



Diaspora Diplomacy: Opportunities and Chal- lenges for African Countries

Jane Kerubo

The African Union recognises the important role played by the African diaspora in the development of the continent and seeks to encourage their full participation in its activities. In its migration policy framework and plan of action for the period 2018-2030, the diaspora engagement pillar, among other things seeks the development of strategies to foster diaspora participation in the development of the continent and their countries of origin. Some African countries like Kenya have embraced diaspora diplomacy as a key pillar in their foreign policy. The late Prof. Pius Adesanmi worked closely with African Heads of Mission in Ottawa, Canada to organise various academic forums where the African diaspora engaged in academic discourses on emerging global issues in relation to the African continent. This article seeks to recognise Prof. Adesanmi as a true embodiment of diaspora diplomacy by summarising some of his activities as an African intellectual and diaspora member. The paper starts with a brief discussion on the African Union's recognition of the African diaspora as an important partner in development, and then moves on to define diaspora diplomacy. The second part explores the rationale for diaspora diplomacy, while the third part summarises some of the activities of Prof. Adesanmi as an African intellectual and a diaspora member. This is followed by an examination of ways in which the African diaspora and African Heads of Missions can work together to harness the diverse skills, knowledge, expertise and resources of the African diaspora in Canada. Challenges facing diaspora diplomacy are highlighted. The article concludes that diaspora diplomacy has benefits for African countries if well structured and well implemented.

Introduction

Migration from one location to another has been a feature of human existence since time immemorial. Since 2000, international migration within the African re-

gion has increased significantly. According to United Nations World Migration report, in 2017 most African born migrants living outside Africa were residing in Europe (9.3 million), Asia (4.4 million) and North America (2.6 million) (IOM -UN Migration, 2018). It is estimated that about 70,000 skilled professionals emigrate from Africa each year (African Union Commission, 2018). Mrs. Amira Elfadil, the Commissioner for Social Services at the African Union observes that “Africa has witnessed changing patterns of migration in the recent years,” and if this migration is managed in a coherent manner she suggests that “nations and regions can reap the benefits of the linkages between migration and development” as the continent strives towards the realisation of its Agenda 2063 (African Union Commission, 2018 p.8). Given the changing trends in migration being experienced in Africa, diaspora engagement is considered a key aspect in the migration-development nexus.

The late Prof. Pius Adesanmi worked closely with African Heads of Mission in Ottawa, Canada to organise various academic forums where the African diaspora engaged in academic discourses on emerging global issues in relation to the African continent. By summarising some of Prof Adesanmi’s activities as an African intellectual and member of the African Diaspora, this article seeks to recognise him as a true embodiment of diaspora diplomacy. The second part explains the rationale for diaspora diplomacy. The third part summarises some of the activities of Prof. Adesanmi as an African Intellectual and diaspora. This is followed by an examination of ways in which the African diaspora and African Heads of Missions can work together to harness the diverse skills, knowledge, expertise and resources of the African diaspora in Canada. Challenges facing diaspora diplomacy are highlighted followed by a conclusion.

Diaspora Diplomacy: Definition

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines diaspora as “migrants or descendants of migrants, whose identity and sense of belonging have been shaped by their migration, experience and background” (IOM, 2018 p. 305). It is used to describe those who identify with a “homeland” but live outside of it. Diasporas leave their countries for various reasons, including seeking greener pastures, seeking opportunities abroad in the realms of education, tourism/visits and economic activities. This type of diaspora possesses skills that can be tapped by their countries of origin to enhance development.

The African Union defines the African diaspora as “peoples of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union” (African Union – Economic Social & Cultural Council 2018). Mwagiru identifies three types of African diasporas: African diasporas abroad comprising of the historical and contemporary diasporas, intra-Africa diasporas who live on the African continent; and other diasporas of the other regions in Africa. He uses the term diaspora to refer to Africans living outside the continent but “who retain some loyalties for the countries that they came from, and who, in their new habitat retain also some social exclusiveness” (Mwagiru, 2012 p.73). This article adopts this definition of the diaspora and uses it to refer to Africans living in Canada who have retained links with the continent and their countries of origin.

Diaspora diplomacy has gained currency in recent years. Scholars in this area of research have tried to define what it means and how it can benefit countries of origin. Kishan defined diaspora diplomacy as a “sub-branch of diplomacy that involves engaging a country’s overseas community to contribute to building relationship with foreign countries” (Kishan, 2014 p. 70). This definition suggests that high commissioners and ambassadors accredited to various countries can seek partnerships or work with citizens of these countries who originally migrated from their countries. Mwangiru (2012) on the other hand, sees diaspora diplomacy as that aspect of diplomacy that involves Africans “living abroad in the policy making process as well as seeking to ensure that their role, the social, economic and political welfare as citizens of their country of origin is taken care of” (p. 76). Diaspora diplomacy has gained currency because of the increased awareness that the continent needs new partnerships for its development. In this article diaspora diplomacy is used to mean a partnership between African Heads of Missions/ambassadors and the African diaspora in Canada aimed at advancing and protecting the African continent’s interests and their countries of origin. This partnership should put Africa and the country of origin at the centre of engagement.

