report outlines the benefits that can be gained by bringing diaspora groups and mainstream development organisations closer together. But reducing the space between the two will take some work. Recognition of the other is critical, coupled by a genuine willingness to engage, understanding there will be (at times profound) differences in approaches.

Diaspora groups and mainstream development organisations often use different language, and we sometimes mean different things when using the same language. There is the reality that NGOs have established norms for structural frameworks that govern both development policy and delivery, but with historically little input from diaspora organisations and communities. Mainstream development organisations are not always as diverse or reflective of the broader UK society as they could be. These issues, coupled with a significant imbalance in resource and capacity of diaspora groups, increase barriers to engagement from both perspectives.

However, our common cause is stronger than our differences, and the benefits of bringing diaspora groups and mainstream efforts together to build support for development among diaspora communities are undoubtedly worth striving for. We hope that this research will continue the conversation started at the end of the IF campaign, helping our members and others develop an understanding of the unique role and contribution of diaspora communities, and helping NGOs and diaspora organisations to find ways to collaborate.

Going forward, Bond is committed to following up on the recommendations in this report to ensure that the international development sector's communications help build solid long-term public support to tackle global poverty.

We look forward to working with networks like AFFORD and the Diaspora Volunteering Alliance to find ways to ensure that we can draw on the insight, knowledge and passion in so many diaspora-led organisations to grow our shared movement for change. Please join us.

Farah Nazeer
Director of Policy and Campaigns, Bond

Executive summary

Diaspora communities are important agents of development. Their economic and social contribution to developing countries is extensive and diverse. Many are active contributors through remittances and, more recently, through business and volunteering. Diasporas also contribute to international development through their membership in faith organisations, by giving financial donations or volunteering their time.

Factors such as age, religion, economic prosperity, integration, identity and a sense of belonging determine the extent to which the diaspora community engage with development issues, but in general, they care about development and feel a sense of moral obligation to help those who are less privileged.

Each generation of the diaspora community tends to hold its own view of development and development organisations:

- First generations maintain links to their homelands and send remittances regularly. They believe that direct aid is the most effective way to help. Their views of development tend to stem from first hand experiences of poverty. Development debates articulated by international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) do not resonate with them.

- Second generations remain close to their countries of ancestry and many make remittances through their parents, while others support diaspora development organisations (DDOs). They are generally more aware of mainstream development debates, though they can also be critical, as they are knowledgeable and connected to their countries of ancestry.

- Third and fourth generations do not naturally view developing countries as 'hopeless'. Many see them as places for opportunity, innovation and mutual learning. They see a major role for business and enterprise. As 'millennials', they are avid technology users, and thus keep abreast of events in their countries of ancestry through social media.

Both diaspora communities and INGOs want to create positive change in developing countries, but their priorities, strategies and ways of working differ substantively.

Diaspora communities prefer targeted assistance which they can provide with precision, knowing exactly what they desire to change and where, as well as with whom they need to work to achieve that change. They also tend to view business and enterprise very positively and regard them as essential to creating positive change in their countries of ancestry, through new and better-paid jobs and overall economic growth.

In contrast, many INGOs focus their campaigns on addressing the structural roots of underdevelopment, focusing on government policies and undertaking thematic programmatic interventions which do not always coincide with the countries or regions of interest to diaspora communities.

Given their different approaches, they often operate in parallel to each other, with few regular opportunities to interact and collaborate. Communication and engagement have to be planned endeavours that take up resources and require capacity. Diasporas tend to lack trust in INGOs and their effectiveness. Moreover, the language and images used by INGOs often lead to mistrust, frustration and a sense of disconnection. Many diaspora communities believe that INGOs perpetuate negative stereotypes and oversimplify the serious issues that affect the lives of their families and friends in their countries of origin.

There is also an underlying feeling among diaspora communities that their contributions to development have largely been side-lined, and this is exacerbated by limited or irregular contact and communication with INGOs. While some progress has been achieved through initiatives funded by the Department for International Development (DFID) and delivered by VSO and Comic Relief, their full desire to participate has not been satisfied.

Many second and third generation diaspora who are curious about development and INGOs do not find clear pathways to collaborate. Instead, they choose to support DDOs or set up their own initiatives. The latter is particularly true of the younger generations, who are able to build up their own networks and become more informed of global events through online engagement.

It is imperative that INGOs develop new communication strategies to improve their engagement with diaspora communities. This will take decisive action and resources.

Priority actions should aim to:

- Acknowledge the contribution of diaspora communities as a valuable component of the UK's overall international development offer.

- Commit to a trust-building strategy that listens to diasporas' concerns and aims to address these as much as possible.

- Focus on common interest in fostering positive change in developing countries and identify specific initiatives on which to collaborate.

- Make an effort to refine development narratives so these can help break down negative stereotypes about developing countries.

- Take into account the crucial role of faith in the life of diaspora communities.

Delegates at the African Diaspora and Development Day 2015 conference, London

1. Introduction

Aims of the research

The overarching aim of this research is to better understand how international development is perceived and understood within diaspora communities[1] in order to build public support. For Bond, this is key to expanding political space and increasing pressure on governments to enact change. To achieve this, it is important that the development sector engage a wide and diverse population. Diaspora communities in the UK represent a key population that Bond would like to work with to build a more active supporter base.

While diaspora communities are diverse in themselves, they have a common connection to developing countries through their heritage. Bond wants to explore that connection in order to better understand the roles that these communities can play in development, and share this learning with its members.

Under the auspices of the European Year for Development, Bond commissioned this report to explore how UK diaspora communities communicate international development: how they interpret and respond to messages, what language they use and recognise, and their preferred channels of communication.

The authors of this report were asked to propose relevant recommendations for different stakeholders across the development sector, as to how they could better engage diaspora communities in their work. The researchers bring a combined portfolio of strategic communications expertise within the international development sector and over 15 years of policy expertise focused on diaspora integration. The project was undertaken during a period of increasing research and discussion about how international development is communicated to the general public in the UK, and beyond. Initiatives such as the Narrative Project and Aid Attitude Tracker (AAT), funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, are challenging international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) and others to reflect on how they construct messages and arguments, and on how they use language and images to communicate their work.

In this context, diaspora communities can be natural allies of the development sector. As is widely known, many are active contributors to developing countries through remittances and, more recently, through other forms of support, such as business investment and volunteering. These, and the other ways in which diaspora communities contribute to development, are discussed later in this report. However, despite their mutual interest in positive change in developing countries, diaspora communities and INGOs do not generally work as partners, be it in the battle to win the hearts and minds of the general public, or in advocacy to secure continued political support, or in the actual delivery of projects and initiatives in developing countries.

This report looks at how communication and engagement can help bring these two key development agents closer together to achieve mutual objectives. To this aim, the research explored and analysed:

- existing perceptions and concerns of diaspora communities, including their perceptions of development debates and actors, while considering the different experiences of second and third generations;

- language and messaging, with an emphasis on those that resonate strongly with diaspora communities;

- the communication channels through which diaspora communities access information relevant to development.

The report offers recommendations to develop more effective communications with UK diaspora communities. Effective engagement with these communities, leading to partnerships of equals that thrive on the diversity of the UK's development sector, is the ultimate goal.

We recognise the limitations of the report on account of the sample sizes detailed in the methodology. The resulting findings reflect the attitudes of participants as representatives of their communities, and should not be equated to the attitudes of the diaspora community as a whole, acknowledging its diversity and scale. The findings and recommendations should therefore be interpreted as the start of a process of sharing learning and prompting debate that explores the contribution of UK diaspora communities to international development.

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1. This term refers to a community of people who live outside their shared country of origin or ancestry but maintain active connections with it. A diaspora includes both emigrants and their descendants. In this report we are specifically referring to diaspora communities based in the UK.

Methodology

The research underpinning this report combined three methodologies:

1. desk-based research for the literature review;

2. workshops with three different diaspora communities; and

3. semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders.

