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Abstract

This paper deals with the local politics of transnational development cooperation and co-development in Spain. Since only a few years migrant organizations and local authorities started to engage in development cooperation in a more structured and institutionalized way. Local authorities provide specific funding for migrant organizations projects in this sense, and migrant organizations to a growing degree are willing and able to apply for them.

In the context of the (re)discovery of the migration-development-nexus, migrants and migrant organizations are being identified as agents of development. They are conceived of as ideal partners and actors in the overcoming of 'under-development' in their countries of origin, which they once had left in need of at least personally overcoming the difficult economic, social and political situations often existing there.

On that background, migrant organizations often not only engage in projects concerning their situation where they reside, but also uphold strong ties to their countries and localities of origin. They support their families and towns by financial means, know-how, political engagement and other manifold activities. Some – obviously to a growing degree – carry out projects in the realm of development cooperation investing in infrastructure, school and other educational activities, nutrition, capacity building etc.

Increasingly, sub-national levels of governance are engaging in the promotion of transnational relations and ties of migrants between their sites of residence and origin. Most evidence in sociological and political sciences research is provided by Mexican regional and local governments' policies towards their co-citizens residing in the United States. Scholars observe a wide range of measures directed to the promotion especially of migrants' loyalties and financial contributions. But whereas these transnational politics have been investigated from the side of the emigration countries and localities, research on the side of the immigration country does hardly exist.

This paper focuses on the processes on the side of the localities where the migrants live. It explores the activities of the migrant organizations and the local authorities in two Spanish cities, Madrid and Barcelona. And it puts a special focus on their interaction since for both parts these transnational projects are of very recent nature. By doing so, the paper makes a contribution to the new local engagement in migration and development emerging in Europe and discusses its meanings.

1) Introduction

Transnational practices of migrants currently come into the spotlight as contributions to development. Migrant transnationalism has been on the research agendas for quite some time, though. Not only do transnational practices of migrants stretch out to family members, kin and friends, they also aim at more collective goals like political and social-cultural changes and economic development. The (re)discovery of the nexus between migration and development brings new attention to these engagements.

Policy initiatives in this respect are manifold; most prominent efforts on the global level were made by the Global Commission on International Migration, the UN High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development in 2006, and the Global Forum on Migration and Development, a voluntary network of states created as a follow-up to the UN HLD. The European Union and its member states for their part not only participate in those global events. EU policies towards third countries – the Cotonou Agreement, the Lisbon Agenda, the Barcelona Process and many other initiatives – include respective considerations on the linkage between migration and development. On the national level many European states are discussing and issuing measures like as for example the United Kingdom (House of Commons 2004) or France. The coupling of concerns around the management of migration and integration, the prevention of irregular migration, and for the losses of migration to countries of emigration found its expression in the term co-development, coined by Sami Nair in a French governmental report in 1997 already. So far rather unnoticed have remained the local and other sub-national levels. Since these deal most directly with migrants, in many European countries sub-national levels are becoming important actors when it comes to settling the nexus and connecting to the migrant communities.

Southern European countries are in a special situation in this respect. They are living high migration inflows, often unregulated, and these come primarily from non-communitarian and here so called developing countries. This brings them into a very different position as compared to destinations of the older guest worker migration. Moreover, to many of the countries where those migrants are coming from, Southern European countries have historical attachments which are reflected in their policies on migration and on development cooperation. It is therefore not surprising that not only in France, but also in Italy and Spain co-development policies are evolving. National and more prominently sub-national authorities engage in this field, and though being of recent nature migrant organizations are becoming more and more active in transnational activities including development cooperation.

This paper, thus, deals with the politics of this transnational development cooperation and transnational practices more generally in two Spanish cities, Madrid and Barcelona. It analyzes the practices and understandings on the side of the migrant organizations and on the side of the local authorities. And it puts a special emphasis on the interaction between both. The focus on transnational politics has been addressed by much of the available research primarily from the side of the emigration countries. Here the emphasis is on the side of the immigration country.

2) Theoretical Background

Migrant transnationalism has received growing attention by scholarly research as well as harsh criticisms about the validity of the phenomenon as something new, widespread and relevant. However there is strong evidence that migrants maintain enduring ties to their countries of origin and develop manifold transnational practices in economic, political, socio-cultural and religious respects (Levitt/DeWind/Vertovec 2003). Such transnational spaces, reaching beyond and across borders of sovereign states, not only encompass individuals, but “consist of combinations of ties and their contents, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that cut across the borders of at least two nation-states” (Faist 2004). More recently research started to address the collective efforts of migrants to contribute to the project of development in their countries and communities of origin (Portes/Escobar/Walton Radford 2007: 244).

Migrant organizations and their transnational practices play a crucial role in these processes collecting money, channelling investment, supporting infrastructure projects etcetera. In the context of the (re)discovery of the migration-development-nexus, migrants and migrant organizations are being identified as agents of development (Nyberg Sørensen/Van Hear/Engberg-Pedersen 2002). They are conceived of as ideal agents in for the political, social and economic development of their countries of origin, which they once had left in need of at least personally overcoming the difficult situations often existing there.

Most empirical evidence on the involvement of migrant collective actors in their countries of origin exists on the role of Mexican hometown associations (HTA) in the United States and their activities in Mexico (Orozco/Lapointe 2004; Orozco 2003; Smith 2003; Smith/Bakker 2003; Goldring 2002; Levitt 1997). Empirical evidence also exists on the transnational practices of US-based migrant organizations towards other Latin American countries (Portes/Escobar/Walton Radford 2007; Morowska 2003). But still, insights about the great

variety of transnational activities of collective organizations is limited (Portes/Escobar/Walton Radford 2007: 244). This is even more true for Europe, where research only starts to address migrant transnational communities' and diasporic actors' contributions with respect to the political and economic situation of the respective countries of origin (Van Hear/Pieke/Vertovec 2004).

Political institutions and governments have their part in the institutionalization of migrant transnationalism (Itzigsohn 2000). Scholars have put special emphasis on the role of the sending states since many of the major emigration countries have become rather active in promoting close relations with their migrant communities abroad. The extension of voting rights and political representation to extraterritorial communities, the allowance of dual citizenship, the promotion of economic investment by migrants, facilitation of consular procedures, as well as the symbolic recognition of international migrants as part of *one* (trans)national community is well documented (for an overview of state measures see Itzigsohn 2000: 1132, Table 1; Smith 2003). It has been emphasized that states' activities are more often reactive than proactive (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003: 767; see also: Portes/Escobar/Walton 2007: 253).

Increasingly, sub-national levels of governance are engaging in the promotion of transnational relations and ties of migrants between their sites of residence and origin. Evidence here as well is provided by Mexican regional and local governments' policies towards their co-citizens residing in the United States (Fitzgerald 2005; Smith 2003). But whereas transnational politics by national and sub-national governments have been investigated from the side of the emigration countries and localities, research on transnational politics on the side of the immigration receiving country does hardly exist.

When the receiving side is considered it is with reference to the degree of discrimination and the existing mode of integration or citizenship regime. On the one hand, it has been argued that restrictive migration policies making integration and identification difficult led to the withdrawal from the receiving society and promote an inclination towards the country of origin as a reaction (Koopmans/Statham 2003). Others point out, that the form of transnational initiatives are expected to be rather collectively organized in the face of strong discrimination, while more individualized activities are expected in its absence (Portes/Escobar/Walton 2007: 255). On the other hand, some scholars also argued that multicultural policies are reinforcing ethnic identities and hence may contribute to transnational relations (Faist 2000: 214; for a discussion see Kivisto 2005: 314ff.). At the same time, a third group of authors points to empirical results indicating a positive relationship between integration and transnational en-

gagements, i.e. the economically and socially better-established are more likely to engage in transnational activities (Portes/Escobar/Walton 2007; Morawska 2003).