Following the African Union’s recognition of the diaspora as the sixth region of Africa and the several interventions put in place to enhance their involvement, there is need to explore ways in which diaspora diplomacy can be strengthened.

Rationale for Diaspora Diplomacy

There are several reasons why diaspora diplomacy is important. This section summarises some of the justifications for diaspora diplomacy in Africa.

African Union’s Agenda 2063

The engagement with the diaspora by the African Union is premised on the realisation that Africa will only develop if all its peoples are involved. This led to the amendment of the Constitutive Act to include a new article which invites and encourages the participation of the diaspora in the Union. The African Union’s agenda 2063 aspires for a dynamic and mutually beneficial link with her diaspora. There have been efforts made to realise this goal. First, during the first 10-year Implementation Plan of the Agenda 2063, members states were requested to ratify the amendment to the Constitutive Act to enable the diaspora to participate in the AU by 2023. Second, the AU made provisions for diaspora representation in the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) created in 2001 where 20 of its 150 seats have been allocated to diaspora members. Third, the declaration of the Diaspora as the Sixth Region of African in 2005. This was done with the objective of “inviting and encouraging the full participation of the African Diaspora as an important part of the continent, and the building of the African Union” (African Union Commission, 2018 p.42). Fourth, the first ever Global African Diaspora Summit was held in 2012 in South Africa where it was resolved that:

...the production of a Skills Database of African Professionals in the Diaspora; b) the establishment of the African Diaspora Volunteers Corps; c) the African Diaspora Investment Fund; d) a Programme on the Development Marketplace for the Diaspora, as a framework for facilitating innovation and entrepreneurship among African and Diaspora; and e) the African Institute for Remittances (AUC, 2018 p.42).

The African Union proposes several strategies for engaging with the African diaspora. These include: the establishment of diaspora focal points or agencies to manage diaspora affairs and dual citizenship programmes, facilitation of the return of qualified nationals residing in developed states through appropriate resettlement incentives and creating appropriate institutional mechanisms within relevant ministries to manage relations with nationals abroad and to facilitate the transfer of scientific knowledge and encourage trade and investment; expanding South-South and North-South dialogue and partnerships to foster sharing of human resources, skills, technology, and knowledge in Africa, as well as best practices on Diaspora engagement (African Union Commission, 2018 p. 43).

Following the African Union's resolutions several African countries have adopted these strategies to enhance diaspora engagement in national development. For example, the Government of Kenya recognizes the importance of the contribution of the Kenyan diaspora to the economy and to the development of the country in general. As a result, a diaspora office was created in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through a Presidential Circular No. 1 of 2008 on Organization of Government. The Government of Kenya, through the ministry of foreign affairs, launched the Diaspora policy on 20th January 2015. The policy largely emphasizes the need to mainstream and empower the Kenyan diaspora to participate in the national development agenda. There is a fully-fledged Diaspora and Consular Affairs department in the ministry that also acts as the liaison office for Kenya's Honorary Consuls abroad. Kenyan Missions abroad have desks that deal with diaspora issues (Republic of Kenya, 2014 p.21).

Some of the efforts by the African Union's engagement with the diaspora have resulted in the creation of Pan African associations or networks. For example, in 2015 the Pan African Australasia Diaspora Network (PAADN) was launched in Australia. The network, which comprises 100 organisations, has various thematic groups including Education, Women and Gender, Youth and Community Engagement (African Union 2016).

Fostering Brain Gain

The diaspora especially those in North America comprise of the most highly skill labour migration. This has led to what is referred to in the literature as brain drain. Brain drain if left unchecked can have negative effects on the economic and social development of the countries where the skilled diaspora is immigrating from (Zezeza, 2013). A study carried out on African born academics in Canada and United States by Zezeza found that "many of these academics do or seek to actively engage African institutions of higher education" (2013, p.6). Most African diaspora academics possess complex transnational trajectories with cross country and international professional experience, which can be tapped through diaspora diplomacy resulting in brain gain. Therefore, their extensive networks that can be tapped to benefit African universities.