The workshops were attended by a total sample of 28 individuals from different ethnic and national backgrounds: Brazilians, Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Kenyans, Somalis and African-Caribbeans.

Five workshops brought together between four and nine participants of the same ethnic or national background; the themes chosen for discussion were based on a review of the key issues in development communications, conducted as part of the literature review. Each session lasted around 90 minutes, and the discussions were transcribed and analysed.

In addition, 18 semi-structured interviews were conducted with practitioners and decision-makers from diaspora communities, or from organisations working closely with them. The interviews were held either by Skype, phone or face-to-face. Interviewees preferred to remain anonymous as many felt this gave them the opportunity to speak more freely. As a result, quotes from interviewees are not attributed beyond the workshop in which they participated.

Sampling

The research focused on three wider groups within the UK's diaspora communities: British Muslims, British Africans, and London-based Latin Americans. (See box 2.1 for demographic profiles of each group).

These groups were selected for two reasons:

1. They represent the three main continents where development is pursued, while also representing the diversity of Britain's diaspora communities from post-WWII to the present day.

2. The nature of their relationships with their home countries or countries of ancestry varies, which was thought would maximise the diversity of insights, perspectives and ways of communicating with them.

The age of participants ranged from 14 to 65 years old and there was a gender balance in each diaspora group, with the exception of the Brazilian groups. All participants were educated to at least school level. The majority were educated in Britain and some had higher education qualifications. Brazilian participants were educated in Brazil.

Table 1: Breakdown of participants by ethnicity, gender, generation and location in the UK

Group	Ethnic background or nationality	Gender	Generation	Location
1	Kenyan, Somali and African-Caribbeans	Mixed	Second and third	Manchester
2	Pakistani and Bangladeshi	Male	Second	Manchester
3	Pakistani and Bangladeshi	Female	First, second and third	Cardiff
4	Brazilian	Female	First	London
5	Brazilian	Female	First	London

NB: First generation refers to those who came to the UK as adults; second generation to those who were born or schooled in the UK, having arrived as children; and third generation to the children of the second generation.

2. Literature review

This short review covers existing literature on diaspora communities, development and communications. We start by briefly describing the contribution of UK diaspora communities to development, along with ethnic profiles of the three groups considered in this study.

We also survey the key existing formal initiatives that engage with diaspora communities in development, as well as some of the issues that can have an impact on their views about development. While the literature available is limited, this information is invaluable as context for creating successful communications strategies aiming to connect the mainstream development sector, principally INGOs and the diaspora.

In order to generate findings and recommendations that are useful to communicators, this section also looks at the role of communications, as a discipline, in achieving development goals. We also highlight some of the key current issues in the practice of development communications which guided our discussions with diaspora communities and helped us understand their perspectives on these debates.

2.1 Diaspora communities in the UK and their contribution to development

Maurice (2014) suggests there are currently 2.8 million people in the UK who come from diaspora communities, roughly 4.4% of the British population, however it is anecdotally suggested that this figure could now be much close to 4 million. Their potential to influence trade, geopolitics and development policy has been increasingly debated in the UK and internationally for the last 20 years. However, a clear and accurate picture of their actual engagement in civic life and in key policy areas, including development, has not yet emerged.

In the UK, diaspora communities have been contributing financially to development for decades. Despite being a small proportion of the UK's population, their contribution to development through remittances alone is almost equivalent to the whole of Britain's aid budget. In the UK, private international donations to INGOs are estimated at £1bn, compared to formal remittances, which are estimated at £2.5bn (The Independent 2013). Diasporas' contributions include remittances of various kinds, such as targeted transfers to friends and family as well as sponsorship of schools, teachers, hospitals, sanitation and other social services. In addition, diaspora communities contribute through other non-financial means, such as knowledge and skills transfer, business activity and political engagement (Maurice 2014).

In addition, as diaspora communities grow, their networks expand and intertwine, potentially linking countries in opposite ends of the world, and offering global reach opportunities that few other networks offer. Thanks to more accessible digital communications, diasporas are now connected 'instantaneously, continuously, dynamically and intimately to their communities of origin' (The Economist 2011).

Looking across the existing literature, there are three key features that diaspora networks have in common: they increase the speed at which information flows across borders; they generate trust; and they create connections that foster collaboration among like-minded individuals within and across ethnic groups. In particular, younger generations of diaspora communities contribute to development through these networks, as exemplified by the work of many of the members of the Diaspora Volunteering Alliance.[2]

While the literature available is limited, all the evidence reviewed suggests that the diaspora are 'communities that care'. Many are actively engaged, knowledgeable and choose well-developed informal parallel structures to connect with their home countries and contribute financially or in-kind to development. These structures include direct giving, collective remittances through hometown associations and collaboration with diaspora development organisations (DDOs). Nevertheless, the full extent of the UK's diaspora communities' contribution to development is not known, and, importantly, it is rarely mentioned in narratives about what constitutes successful development interventions.

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2. See www.diasporavolunteeringalliance.org

Box 2.1 Ethnic profiles of diaspora communities

British Muslims[3]

Most of Britain's Muslim population arrived in the 1950s, 60s and 70s. The 2011 Census shows that there are 2.71 million Muslims in Britain, which accounts for 4.8% of the population of England and Wales. The census also indicates that Islam is the second largest religion in the UK.

The Muslim community in Britain is diverse, speaks many different languages, follows a variety of cultural practices, and belongs to different sects. The single largest group of UK Muslims are those of Pakistani descent. According to a Muslim Council of Britain report (Ali 2015), half of the Muslims in England and Wales were born in Britain and almost three-quarters (73%) identify themselves as British. Two-thirds of Muslims are ethnically Asian and 8% are white. One in three Muslims is under 15, compared with fewer than one in five overall. There are also fewer elderly Muslims, with 4% aged over 65, compared with 16% of the overall population.

British Muslims are active contributors to development. The main drivers behind Islamic aid are *zakat* (alms) and *sadaqa* (voluntary charity). The value of donations by British Muslims to Muslim and non-Muslim causes via JustGiving increased from £116,000 in 2010 to £200,000 in 2012, which suggests that Muslims gave more than twice as much to charity per capita as the average Briton (£371 versus £165) (Justgiving 2013).

African diaspora

While Africans have lived in the UK for centuries, this reports looks at descendants of the second and third 'waves' of African migrants. The second wave migrated as a result of upheavals caused by anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles, the outbreak of civil wars and ethnic conflicts, and political repression (Cohen 2008). The third wave was triggered by the deteriorating socio-economic conditions that followed the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes in various African states in the 1980s and 1990s. The majority of these immigrants live in the London area (African Diaspora Policy Centre 2011).

The 2011 UK Census recorded that 1,904,684 residents identified as 'Black/African/Caribbean/Black British', accounting for 3% of the UK's population. The census shows that most migrants came from Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya and Zimbabwe. A DFID survey (Department for International Development 2013) shows that Black Africans have the highest propensity of all ethnic groups to remit, despite the fact that significant personal sacrifice is often made by those sending money overseas. Many Black and Black British individuals also give the *tithe*[4] or *zakat*[5] to their churches and mosques, which is often used to support missions in African countries.

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3. A note on terminology: we selected British Muslims (from Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups) as a collective identity as we were keen to explore the dynamics of culture and faith as motivating factors for engaging in development, and British Muslims together represent the largest of the diaspora communities in Britain.

4. A portion, traditionally one tenth of the annual income of a member of a religious congregation, which is given voluntarily to support the church.

5. A payment made annually under Islamic law on certain kinds of property and used for charitable and religious purposes.

Latin Americans in London

While Latin Americans arrived in the UK as political refugees in the 1970s, economic migration is now their main reason for coming to the UK. Brazilians, who arrived in large numbers in the 2000s, are now are the largest nationality group among Latin Americans (McIlwaine *et al* 2011).