On the background of the migration-development debate an additional line of policies on the receiving site currently evolves, which needs to be taken into account. Debates around the concept of co-development have led to active promotion of migrants' collective and individual transnational engagement by European governments on various levels. The notion and concept of co-development was prominently introduced by Sami Naïr, a French political scientist and commissioner for migration and co-development of the French government, in a report in 1997 (Naïr 1997). It argued in favour of "another perspective on migration" linking the policies on migration flows and development cooperation efforts as a necessity and responsibility of immigration countries towards the emigration countries and their potential losses and as a contribution to stabilize migration. The report moreover advocated for regarding the migrants as the vector of development and pointed out that "[i]l est le coeur et le corps vivant de l'opération"¹. The concept and the instruments of co-development had influence in many European countries, especially in France itself, in Italy (Piperno/Stocchiero 2005) and in Spain (Pacheco 2003; Casas 2000) and term found its way into the Tampere European Council Summit Conclusions in 1999 (European Council 1999).

The French report also advocated for the incorporation of lower levels of government in order to vertically strengthen the states' actions and to horizontally support democratic practices, the role of (non-governmental) actors and the establishment of direct relations with civil society. This falls on especially fertile grounds where local levels play an important role in migrants' integration and where *Cooperación Decentralizada* (Decentralized Cooperation) is institutionalized in development cooperation policies like in Spain. We are thus witnessing a growing interest of sub-national levels in Spain and elsewhere in taking up this concept. The concept itself, however, remains diffuse (Pacheco 2003: 186). The new discussions emerging around the notion of co-development and the linkage between migrant transnationalism and development more generally point to the relevance of the receiving site and of the local level. Here we can observe great dynamics, where little insights based on empirical research yet exist.

At the same time, migrant communities and organizations in Spain and other European countries, as in the United States, are currently becoming more and more active in displaying

¹ He is the heart and the body of this operation.

transnational practices. Since migration to Southern Europe still is a rather recent phenomenon, migrant associationism is also relatively recent, but very dynamic and already allows to observe many transnational characteristics. Consequently, research on migrant transnationalism including such activities contributing socio-economic and political development in the countries of origin is currently only evolving.

Concerning the collective transnational engagements, two set of questions seem of special relevance: First, what are the understandings of this connection between migration and development, or transnational engagement more generally? And what practices and activities can we observe? Migrant organizations as well as (local) public authorities currently display a rather broad variety of policies, practices and understandings which may not easily be summarized within one approach. And second, the question arises as to role of public policies and institutions for migrants' transnational practices and the interactions between both.

In order to answer these questions, the structure of this paper is as follows. The following section three presents the empirical results on transnational practices on the side of the migrant organizations. Migrant organizations actively engage transnationally in especially in political and socio-economic issues. This section looks at the kinds of these activities, and the understandings that lay on their ground and motivate this engagement. It moreover emphasizes the role of migration and the migratory process not only as these are essential for the underlying motivation, but also as reflected in relation to the nature of these projects. Irregular migration and its prevention for example is one of the major concerns motivating activities for the improvement of living conditions in the countries of origin by migrant organizations. But beyond this, it is also the objective of many projects and activities. After that, the policies and understandings on the side of the local authorities promoting migrant transnationalism are described. This section shows that there are different versions and different policies of co-development in different cities. On that background, the conclusion finally tries to answer the two questions raised above. It first addresses the understandings between migration and development prevalent in the organizations practices and the authorities' policies and identifies two distinguishable approaches. And second the conclusion refers to the interaction between policies and practices in the promotion of transnational cooperation as well as its relationship with integration.

3) The Migrant Organizations: Transnational Cooperation for Development(s) and Migration

In all the interviews conducted in this study with representatives from migrant organizations my interlocutors referred to various practices that can be described as transnational. Further and more in-depth research on the phenomenon of transnationalism within this research project revealed a number of distinguishable aspects in this respect, which in part are related to understandings of development – development(s) - and migration.

Half of the organizations investigated already carry out concrete projects in countries of origin for migrations to Spain, some of them not only in the country of origin the organization was originally attached to, financed by development cooperation funding schemes in Spain. This is all the more surprising given the great variety of size and duration of existence of the organizations investigated. Not only the bigger, more professionalized migrant organizations, counting on employed staff, but also some of those ones which are smaller in resources, working with volunteers only, are engaged in development cooperation projects. However, some of the organizations in the sample do not work in their countries of origin in relation to social or economic development, some have tried to receive funding but up till now were not successful, and some plan to apply for funding in the nearer future.

Nevertheless, all organizations investigated show aspects of transnationalism in their activities and understandings. Though some activities are of a more political nature addressing the country of origin's government claiming political recognition and others are more concerned with social aspects like nutrition and health care for children, very often various aspects overlap and cross-cut each other, in the pronouncements of my interlocutors as well as when looking at projects and other manifestations of their work.

From the data collected in this research project four issues concerning transnational practices seem of special relevance. The first one concerns political transnationalism which is relevant to all the migrant organizations investigated in some way or the other. A wide array of practices addresses the country of origins' political institutions. The second issue identified are transnational projects in the realm of development cooperation covering economic and social issues in the widest sense. The third issue somehow cross-cuts the two previously mentioned and refers to the relevance of migration as an aspect present in many activities. This goes beyond the fact that the actors involved can be considered migrants themselves. Political transnationalism as well as transnational development cooperation both incorporate migration as a central feature in many different ways, for example when they deal with re-

turning migrants. Finally, the fourth issue considers the organizational evolution and the stage at which transnational development activities emerged as an area of activity in the organizations. This internal change in some cases is reflected in the change of the name of the organization itself. Addressing the organizational change allows to see whether transnational engagements are substitutive or supplementary to efforts for integration undertaken by these migrant associations.

3.1 Political Transnationalism

Almost any of the organizations' representatives I talked to referred to political activities they undertook with respect to the country of origin. Here political practices are understood in the sense of addressing the political institutions of the country of origin, for example advocating for political change, by claiming or exercising voting rights, or by demanding changes in emigration policies.

The South American associations where presidential elections took place in the year 2006 – namely Peruvians, Ecuadorians and Colombians – and where in the first two countries nationals living abroad for the first time could participate in those elections, all provided consular information to the migrant community, organized discussion rounds, informed about candidates, and also about procedures, locations, consular advices, obligations, and potential punishment since the exercise of the right to vote is coercive in some of these countries. Migrants from those countries living in Madrid, Barcelona but also from other cities and regions in Spain addressed them for information personally, by calling on the telephone or writing an e-mail. Some of the South American organizations dedicated great parts of their work in the year 2006 to these questions, published articles in this respect in their publications and organized many debates and conferences on the political and economic situation in their country of origin and in Latin America more generally, open to the general public, sometimes in cooperation with Spanish institutions and universities.

Some of the organizations also go one step further, advocating for a changing and 'real' political, social and symbolic recognition of the migrant as (distant or transnational) citizens of their country of origin, birth and identity. To this aim, they try to influence on the governments of their countries of origin, by formal and informal meetings, public events and jointly organized conferences. These activities address questions of political representation claiming to allow citizens abroad to participate in national elections of the country of origin or demanding to facilitate the exercise of existing voting rights. They also demand symbolic and public rec-

ognition of the fact of migration, not being looked upon as betrayers or irrelevant to the nation when having left the country and hence recognizing their continuing attachment to that country and their identity.

Many Latin American countries already enacted legislation in recent years as to allow their citizens abroad to vote like Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Argentina, the Dominican Republic reacting to the fact of migration and to the claims of migrants. Some countries also went further as to support their communities abroad and strengthen the linkages to them. The activities undertaken by the Mexican government are probably most pronounced and also probably most well known (Smith 2003), but many other countries show similar features (see for example Itzigsohn 2000 on Haiti, El Salvador and the Dominican Republic). Also Colombia's government issued an initiative *Colombia nos une* with a website to distribute information among its citizens abroad, and the Dominican state as well became pro-active in engaging with Dominicans in the United States and Europe (see also Portes/Escobar/Walton 2007).