The African Union Commission, in its Migration Policy Framework for African and Plan of Action (MPFA), advocates for free movement of workers as a means of advancing regional integration and development. The MPFA suggests that counter-ing brain drain and mitigating its effects on national economies are important poli-

cy objectives. The framework urges African countries to “encourage their nationals living abroad to contribute to the development of their countries of origin through financial, skills, technology and knowledge transfer” (African Union Commission, 2018 p. 10). It further recommends the implementation of brain gain strategies such as temporary return programs for diaspora members to alleviate skills shortages in critical sectors, and foster skills development and facilitation of regional and continent mobility of professionals (African Union Commission, 2018 p. 10).

Working with the diaspora in diplomacy has benefits, including, at the national level, reversing the “brain drain” and potentially turning it into “brain gain” and “brain mobility” (Zezeza, 2013 p. 23). Diaspora diplomacy can foster brain gain, brain bank and brain circulation¹ that can help Africa overcome critical skills shortages especially in higher education institutions. It can create opportunities for student training and mentoring, research collaborations and joint publications, sabbaticals and conferences, and the transmission of new knowledge and technology. Collaboration in research and publications can improve African universities’ research capacities and reputation by expanding their international networks and resources.

The African Diaspora and the Willingness to Give Back

The African diaspora has a willingness to give back to the continent in terms of financial remittances. The remittances paid by Africans living abroad has been found to rival official aid to the continent. In 2019, remittances were reported to be the largest sources of foreign exchange earnings in low- and middle-income countries (Ratha, De, Jukim, Seshan & Yameogo, 2019). For example, the total diaspora contributions to Africa in 2010 stood at US \$51.8 billion compared to about US \$43 billion in Overseas Development Aid (ODA). This figure has been growing over the years especially with the formation of new diasporas in economically fast developing areas of the world like China, Russia, India and Brazil. In 2012, the total diaspora remittances to Africa amounted to US \$60 billion (Bodomo, 2013 p. 23). It is important to note that the figures reported here exclude the value of all the merchandise that is sent to family and friends through informal channels. Diaspora remittances are contributing to economic growth in various African countries (Aboulez, 2015). The fact that the diaspora is already committing huge amounts of resources to support the economy of their countries of origin presents a good opportunity for diaspora diplomacy. The African Union has recognised diaspora efforts and has established the African Institute of Remittances whose aim is to work with African governments to reduce the cost of remittances.

The African diaspora is also engaged in several philanthropic activities in addition to the remittances (Agunias & Newland, 2012). A good example of the African diaspora’s willingness to give back to the continent is the work being done by the President of the Toronto Raptors, Masai Ujiri through his organisation Giants of Africa (GOA). A native of Nigeria, Mr. Ujiri is the first African-born General Manager for a major North American sports team. The GOA, formed in 2003, runs basketball camps in Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya and Rwanda for about 50-60 youth in each country. According the information provided on their website (<https://giantsof africa.org>),

¹ **Brain gain:** skilled African diaspora offer their services to their countries of origin; **Brain Bank:** a skills database of African Diaspora who can be called upon whenever their skills are needed in Africa; **Brain circulation:** Free movement of African Diaspora between countries of origin and host countries through exchange programs.

the mission of the GOA is to use basketball as a means to educate and enrich the lives of African youth through the provision of quality facilities, gear and coaches. Most of the coaches who run the basketball camps in Africa are members of the African diaspora who live in North America and use their summer breaks to give back to the continent through their skills. The program has seen many young people from Africa access education. It is estimated that over 80 youth have gone to high school or university in the USA and over 100 have attended university in Nigeria. Some of the young people from Africa have been able to play basketball in junior teams in European clubs. In addition to basketball camps, GOA has an outreach program that includes visits to underserved areas and charitable organisations in the countries they operate in where they give inspirational and educational talks. The message that Masai Ujiri passes to the young people he interacts with is that they can make their countries better and they can become giants of Africa. He encourages them to dream big and aim higher despite their circumstances.

African diaspora intellectuals and academics have also been willing to give back to the continent through supporting African institutions of higher learning. Zeleza (2013), found that African diaspora academics are motivated by the desire to give back to their countries of origin or other African countries as a way of sharing their privileges. One professor interviewed said:

I always think of it as national service. I particularly work with black women scholars. That's my commitment to make sure they have support, because they are critically under-represented. If they are in the ranks, they are junior lecturers (Reitumetse Mabokela, an education professor at Michigan State, in Zeleza, 2013 p. 8).

African diaspora intellectuals want to keep up to date on what is happening in Africa in terms of current research:

As an African intellectual, that's the source of everything you do. You cannot not be active. You lose your critical edge; you lose the very source of information of your scholarship. It keeps you rooted, grounded (Pius Adesanmi, in Zeleza, 2013, p. 9).

The quotations here suggest that African diaspora intellectuals have attachments to the continent, and they are willing to give back based on their skills, knowledge and economic ability. Diaspora diplomacy is one avenue for tapping their willingness to give back to Africa.

