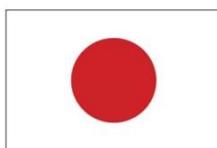# Migration et développement au Sahel. Au-delà des leçons apprises, comment mieux tirer parti des mobilités ?

Papa Demba FALL

From
the People of Japan

Migration and development in the Sahel. Upon lessons learnt, how to take advantage of mobility better?

A working paper on «Border communities and Border Management in the Sahel»

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Contents

Summary

This working paper reflects some thoughts and actions oriented towards including the migration factor in the development strategies and sub-regional cooperation in the Sahel. Strongly influenced by migration, the Sahel cannot be isolated from the global emerging developments in terms of maximising human mobility potential for the benefit of sustainable development. Indeed, in the current context of stronger decentralization and/or rise of local authorities, it is more important than ever to better understand the skills of migrants in order to integrate them in the governance and local development planning.

Introduction

Being a major concern for the international community, migration issues are not only the centerpieces in the North-South dialogue but also in the dialogue between different regions of the world.

Eruption of the numerous tragedies, which affected migrants in various parts of the world should not overshadow the irreversible and eminently beneficial nature of human mobility, which, however, doesn't benefit from arrogant treatment it gets when globalisation challenges and issues are discussed.

Better management of migration issues is therefore unavoidable due to sustainable development issues, the most important of which is to guarantee the right to freedom of movement or to ensure the connection of the established territories based on the complementarity of economic areas, etc.

This paper fits the context of the overview of the findings of the research conducted for more than twenty years devoted to the theme of African international migration. All supported theses in the said researches are combined in a document recently elaborated for academic purposes. (Fall, 2014).

After drawing a picture of the zone, which is conventionally named as the Sahel, the first part of the article discusses the historical and geographical aspects, which underpin the extraordinary dynamic of the internal, transborder, continental and international mobilities, which characterise the zone under the study. It particularly emphasizes the changes that lead to the break-up and/or continuities, which characterise the mobility culture of the 2000s in that part of the African continent.

The monograph starts with highlighting various territories of the western part of the Sahel; the second part of the article addresses the dialectic of migration and development to emphasize the beneficial aspects in the formation of the sub-regional cooperation. The analytical framework is based on the territorial level and looks at the role of political authorities and the place of migrants and allows evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of the development initiatives based on migration in the Sahel.

And finally, the third and the fourth parts of the article address the main challenges that need to be faced in order to include migration issues in the local development strategies. And these are as follows: production of reliable knowledge base on demographic trends, development of auxiliary tools for decision making as well as planning tools for consultation with civil activists of the origin and destination territories.

I- The Sahel: common destiny in a globalised world

Countries grouped under the title of the Sahel share a way of life where geography and cultural similarity developed a sense of belonging to one territory whose development is a major challenge. Such situation without doubt necessitates the search for common solutions of acute development issues through sub-regional cooperation.

## I. 1- Geopolitical space facing significant challenges

It is essential in view of the natural conditions for the Sahel to be considered as one region. The reference to the physical environment has been progressively accompanied by economic and historical considerations, shaping a homogeneous territory from the point of view of social organisation.

Geographically, the Sahel corresponds to the belt of the African continent, which marks the floral and climatic transition between the Sahara in the North and the Sudanese savannah area (as shown on the map below). It is also the living space for the dominant ethnic groups such as Bambara, Dogon, Wolof, Serer, Songhai, Peul[1], and Touareg, whose

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1 These without doubt are the most well known and representative. Depending on the countries they are called Fula, Fulani, Fulbe, Fulaw.

major feature is the linguistic proximity. Cultural practices characteristic of specific groups are complemented by the productive activities based on their common ancestral knowledge, which are a result of the remarkable adaptation to the natural environment (Pélissier, 1966; Dupire, 1996; Sultan, 2011; Botte *et al.* 1999). In the western part of the Sahel, the main international rivers – Niger and Senegal – which originate in the Fouta Djallon of Guinea – and the Lake Chad – constitute the link between the countries, which use their waters, and serve as a factor of cultural unity.