Such transnational politics on side of the emigration state are central to many of the migrant organizations interviewed. They build up networks with other migrant organizations of the same origin and establish formal and informal relations to political authorities in order to voice their claims.

Argentina's initiatives may serve as very recent example. The Interior Ministry of the Republic of Argentina issued a resolution in March 2007 announcing the programme Provincia 25

Con el objeto de fortalecer los vínculos y la comunicación del Estado Argentino con los argentinos residentes en el exterior (Resolución 452/2007 - MINISTERIO DEL INTERIOR)
[With the intention to strengthen the linkages and the communication of the Argentinean State with the Argentineans residing abroad].

This programme includes facilitation of electoral procedures for Argentineans abroad, special representation in Congress and Senate of the Argentinean extra-territorial community, as well as general strengthening of the ties between the Argentinean State and its citizens aboard, facilitation of consular procedures etc.

My interlocutor of an Argentinean organization in Barcelona, who in the organization's newsletter claims to have been the first to propose the Provincia 25 concept in an event in Madrid in January 2004 with the occasion of the visit of the Argentinean president Néstor Kirchner in Spain, interprets this event the following way:

Para comenzar, este gobierno ha procedido a reconocer LEGALMENTE que somos argentinos (...).

En lo político institucional, la provincia 25 significa ampliar el límite cívico de la república, para abarcar a todos los ciudadanos, sin distinción del lugar donde residan.

Se trata de una provincia que no tiene territorio físico, que reúne a sus ciudadanos (reunirá) en el terreno virtual de la identidad nacional Argentina.

Significa, ni más ni menos, que nuestro país RECUPERARÁ MÁS DE UN MILLÓN DE CIUDADANOS.

Se trata de implementar el ejercicio efectivo de la ciudadanía en la época de la globalización.

Releo estas palabras y siento otra vez algo muy antiguo y profundo: EL ORGULLO DE PERTENECER A MI PAÍS, LA CERTEZA DE QUE LA ARGENTINA, TAN LEJANA, POCO A POCO VOLVERÁ A SER MI ARGENTINA, MI PAÍS, EL PAÍS AL CUAL LE DEBO MI IDENTIDAD ORIGINAL y ahora, esta palabra, DEBO será una deuda que se comienza a saldar con la satisfacción de que la acción colectiva y asociada no eran esfuerzos en vano. (Newsletter 2007-03-19; Casal Argentí, Barcelona, capital letters in original)

[To start with, this government has started to legally recognize that we are Argentines.

In political-institutional respects, Provincia25 means to broaden the civic boundaries of the republic, to encompass all citizens, independently of the place where they reside.

It is a province which does not have a physical territory, which unites its citizens (will unite) in the virtual territory of the Argentinean national identity. This means not more and not less than that our country re-gains more than one million of its inhabitants.

It is a matter of the effective exercise of citizenship in the age of globalization. I re-read these words and feel again something ancient and deep: the proud to belong to my country, the certainty that Argentina, so far away, step by step will again be my Argentina, my country, the country to which I owe my original identity and now, this word, owe, is a debt which starts to settle with satisfaction that the collective and organized action were not in vain.]

Other activities with respect to the country of origins' government are proposals to facilitate remittance sending and the channelling to collective investment, and also include lobbying for bilateral arrangements between Spain and the country of origin concerning their lives as migrants, for example facilitating the recognition of professional and university titles, drivers licences, social security contributions and so on.

Por ejemplo otro derecho por que se ha peleado mucho en este sentido, para que se reconozca este derecho a las personas que vienen de fuera, son los convenios de seguridad social entre Colombia y otros países de origen, porque ahorita se estaba debatiendo mucho, el convenio entre Colombia y España, de la seguridad social, que ya es reconocido con otros países. Pues, para que la gente también sepa que al estar cotizando en España, eso no se pierde, todo ese tiempo ni que se cotizó en Colombia como trabajador mientras que se está cotizando aquí, que a la hora futura de pensionarte, de jubilarte que cuenten. (IT21)

[For example, another right we were struggling for in this sense, that this right was recognized for those persons who live abroad, are the agreements on social security between Colombia and other countries of origin, because at this very moment, these are being discussed a lot, the agreement between Colombia and Spain, on social security, which already has been recognized with other countries. Well, that the people also know that while contribute [to the social security] in Spain, this will not be lost, all this time, not what they contributed in Colombia as a worker, when they are contributing here, which in the future when retiring, this counts.]

Other aspects addressed concern broader issue of political change, the promotion of democracy and participation. These include also specific issues in the socio-political realm like campaigns against domestic violence for example initiated by migrant organizations in their country of origin, but also in the country of residence.

Many of the political-transnational activities are thus in strong relation to experiences and needs emerging out of the migratory process itself and the condition of being a migrant. They claim political changes in various respects, and also the amelioration of their condition as distant citizens.

3.2 Understandings of Migrants' Transnationalism

Many of the organizations in this study already carry out project related to development cooperation in the stricter sense, half of those investigated do so within the respective public funding schemes available at the national, regional and local level as well as from private-company foundations; at least two others plan to do so. These projects cover a wide range of actions. Some are concerned with micro-credits and saving systems among poor households, some work against malnutrition and undersupply of health care facilities, especially among children and women. There are projects promoting capacity building and labour market insertion, cultivation and processing of agro-cultural products, including sometimes their commercialization. Other projects are located in the educational sector supporting schools or providing computer classes and other skill training.

In some occasions the term co-development is applied in the interviews and documents provided by the migrant organizations. It remains diffuse, however, and is applied in many senses. As regards the connection between migration and development, we can distinguish at least three aspects. The first one refers to the fact, that the actors are migrants themselves and hence become agents of development. The second aspect, strongly related to the first, refers to the mobilization of migrants communities in Spain demanding and channelling their contributions for the development of their country of origin. For some the role of migrants as agents of development has to do with their very understanding of development, which is about engagement, and also includes transnational cooperation as one aspect of the construction of a transnational community. The third aspect, is about the relevance of the migratory process as a concern motivating transnational engagement, but also as a component of a number of projects. Since the latter is an important and rather astonishing feature, different from the others, it will be treated in a separate section.

The first aspect, migrants being agents of development is naturally given, since the actors investigated are migrant organizations and perceive their role as such. As to the second aspect, some projects include the promotion of investment and collective engagement among migrant communities. For example *Euro Sociales* is a campaign initiated by AESCO that intends to mobilize migrants' contributions to support malnourished children in Quito. Other projects are of mixed nature concerning the funding, including development cooperation funds by local governments and foundations and "co-development" (sic!) funding by migrants living in Spain. The project *Collir Future* by ACULCO is one such example, connecting Spain and Colombia in various sense. It is a three phase project working with women under high risk of marginalization. In its first phase the women receive training in human and technical resources, the second phase consists of the formation of a cooperative for the processing of agro-cultural products in Colombia, and in the third phase the organization in Spain will open up solidarity shops where these products will be exported to and commercialized. This project is financed by the City of Alicante and the Foundation Bancaja. A similar project is *Nuestras Manos en Madrid* (Our hands in Madrid) which ACULCO carries out with two other Spanish Development-NGOs.

Their idea of development and the engagement of migrants in the development of their countries of origin are closely connected from the perspective of my interlocutors. Development goes beyond sending things or money, and is about the engagement of people, on the sites of reception and origin. Moreover, neither the engagement on the side of the individual migrant nor on the side of the organizations' activities is contradictory or alternatively to integration. This is reflected in the overall picture of the organizations' activities as well on the pronouncements in favour of political and social participation in the country of origin and reception at the same time.