The foregoing section shows that indeed the time is ripe for diaspora diplomacy. The African Union has set the right tone by recognising them as the sixth region of Africa and proposing specific strategies that are geared towards diaspora participation. The skills, knowledge, economic power and philanthropic goodwill of the African intellectuals and diaspora in Canada presents an opportunity for them to be diplomats for Africa and their countries of origin. Prof. Pius Adesanmi demonstrated how they can go about their diplomacy. The next section summarizes some of Prof. Adesanmi's activities that bear testimony that he was indeed an African intellectual and a diplomat.

Dr. Pius Adesanmi: An Embodiment of Diaspora Diplomacy

Professor Pius Adesanmi served as Director of Carleton University's Institute of African Studies. As an academic, scholar and African intellectual he engaged in various activities and commented on various topics in relation to Africa. Whereas this section does not intend to reproduce all the activities that he was engaged in it will highlight some of them that portray him as a true African intellectual in the 21st Century as well as a diaspora diplomat for Africa.

Director of Institute of African Studies

Prof. Adesanmi led the only full-fledged and stand-alone Institute of African Studies in a Canadian University since January 2016. In a director's note in the IAS Newsletter, Prof. Adesanmi noted that his vision as the director was to "open new horizons in order to consolidate its distinction as Canada's premium site of Africanist knowledge production" (2016 p.1). He hoped to achieve this vision through offering new courses covering regional and geographical realities of the African continent as well as themes and topics pertaining to Africa's agency in the contemporary global economy of knowledge. A review of the courses taught at the IAS, and an examination of the research undertaken by the professors and partnerships established during his tenure as director reveal that indeed he believed that Africans cannot be ignored when global issues are being discussed. As a professor of African Studies, he believed that understanding the African continent was a prerequisite for understanding what is happening in the whole world. He endeavoured to make his students, colleagues and Canadians understand that the African continent has a role to play in world history. Commenting on why he enrolled at the Institute of African Studies, Kenneth Aliu a student in an English Literature class taught by Pius Adesanmi before his death, said that Adesanmi had instilled in him the idea that "to understand the world, you must understand Africa" (FASS News June, 2019²). Adesanmi strove to make the IAS a reputable and dynamic destination for the study of Africa in Canada.

In the course of his work at the Institute, Prof. Adesanmi established academic linkages with African universities through the Carleton University Study Abroad Program, encouraging his students to undertake a semester abroad. He believed that the study abroad course in Africa provided "experiential learning" for his students (IAS Newsletter, 2016 p.2). The course entitled AFRI 3100/5100: African Studies Abroad, enabled students to study a selected topic in African Studies with a Carleton professor in an African country (or countries), in which the professor carries out research. The students also learn from experts on the topic in the African country (or countries).

The course had enabled students to study abroad in South Africa, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Rwanda, Malawi and Kenya. In 2018, the course was titled *Kenya 2.0: Social Media and Youth Cultures in a Changing Continent* and was offered in Nairobi, Kenya in partnership with the United States International University-Africa. Prof. Adesanmi accompanied the students to Nairobi. In his letter to the Kenya high commission in Ottawa, Adesanmi wrote

I am writing to notify you that our IAS study abroad course will be going to Kenya in May 2018. The study abroad course in Africa is one of the selling points of the Institute of African Studies at Carleton University and has attracted students from all over Canada to our program. It is also the standpoint which allows the Institute to forge capacity building alliances with Universities in Africa. Developing higher education in Africa is an area

2 Further information available at <https://carleton.ca/africanstudies/2019/african-studies-twins-graduate-together>.

which the Kenya Mission in Ottawa has been our most outstanding partner among the African missions (Prof. Adesanmi September 2nd, 2017).

Prof. Adesanmi's engagement with African studies and encouragement of student exchange or study abroad is a good example of what it means to be an African intellectual in the 21st Century. The Canadian students who get an opportunity to study in Africa get to learn a lot about the continent. Jim Carr, Minister of International Trade Diversification while announcing the Canadian Government's financial boost to the Study Abroad program at the University of Alberta on August 22, 2019, underscored the importance of the program by saying that:

Canadians who study abroad gain exposure to new cultures and ideas, stimulating innovation and developing important cross-cultural competencies. Students from abroad who study in Canada bring those same benefits to our shores (Beaulne-Stuebing, 2019).

Prof. Adesanmi, the African intellectual, demonstrated that one needs to be constantly engaged with the happening in the continent through research, speaking engagements, teaching and guiding students in African studies. Most of his colleagues at the IAS undertook a few funded research and projects involving partnerships and networks in Africa. They spent their summer months in various parts of Africa undertaking research.