It is difficult to estimate the exact numbers of Latin Americans in the UK because they are not acknowledged in official national ethnic monitoring statistics. However data from the London boroughs of Southwark and Lambeth made possible the first study of this community, *No Longer Invisible: The Latin American Community In London* (2011). London-based Latin Americans are a young, well-educated community: 70% are educated beyond secondary level. Even so, they are 10 times more likely to work for less than the minimum wage. Almost 90% identify with a religion, mainly Roman Catholic (63%) and Evangelical Christian (17%). This group attend religious services held by Latin American priests and pastors in Spanish or Portuguese.

According to the *No Longer Invisible* report, a median of £2,000 is sent home annually by London-based Latin Americans. Brazilians send the most at almost 24% of their personal weekly income. They send substantially more than other nationalities, with almost one-third sending more than £5,000 per year. Most of them send money to support their families (60%).

Diaspora Volunteering Alliance Annual Conference 2015, London

Delegates at the African Diaspora and Development Day 2015 conference, London

2.2 Key formal initiatives that engage with diaspora communities in development

While successive UK governments and INGOs have been seeking to develop closer ties with diaspora communities for many years, their attempts have not always been well co-ordinated, or strategic. However, there are some positive examples:

- VSO's Diaspora Volunteering Programme – running from 2008 to 2011, VSO's programme worked through more than 20 diaspora organisations providing funding to help skilled professionals from UK diaspora communities to volunteer in their countries or continents of heritage (VSO 2011).

- Comic Relief's Common Ground Initiative – since 2008, the Department for International Development (DFID) has been co-funding Comic Relief's Common Ground Initiative (CGI), which funds and builds the capacity of small diaspora organisations to work in development projects. In June 2015, Comic Relief was awarded a grant of £12 million from DFID for a second phase of its work, which will focus on development in Africa. During this phase, which runs until 2019, Comic Relief will provide funding to diaspora-led organisations through the UK Small NGO Fund. The CGI will provide non-grant support to diaspora communities working in Africa on Rights & Inclusion and Diaspora Finance & Investment.[6] (See CGI 2014 for a full evaluation of the first phase of the programme.)

In addition, a group of MPs set up an All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Diaspora, Migration and Development in February 2015, which aims to expand the contributions of diaspora communities to development.[7] The APPG arose out of the shared interest of diaspora, and MPs and Peers from diaspora backgrounds, or who have an interest in diaspora-related issues, to consider migration and development issues in a coherent way. Government departments and agencies such as DFID, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and UK Trade and Investment (UKTI) engage with diasporas at different levels and on different issues, particularly to strengthen ties with their countries of origin on trade and security, and to some extent development. To date, the APPG

has not released a government-wide strategy that sets out its plans for on-going, meaningful interaction with diaspora communities about development.

In parallel, the UK has seen an emergence of DDOs, which are more closely connected to diaspora communities and have been seemingly more successful than traditional INGOs at harnessing the social, human and economic capital of diaspora communities seen through strong diaspora engagement with their work. AFFORD and Muslim Charities Forum are examples of organisations working to build the capacity of their members and diaspora communities through policy, advocacy and lobbying, as well as project delivery. It is difficult to estimate exactly how many DDOs operate in the UK. They can vary in size, organisational structure and governance. Some are run by individuals, or by a family. Others are run as co-ops and, in some cases, as charities. In any case, there is a lack of literature documenting the diversity of the UK's existing DDOs and the extent of their work and contribution to international development.

2.3 Key issues relevant to diaspora communities' views about development

Several factors influence how diaspora communities understand development and whether, and how, they choose to engage with development debates and organisations. Most notably the level of positive integration, economic prosperity, and sense of belonging in the UK are key to the extent to which diaspora communities will act as development agents (Van Hear *et al.* 2004).

In addition, diaspora identity issues are essential to understanding why and how these communities engage with development. While the hyper-diversity of the UK's population has made dual ethnic and national identities commonplace, there are other sources of identity beyond ethnicity and nationality, such as faith. This means that diasporas tend to have multiple identities. It is important to note that while diasporas' identities can be linked to their country of origin, this does not imply a 'lesser' British identity. Several studies suggest that diaspora communities in the UK are far more likely to identify themselves as British than the host white community (Nandi and Platt 2014).

According to a recent government report, identity in the UK is changing. Over the next 10 years, people's identities are likely to be significantly affected by several factors, in particular by the emergence of hyper-connectivity (people continuously connected to others online), the spread of social media, and the increase in online personal information. For example, diaspora communities are increasingly aware of events in their countries of origin thanks to social media and cheaper international communications. Disasters, political upheavals, acts of terrorism, among other major events occurring in developing countries can have an immediate impact on the sense of identity and belonging of diasporas in the UK (Future Identities Project 2013).

In addition, many British diaspora communities practice religion regularly and feel it plays an important role in their lives (Sunak and Rajaswaran 2014). Faith teaching emphasises some key principles relevant to development, such as justice, compassion, reconciliation and stewardship. Many faith groups in the UK, including many to which diaspora communities belong, engage in regular charity giving to development through the *tithe* or *zakat* in their churches, mosques and other religious institutions. In addition they may direct their giving to faith-based organisations (FBOs) that undertake development projects.

2.4 Current issues in the communication of international development

One of the key overarching challenges for the development sector, as seen in the recent research report by Bond, *Change the Record*, is the degree to which it enjoys support from the general public. Studies reveal that new ways of communicating with the public – new narratives capable of re-engaging the British public with the development agenda – are needed (Darnton with Kirk 2011).

Since 2013, a group of development organisations[8] has been working to identify the key components of effective development narratives. This initiative, funded by the Gates Foundation and known as the Narrative Project[9], aims to change how development is communicated to the public in order to reverse the decline of their support for development work. Its insights and recommendations are based on a comprehensive quantitative, qualitative and analytical approach, complemented with market testing.

Focusing on 'engaged audiences' (those who follow global issues and generally support improvements in the life circumstances of people in developing countries – roughly 32% of the UK population), the Narrative Project found that the number of people who support development could be doubled if the 'swings' (those who are undecided about development but could consider taking action – roughly 47% of 'engaged audiences') could be persuaded to think and feel more positively about development. Their research identified four themes for framing development narratives, or 'frames':

- **Independence:** as the end goal of development

- **Shared values:** manifested as moral obligation to help others reach their potential

- **Partnership:** people in developing countries actively participate in development

- **Progress:** explaining that development programmes are effective

Tactics and best practice for communicating development are often questioned by practitioners and stakeholders alike (The Guardian 2014a). These debates have also fed into the research and analysis undertaken by the Narrative Project and in *Change the Record*.

These are summarised on the next page.

Projecting Southern voices

There is agreement that INGOs need to communicate development from the perspective of the people whose lives are challenged by a lack of development. Storytelling and testimonials are used to encourage audiences in the North to relate on a more personal level to the experiences and life circumstances of people in the global South. While there is disagreement as to whether an emotive approach is an effective means of securing public support in the longer-term, personal stories are seen as helpful for the public to focus on what they share in common with people in the South, for example, experiences of parenthood, disability and personal loss, and where the differences are, such as the absence of a welfare state, support networks, etc. Results and views on this issue are mixed (Henson *et al.* 2010).

Showing that development works

Opinion polls in the UK – and many European countries – consistently show that support for development is wide but shallow (*Public Attitudes Towards Development* 2010). Critics of emotive campaigns point to the limited power of storytelling approaches. They argue that the public wants to know if their tax money is doing permanent good, or whether critics of development are right. Demonstrating development effectiveness consistently and rigorously is a major challenge for INGOs. Some practitioners argue that the key to securing public support for development lies in the use of objective data that audiences can work through to draw their own conclusions. However data about development is difficult to package into coherent and compelling narratives that appeal to the general public (The Guardian 2014a).