Transnational cooperation for development is moreover perceived as a reaction to emigration, and to irregular or unregulated migration specifically.

Son proyectos no solamente de cooperación de construir casas y viviendas o colegios, a parte de esto, también se hace jornadas, clases, información, y también jornadas al nivel internacional. (IT27)

[These are projects not only of cooperation, constructing houses or schools, a part from this, there are also seminars, classes, information, and seminars at the international level.]

Entendemos que los inmigrantes tenemos que estar implicados con esos proyectos y tenemos que cooperar, aunque sea con pocos recursos. Si hablo de cooperación no hablamos de ayuda o mandar cosas, no, no, sino de que participe la gente también en las poblaciones autóctonas, en proyectos, que ellos también participan en la gestión, y una vez que sea terminado, pues participan en el cuidado. En cuidar de lo que ellos también han participado. Y eso de alguna forma, pues, primero puede

ayudar a frenar esta inmigración, a veces incontrolada y luego también hace que el inmigrante marroquí no se olvida de sus orígenes y de la realidad. (IT37)

[We feel that the immigrants we have to be involved in these projects and we have to cooperate, even it is with little resources. If I speak of cooperation, we are not only speaking about help or sending things, no, no, but that the people participate, the autochthon population, in the projects, that they also participate in the implementation, and once it is finished, that they participate in taking care. To take care of what they also have participated in. And this, somehow, first, can help to stop this immigration, sometimes uncontrolled, and then, also makes for the Moroccan immigrant not to forget his origins and the reality.]

The perspective expressed here on the engagement of the migrants for the development and well-being in their country of origin is related to the wish to stop (unregulated) migration or the need to migrations. In various conversations this was one of the central aspects mentioned explaining the motivation to engage in these projects. The next section will show that this is not only an abstract wish or the ideational basis of motivation. The relation to the fact of (e)migration is reflected in the very nature of many projects as well.

On a more conceptual basis some of my interlocutors expressed themselves in favour of the construction of a transnational community with these development activities embedded in a broader goal. The important thing to highlight here is, that these communities are *transnational*. The reference to their own national identity, their loyalties and culture, to their patriotism etcetera is explicit and strong. Contribution to development cooperation and co-development opens ways and means to live and promote this attachment, even when being away. In this line, are the claims and efforts to create transnational network of co-nationals all around the world, especially connecting the communities in Spain, other European countries and United States with one another and to the country of origin. This includes pressure and exchange on the respective governments, claims for political rights (see above), and the construction of a new identity, new principals of the own nationality. Some of the organizations have already started to promote migrant networks, held meetings and conferences to this aim.

Queremos trabajar mucho sobre estas líneas [de co-desarrollo] Más allá de las remesas permiten la construcción de verdaderas comunidades transnacionales de Colombianos (...) Hemos ido ganando terreno hacia la construcción desde la sociedad civil colombiana de una verdadera red de Colombianos en el exterior a través de la construcción de una comunidad transnacional que trabaje por unos nuevos principios de la Colombianidad. (IT36).

[We want to work intensely along these lines [of co-development]. Beyond the remittances it allows for the construction of real transnational communities of Colombians (...) We have been gaining territory towards the construction, of the Colombian civil society, of a real network of Colombians abroad through the construction of a transnational community which works for new principles of Colombianity.]

3.3 The Role of Migration for Development Cooperation

Migration is reflected in the projects of many of organizations activities. As outlined above, migrants are agents of these projects, in two senses, first, because the great majority of members, associates and staff of these organizations are migrants themselves. And second, they invite the broader migrant community to contribute to the development of their countries of origin by mobilizing collective remittances. Hence, development cooperation is first and foremost a reflection of solidarity and engagement of the members of the organizations. To some it is moreover a way and part of the construction of a transnational community between those living abroad and those living in the country of origin. Additionally, concerns for irregular migration and continuing emigration provide the motivational background for migrants' transnational engagement.

These concerns, however, do not remain an abstract idea they are components of many of the cooperation projects.

Definitivamente uno de los factores importantes de la inmigración es la situación de su país de origen. Una persona sale del país de origen por algo que está sucediendo, no todas obviamente, hay excepciones también, pero entonces que pasa, nosotros consideramos que si no empezamos a trabajar con la población de origen, el problema de la inmigración, va a continuar, que no pienso que sea algo negativo totalmente, porque considero que la emigración debe existir también, pero de forma regular. Entonces uno de los primeros proyectos que nosotros hicimos de cooperación al desarrollo fue un proyecto que estaba vinculado directamente en la zona, que, por estadísticas, nos dimos cuenta que es la zona de donde mas población inmigrante viene hacia Madrid. (IT20)

[Definitely, one of the important factors of immigration is the situation in the country of origin. A person leaves the country of origin because something is happening there, not all of course, there are exceptions as well, but what happens then, we feel that if we do not commence to work with the population of origin, the problem of immigration will continue. I don't think it is something totally negative, because I feel that emigration must also exist, but in regulated ways. So, for example, one of the first projects we made in development cooperation was directly related to the region, which, according to statistics, we realized that it is the region from which most immigrant population comes to Madrid.]

This citation refers to the selection criterium based on numbers of migrants coming from a specific region to Madrid. Regions identified as major sending areas for migrants to Spain receive a special attention in this perspective. This prioritization is also made by Madrid's local development cooperation as we will see. Nevertheless, the organizations make it their own priority as well. It moreover has to be pointed out that not all activities described in the following are financed by the City of Madrid, or only a small part in fact is, and some do not at all receive public funding. Among the aspects related to migration in those projects of development cooperation we can distinguish the following.

Prevention and combat of (irregular) migration

As in the above cited paragraph this and other organizations selected locations on the basis that these are major sending regions for migration, in that case to Madrid. Projects carried out there focus on groups with high inclination (‘risk’) to migrate. Especially capacity building and labour market insertion are provided in those cases.

Combat against irregular migration and especially human trafficking is an aspect the organizations address in various ways. The Moroccan organization for example organized talks and distributed documents in Morocco about the dangers of crossing the sea in small boats (‘pateras’) and relying on human trafficking networks. Other activities include awareness building campaigns on the dangers of human trafficking, especially for women, training courses, public events etc. To this aim for example a Central American organization I investigated includes several of these issues in a radio programme transmitted in Madrid and Santo Domingo.

Vereda Tropical es un proyecto de sensibilización que pretende difundir la cultura dominicana al tiempo que la española para facilitar la integración social del colectivo inmigrante. Simultáneamente, a partir de este programa se pretende luchar contra las redes de tráfico de personas y facilitar a quienes quieran inmigrar la posibilidad de hacerlo ordenadamente a través de los convenios que existen entre España y República Dominicana. (VOMADE Memoria 2006: 6)

[Vereda Tropical [a radio programme] is a project of awareness building which pretends to distribute the Dominican culture at the same time as the Spanish to facilitate social integration of the immigrants. At the same time, with this programme we intend to combat networks of human trafficking and facilitate the possibility to immigrate for those who want to do it in regulated way within the agreements that exist between Spain and the Dominican Republic.]

Preparation for emigration

Maybe the most striking feature of activities carried out in the country of origin is the preparation for potential emigration. Since at least some of the organizations in the sample are well established migrant organizations in Spain they have long-standing experience with the legal procedures relevant to migrants, the ways and possibilities to receive a residence and work permission, they know well the local labour market, have their own networks on job opportunities and acquired considerable knowledge over the years. On this basis, especially those with offices in the countries of origin, but on a more informal basis also the smaller ones, provide information, assistance and advisory to potential migrants. These include those who intend to emigrate on the basis of family reunification where many procedures can be ad-

dressed before leaving the country, as for example the recognition of university titles and other certificates.