Support for African Higher Education Sector

Prof. Adesanmi was active in the higher education sector in Africa through various forums. He made contribution to higher education in Africa through his work as Carnegie Diaspora Visiting Professor of African Studies at the University of Ghana, Legon during the 2013-2014 Academic year. After his visiting professorship ended, he continued to be engaged in developing research capacity in African universities through the University of Ghana's Pan-African Doctoral Academy. This was a summer school for doctoral students from West and East Africa.

Prof. Adesanmi advocated for an internalisation of high education that was balanced, in which partnerships between the global north and south was beneficial to the all partners. On November 16, 2016 he was a panelist at the conference: Advancing Education: The Canada-Africa Roundtable organised by the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE) in Ottawa, Canada. The goal of the roundtable was to share experiences of working across borders on education initiatives to foster new ideas and develop linkages among different stakeholders working in education across sub-Saharan Africa. He was in fact recognised for his exceptional leadership in internationalisation education by the CBIE who awarded him the 2017 Board of Directors Leadership Award. The award was in recognition of the "impact of his work in postgraduate research capacity development in African universities especially in Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa" (IAS Newsletter, 2017 p.11). Indeed, as an African intellectual he was an ever-present voice in forums where African education was discussed, not least of all in the many conferences that he organized.

Organisation of Academic Conferences

Prof. Adesanmi, through the IAS, developed strategic partnerships with individual African diplomatic missions (Kenya and Nigeria), the Group of African Heads of Mission, Pan- African Affairs Division at Global Affairs Canada and the Human Rights Research and Education Centre at the University of Ottawa. Through these partnerships, Adesanmi helped to organise conferences, symposia, public lectures and workshops where intellectual and scholarly engagements on issues of concern to Africa were discussed. The IAS organised three annual international conferences, namely the IAS annual conference, IAS annual undergraduate research conference and the IAS/ African Heads of Mission annual conference (IAS Newsletter 2016, p.1).³

In addition to conferences, Prof. Adesanmi along with the Pan Africanist Diaspora also took part and organised public lectures, guest lectures, book launches on various themes where issues of the African Continent took centre stage and showed that Prof. Adesanmi wanted his students, academic colleagues, African diaspora contemporaries and Canadians to constantly engage with the issues, opportunities and challenges in the African continent. Some of these themes have also been highlighted in the African Union's Agenda 2063. It is no wonder that the African Union recognised him as a Pan Africanist. He was a member of the Diaspora Consultation series of the African Union's Agenda 2063 in New York. His heart was in African and as fate would have it, he died on the continent on his way to do what he loved: putting African issues on the global stage. African heads of mission and ambassadors in Canada and the African intellectuals and diaspora can continue with the partnership with IAS to keep the legacy of Prof. Adesanmi alive.

Diaspora Diplomacy: Opportunities for Partnership with African Heads of Missions/Ambassadors

If Diaspora diplomacy as defined here has potential and can be utilised by African countries to foster partnerships with various countries, then African diaspora intellectuals, scholars and academics like Prof. Adesanmi have demonstrated an important role to play in this endeavour. In this section some further examples are given on opportunities for partnership.

Establishment of Academics Linkages and Partnerships

A number of African universities face several challenges, among which are inadequate facilities, unsuitable teaching and learning environments, large class sizes, inadequate staff, weak collaboration with professional accreditation bodies, a lack of external quality assurance, and weak linkages between the competences acquired in some programs, and the demands of the market and inadequate research funding. There are opportunities for linkages with Canadian universities, which Carleton University has demonstrated through its partnerships in several countries around the world, five of which are with African universities.⁴ The African heads of Mission/Ambassadors can use diaspora diplomacy to expand the partnership between Cana-

3 Further information on these conferences can be found in the IAS newsletter archives: <https://carleton.ca/africanstudies/news/subscribe-to-the-weekly-newsletter/>.

4 In 2019, University of Witwatersrand, University of Sierra Leone, University of Lagos and University of Nigeria; and the University of Ghana, See <https://carleton.ca/myexchange/partners>.

dian and African universities.

Academic linkages will help the diaspora academics in Canada to maintain contacts with their countries of origins, family members and colleagues who still work in the continent. One professor interviewed by Zeleza (2013) summarised the benefits of academic linkages thus:

I get to maintain my research interests and contact with institutions and colleagues in Africa, while colleagues from the other side have the benefit of interacting with me and, through me, my institution in the US. They also facilitate the possibility of collaborative teaching and research on both sides and opportunities for faculty exchange visits... (Tiyanjana Maluwa in Zeleza, 2013 p.9).