In the political sense, the Sahel region primarily includes ten states: Cabo Verde, Eritrea, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Sudan, and Chad. Algeria, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia and Nigeria are sometimes classified as part of the Sahel because their borders are affected by the environmental challenges of the Sahel area.
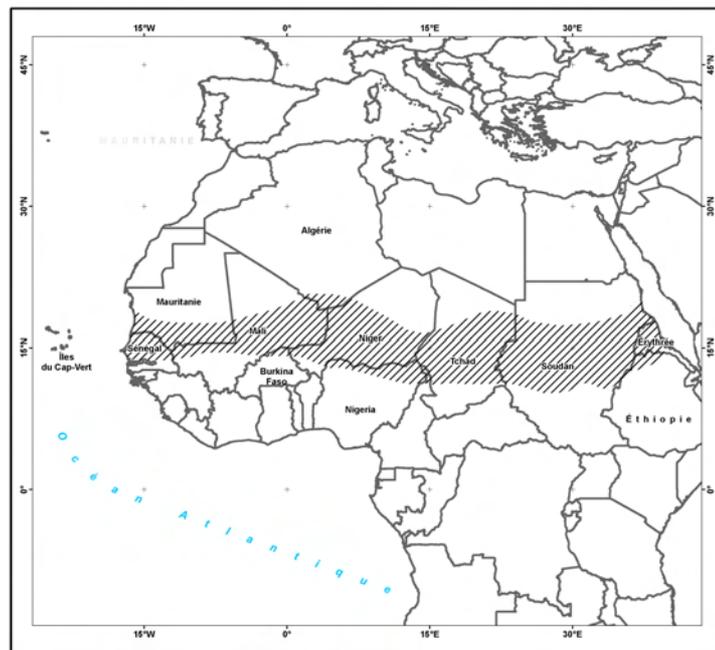
Map 1. The Sahel Belt

The low economic potential of the region and, in fact, an underdeveloped and indeed poor zone is marked by food insecurity. Meanwhile the Sahel is endowed with very coveted mineral resources such as iron, phosphate, uranium and gold, which however so far have given only a small rise to the industrialisation carried out by multinational

corporations whose practices are strongly criticized or challenged by the local population. (Antil, 2014).

The realisation of the common destiny by different countries of the Sahel resulted in the creation of intergovernmental organisations oriented towards integration (Diop and Diallo, sd; Lavergne, 1996). In addition to the permanent Inter-state Committee on Combating Drought in the Sahel[2], the Community of Saharan-Sahel States[3] or the Organization for the Development of the Senegal River[4], the Sahel and West Africa Club constitute the most complete expression of the political platform for the dialogue and analysis of the development issues of the Sahel. The amount of experience gained within the framework of sub-regional cooperation can be, in the image of the Sahel G5[5], an important capital in the rebuilding of interstate relations, particularly, in the field of migration.

In the course of several years, strong turmoils have affected the Sahel countries. This was mainly following the fall of Libya as a long time policeman of the region. In fact, the rise of terrorist groups, which claim to act on behalf of Islam, mostly such as the Mourabitoun, AQIM, the GSPC, MUJAO, Ansar Dine, al Qaeda, Islamic state in West Africa (EIAO, former Boko Haram) are a threat to peace in all West African countries and, in particular, to the territorial integrity of Cameroon, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Mauritania and Chad. Through a control mode based on crime and violence of the medieval social order, these transnational groups have imposed the vast space of criminal trafficking across the Saharan region (Burgeot, 2011; Coulibaly and Lima, 2013; Brachet, 2009). Such

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2 The Permanent Inter-state Committee for Combating the Drought was created on 12 September 1973 in the aftermath of the heat waves, which hit the Sahel in the 1970s. Today, it unites thirteen member-states, of which 8 are coastal states (Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania, Senegal, Togo) ; 4 land-locked states (Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Chad) and 1 island state (Cabo Verde).

3 The Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD) is an international organisation, which consists of 28 African states. It was created on 4 February 1998 in Tripoli in Libya following the summit of heads of states of Libya, Mali, Sudan, Niger, and Chad and the representative of the President of Burkina Faso.

4 The creation of the Organization for the Development of the Senegal River dates back to 1972 although the cooperation for control and rational use of the river Senegal resources started in the colonial period.