Development is not about quick fixes

Development issues are very complex. The historical, economic, cultural and political issues that underpin issues like poverty and hunger are inter-related and difficult to explain to the public, given short attention spans and constant competition from other information sources. Some INGOs have opted for 'energetic' tactics and language suggesting that development can be solved exclusively through innovation and 'cool new tools' (The Guardian 2014b). The challenge appears to be in striking a balance between optimistic messages encouraging dynamism and engagement, and more sober messages about the tough road to development effectiveness.

Use of emotive images

The visual messaging behind fundraising has come under scrutiny in recent years. Critics argue that INGO fundraising communications are reinforcing – rather than challenging – ignorance and stereotypes about poor countries (Opoku-Owusu 2003). Criticism of 'poverty porn' abounds, particularly for 'exploiting' the dignity of the subject to achieve fundraising aims. There is a clear need to re-evaluate how development organisations effectively deliver information about their work to the public, including how they educate them on key development issues, which is an essential part of fundraising strategies (*The Development Element* 2014).

It is evident that diaspora communities are important development agents and that their economic and social contribution to development is extensive and diverse. Many are active contributors through remittances and others through business and volunteering. However, the precise size and scope of their contributions and interests are not known. The key characteristics of diasporas, mainly based on census data and ethnic profiles, as well as information about identity issues, are readily accessible. Nevertheless, there is no comprehensive literature about their views on development and development organisations. While there is some data about their perceptions of development as part of wider public opinion exercises, an analysis of ethnic and identity issues against current development communications issues has not been available to date.

3. Key findings

Against the backdrop set out in the previous section, these key findings are based on an analysis of the perspectives and opinions of the diaspora groups that took part in the workshops, complemented by information and insights generously shared by professionals who work closely with the selected diaspora communities in various roles, including in faith groups, community services, and school and parental support. Insights from DDO and INGO staff supplemented the analysis.

Key finding 1
Diaspora communities have a natural affinity with the overarching goals of development

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Box 3.1 Does the diaspora empathise with poverty in developing countries more than the wider British community?

Workshop participants were asked to reflect on whether diasporas care more about development, using global poverty as a proxy, than non-diaspora British society. The first reaction in all groups was puzzlement: the vast majority of participants did not know the term *diaspora* and were surprised to learn that it refers to them. The exceptions were two individuals who work in social service professions and were familiar with the term due to their occupation. In each workshop, the researchers needed to explain the term so the participants could consider the question.

Brazilian participants suggested that while diaspora communities may 'understand' poverty and need, they may not always 'empathise'. There was a sense that some people 'forget' once they settle into life in the UK. Discussions with experts suggested that while many Brazilians indeed 'forget' there is a large number of them who would participate and contribute more to development, if they knew what opportunities exist for them to become involved.

In any case, there was wide agreement across all groups that diasporas have personal insights about development issues that their white British counterparts are less likely to have:

"We can empathise because we know where our families came from and why they came. We want to better ourselves so we can make others' lives better." – Group 2 Pakistani male

"I agree because most of the diaspora are communities from countries that are still developing. They understand and empathise. They know how difficult it is. They've seen all the problems. British people have things in their hands. They have the support of their government. They don't know criminality like we know it." – Group 4 Brazilian female

"You understand it better because you can see the two worlds." – Group 1 Somali male

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The vast majority of workshop participants showed a deeply held **sense of moral obligation** as the main driver behind their interest in development. Their personal histories, which often include first hand experiences of poverty and need, feed their desire to become involved. Development, as an interviewee noted, is "a proactive European enterprise that is a lived experience for diaspora communities".

"I have a moral obligation to give to charities and people in need a voluntary contribution. I have a sense of Islamic duty but mostly it's because I want to do it." – Group 3, Pakistani female

Diaspora community members participate in a workshop

Participants gave development **their own, personal interpretation**, generally linked to their own values and aspirations and to the way in which they regard their countries of ancestry. For some, **cultural awareness and exposure to other cultures** is a key part of their understanding of development issues, suggesting that cultural openness may be a factor in having an interest in development.

"Everyone is different and when I meet new people I like to find out about them, where they are from. I've been exposed from an early age to that. It makes me open to other societies." – Group 1, African-Caribbean female

None of the participants responded to the terms usually conveyed in development campaigns, such as justice and equality, freedom from poverty, or human rights. In all cases, it was evident that their understanding and interest were high, but their way of speaking about development was non-technical, free of jargon, more personal, and, in many cases, more positive.

Many also mentioned **business and enterprise**, considering them crucial to generating jobs and fighting poverty.

"Now that you mention poverty, I see it… But to fight poverty you need jobs and those come from international companies." – Group 4, Brazilian female

Most participants drew a **connection between development and their countries of origin** and their wish to help family and friends in need. Some mentioned the expectations put upon them by parents and relatives to do so. Many spoke of the positive memories of time spent in their countries of origin, while others expressed frustration at corruption and ineffective politics.

"Money goes into places and it's not filtering through." – Group 2, Pakistani male

The majority of participants said they would **support projects benefiting any community in need**, and not only those in their countries of origin. They saw the need for positive social change as both a local and an international issue. Participants were aware of social needs in the UK, and raised these without prompting:

"In London there are lots of homeless people. Why? We would like to find out. Why is it happening here? There shouldn't be poverty here. We need to address these issues." – Group 3, Bangladeshi female

The literature, workshops and interviews suggest that most diasporas care about development. The majority of workshop participants expressed a belief that **development is a worthwhile pursuit**.

Key finding 2
Diaspora communities do not always find a trusted interlocutor in the mainstream development sector

Box 3.2 Three levels of trust

Workshop participants showed they lack trust in development organisations. This deficit of trust is not spread evenly across all players:

Level 1. DDOs and organisations with faith-links appear to be the most trusted agents, particularly because they are perceived to be able to facilitate direct giving, to be closer to the 'reality' of development and to be knowledgeable of the practicalities of development work, as well as in closer contact with contributors.

"Islamic Relief and Muslim Aid give feedback." – Group 3, Bangladeshi female

Level 2. INGOs are the next most trusted agent, particularly those that also have a recognisable humanitarian function (which at times was conflated with a development mandate). In any case, their effectiveness and approach were questioned:

"I have a feeling that UK charities focus more on 'rescuing' rather than 'developing', like putting away the fire rather than figuring out why there is a fire. I find this patronising, like they are going to teach us! It makes me a little bit angry." – Group 4, Brazilian female

Level 3. Government is not a trusted agent. There was a sense that the UK government works with diasporas with energy and openness on issues related to economic growth, such as trade, but has a more limited level of engagement with them on other issues, including development. There were suggestions that the UK government could be imposing its own values, while espousing a 'hidden agenda':

"From a government perspective I don't think international development is working. You see the same stories every year. Still nothing is happening." – Group 2, Pakistani male

None of the participants was aware of the UK government's international development policy.

Most workshop participants had a general **lack of trust** in INGOs due to perceptions around 'hidden agendas':

"We give money but not sure they deliver change. There are so many laws, half of them [beneficiaries] are dead by the time they [INGOs] get to the place of help. There's lots of waste. Maybe we should work directly with the people instead of working with charities." – Group 5, Brazilian female

There appear to be two key issues underpinning this lack of trust: (1) a fundamentally different approach to the delivery of assistance to developing countries; and (2) limited or irregular contact and communication between INGOs and diaspora communities.

For many diaspora communities, remittances are, as an interviewee explained, "not altruism but obligation." Having the obligation to support family and friends limits the scope for discussing and negotiating what may need to change at the societal level, and what other forms of support may be given to achieve this. The obligation to send remittances 'can also perpetuate the existing structures because remittances don't deal with structures'.