Once linkages have been established, the African diaspora get to partner with African colleagues. Research partnerships and scholarship boosts the prestige and ranking of African universities. Research has found that the top ranked universities in Africa, for example the University of Cape Town, which is often ranked the best in Africa, boasts the highest number of co-authorships with overseas scholars. Between 2007 and 2011, its academics produced 646 co-authored articles with colleagues at six top US and Canadian universities. Some of these were results of collaborations with the South African academic diaspora. (Wangenge-Ouma quoted in Zeleza, 2013 p. 24).

Resource Mobilisation

African diaspora academics and intellectuals can also help to mobilise resources from their own institutions, foundations, and national and international agencies to support research, scholarships and other projects on and about Africa. There are several ongoing initiatives that the diaspora and the African Heads of Mission can tap into in the process of establishing linkages.

One example is the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), African Academic Diaspora Support to African Universities. The program is funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and involves African academics in the diaspora to support academic activities in African universities. The participating countries in 2016 were Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda. The program encourages, organises and facilitates linkages and exchanges between the African diaspora and African universities. During the 2017-2021 programme cycle, CODESRIA awarded 12 grants to African academics in the diaspora for visiting fellowships to African universities. The grantees will spend time in African universities to undertake academic activities aimed at strengthening teaching and research in social sciences, humanities and higher education studies. The tenure of the visiting professorship will range from two weeks to three months. An analysis of the grantees reveals that most of them (eight) were from the USA, Belgium (one), United Kingdom (one), Germany (one) and Portugal (one). The African countries receiving the grantees were Kenya (five), South Africa (three), Nigeria (one), Ghana (one), Mozambique (one) and Uganda (one) (CODESRIA Newsletter 2948, accessed September 25th 2019). This is an opportunity that African Heads of Missions/ambassadors whose countries have not benefited in the past can explore.

There are other programs that target the African diaspora. One such example is supported by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) known as the Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA). The program aims at mobilising the skills and financial resources of African diaspora to support development projects in Africa. It supports the short term, long term or virtual return of expatriate skills to key sectors. The IOM supports MIDA through designing projects in various regions, countries and sectors. It operates in 11 African countries (Benin, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Rwanda, Senegal, United Republic Tanzania and Uganda) (Agunias & Newland, 2012 p.166).

There are government resources that the African diaspora can access to support their partnership with African Heads of Mission/ ambassadors. For example, on September 4th, 2019 the Canadian government released details of a CAD \$150 Million strategy to promote study abroad program (Beaulne-Stuebing, 2019). The Initiative, shared by Jim Carr, Minister of International Trade Diversification aims to increase the number of Canadians studying abroad, diversify the countries from which students come to Canada, as well as expand the range of their fields of study, their levels of study, as well as their destinations. It is estimated that in 2017, 11 per cent of Canadian undergraduates studied abroad during their degrees. However, the popular destination countries are skewed towards the USA, France, Australia and United Kingdom, while Canada receives more than 50 per cent of its international students from India and China. The new strategy seeks to expand the source of international students, hence an opportunity here for African diaspora and Heads of Missions to tap into. There is need to attract more students from African countries to come and study in Canada and more Canadian students to study in Africa. Here, Diaspora diplomacy can play a big role.

Curriculum Development

African heads of mission can work with the African diaspora in Canada who are academics in universities to lobby, develop and introduce African studies curricula in Canadian universities. African studies courses will allow the new generation of African diaspora, Africans and non-Africans to learn more about the African continent, its people and culture. This will go a long way in removing misconceptions, prejudices that result from lack of knowledge and information about the continent. African studies programs will also allow more scholars and researchers to conduct more research about Africa.

Creation of a Skills Database

There is a highly skilled African diaspora in Canada. According to Statistics Canada, based on census results of April 2016, Canada is projected to be an even more diverse country in the future. This census projects that by 2036, 3 in 10 Canadians will be foreign born. Two thirds of the population growth in the five years before 2016 was because of immigration. The census results of 2016 also found that Canada's population is increasingly well educated. According to OECD indicators of 2017 over 55 per cent of adults aged 25 to 64 have tertiary education in Canada (LaRochelle-Cote, 2017 pp.18-20). The African diaspora and the African Heads of Missions/embassies can partner to collaboratively collect data on the numbers, skills and experiences of the diaspora in Canada. Once the numbers, distribution and skills have been identified, then the modalities of partnerships can be developed based

on the needs of the countries of origin and the African diaspora. A database can be created by encouraging the African diaspora in Canada to register with the missions/embassies.