5 The "G5S" was founded in 2014, upon the will of Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and Chad in order to create a coordination and monitoring framework of the regional cooperation in policy development and security matters.

developments negatively affect the deployment of migration flows, which constitute an integral part of the lifestyle of the majority of populations of the Sahel.

I. 2- Territory of intensive circular migration

Numerous regional disparities and great vulnerability of the ecosystems, which characterise the Sahel, constitute a driving force behind the migratory dynamic, whose main aim is to access the resources (CEDEAO, 2015; Daum and Dougnon, 2009; De Bruijn, 2007; Enda Diapol, 2007; Lo et *al*. 2013). This resulted in the extraordinary diversity of mobility, which translated into the manner of living synonymous to the flow of knowledge built on rational management of time and space. Three examples from different countries illustrate this « culture of mobility » and its recomposition over time:

- Traditionally nomadic herders and traders, the Wodaabe engaged in seasonal migration from southern Niger to northern Nigeria, from north-eastern Cameroon to South-West of Chad and the Central African Republic. In recent years, after long and difficult journeys their presence has been reported in Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Dakar, Senegal (Boesen and Marfaing, 2006);

- The province of Comoé - located on the southern border of Burkina Faso with Côte d'Ivoire - which owes its current shaky economic position to redeployment or rebounds and movement of migrants formerly based in different parts of the Ivorian territory. Migration flow originating from the Sahelian provinces of Yatenga, Passoré, Seno and Sourou in the 80s was followed by a phase of setback in emigration to Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana around 1993, and on the contrary, the province had a negative migration balance but the trend reversed in 1996 with the political crisis in Cote d'Ivoire;

- In a particularly detailed study of practices and meanings of mobility of a Fulani lineage - the Fulaabe of Mauritania - Ricardo Ciavoletta (2011) shows that their current "(im) mobility" is the consequence of political, economic and social marginalisation, now worse than that of their Soninke and Halpulaar neighbours who from being sedentary turned into transnational migrants.

It should be noted, as well as indicated by Tourneux and Woïn (2009), that where once attractive areas are losing their human content, others, previously little valued today have

become focal points of internal and transnational convergence based on spatial mobility where the multi-faceted readjustments originate from.

The gradual internationalization of Sahelian migration flows should not overshadow the fact that population movements are mostly internal and directed to the capital cities of different countries. This rural exodus, which territorial planning policies have failed to stem, continues to be a significant source of urban problems (Denis and Moriconi-Ebrard, 2009; Bébien, 2013; Satterthwaite, 2006; IOM, 2015).

Formerly South-North oriented so to say from the Sahelian countries to the cities of the Gulf of Guinea, West African migration is today marked by a change in the pattern, which was inherited from the colonial system. Whatever the particular country, the migration system nowadays is marked by returns, circulations or relocations (Bakewell & De Haas, 2007; Fall, 2007; Robin and Ndiaye, 2010; Olsen, 2011). Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso alone can illustrate the evolution in the making.

Some regret that the countries' independence have largely altered the historical pattern of migration both within the AOF towards France (Fall, 2004, Dia, 2015). Indeed, insofar as the French empire in Africa was vast, strict regulation or strict control of population movements by the colonial administration would still allow some opportunities namely in the field of labour migration.

The post-independence protectionist migratory restrictions of the so-called African lands of milk and honey forced potential migrants to revise their strategies (Fall, 2007; Bredeloup, 2003; Clanet 1981; Coquery- Vidrovitch et al. 2003; Fold 2003; Gregory and Schmitz, 2000). This was how starting in the 80s, the transcontinental migrations was becoming more and more important especially those earning their living in Southern Europe including Italy and Spain but also in North America (Robin, 1996 Fall, 2014; Kane 2010). Similarly, restrictive migration policies of the EU will impact the itineraries of African candidates for expatriation and/or promote an increase of risky migration endeavours (Carling & Hernández-Carretero, 2008 and 2011; MIGREUROPE, 2010). Indeed, the adventurers who travel the treacherous desert roads as well as those who board on flimsy boats to Lampedusa or the Canary Islands are nothing but the product of the exclusion from formal systems of access to free circulation (Schapendonk, 2011; Anderson 2014; Bensaad 2002; Choplin and Lombard, 2008; Cross, 2013). As for the recent migration to South America, they fit in the ongoing quest for new emigration territories

where Brazil and Argentina are the points of entry and anchoring (Kleidermacher, 2015; Minvielle, 2015).