Diaspora contributions, which an interviewee described as "targeted development", enable diaspora communities to identify with precision what they desire to change and where, as well as with whom they need to work to achieve this, for example in the case of a school, hospital or community centre. They generally use their own direct connections in their homelands and prefer to contribute through known channels. In some cases, this local knowledge may lead to savings and efficiencies. One interviewee cited the example of a development worker who referred to a well that was built in a particular country for US$5,000. A member of the diaspora remarked that he had just built another well in the same area for much less. The in-depth practical knowledge of local contexts enables diasporas to question the detail of INGO interventions in their homelands.

In addition, workshop participants and interviewees who work with diaspora communities in development spoke of "business and enterprise as essential" to creating positive change in countries of ancestry. Many mentioned the important role of the private sector in creating new and better paid jobs, and overall economic growth.

In contrast, interviewees explained that many INGOs are perceived to campaign on the structural roots of underdevelopment. Their programmes are seen as focusing on policy themes, and their projects do not always take place in the countries or regions of interest to all diasporas. INGOs hold a range of views about the role of the private sector (Oxfam 2011). While in many instances INGO stances are evolving from 'combative' to more 'collaborative' (The Guardian 2012), diasporas appear to have greater faith in business as an engine for development, they view business and enterprise positively and often regard them as essential to creating positive change in their countries of ancestry, through new and better paid jobs and overall economic growth.

While striving for the same end goal – positive change in developing countries – INGOs and DDOs often work in **parallel systems that rarely meet**. They have different ways of devising strategies, undertaking programmes, campaigning and lobbying

and measuring the impact of their work. At a sector-wide level, there is very limited communication and coordination between their two sets of agendas, projects and initiatives.

A positive example of coordination is the Africa-Europe Development Platform[10], which seeks to enhance the capacity of African diaspora development organisations in their work in Africa and Europe. It serves as the main point of contact and reference for a range of development stakeholders, including policymakers, development practitioners, the diaspora and the public. A part of this work is to convene European development organisations, including INGOs and DDOs, to share best practices. Recent meetings focused on job creation and on migration. Some INGOs, particularly faith-based organisations, have excellent outreach programmes to diaspora communities too. However, there is limited evidence of sustained and strategic communications programmes that bridge both 'systems' and encourage mutual understanding and collaboration, particularly given the limited resources and communications capabilities of diaspora groups.

Diaspora communities reported not knowing how INGOs work, including how they fundraise and make decisions about their programmes and campaigns. Even those who showed great interest in development, struggle to understand "how to navigate the maze of the mainstream development sector", as one interviewee explained. This lack of knowledge adds to the existing mistrust and encourages individuals and groups of diaspora to develop their own initiatives and projects. While arguably there is space for all initiatives aiming to contribute to positive change in developing countries, greater coordination, and possibly collaboration, could benefit all parties.

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10. See africaeuropeplatform.ning.com

Key finding 3
Diaspora communities respond negatively to simplified narratives and images, and positively to factual messages

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Box 3.3 Diasporas and images of development

Participants were shown different images of children in developing countries. Two of them featured scenes of extreme hardship and one depicted a more positive scene where children looked well cared for. The images showed children from the countries of origin of each group, except for one image, which depicted children from a different part of the world.

Negative images were overwhelmingly described as 'cliché', 'false advertising' and 'clumsy'. Participants expressed a sense of anger and frustration at images considered 'simplistic' in their portrayal of people living in poverty:

"I don't feel anything. I can't believe we're still seeing those things. There is a glamorisation of poverty. I could look at it and think how shocking. We've become numb." – Group 5, Brazilian female

Generally non-African participants felt that images of hardship in Africa were more moving than those from their own country or region, even though they showed similar levels of hardship:

"I feel indignant. This is the greatest injustice. I don't care where it happens. But it hurts more when you see it in Africa." – Group 4, Brazilian female

"You want to contact the orphans, give money to help. It works. It pulls your heart strings. It relates to the image as a mother." – Group 3 Pakistani female

Reactions to positive images were overwhelmingly upbeat and optimistic. Participants smiled, their body movement became more energetic and they used words such as 'hope', 'potential' and 'dignity' to describe their immediate reactions upon seeing the image. There was unanimous agreement that positive images are more likely to get them interested in development issues. Many expressed an interest to find out more about the details of the project illustrated by the image. Their reactions support the recommendations of the Narrative Project and the AAT.

This small consultation exercise may confirm that images of extreme hardship can be effective fundraising tools. However, it also shows that positive images encourage a more active level of support for development work, and a desire to become involved.

Workshop participants and interviewees alike, particularly from the African diasporas, mentioned that there are many **negative stereotypes perpetuated in development narratives, messages and images**. For example, it was mentioned that images of extreme destitution and helplessness suggest an image of Africa that is not compatible with diasporas' personal experiences of their continent of ancestry. In addition, many reported that it can be difficult for African diasporas to be exposed to images of extreme hardship of 'people who look like them'. This was believed to spur misinformed views among their peers about their personal backgrounds, and about their relatives and friends in their countries of origin. The impact of stereotypes could also extend to the engagement of young people:

"Even worse is the effect that stereotypes of Africa have on young people of African origin in the West. Young Africans often feel negative towards Africa and seek to dissociate themselves from their place of heritage. This consequently hinders their participation or engagement in Africa's development." (Opuku-Owusu 2003)

Diasporas are not alone in criticising the use of images of extreme hardship. As mentioned earlier, the use of extreme images is an issue in development communications. In the case of diasporas, such images reinforce their existent or latent mistrust of INGOs. There was a tendency among workshop participants to believe that 'victimisation of the poor' is a strategy used by the development sector, also pejoratively labelled an 'industry', to perpetuate its own existence.

In addition, the discussions held with diaspora communities in the workshops made it evident that they possess a sophisticated understanding of the political context of their countries of origin and their respective development challenges. While this understanding was not formulated in development policy jargon, diaspora communities are very sensitive to over-simplified message about development and reject these as 'clumsy' and 'manipulative'.

On the other hand, participants responded positively to **statements that provide facts and figures**. For example, they were asked to react to a statement about food: "There is enough food in the world to feed everyone. Yet nearly 900 million –1 in 8 people – go to bed hungry every night." They generally responded with interest and curiosity and reported that the figures made it 'easy to picture' and 'real in their minds', which helped them connect with the message and respond to it thoughtfully.

Participants were asked to comment on statements about poverty and need in their respective regions (Africa[11], South Asia[12]) and country (Brazil[13]). The statements were short, factual, and used percentages and statistics to convey the core of the message. The reactions of the British Muslims' and Brazilian groups were personal and heartfelt:

"There is a locality specifically on 'Asia' which makes me feel sadness, since growing up things aren't changing." – Group 3, Bangladeshi female

"I did not know that. It makes me feel very sad. I believe it, and it doesn't surprise me, but I still feel bad." – Group 4, Brazilian female

Unlike other questions or statements, these **region-specific statements spurred discussion** about what could be done, which did not include action by governments or INGOs. Participants favoured direct giving, or individual volunteers working with different communities in small projects. None of them raised the structural issues behind poverty and need.

African groups had a different reaction to their region-specific statement, which caused a certain degree of frustration, mistrust and incredulity:

"Very specific to certain countries but does not reflect the situation of the continent as a whole. Feeding into a stereotypical view of Africa." – Group 1, African-Caribbean female

A discussion ensued about general stereotypes held by their non-diaspora peers about Africa, and how these statements are unhelpful. Some participants reported feeling either 'turned off' or 'compelled to defend Africa'. Interviewees suggested that younger generations, particularly young people in school or university, feel personally affected by images of extreme hardship and can become upset by them.

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11. "Just being born in Africa means that you will live, on average, 29 years less than if you had been born in Europe."

12. "73% of the world's underweight children live in just 10 countries. Half of these children are in South Asia alone."

13. "About 42% of Brazilian children live in poverty. Also approximately one eighth of all Brazilian children live on the streets."