ACULCO quiere involucrarse dentro de este proceso, tanto en la oficina de Bogotá que tenemos, como nosotros en la sede central. Trantando de hacer todo lo que es adaptación. Entonces desde Bogotá, informandoles a ellos un poco, acercar la realidad de España, política en Espana, a que se van a enfrentar, a que sepan y que conozcan un poco antes de llegar acá. Que por lo menos, sepan como hacen acá de sacar el abono del metro, como hacen para sacar la tarjeta sanitaria, cosas que son lo más básico, pero que es necesario que lo sepas. Y una vez que estén acá, será toda la labor de todo lo que es servicios sociales, apoyarles a ellos en el proceso de adaptación, asesoría psicológica. Y todo. (IT20)

[ACULCO wants to get involved in this process, both with the offices in Bogota that we have, and we in the central domicile. Trying to do everything related to adaptation. This is, in Bogota, informe the people a littel, bring closer to them the reality in Spain, politics in Spain, what they will be confronted with, that they know, and learn a bit before comming here. That at least they know who to buy a ticket for the metro, how to get their health care card, things which, which are the most basic, but which are necessary to know. And once they are here, it's all the work concerning social services, support them in the process of adaptation, psychological assistance. Everything.]

From the perspective of the organizations they have an advantage since they may provide follow-up advisory and information when the migrants have arrived in Spain and hence can supplement the work of their branches in the country of origin. Until now, some of those activities are carried out without receiving funds from the Spanish side; others are co-financed by public authorities in Spain.

One of the organizations intends to engage in more institutionalized ways concerning the intermediation for work-contracts. On the basis of already existing bilateral agreements between Spain and some emigration countries, this organizations intends be recognized as an official part in this process.

Entonces, se logra tener un contacto con acá, se hace la selección del personal aquí en Bogotá y se trae la gente acá, con un contrato fijo, con una estabilidad laboral que es bastante buena. (IT20)

[Well, to obtain a contact with here, do the selection of the personal over there in Bogota, bring the people here, with a fixed contract, with a stability which is quite good.]

The organizations also maintain relations to the public authorities on both sites of the migratory process. They try to establish themselves as an interlocutor or interface between the sites of origin and reception, connecting especially the local sites. They bring together public officials in order to connect both sides more intensely.

El último año logramos juntar a los alcaldes de República Dominicana de donde salen los Inmigrantes con los alcaldes Españoles que les reciben sobre los diversos problemas puntuales que tiene la Emigración. (VOMADE, Homepage)

[Last year we were successful in bringing together the mayors of the Dominican Republic where the immigrants are leaving from with the Spanish mayor which receive them around the different punctual problems that emigration brings about.]

Return

Some of the projects also focus on or include an aspect of return. Such projects may be carried out in the country of origin as well as in Spain as a preparation for future return. Very interestingly, these classes promoting labour market insertion and vocational training are often directed to migrants residing in Spain and eventually stay as well as to those who may return. One publication of an organization from my sample describes a course on specific training courses this way:

La mayoría de los asistentes al curso tienen permiso de residencia pero también los hay sin documentos españoles. El programa está diseñado pensando en la promoción laboral de trabajadores que llegaron sin una cualificación profesional o con titulación de difícil encaje en el Mercado laboral español, y aspiran a mejorar su situación, pero también se contempla como una alternativa para el retorno al país de origen. (Boletín Hermanas Mirabal, May/June 2006)

[The majority of the participants of the course have a residence permission, but there are also some without Spanish documentation. The programme is designed thinking in the labour market promotion of workers who arrived without professional qualification or with a certificate, which hardly fits into the Spanish labour market, and who want to improve their situation, but also it is considered as an alternative for the return to the country of origin.]

The relation between migration, transnationalization and development is at least twofold, as will become clear in the cities approaches as well. On the one hand, there is the engagement of migrant organizations and migrant communities from the receiving context towards the site of origin. On the other hand, there are aspects of migration and the migratory process that are as such being dealt with by the projects. And political practices directed to the country of origins' political levels often have to do with the fact of migration and transnationalization and claim for recognition, representation and support of the communities abroad.

3.4 Institutional Evolution of Transnational Cooperation

The organizations investigated included the aspect of development cooperation at different stages of the institutional evolution in their activities. Some only recently start to engage in

development cooperation applying for funds or plan to do so and see this a further step in the evolution of their organization after having settled other purposes referring to mutual help, reception and integration. Few organizations redirect their work away from integration; only one organization sees a stronger focus on the country of origin as the next step to its work, now that less and less people are coming from there to Spain due to visa restrictions.

Other organizations have professionalized in response to the changes in the migratory cycle and have opened up their activities to other nationalities, which in some cases led to a change in the name from a one-nationality focus to one addressing migrants in general. In this process of institutional evolution some organizations started to include development cooperation into their activities, which for example in the case of ACULCO led to a change in the organization's name as well.

Al principio, cuando se crea ACULCO, tiene el nombre Asociación Cultural por Colombia y Iberoamérica, al día de hoy ha cambiado, estamos un poco más involucrados con cooperación al desarrollo, entonces el nombre de nosotros cambió y pasó a ser Asociación Socio-Cultural y Cooperación al desarrollo por Colombia e Iberoamérica. (IT20)

[At the beginning, when ACULCO was created it had the name Cultural Association for Colombia and Latin America, today it has changed, we are a bit more involved in development cooperation, so our name changed and turned into Socio-cultural Association and Development Cooperation for Colombia and Latin America.]

Other organizations opted for founding a separate organization. For example out of the Moroccan organization ATIME emerged REMCODE – *Red Euromediterránea de Cooperación al Desarrollo* in 1997, which is institutionally independent, but federated to the mother organization.

But also the other way around is possible: there are organizations which first addressed development cooperation and only later on became a migrant organization in the proper sense addressing the needs of migrants when more and more people were coming to Spain from the founders' country of origin of this organization. AESCO for example was founded at the beginning of the 90s with the name *Asociación Española por la Solidaridad y Cooperación con Colombia*, with an office in Madrid and one in Bogotá. The goal was to establish and strengthen solidarity and cooperation between Spain and Colombia. In 1996 it started to work in the field of migration when more and more Colombians and later other Latin American citizens came to Madrid. On that background the organization changed its name to be more open to other nationalities into *Asociación América España Solidaridad y Cooperación*. Until today the organization works as a migrant organization providing assistance, information, cultural activities and political representation to migrants in Madrid, and works as a development NGOs carrying out projects in several Latin American countries.

Other organizations investigated show comparable features. Only one of my interviewees said that they would now turn from migrant reception to development cooperation, all others continue to do both. Some of the organizations in the meantime opened one or more offices in the country of origin; VOMADE is about to open a new offices in the Dominican Republic together with one of the biggest Spanish Development NGOs *Movimiento por la Paz, el Desarme y la Libertad* – MPDL (Movement for Peace, Disarmament and Freedom). The local offices in the countries of origin carry out some of the projects directed to development, serve as interlocutors to local authorities and other collaborators, provide information and advice to potential migrants, engage in the combat against human trafficking etcetera. They are the materialization of the transnational character of these organizations.

4) Local Development Cooperation and Co-development Policies in Spanish Cities

Many of the above described activities of the migrant organizations in their countries of origin are (co-)funded by Spanish authorities, primarily from local and regional levels. Hence, after exploring the activities of the migrant organizations, the focus is now on those of the local authorities in Madrid and Barcelona.

Currently, the connection between migration and development in Spain's development cooperation and migration policies is a new issue on the agenda, very often summarized by the term co-development. But before entering in a discussion of these new policies in Spain and in particular in Barcelona and Madrid, we shall briefly refer to the central features of development cooperation in Spain since these provide the basic framework to more specific policies and changes.