The aforementioned evolution, which summarizes the main lines, should not obscure the fact that in West Africa, most of the movements take place within the region itself. Contrary to the idea conveyed by the media hungry for sensational headlines, sub-regional migration is seven times higher than the West African migration to other parts of the world (ECOWAS, 2015). The strongholds of the labour migration, which accounts for the most of the migratory flows, are Ivory Coast, Ghana, and Nigeria.

In total, the current pattern of West African mobility as well as its extraordinary dynamism support the idea that migration in general and the Sahel migration in particular can not remain the poor parent of globalization. Indeed, the ongoing developments in the Sahel are part of the global process of establishment of integrated and/or supranational territories (Cahiers de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, 2009; Portes, 1999; Fall 2004; Walther and Retaillé, 2014; Enda Diapol, 2007; Pluim & Hofmann, 2015; Bennafla, 1999; Raison, 1983-1984). This is a logic, which emerged on the fringes of formal political systems of supervision and management of territories, and which deserves - because of its positive effects - to be added to the sustainable development perspective.

II. Migration: a significant added value of sustainable development

A careful revision of the contribution of migrants to their host and home communities points to a largely positive character of mobility. It is also nowadays widely recognized that migration possesses enormous potential that can be used for development purposes. Such belief has fuelled many debates and global projects and programs in support of the reality both variable and complex (UNDP, 2009; World Bank, 2011; Noack and Wolff, 2013; De Haas, 2006).

The range of migrants' skills represented in the graph below shows that the spheres, where migrants are effectively contributing to the building of their territories, are twofold: the material contributions and intangible transfers (GRDR and IFAN, 2014).

Best known and well documented, the material contribution of migrants or *social remittances,* according to P. Lewitt (1998), covers three main areas: family solidarity,

social contributions and economic investment. It is important to note in this connection, that the gradual dependence of villages on migrant remittances, strong community organization and social control exercised by the village community have contributed to the evolution in the context of migration of the countries of settlement as departure areas promoting local development by village associations (Ba, 2007; GRDR 2012; Fall, 2014). Over the years, these associations, which have multiplied and diversified played, far ahead of the state, an important role in the survival of the exodus zones[6].

Speaking of the immaterial dimension of migrants' contribution to local development, it takes different forms including cultural contributions, advocacy or lobbying, cooperation partnerships and technical innovations.

Far from being exhaustive, the list of areas identified in the range of migrants' skills must be constantly refined and contextualized with the help of thorough research and multi-stakeholder consultations. It should be noted however that these indicators of impact of migration on the social, economic and cultural changes are valuable barometers of the positive influence of mobility on both sides of migration.
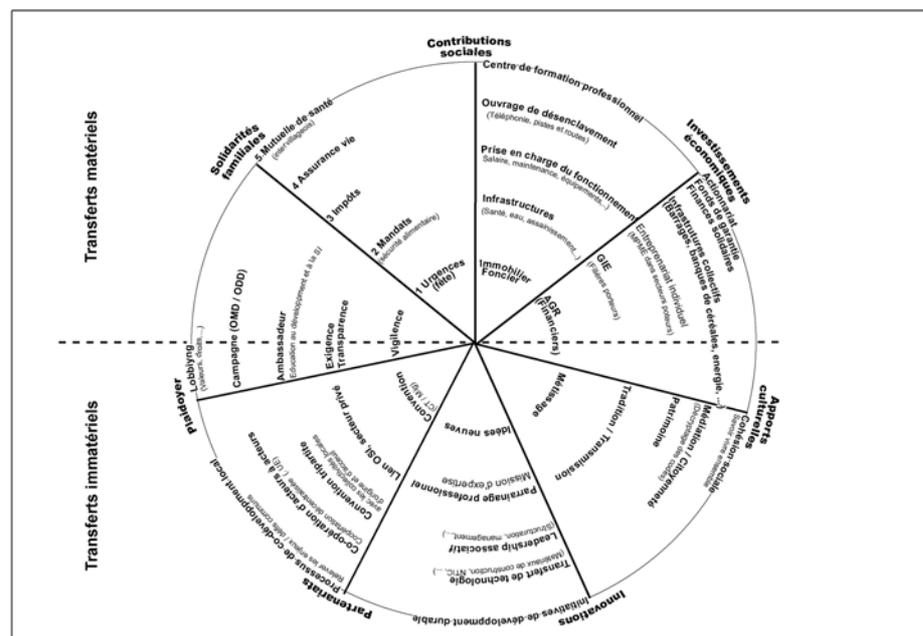
Picture 1. Range of migrant workers' skills