Key finding 4
Different generations have different views about development and different ways of relating to their countries of ancestry

Box 3.4 "When do you stop being a diaspora?"

As noted earlier, the term 'diaspora' was not understood or used by the vast majority of participants. Its use was also questioned by some DDOs. One DDO explained that they do not use the term 'diaspora' at all in their work, nor do they themselves identify with it.

This research uncovered that the word 'diaspora' is perceived as an academic term that does not resonate with life as a British citizen in Britain today. This is specially the case for members of diaspora communities who were born and raised in Britain and who may be third or fourth generation African or Asian. Terms like 'black' and 'ethnic minority' are more commonly used, and both workshop participants and interviewees felt more comfortable

with them. Brazilians however showed a preference for being called Brazilians. This may be due to the fact that they came to Britain from Brazil as adults and their identities are firmly Brazilian, or because they have not established permanent roots in Britain.

An interviewee raised a crucial and thought-provoking question: "When do you stop becoming a diaspora and become a British citizen?" In addition to the lack of familiarity with the word 'diaspora' among diaspora communities, using this term may be altogether counter-productive. It could foster a sense of separation and exclusion, to which diaspora communities interested in development may already be sensitive.

Diaspora contributions to development are widely understood to be primarily about remittances to friends and family in their countries of origin. By and large, this remains the preferred practice of first generations, many of whom have been sending money to their homelands for more than 30 or 40 years. Workshops and interviews show that diasporas' views of development are based on their own personal experience of poverty and hardship, which is vividly recalled whenever development issues are raised. They understand and relate to the concept of need, but are less interested in discussing and acting on the underlying, structural causes of underdevelopment.

This landscape changes for subsequent generations. The workshop participants from second, third and fourth generations do not necessarily view developing countries as helplessly poverty-stricken:

"Africa is one of the wealthiest continents in terms of natural resources and yet is always portrayed as the poorest." – Group 1, African-Caribbean male

They described their countries of ancestry as **places full of potential and opportunity for investment and innovation**, and development as a dynamic, positive process that can enable them to build relationships with international communities. While Britain is their home, younger diaspora communities understand and maintain close contact with what is new and emerging in their countries of origin. A brief review of the work of DDOs in the UK[14] shows that younger generations are looking at business, investments, loans and skills' building, as well as to creating connections with entrepreneurs in their countries of ancestry.

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14. Based on a review of the mandate and programmes of organisations belonging to the Diaspora Volunteering Alliance.

Second and third generations are **consumers of contemporary British culture**, as much as their non-diaspora peers. The messages and images used by the mainstream communications and advertising industry are constantly changing, yet images of development, particularly in Africa, maintain the feel of the 1980s campaign *We are the World*, as a workshop participant put it. The fact that younger generations understand both British culture and the realities of their countries of origin makes them particularly astute and savvy audiences and consumers of development information. According to interviewees, their biculturalism does not appear to be taken into account in INGOs'

communications. Workshops and interviews reinforce the literature about diasporas' identity issues, i.e. how they see themselves and their sense of belonging in Britain today, as essential to engage and communicate with them about development.

Lastly, the rise in peer-to-peer funding and global giving means that **diaspora communities can give directly and get feedback on their contributions** without intermediaries. According to interviewees, younger generations tend to be more comfortable with this way of giving and are more open to experiment and support new initiatives, particularly if they have an entrepreneurial angle.

Key finding 5
Faith organisations can be a meeting point for diaspora communities and development organisations

While workshop participants did not cite faith as a key motivator, faith is often key to diasporas' engagement with development. Interviewees from FBOs and faith institutions support the literature's assertions. They invariably referred to a correlation between diasporas' sense of moral obligation and the values generally taught in churches, mosques and other faith institutions. They reported that many diaspora communities give the *tithe* and the *zakat* widely and generously, even in poor and marginal areas. In their view, which is supported by the literature, diasporas see these contributions as part of their faith commitment. The more successful programmes appeared to be those that articulate the theological basis for development to the congregation and its leaders.

As diasporas are more likely to practice a religion than the rest of mainstream British society, the experiences and practices of faith organisations are key (Sunak and Rajaswaran 2014). According to interviewees, development is already part of the mission work of many churches and mosques. In addition to cash donations, many black Christian church-goers and

Muslim congregations, during Ramadan in particular, volunteer to get development-related petitions signed, organise local fundraising events such as jumble sales, and speak to the congregations during services about various international development issues. In addition churches generally donate to 'sister' churches in developing countries during times of emergency.

The interviews highlighted the importance of building 'relationships of equals' through face-to-face interaction and an understanding of what communities find valuable at a particular time. For example, an interviewee mentioned that during the Ebola crisis, the majority of congregations in the African churches were very open to knowing more about what INGOs were doing in West Africa. Another interviewee mentioned the need to co-create and plan campaigns and events with diaspora communities, if these are going to take place in their churches or mosques. Lastly, interviewees agreed that it is helpful if INGO staff reflect the ethnic diversity of diaspora communities with whom they trying to communicate.

Key finding 6
Diaspora communities consume a wide variety of media to learn about development, yet face-to-face interaction is welcome

Workshop participants were asked about the communication channels through which they receive information about development. These included print and online press, broadcast media, and social media. Key findings included:

- Half of the participants read national newspapers and regularly watch news programmes from the BBC and Sky. However, some reported not trusting the information provided.

- Most first and second generation Bangladeshis and Pakistanis participants watch Al-Jazeera and the Islam Channel. These are perceived as networks that provide more realistic, unedited footage and information than mainstream British news channels.

- Second generation Africans said that their parents watch channels from their countries of origin, available via Skybox, such as the Somalia Channel. These channels, according to them, provide a 'bigger perspective' of world events.

- None of the Brazilian participants reported following the media channels from Brazil that are available in the UK. They cited the high cost, lack of availability and the desire to consume British media "as they are in the UK now".

- None of the participants reported subscribing or following any English-language ethnic media, such as *The Voice or The Eastern Eye*.

- The majority of participants, including older first generation participants, reported having and using Facebook to access information that suits their interests, including development-related news.

- Younger participants favour Twitter and Snapchat for social use, but said that they would be open to receiving information about development through these channels.

- Other social media mentioned by second, third and fourth generations included YouTube and Twitter.

- Some participants expressed an interest in face-to-face events that can help them understand development issues, meet campaigners and learn ways of getting involved.

Delegates at the African Diaspora and Development Day 2015 conference, London

4. Conclusions

Diasporas are 'communities that care'

Diaspora communities are concerned about people in need in developing countries. They empathise with the disadvantaged and have a high sense of moral obligation. They are knowledgeable and generally active, as well as keen to contribute to development internationally, while remaining aware of social issues in the UK too. Their first hand experiences of poverty in the countries of origin, and often in the UK, informs their views about development. Their faith can be a motivator to becoming involved. Faith institutions can provide a setting for this engagement to occur at the community level.

Diaspora communities and INGOs run 'parallel systems'

While both diaspora communities and INGOs want to create positive change in developing countries, their priorities, strategies and ways of working differ substantively. They often operate in parallel to each other, with few regular opportunities to interact and collaborate. Communication and engagement have to be planned endeavours that take up resources and require capacity. Furthermore, diasporas lack trust in INGOs and their effectiveness. The language and images used by INGOs can lead to mistrust, frustration and a sense of disconnection. Many of them believe that INGOs perpetuate negative stereotypes and oversimplify the serious issues that affect the lives of their families and friends in their countries of origin.

Diasporas' potential and actual contribution is largely unrecognised

There is an underlying feeling that diaspora communities and their contributions have largely been ignored, or side-lined, in the development sector. The skills, knowledge, contacts and general keenness of diasporas to contribute has not been harnessed to its full potential. The government has attempted better engagement and there has been progress through VSO and CGI, but the diasporas' full desire to contribute remains unmet. Second and third generations who want to strengthen their ties to their country of origin and be active agents of development do not find clear pathways to collaborate with INGOs. Instead, they choose to support DDOs or set up their own initiatives.