4.1 Decentralized Development Cooperation in Spain

Spain received international development aid far into the 1970s. Until the 1981 the World Bank listed Spain as a developing country (Casas 2000: 114). By that time the country already started some punctual cooperation activities towards other countries. In 1985 the *Secretaría de Estado para la Cooperación Internacional y para Iberoamérica* (SECIPI) was established, in 1988 AECI – *Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional*, which until today remains integrated within the structures of the Foreign Ministry. From early on, the system of

development cooperation in Spain was decentralized, with different levels of government, various public entities, foundations and private enterprises providing funds and a wide array of NGOs participating in this field.

Already in the mid 80s sub-national levels had started to enact policies in expression with a concern for growing poverty and social exclusion in third world countries. Generally the more pronounced and broader engagement of local governments in support and cooperation with developing countries were a consequence of the demands and campaigns of the citizens at the beginning of the 90s (Ruiz 2006). By that time, there were many campaigns, demonstrations and other public events going on demanding the accomplishment of the devotion of 0.7% of municipal budget to developing countries, which in many cities had important repercussions. Since then, contrary to the Spanish development aid, which declined and then stagnated since 1993, local and regional expenditures are continuously growing. For 2005 these make for around 388 million Euro, 15% of the Spanish ODA. On average Latin America receives 55,5% of these funds, whereas 13,2% go to Sub-Sahara Africa (Intermón-Oxfam 2005). Today, Decentralized Cooperation is one of the most characterizing and dynamic features of Development Cooperation in Spain (Ruiz 2006: 26)

Most localities have annual calls for tenders along specific lines of action focusing on development cooperation, humanitarian aid and awareness building. Some local authorities also carry out projects themselves, as Barcelona whereas others rely exclusively on non-state actors as in Madrid. More recently these two cities opened up a new funding line on direct cooperation between municipalities. Co-development and the incorporation of migratory aspects in development cooperation exists in many Spanish cities today, and some have been working around this concept for quite some time. Also on the national level the Programa GRECO – *Programa Global de Regulación y Coordinación de la Extranjería y la Inmigración en España* (Global Programme for the Regulation and Coordination of the Policy on Foreigners and Immigration in Spain) mentioned co-development as one of its centre pieces in the year 2000. Activities on the local level, though, are previous to this and also seem more dynamic.

4.2 The Evolution and Understanding of Co-development in Madrid

The “natural” evolution of co-development in Madrid

Local development cooperation in Madrid started in the year 1995 as a part or a result of the many 0.7% campaigns going on at the beginning of the 90s. Until 2004 more and more projects concerning the integration of migrants in Madrid were financed within this budget line, between 15% and 17% of the total development budget.

In 2004 a separation of the budget took place, but the area of development cooperation and migrant integration today remains within one directorate general, but in separate departments. The year 2004 also opened up a new line within the cooperation schemes – co-development. However, since 1999 the term co-development is mentioned in the department's yearly report, and specific projects to this aim were financed. A proper call for co-development projects was published in 2004, but only after the formal ratification by a regulation of the local parliament in 2005 the co-development funding line was officially institutionalized.

The fact that the cooperation budget always focused or included cooperation with developing countries and migrant integration in Madrid at the same time made the evolution of a perspective on co-development appear “natural” as my interlocutors literally say. At the same time, the development cooperation reports refer to the strong relationship between co-development, development cooperation and migrant integration. The integration concept expressed in the *Plan Madrid de Convivencia Social e Intercultural* (Plan Madrid on Social and Intercultural Cohabitation) of 2005 defines *codesarrollo* (co-development) as one of its instruments. This includes the awareness building for the role of the migrants as agents of development, and its promotion, in Madrid and in the receiving region, vis-à-vis the migrants themselves as well as towards the local society. The positive impact of migration on the development in and of Madrid is explicitly recognized and shall be publicly promoted, including the integration of migrants. This integrated perspective reflects again the treatment of these issues, development, migrant integration, and now co-development within one and the same directorate general.

The understanding of co-development in Madrid's cooperation policies

The term co-development appears in the development cooperation reports since the year 1999. From 2002 onwards the reports mention concrete project titles under this rubric.

Selection of Titles of Projects listed in the rubric Co-Development (2002-2005)

Project Title	Responsible organization*
Improvement of economic conditions, orientation and formation of the population of Guayas, Ecuador, in order to reduce expectations of illegal emigration (2002)	Asociación Iuve
Centre for information and orientation of potential immigrants in Colombia (2002)	(No indication)
Prevention of immigration of the feminine population with high risk in the Eje Cafetero and in Bogotá, Colombia (2003)	ACULCO*
Establishment of a polyvalent centre for the youth in situation of risk in Tanger, Morocco (2003)	Asociación Paideia
Orientation and formation of Dominican female migrants in case of migration to Spain, Dominican Republic (2003)	VOMADE*
Integrated Proposal on Co-development between the Province of Alhucenas, Morocco, and the City of Madrid (2004)	MPDL
Initiatives in production for migrants via a strengthening of the social networks in Madrid, Chimborazo and Tungrahua, Ecuador (2004)	Save the Children
Integrated programme for voluntary return and prevention of unorganized migration to Spain in the metropolitan area of Pereira (2005)	AESCO*
Development of clean processing and agro-industry for migrant relatives, channelling of remittances and strengthening of networks (2005)	CIDEAL

Source: Memoria Annual, Cooperación al desarrollo, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005

* These organizations are migrant organizations.

All these projects, taking from their title, show a close relationship to migration and had the aim to contend migratory flows or to provide capacity building both to potential migrants and

returnees, to assist return, and/or channel remittances. The main foci of the city's co-development efforts are:

Por otra parte, hemos seguido apoyando proyectos innovadores en el ámbito del Codesarrollo, importante línea de trabajo ya iniciada en 1999, con países como Colombia, Ecuador y Marruecos, tanto en relación con el procesamiento de flujos migratorios, como con los proyectos de retorno e inserción laboral. (Anna Botella, in: Memoria 2002)

[On the other hand, we achieved to support innovate projects in the realm of co-development, an important line of our work which started in 1999 already, with countries like Colombia, Ecuador and Morocco, both in relation to the management of migratory flows and with projects for return and labour market insertion.]

The yearly report in 2005 and the General Cooperation Plan 2005-2008 explain more explicitly the working lines, co-development projects have to refer to, though they may combine the lines as well:

- 1) Productive Projects: promoting job opportunities and rootage in the region;
- 2) Vocational capacity building: promotion of the mentioned productive projects; this includes vocational training on the receiving site as a means of assisted return
- 3) Improvement of the dynamics of migration: Prevention of irregular migration and voluntary return, including occupational training and assistance in Madrid
- 4) Canalization of remittances: as means of inversion, their collective organization and direction towards health care, education, and economic projects, together with micro-financing.

It is very interesting – and different from other conceptions of co-development – how the participation of migrants as agents of development is conceptualized in Madrid's understanding of co-development. It becomes clear that migrant organizations or foreign residents are not necessarily the only actors when referring to the incorporation of migrants in these projects:

Codesarrollo implica la incorporación [...] en un primer plano a las personas que se vinculan a un proceso migratorio. La participación activa de las personas que han emigrado o piensan hacerlo, así como la de sus familias, en el desarrollo de sus comunidades de origen y de Madrid como ciudad de recepción. (Memoria 2005: xx).

[Co-development implies the incorporation ... first, of the persons related to the migratory process. The active participation of those persons who have emigrated, or who plan to do so, and also their families, in the development of their communities of origin and of Madrid as receiving city.]