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6 The Malian diaspora in France especially that of Kayes Cercle became a precursor of West African cooperation efforts for development of their areas of origin. The Circle of Kayes where the first initiatives date back to the 70s is also considered an excellent laboratory of co-development policies and practices.

It is in order to be useful to their communities of origin that African migrants have developed, from their own cultural values, solidarity mechanisms that can cover a territory that may exceed the boundaries of states. Indeed, the main purpose of the so-called development associations is to invest in community projects to improve the living conditions in the departure zones. Surveys in France indicate that it is in reaction to the difficult renewal of migration flows that West African migrants were thought to be involved in village development projects.

It is clear from numerous studies devoted to the subject that the growing reliance of departure areas on remittances, strong community organization and control exercised by the village authorities on migrants have contributed to positive changes in the context of migration in the countries of settlement and departure areas and encouraged village associations to take responsibility for the needs in places of origin (Daum 1995; Niang et al 2007; Fall 2008; Dia 2008). Over the years, migrant associations that have grown and diversified have played a key role in poverty reduction in emigration basins[7]. Now grouped under the term of International Solidarity Organization of Immigration, migrant associations based in Europe or the North are now privileged and even indispensable in the international cooperation. They have become, thanks to their many accomplishments, the best interfaces of development partners.

The combined efforts of members and dialogue within the community, which exploded between remote areas linked by flows of all kinds, give the transnational associations of migrants a new dimension in the common desire to build their area of allegiance or place of convergence and overcome the lack of the state involvement. This is what explains why village associations can - in the image of A4S of Sahel - count on the participation of migrants settled in different parts of the world to finance their village development projects (Table below). It shall be noted that when the Sahelian migrations are of a continental nature, the visibility of the contribution of migrants to the development of their territories is often difficult to prove due to informal practices and/or the deficit of institutional leadership.

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7 Mali, Mauritania and Senegal are aprticularly good examples of this. Note that some 800 Senegalese associations established abroad were registered in 1997 by the Ministry of Senegalese Abroad. See MSE, Technical Specifications on Associations of Senegalese Abroad. Dakar 2008

Table 1. Annual contributions of A4S sections in 2010

Countries of destination	Amount in Euros	Amount in CFA Francs
France	9 310, 10	6 107 023
United States	5 005, 43	3 283 345
Italy	6006, 51	3 940 015
Spain	3003, 25	1 970 000
Gabon	2002, 17	1 313 340
Total	25 327, 46	16 613 723

Source: personal questionnaires

By its ability to adapt to the migration environment and to seize the opportunities of the moment, the Sahel Diaspora, based on a redefinition of ties with the country of origin and the host country, gave more depth to the relationship between international labour migration and local development.

Being an expression of a horseback citizenship in the country of destination and the country of origin, actions undertaken over many years by migrants contributed decisively to the survival of many villages.

Besides the individual actions of migrants, which primarily concern the family or private sphere, migrants also act as shareholders in the construction of their land. These can sometimes transcend political boundaries inherited from the colonial period by expanding in the border areas (GRDR, 2012; Ba, 2007; Enda Diapol, 2007). Indeed, many studies show that in West Africa in general and in the Sahel in particular, migration is both an instrument of education and transformation of peripheral lands where the lack of the central state is acute (Conde and Diagne, 1986; Ba, 2010; Dia, 2015, Doucet and Favreau,

2006; Daum, 2000; Blion and Rigoni, 2001). The West African triangle of emigration to France - Kayes and Tambacounda, Sélibaby as the axis Sikasso, Korhogo, Bobo-Dioulasso ("SKBo") or the Maradi-Katsina-Kano corridor are, in this sense, examples to reflect upon. What about the Atlantic seaboard polarized by the cities of Bissau-Ziguinchor-Banjul? Generally presented as an enclave with weak road infrastructure, this space is the scene of intense migratory flows at the heart of the formation of a transnational territory marked by unprecedented demographic and spatial recomposition (Gueye, 2014).