Organising and Hosting Conferences

As we have seen in the case of Carleton, the African diaspora can partner with the Heads of Missions/ ambassadors to organise conferences, symposia, public lectures and other forums that can be used to discuss issues of concern and current affairs affecting the continent. Presently, the diaspora might be better placed to host these conferences in their institutions where they can mobilise academics, students and scholars in specialised areas such as climate change, immigration, refugees crisis and conflict resolution. These scholars can share their research findings, policy proposals and recommendations geared towards solving the challenges facing the African continent. The Heads of Missions/ambassadors on their part can invite government representatives, policy makers and civil society organisations and representatives who are based in the continent to come and share their current practices and engage in academic discourses that can lead to policy formulation or revision. Such forums, if well planned, and executed can go far in identifying strategies that can be used to engage the diaspora in the politics and governance of their national governments or countries of origin. The forums can be based on regional blocks like East African Community (EAC), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and a North African group since the different regions have specific issues that concern them. The joint forum can be used to enhance economic partnership, creating incentives for innovation and entrepreneurship, research and development and knowledge transfer (Mwarigu, 2012).

Partnership in the Provision of Consular Services

African governments establish consulates in various countries as a way of reaching out to the diaspora in those countries. Consulates play an important role in linking the diaspora with government of their countries of origin. There are opportunities for African Heads of missions/ ambassadors to partner with the African diaspora in Canada in the provision of consular services. The African diaspora has played a key role in marketing their countries and organising trade exhibitions and trade delegations from Canada to their countries of origin through the consulates. Some have offered their services pro bono as counsellor general officers or consulates where they offer services or advertise their countries. African diaspora has offered their expertise and resources to support their countries of origin by accepting the position of honorary consuls. The consuls play an important role in supporting their High Commissions/Embassies through provisions of consular services such as visa services, passport services, citizen registration and legalisation of documents of the diaspora. Those that are well established (businesspeople and entrepreneurs) use their networks to build trade and investment partnerships with their countries of origin. They provide free office space as well as host trade, government and investor delegations from African countries.

The opportunities for partnership summarized here are by no means exhaustive.

Each African country has different foreign policy emphasis and therefore will seek to work with the African diaspora based on their specific needs and emphasis. This section suggests that there are opportunities for diaspora diplomacy in Canada.

Challenges of Diaspora Diplomacy

Although diaspora diplomacy as defined here has indeed many benefits for the African continent, there are some challenges that may prevent its effective implementation. Some of these challenges arise from the complex nature of the diaspora population while others are as a result of inadequate policy frameworks within African countries on diaspora diplomacy. Some of the challenges are summarized in this section.

Inadequate Policy Framework for Diaspora Diplomacy

Diaspora engagement is a new phenomenon on the African continent. Although the African Union has proposed strategies for diaspora engagement, individual countries have yet to develop national policies and strategic plans on the same. The countries that have policies like Kenya have not harmonised their policies with regional and continental frameworks. Most African countries have yet to develop policies that will involve diaspora Africans in the political system, governance and national decision making. Although dual citizenship provisions have been made in some countries like Nigeria, Kenya there have been challenges associated with dual citizenship especially where African diaspora members have wanted to run for political positions like members of the national parliaments or have been nominated for appointment to positions considered sensitive and touch on national security. Question of loyalty may arise when they want to serve in their African countries of origin. For example, a Kenyan diaspora member, Mwendu Mwinzi, who holds both Kenyan and US citizenship by birth was nominated by the President of the Republic of Kenya as Kenya's ambassador to Seoul, South Korea in June 2019. During her approval hearing at the national assembly, parliament approved her nomination but asked her to renounce her US citizenship before taking her appointment. For her, the question being asked was whether being ambassador could put her in a conflict of loyalty. Parliament cited Chapter six of the Kenya Constitution 2010 on leadership and integrity that stipulates that state officers should not hold dual citizenship. Ms. Mwinzi on her part, thought that parliament was being unfair to her since she cannot renounce her birth right to be both a Kenyan and US citizen. She is a philanthropist who operates a children's orphanage in Kenya. She sued the Kenyan parliament for discrimination. She defended her loyalty to Kenya by saying that "from my adulthood, everything about my life has been Kenya-bound" (Mutambo, 2019, para 2). Members of Parliament on the other hand asked the national assembly to rescind its decision to approve her nomination after she failed to renounce her citizenship before taking the appointment (Mwere, 2019).

The experience of Ms. Mwinzi has made the Kenyan diaspora feel that they are being locked out from serving their country. The Kenya Diaspora Alliance (KDA) which represents a grouping of associations of Kenyans living abroad argues that the national assembly is engaging in an illegality by forcing a Kenyan to renounce a citizenship she did not choose. Moreover, they think that the Kenyans in the diaspora already send in more money than Kenya's annual foreign direct investment, making them the highest foreign earners for the country (Mutambo, 2019). This points to

a policy gap and implementation framework challenge that may prevent diaspora diplomacy.