Hence the migrants involved may be potential emigrants in their location of origin, immigrants already residing in Madrid, the families of immigrants, and even those which shall be prevented from migrating in unregulated ways. The connection made between development and migration is based on the process of migration, and not only on the promotion of the en-

agement of migrants' living in Madrid in the development of their location of origin. Nevertheless the respective funding schemes express a special encouragement for applications by consortiums with migrant organizations. My interlocutors also pointed out that the participation of a migrant organization or the work with a migrant community is essential to be successful in the call. Looking at the involvement of migrant organizations in co-development projects, until now they do not play a major role. Thus, the primary focus of co-development projects funded by the city of Madrid is more on migrations, and less on migrants. Looking at the number of projects funded, we can observe that the participation of migrant organizations is rather minor.

Co-development Funding of the City of Madrid

	Financial Volume	Share of development budget	Number of Projects funded (number of projects by migrant organizations)
2002		(no separate budget)	5 (?)
2003		(no separate budget)	4 (2)
2004	1.165.712,24 €	7%	6 (0)
2005	1.541.829,00 €	7%	7 (1)
2006	1.777.100,00 €	16%	(not resolved/not published yet)

Source: Memoria 2003, Memoria 2004, Memoria 2005, Convocatoria 2006

Further implications of the migration-development-nexus

The focus on co-development projects is not the only way the linkage between migration and development materializes in Madrid's cooperation policies. Growing migration to the city has also contributed to a prioritization of the emigration region in the whole development budget:

En la Convocatoria de 2002 se subvencionan proyectos en 19 países. En esta convocatoria, se han considerado de especial interés (Decreto de 10 de enero de 2002, de Convocatoria Pública para la Concesión de Ayudas del Ayuntamiento de Madrid para Proyectos de Cooperación en el Término Municipal de Madrid y en Países en Vías de

Desarrollo), los proyectos que se desarrollan en Ecuador, Colombia, Marruecos, República Dominicana y Perú, países de los que provienen las principales colonias de inmigrantes en Madrid. (Memoria 2002: 19)

[In the call for tenders in 2002 19 projects are financed. In this call those projects have been considered of special interest, which are being implemented in Ecuador, Colombia, Morocco, the Dominican Republic and Peru, countries from which the principal communities of immigrants in Madrid are coming from.]

This prioritization puts additional emphasis on the linkage between development cooperation and the migrant communities as such and hence on migration management. At the same time, the organizations in the sample which already do carry out transnational project not only rely on co-development funds. Their projects are funded within 'ordinary' development cooperation schemes as well. In this sense, they may benefit from a certain preference on the countries where most migrants are coming from, elevating the probability of receiving funds, though they still compete with other Development-NGOs.

4.3 The Evolution and Understanding of Co-development in Barcelona²

Evolution of development cooperation within the local administration Barcelona

Looking at the city of Barcelona it becomes clear that the whole issue of development cooperation evolved very differently, though almost at the same time as in Madrid. It starts with the concerns around the war in Yugoslavia and especially with the attacks in Sarajevo. This gave rise to a solidarity movement in Barcelona and to the cities subsequent development policies. Hence humanitarian help for that region was primarily the issue during the first years. Towards the end of the 1990s international cooperation stretched out to Latin America and the Mediterranean, but kept its focus on 'zones in conflict' establishing programmes for Palestine and Kosovo. Until today the city has maintained its basic lines of action, but included more and other countries and other priorities into its focus.

Similar to Madrid, at the beginning, the tasks of integration were dealt within the cooperation budget as well. But already in 1997 a separation took place. This is probably due to the altogether earlier evolution of integration policy as a separate policy field altogether.

² The data on Barcelona is not complete at the moment, some more interviews need to be conducted for this matter.

Fins a l'any 1997, la convocatòria també es va adreçar a projectes destinats a prevenció del racisme, promoció del diàleg intercultural i suport a l'associacionisme dels col·lectius d'immigrants no comunitaris. A poc a poc, les dues realitats —la de la cooperació i la de la immigració— van prenent distància i guanyant el lloc específic que els correspon. (Memòria 2004-2005, Barcelona Solidària)

[Until the year 1997, the call also addressed projects destined to the prevention of racism, the promotion of intercultural dialogue and the support of the associationism of non-communitarian migrant groups. Step by step the two realities – that of cooperation and that of immigration took distance and gained the specific space which they deserve.]

This might also be a reason why at the moment co-development as a term or programme does not figure in the yearly reports or the calls. This is not to say however, that there might not be such projects or that migrant organizations' activities are not funded within the cooperation funding schemes. There are indeed some indications that migrant organizations did in fact receive funding. Looking at the past few years (2002-2005), only a small number of projects of migrant organization in a country of origin have been funded. None of these projects explicitly refers to aspects of migration in any sense. Other projects funded in the development cooperation schemes and carried out by migrant organizations located in Barcelona refer to activities in Barcelona: subsidies for infrastructure and awareness building, including awareness for cooperation and solidarity as well as intercultural aspects like *Jornades culturals colombianes* o *Jornades àrabs*.

The *Pla Director de Cooperació Internacional i Solidaritat* (Guiding Plan for International Cooperation and Solidarity) 2006-2008 refers to the fact of migration only one time, at the end, when explaining the city's ten compromises in cooperation.

Establir un lligam més estret entre la política de cooperació i la immigració a través de projectes específics als països d'on provenen la majoria de col·lectius d'immigrants presents a Barcelona.

[To establish a closer relationship between the policy on cooperation and on immigration with the specific projects in the countries where the majority of immigrant groups present in Barcelona are coming from.]

Migration does also figure in the general framework on geographic priorities, based on proximity – not only in geographical terms and necessity.

La cooperació de la ciutat de Barcelona parteix, en establir prioritats geogràfiques d'un doble criteri:

1. La **proximitat**, entesa no només com a realitat geogràfica, sinó també des del punt de vista d'aspectes culturals, estratègia d'internacionalització de la ciutat i vinculació amb col·lectius de població migrant amb presència majoritària a la ciutat.
 2. La **necessitat**, entesa com a prioritat, de seguir les pràctiques i compromisos internacionals en matèria de desenvolupament i de cooperació per al desenvolupament, dels països del Sud més empobrits i menys desenvolupats.
- (Pla director de cooperació internacional i solidaritat 2006-2008)

[Cooperation of the City of Barcelona departs from the establishment of geographic priorities following a double criteria:

1. Proximity, understood not only as a geographic reality, but also from a perspective on cultural aspects, the strategy of internationalization of the city and the relationship with the migrant communities with major presence in the city.
2. Necessity: understood as a priority in following the international practices and agreements concerning development and development cooperation with the poorest and less developed countries of the South.]

Co-Development in the Agència Catalana de Cooperació al Desenvolupament and Fons Català

Two other agencies are important in Barcelona in matters of development cooperation, the development agency of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia *Agència Catalana de Cooperació al Desenvolupament - ACCD* (Catalan Agency for Development Cooperation) and *Fons Català de Cooperació al Desenvolupament* (Catalan Funds for Development Cooperation), a regional-local consortium, are more pro-active in the realm of co-development and fund co-development projects.

Agència Catalana de Cooperació al Desenvolupament has a more explicit commitment to co-development than appears from the cities policies. But also here the focus on co-development is rather recent and has not entered the organizations policy in an institutionalized way.

The definition of co-development made explicit focuses on the involvement of migrant organizations in development cooperation:

Què és el codesenvolupament? Aquest terme vincula la immigració amb el desenvolupament en el sentit d'implicar entitats o associacions d'immigrants en la identificació, formulació, execució i avaluació de projectes per a alguns dels països en vies de desenvolupament. (cooperaciocatalana.net, Núm. 12, Setembre 2006)

[What is co-development? This term relates immigration with development in the sense of involving immigrant entities or associations in the identification, formulation, execution and evaluation of projects for some developing countries.]