The contribution of migrants to local or even national development should be neither exaggerated nor underestimated, we must recognize that they cannot solve the issue of sustainable development on their own. This requires additional support measures that go beyond the will of migrants. Such provisions are incumbent especially upon the central state which must attach more importance to the socio-political and economic situation of the peripheral and border regions, which often escape its control. Policy cannot however be limited to security considerations even though they may be strong with regard to the situation currently prevailing in the Sahel. Exercising sovereign functions while encouraging citizen participation, which doubled from the real transfer of skill - must be the crosscutting theme for greater national cohesion and/or the reaffirmation of the non-negotiable nature of the territorial integrity.

III. A serious issue: to integrate migration factor in the local development planning

Taking advantage of the global context of rising power of local communities, the local dimension of the migration-development dialectic rose to the heart of the global political agenda. Two questions must, from this point of view, find relevant answers: what is the benefit of promoting the free movement of people? How to integrate mobility into sustainable development agenda?

III. 1- Free movement of persons: a requirement for democracy

Making Sahelian migration a development factor involves rethinking mobility in view of the diverse but homogenous territory with plenty of actors aware of their roles and the issue at stake (Walther & Retaillé, 2014; Olsen, 2011; Pécoud and Guchteneire of 2005).

This is especially to correct the offset resulting from a common misinterpretation, which narrows globalization to the movement of goods and capital. In fact, a rather materialistic orientation of African involvement in the process points very sharply to the lack of attention to citizenship without borders in other parts of the world. It also ignores the lessons of history, including the decisive contribution of inter-African migration to the development of such prosperous countries as Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, South Africa, etc.

Given the importance of intra-regional flows compared to movements to other parts of the continent and the world, many analysts agree on the idea that migratory movements jointed to the regional integration can be an alternative to the ever increasing demand for transcontinental mobility and/or protectionism of the *eldorados* of the North (Ammassari 2004; Adepoju, 2005).

It is regrettable that after nearly forty years of debate on the free movement of persons within the ECOWAS space, little progress has been noted[8]. In order to make any significant progress on the "end of the borders", the discourse hostile to migration must be put in the broader perspective of establishing democracy and good governance whose pillars are inclusive dialogue, rebuilding of the state, and decentralization.

III. 2- Towards integration of migration in the local development. What is the methodological approach?

Given that West African migrants are more likely to mobilize in favour of their village livelihoods than for the nation-state, current decentralization policies in many countries offer the opportunity to experiment a new approach commonly known as the grassroots development. The risk is certainly great in the wake of the re-building of the state to witness the birth of political demands that challenge the central authority and/or question the territorial integrity but the trend towards sustainable development will have to deal with such avatars.

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[8] It should be noted that the Protocol A / SP1 / 12/01 on Democracy and Good Governance Supplementary to the Protocol on the prevention mechanism, management, resolution of conflicts, peacekeeping and security adopted in Dakar on December 21, 2001 is supposed to be a step forward compared to the Protocol a / P1 / 5/79 on the free movement of persons, right of residence and establishment.

Seizing the opportunity of decentralization policies in order to maximize the benefits of migration involves, at the local or territorial level, at least three basic provisions: better documentation of the phenomena of mobility, development of methodological support tools to monitor the contribution of migration, promotion of inclusive dialogue between the various protagonists.

First, the production of reliable knowledge on demographic dynamics is a prerequisite of good understanding of all forms of migration movements. No local authority can initiate a LDP (Local Development project) without a more substantive knowledge of arrival and departure flows in its geographical area. Precise knowledge of the demographic situation in their community or department is achieved through the production of reliable and regularly updated information.

Note that the cost of census operations can be an impediment to the extent that the divisions adopted by national statistical agencies coincide only rarely with the allocations of local authorities.

Second, the development of tools to aid decision-making and/or planning tools is a prerogative of local officials who are responsible for the promotion and coordination of village projects. Their legitimacy, which derives from elections, should not suffer any challenge if only from migrants who are the main funders of village territories.