Each generation holds its own views and preferences

First generations maintain links to their countries of origin and send remittances regularly. They believe that direct aid given through DDOs, hometown associations or trusted third parties ensures that funds get to those who are most in need. Second generations remain close to their countries of ancestry and many make remittances through their parents, while others support DDOs. They are generally aware of mainstream development debates, though they can also be critical as they are knowledgeable and connected to developing countries. Third and fourth generations do not naturally view developing countries as 'hopeless'. Many see them as places for opportunity, innovation and mutual learning. They see a major role for business and enterprise. As 'millennials', they are avid users of technology and keep abreast of what happens in their countries of ancestry through social media.

5. Recommendations

The following recommendations are based on the research and analysis undertaken for this project, as well as on the authors' own experience of working with diaspora communities and with the development sector.

Recommendation 1
Acknowledging the contribution of diaspora communities to development

Bond and INGOs should:

- Include diaspora communities in initiatives aiming to refresh the development narrative, such as the Narrative Project and *Change the Record*, so it reflects the diversity and vibrancy of the full spectrum of British development actors.

- Together with DDOs, adapt measurement and evaluation tools to record the impact and success of diaspora development interventions.

- Find ways of involving diaspora communities, for example in presentations and events, when the work of diasporas complements an existing project.

- Build greater awareness of the development contributions of diaspora communities within their own organisations.

Government and others should:

- Conduct a mapping exercise to identify the role and contribution of DDOs and diaspora communities. A benchmark will help all actors understand diasporas' actual contributions and their areas of interest, and foster potential collaboration.

- Encourage ministers to attend diaspora community events in the UK and to visit projects sponsored by UK diaspora communities during international visits.

- Give greater recognition to the contribution of the UK's diaspora communities to development in their communications.

- Build greater awareness of the development contributions of diaspora communities within government departments.

- Raise the profile of diasporas' role in development in parliament and identify other APPGs, such as the APPG on Race and Community. This should be led by the APPG on Diaspora, Migration and Development.

Recommendation 2
Building trust

Bond and INGOs should:

- Develop an engagement and collaboration strategy aimed at diasporas. This exercise should foster regular dialogue and identify a specific objective of mutual interest, towards which the parties agree to work together.

- Recognise, at CEO and board level, that while their approaches differ, INGOs share an ultimate goal with diasporas and are partners in a joint journey towards development. The mandate, resources and capacity are essential to build trust.

- Set out clearly the pathways open for diasporas to get involved in development, beyond contributing financially. Opportunities to volunteer, campaign or undertake other work should be explained, while considering their generational preferences.

- Set up internal groups that bring together communications officers and staff from diaspora communities to develop and test messages and images.

- Setting up secondment opportunities, study visits, working groups and action learning groups between INGOs and DDOs to establish shared values and priorities.

The APPG on Diaspora, Migration and Development should:

- Act as a convenor for regular interaction between diaspora communities and the development sector.

Recommendation 3
Joining voices for development

Bond and INGOs should:

- Convene a high-level dialogue that can set the foundation for INGOs, DDOs and diaspora communities to work as strategic partners. The dialogue should include diaspora entrepreneurs, innovators and faith leaders.

- Identify innovative initiatives emerging from diaspora communities, including individual 'change-makers' who work in technology, social innovation, fashion, culture and the arts in developing countries, particularly from second, third and fourth generations.

- Invite these 'change-makers' to partner with INGOs in campaigns to persuade decision-makers and opinion-formers of the value of the UK's development sector, including its thriving diversity. These interventions may be public or 'behind doors', and would require a joint narrative faithful to the interests of diaspora communities.

- Creating opportunities for these 'change-makers' to participate in exchanges with counterparts in developing countries. As both diasporas and

British, they are uniquely placed to achieve a more balanced dynamic between North and South.

- Provide a space to showcase development innovation spearheaded by diasporas during the annual Bond conference.

Government should:

- Bring together departments and agencies such as DFID, FCO and UKTI, who already engage with diasporas at different levels on various issues, such as development, security and trade, to share learning, contacts and improve coordination.

- Link national agendas, led by the Communities and Local Government Department and the Home Office who work with diasporas on integration, cohesion, migration and equality, with the UK's development agenda, in order to accelerate learning and yield more coherent and sustainable outcomes.

- Set up a cross-departmental working group on diasporas, development and integration, following the example of previous group on race and equalities.

Recommendation 4
Using development narratives to break down negative stereotypes

Bond and INGOs should:

- Develop and champion a new visual narrative of developing countries, particularly those in Africa and Asia, which promotes positivity, diversity and potential, while not shying away from the realities that the development sector (mainstream and diaspora) seeks to change.

- Convene a short-lived working group, co-owned by representatives from diaspora communities, to discuss the best ways to strike this balance.

- Include diaspora perspectives in discussions about the use of images for fundraising, such as in presentations about the Narrative Project, AAT, *Change the Record*, etc. Their potential impact on diaspora communities needs to be considered in the choosing of images.

- Incorporate the concerns of diaspora communities about negative images in existing toolkits for development communicators, such as the UK Public Attitudes to Development Toolkit.

- Run a short social media campaign featuring 'change-makers' and innovators from diaspora communities who could explain how they see their regions of origin, which is likely to provide fresher, more positive perspectives.

Government should:

- Take a public stance on discussions about the use of negative images in development that takes into account the perspective of UK diaspora communities.

- Review and monitor the use of images in DFID-funded projects to ensure that due care is given to the feedback of UK diaspora communities reflected in this report.

Recommendation 5
Recognising generational interests and preferences

Bond and INGOs should:

- Tailor all communications strategies aimed at diaspora according to their ethnic and cultural origins, and cross-check them against the views and preferences of different generations. Avoid a 'one-size-fits-all' approach.

- Have a 'learning' approach in communications with first generations. They are unlikely to respond to development jargon, but they carry a wealth of experience, contacts and insights. Communications with first generations need to be more about 'sharing' information and insights, and less about 'explaining' development.

- Approach communications with younger (primarily third and fourth) generations as with other 'millennials', responding to their preferences for accessing information and using technology. At the same time, it is essential to take into account their existing knowledge and connections to the homelands, and in some cases, the fact that development issues can be very personal to them, as these can be connected to their sense of identity and to their families and close friends.

- Evaluate existing outreach programmes to young people from the diaspora, for example through schools and youth centres, to assess if they are harnessing the interest and curiosity of younger generations, and make any modifications needed.

Delegates at the African Diaspora and Development Day 2015 conference, London

Recommendation 6
Understanding the role of faith in diaspora communities

Bond and INGOs should:

- Facilitate a pilot group with a small group of churches, mosques and other faith bodies to explore how diaspora faith communities engage with development, and share any outcomes with relevant stakeholders, perhaps through the Bond Faith Campaigns Working Group.[15]

- Understand the theology behind diasporas' interest in development. Talking about what the INGO does is not enough. It is necessary to connect development values and priorities to their beliefs as communities of faith.

- Assess all promotional materials, including photos, against this understanding of their theology of development. This will help avoid cultural or religious missteps.

- Understand that diaspora faith communities organise themselves in different ways. For example, many communities prefer to come together as a group to learn about an initiative directly from an INGO, instead of hearing a briefing second hand from a single, chosen representative.

- Clarify the existing opportunities open to diaspora faith communities to volunteer and campaign, as many are interested in doing more than providing a donation. Avoid giving the impression that the only way to be involved is by giving money.

- Explain the way in which INGOs can be partners in their work, for example by maximising their contributions through match funding schemes, which has been done successfully by some organisations.