This definition may also be reconstructed from the list of projects my interlocutor at ACCD gave me. Since there is no co-development funding line, ACCD gathered projects that have 'some component of co-development', as my interlocutor says, in one list to show their activities. This list had been made for some occasion to present it or to have an internal overview of the own projects, and may therefore be taken as an indication of the growing institutional awareness of the issue. The projects in the list are characterized by different features that have some connection to the migration-development-nexus. They either

- carry the notion co-development in their title: these are seminars and courses to promote the idea of co-development, address migrant organizations and promote exchange among these actors, and intend to contribute to some capacity building in that sense, and/or
- address migrants in Catalonia or in the country of origin: these include projects addressing families of migrants in the country of origin, capacity building of migrants while living in Catalonia for the event of return, as well as co-development and intercultural events, and/or
- are carried out by migrant organizations: these include development cooperation projects in the country of origin as well as seminars in order to promote the idea of co-development among the migrant communities in Catalonia, and/or
- are projects carried out by a consortium between development NGOs and migrant organizations and/or
- are projects that address the intercultural dialogue in Catalonia, both carried out by Catalan NGOs and migrant organizations

My interlocutor at ACCD also identifies a change going on since only a few years among the migrant organizations. When ACCD and their networks tried to address migrant communities and organizations around issues of development cooperation and potential applications for projects in 2001 or 2002, there was hardly any response. In the meantime, some organizations apply for funding.

Co-Development funding by ACCD (2003-2006)

	Number of projects funded	Share of migrant organizations
2003	4	2
2004	6	3
2005	8*	3 (+1)
2006	8	3

*One of these projects is a collaboration between a Catalan NGO and a Senegalese migrant organization

The majority of the migrant organizations participating in these projects are of Senegalese background, others are from Moroccan, Gambian and Peruvian origin. In case of the Latin American organizations ACCD observes some collaboration with Catalan Development NGOs working with the respective countries, but on their own would hardly present projects.

Fons Català in turn works along the lines of co-development for more than ten years, since 1996. Their definition of the concept is based on “*vincular els organizations dels immigrants en els projectes de cooperació internacional descentralizada*”³. This includes the activation of migrant groups and local actors, the formation of migrants and local actors in the locations of origin, the implication of the communities of origin in the projects, and the creation of networks. *Fons Català* like the newer projects of ACCD has primarily been working with migrant organizations of African background.

Es tracta d'implicar els immigrants en la cooperació amb les seves comunitats d'origen i augmentar la sensibilització de la societat d'acollida sobre les causes profundes de les migracions actuals. La implicació dels col·lectius d'immigrants en aquest procés significa una voluntat de gestió conjunta dels problemes de desenvolupament. (<http://www.fonscatala.org/versio2004/catala/inicio/lineasdetreball/...>; 2007-05-16)

[It is about involving immigrants in the cooperation with their communities of origin and to rise awareness in the society of reception about the deep causes of current migrations. The involvement of immigrant communities in this process means a commitment to collaborative management of the problems of development.]

Hence, the focus and understanding of co-development in Barcelona is strongly on engaging the migrant community and especially the migrant organizations in development cooperation projects. Though in Barcelona also are indications to prioritize major sending regions, very differently from the Madrid approach, this does not lead to efforts in relation to migration regulation. Only the aspect of return appears in some of the courses providing skill training while being and working in Catalonia. In case of the local government co-development or the linkage between migration and development is still embryonic.

³ „connecting the organizations of immigrants with the projects in decentralized international cooperation”.

5) Conclusion

Transnational cooperation and practices by migrant organizations connect concerns for development and migration, including migration management and integration in manifold ways. And current efforts of governments, especially local and regional governments further promote transnationalization in this sense. However, we can not deduce from this, that co-development policies initiated migrant organizations' transnational engagement. The organizations activities often were before these efforts, and they go beyond those policies and funding lines. At the same time, the cities policies also go beyond the funding of migrant organizations. Co-development funding is open to migrant organizations but also to (Development-) NGOs as they address areas and communities of migration to the respective localities. Nevertheless, co-development funds and policies do contribute to transnationalization of migrant organizations – but also of other actors. Altogether, this highlights the role of sub-national levels of governance in the process of transnationalization, and in matters of development and migration, including integration, control and management of migration. Hence, we may not only need to look beyond the nation-state, but also beyond the national government level in order to be able to observe ongoing dynamics linking integration, transnationalization and development.

Looking more closely on how practices and projects connect migration and development, we can – at least analytically – distinguish two different dimension or approaches.

1. The Migrants-Approach: the migrants approach focuses on the migrants and migrant communities. It takes the migrants as actors of development and connects the local migrant communities to their origins, making these prioritized areas of development cooperation.
2. The Migration-Approach: the migration approach puts an emphasis on various aspects of the migration management, including integration measures.

Both approaches are not mutually exclusive, of course. From the perspective of the migrant organizations the first approach taking migrants as central actors of development is naturally present since this is the basis for their transnational engagement. Many of their projects moreover intend to mobilize the broader migrant community. The Migration-Approach in turn is not always present in the transnational practices of the migrant organizations. Projects and activities may be directed to development cooperation in a more common, 'traditional' sense without linking to the migratory processes. They may focus on cultivation and commercialization of agricultural products in poor regions and marginalized social sectors. Many activities,

however, do include a migration approach. Transnational engagement on the one hand is based on a concern for ongoing migration, population losses and brain drain, and the difficult and dangerous situations of irregular migration and human trafficking. On the other hand, this concern is not only an abstract reference point and motivation; it materializes in the activities of the organizations. Radio programmes, publications, campaigns, and (development) projects often relate to return, to emigration, to the combat of irregular migration or to prevention of migration. On the basis of this research it may be concluded that a migration approach is more prominent among the Madrid-based organizations investigated. This is especially true when considering projects financed within development cooperation funding schemes. Nevertheless, beyond and besides this, migrant organizations are concerned with migration, provide information to migrant families and potential emigrants as well as returnees, organize information campaigns via their medias, publications and formal and informal networks.

Concerning the cities a clear distinction can be made: Barcelona's authorities and agencies located there follow a more migrant-oriented approach, whereas in Madrid's policies a migration approach dominates. The share of migrant organizations involved in co-development projects in Barcelona is higher, projects are directed more closely at migrant communities there and the overall understanding of co-development centres around the migrants as development agents. In Madrid the connection between migration and development is strongly based on the potential contribution of development to prevent unregulated and manage and support regulated migration. This is in part the reason why among Madrid-based migrant organizations more concrete projects within the migration approach may be found.

Hence, does the promotion of transnational development cooperation then initiate migrant organizations' activities? Putting it this way, the answer is clearly no. At least some of the migrant organizations studied were involved in development cooperation before public authorities initiated co-development projects. Nevertheless, the pattern of migrants' transnational development cooperation is shaped by the existing opportunity structures. Existing funding schemes on local and regional levels and a decentralized development cooperation approach made it easier for non-governmental organizations including migrant organizations to apply for funding in the first place. The more recent efforts to promote co-development with seminars, co-organized discussion rounds and proper funding schemes and policies contribute to a distribution of the idea and most probably will contribute to more applications by migrant organizations for development cooperation funds. This may further promote a re-orientation or strengthening towards transnational development cooperation, at least within some of the organizations. The incorporation of co-development concepts as part of integra-

tion and of development cooperation policies puts further emphasis on the recognition of transnational engagement of migrants and provides resources to this aim.

Concerning the role and impact of these transnational practices, it should be considered that these may, overall, be more important on the immigration site than on emigration countries' site. It has often been questioned whether migrants' contributions, individual and collective remittances, as well as the here described projects of development cooperation with relatively little financial volume do have real effects, especially in socio-economic terms. But even if this was true, the recognition of migrants' transnational engagement, the connection made to their integration on the immigration site, the resources provided to the migrant associations and the function the projects acquire in relation to migration management make these transnational practices an important feature of migration and integration policies on the receiving site.

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