Absence of Data on Diaspora Population

The diplomatic missions lack the capacity to map and build a database on the diaspora. The absence of data can be attributed to inadequate reliable data on individuals and organisations within the diaspora. Attempts to encourage the diaspora to register with the diplomatic missions have not been successful. This is partly attributed to the fact that some members of the diaspora are suspicious about how the information they give to the diplomatic missions is going to be used. As a result, very few diasporas register and engage directly with the diplomatic missions. The younger second and third generation diaspora are not easy to reach as most of them do not have strong affiliation to the countries of origin.

Inadequate Resources for Diaspora diplomacy

There are inadequate financial resources in the diplomatic missions to support diaspora diplomacy. Given the program-based budgeting that is used in most governments, sometimes missions/embassies lack adequate finances to organise for meetings with the diaspora. So, the missions rely on the good will of the diaspora to organise activities where they are invited to attend. On the other hand, the diaspora imagines that there is a budget allocated for their involvement.

There are challenges associated with unrealistic expectations from the diaspora as well as the African Heads of Missions. Some diaspora may expect to be recognised or remunerated for the services/diplomatic engagements they engage in by the embassies who may not have a budget to meet the costs. Canada being a large country in terms of land mass makes it difficult for all the diaspora to engage especially since most of the embassies/ high commissions are based in Ottawa.

Whereas most African diaspora academics in Canada may be willing to support or offer their time during their summer breaks, the infrastructure to support diaspora academics is sometimes lacking at African universities. Some academics interviewed by Zeleza (2013) shared their frustrations for not being provided the facilities, including accommodation and office space promised prior to their arrival. Few African institutions have the resources to bring in diaspora academics. In addition to inadequate resources, there can sometimes be hostility towards diaspora academics, especially those who may want to work with their counterparts in African universities. Prof. Adesanmi described his experience of working with African universities thus:

It's not easy. There's resentment. We get called names...Colleagues treat us as traitors. You abandoned us when the going got tough. We deal with a lot of hostility. They say it on listservs and they call you names and stuff. Sometimes you can't even critique their work. It's very challenging. You go out of your way to be overly humble to deal with them because you are dealing with fragile sensitivities (Zeleza, 2013 p.17).

Such hostility is likely to inhibit African intellectuals who are willing to help build the capacity of African institutions. The diaspora sometimes finds work environments in Africa challenging, regarding access to computer facilities, Internet

access and suitable accommodation, making it difficult for them to transfer their knowledge, technology and experience to their countries of origin (Agunias & Newland, 2012). Such challenges suggest the need for a more robust framework to delineate how diaspora diplomacy can be rolled out to benefit African countries.

Conclusion

Through the work of the late Prof. Adesanmi, this article has explored diaspora diplomacy as a venue for tapping the skills and knowledge of the African diaspora in Canada. African diaspora members have a role to play as intellectuals and academics in the development of the African continent, and they have the good will to engage with the continent given their skills, knowledge and resources. The African Heads of Missions/ambassadors can tap into their good will through diaspora diplomacy, and they can use the diaspora to enhance relationships with the Canadian government.

For diaspora diplomacy to be enhanced there is a need to promote continuous dialogue with the African diaspora to explore meaningful ways of engagement. The dialogue will also help to build trust among the diaspora. Heads of African Missions/ambassadors in consultations with their governments and diaspora need to work on a road map for diaspora diplomacy along the lines proposed by Agunias & Newland (2012). The key elements of this road map include identifying goals and capacities, knowing your diaspora, building trust, mobilising stakeholders (government, diaspora and civil society) and effective engagement of diaspora in development. For diaspora diplomacy to be effective and sustainable there is a need to develop organizational infrastructures that minimize the challenges and maximize mutual benefits for African diaspora members who are willing to participate. If there are no adequate incentives and a well-established framework for engagement, African intellectuals and diaspora members are not likely to be attracted to diaspora diplomacy. There is thus need for governments to allocate a budget and a dedicated desk for diaspora diplomacy to be fully implemented. The capacity of the African missions and diaspora community organisations in Canada needs to be strengthened to enable them to engage in diaspora diplomacy.

African intellectuals in the 21st Century, African diaspora members in Canada and those in other parts of the world, have much to learn from the work of the late Prof. Adesanmi. The diaspora in Canada can support universities in Africa by teaching courses, participating in curriculum and program review and development, running joint summer schools whereby several African universities host post-doctoral fellows and visiting researchers and professors and supervising or mentoring masters and doctoral students. Diaspora intellectuals can also serve as mentors to graduate students in African universities.

Prof. Adesanmi's love and devotion to the African continent, as shown in his activities, illustrate that he was indeed a Pan Africanist intellectual who left this world too soon. However, his spirit and legacy will continue to be carried on by the many students, academics, government officials and readers of his literature whom he has greatly inspired. May your soul rest in peace Pius.

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