Appendix: Practical how-to guidance

Thinking of diaspora communities as an audience

FROM

Diaspora communities undifferentiated from mainstream audiences

TOWARDS

A better understanding of the perspectives and needs of diaspora communities as consumers of development information

HOW

- Spend time becoming familiar with their ethnic profiles and learning about their challenges and aspirations as British communities. You can find information in the literature review to get you started

- Get acquainted with the ways in which they prefer to contribute to development, which generally depend on which generation they are, and on their religions affiliation

- If you guide your communications on insights from the Narrative Project and Bond's public support work, remember that diaspora communities should count as "engaged" in terms of their knowledge and interest

- Remember that diasporas care deeply about development: most of them feel a sense of moral obligation to help those in need internationally and in the UK

- Keep in mind that diasporas are very sophisticated audiences: they know the context better than most people so be prepared to pitch your communications at the right level

- Don't forget that diaspora communities do not recognise "diaspora" as a word that describes them! Use "ethnic minorities" instead. If you want to refer to a specific group, terms such as "British Muslim," "second generation Ghanaian" or "Brazilian community" will work

- Adapt your plans depending on which generation you will be targeting (more tips below)

- Remember that British-born diaspora are British citizens and, while they have connections and a good understanding of what happens in their countries of ancestry, their home is in Britain and British issues matter to them too

- It is worth getting to know the ethnic and regional media, particularly broadcast, which is popular among many diaspora communities. Developing contact with satellite TV stations is also a good idea

Explaining development (according to INGOs)

FROM

INGOs that do not attempt to bridge the gap between their view of development and that of diaspora communities

TOWARDS

INGOs who see diaspora communities as partners and who listen and learn from them on a regular basis

HOW

- Remember that diaspora communities appear to fall in the "engaged" category (according to the characterisation of the Narrative Project) more than the rest of the British population

- "Supporters" (according to the characterisation of the Narrative Project) may not support INGOs exclusively, but they may be contributing to development in other, equally valid ways

- The "swings" (according to the characterisation of the Narrative Project) are very knowledgeable and hard to convince, but probably care more personally about development that the average "swing"

- "Development" is a vague term for people who are not in the mainstream sector, and members of diaspora communities are no exception. Be specific about what you are trying to achieve because they want the same as you: positive change in their homelands

- Be mindful that first generation diaspora know more about poverty and deprivation than the average person. Many have experienced it first-hand, perhaps both in their country of origin and in the UK. Be humble and open to learning from their experiences

- Start planning your communications by acknowledging that diasporas contribute to development in many ways and as such are valued partners

- Keep in mind that diasporas also consider business activities, enterprise and job creation as important contributors to development. While working with the private sector might not be in your organisation's business plan, it is helpful to recognise that for many people (not just diasporas) these sectors are crucial to development

- Diasporas, like much of the general public, react well to positive terms like "dignity", "full potential", "opportunity", "pride", "cooperation" and "hope." They also like to hear positive, successful stories, especially if these examples can point to ways through which they can become involved

- When talking about empowering women and girls in the developing world, be mindful of cultural and religious sensitivities. Avoid giving the impression that supporting women and girls is part of a project aiming to impose Western values. Diasporas know that some of the values that are commonly held in the West, are not the same as those held in a village in, for example, rural Pakistan and may causes conflict and tension in families and communities

- Use facts and figures that create an evidence-based picture of development challenges. Diasporas find those credible and helpful

Understanding the different generational approaches to development

FROM

INGOs that lose opportunities to communicate with diaspora communities because they do not understand how their generation defines their approach to development

TOWARDS

INGOs that are able to connect with and tap into the knowledge and connections of different generations of diaspora communities

HOW

- Remember that first generations feel a genuine obligation to send money to their families and friends in their countries of origin. Many send these remittances even after living in the UK for more than 40 years. This is how they contribute to development

- Second generations remain very close to the countries of ancestry and to their parents' culture. Many also contribute to remittances, through their parents, while others support DDOs and are generally more open to what mainstream INGOs have to say. Don't forget that they are very knowledgeable so prepare your communications carefully. They are the most likely to lose interest and trust in INGOs if the images and messages are simplistic

- Third and fourth generations do not necessarily view developing countries as "poor," and in need of assistance and rescue, but as places open to opportunity, innovation and mutual learning. Many of them are just like any other "millennial" and use lots of technology, so plan your communications accordingly

Choosing images

FROM

Choosing images without reflecting on their potential impact on stereotypes and notions of development

TOWARDS

Choosing images that respect the dignity of subjects, as well as their human potential, while also educating audiences about the realities of developing countries

HOW

- As the UK Public Attitudes to Development Toolkit recommends: start by checking whether the subject of your communication is portrayed as an active agent in their own journey. This will help avoid the perception of victimisation, which diasporas are very quick to recognise

- Don't use images to invoke pity or to characterise people in developing countries as helpless victims. Diasporas can see right through this. They soon become frustrated and lose trust in the INGO and their intentions

- Seek images that help generate empathy, and not sympathy. Diasporas have great empathy for the plight of people in developing countries and will react very well to the right images

- Set up an informal consultative group in your organisation, and include colleagues from ethnic minorities. Discuss the images from the perspective of diasporas and what they may be suggesting about the prospects and situation in their countries of ancestry

For the younger generation

FROM

Young people who are passionate about their countries of ancestry, but do not know how to connect that passion to the work of INGOs

TOWARDS

Young people who choose to connect their talent, time and connections with INGOs, and eventually become ambassadors of a diverse development sector

HOW

- Diaspora young people, like all British young people, use social media through their mobile phones as their primary channel of communication. If you want to reach diaspora young people, you will not go wrong using mobile ICTs

- Remember that their favourite social media channels are YoutTube and Snapchat, so make sure that your communications are very visual and lend themselves to social media dissemination

- Create social media platforms that offer a space for diaspora young people to share their vision and their ideas about projects in their countries of ancestry. Even if these are not strictly about development in the traditional sense, you will benefit from their connections to the unfolding of their experiences and make valuable connections

- Consider cultural exchanges for young people and how your organisation can get involved. Diaspora young people are very interested in these programmes and see them as essential to an experience of development

- When possible consider twinning events and visits to projects, via webcam, to young audiences via youth organisations, like Restless Development

- Consider commissioning a young blogger to report on a young person's experience in a developing country that resonates with the issues faced by young people in the UK too. For example, drug use, attending university, looking for a job, giving birth, educating children

When planning community events

FROM
Events that do not resonate with diasporas cultural preferences

TOWARDS
Events that are co-owned by diaspora communities and INGOs

HOW

- Visit the local diaspora community where the event will be held. Ask them about their own development work and give it equal billing to yours

- Be aware that they may prefer to engage with you as a group, and not through a single representative

- Show them all your promotional materials, including posters and banners in advance

- Discuss the materials to be shown and shared during the event. Consider collaborating with the local diaspora community to amend the materials as needed

- Make every effort to encourage the local diaspora community to "own" the material. This may include inviting them choose some images or a preferred slogan

- Keep track of key landmark dates in their communities, for example Eid, or major sports events like the African Cup of Nations. Awareness of these will help you determine the timing of announcements or campaigns

- Consider approaching ethnic or regional media, as well satellite TV channels

When facing criticism from diaspora

FROM
INGOs who are uncomfortable and paralysed by criticism from diaspora communities

TOWARDS
INGOs who learn from feedback and are able to provide constructive and informative answers

HOW

- Remember that diasporas passionately desire what the mission statement of most development organisations say: a world that is fair and equitable, and free of poverty. You are in agreement in what really matters

- Be open to listening to their feedback. They may have shortcuts to achieve what you are trying to do

- If you believe their criticisms are not warranted, reply by objective facts, figures and clear examples

- Remember that most of the British public, diasporas included, do not understand how development organisations work, nor how they make decisions about projects, countries or thematic areas. Do your best to explain the strategy of your organisation

- Do not exaggerate what your organisation can actually achieve in developing countries. Diasporas are very astute and will know what is or isn't achievable

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