Note also that the increased participation in local political life of returnees is supported and encouraged by migrant associations that are often very harsh on local politicians deemed "unable to drive any project forward or to set up a single database infrastructure without their support" (Interview with A. Seck Dodel,Podor (Senegal, February 2010).

Finally, beyond the confrontational relations between migrants and local officials, consultation process between all the forces of the departure and destination territories established itself as an important feature of social cohesion without which the "living together in harmony" situation of social accord and economic development is constantly threatened. The unrest or social tensions that periodically shake the immigration areas are most often the result of misunderstandings and/or prejudices that education policies focused on accepting differences can help to overcome.

Another interesting trajectory of action to take is to enhance the multiple contributions of migrants to the destination territories. This approach allows, for example, to better

understand the contribution of internal migrants to the training of youth in technical trades (carpentry, masonry, plumbing, hairdressing, etc.) or crafts (making, dyeing, etc.).

The operationalization of the incorporation of the migration variable in local planning unrolls an action plan marked by four highlights that constitute the project cycle:

- The elaboration of the migration profile from a territorial analysis in partnership with all local stakeholders is the starting point for the production of a basic document commonly called LDP (Local Development Project);
- Conducting, by local officials, missions on the "dual area" or meetings with migrants and co-development partners for formal involvement in the local development project;
- Validation by all stakeholders of the LDP opens the way for its implementation;
- The regular assessment of project phases and the updating of the data enable, if necessary, to rectify the situation.
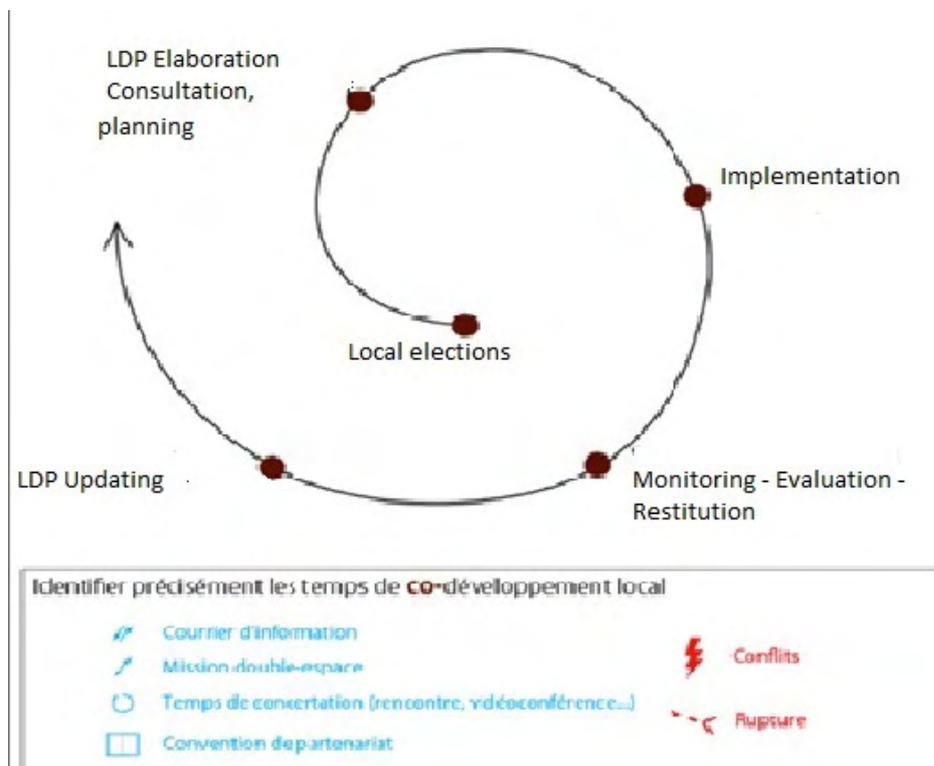
Picture 2. Local Project Development Cycle

It is important to note that when migrants take ownership of the decentralization policy, as is the case of the Kayes region of Mali, the results in attaining the development goals

can be surprising. The extraordinary mobilization noted during the municipal elections of April 2009 resulted in higher rates of participation than those recorded during the parliamentary and presidential elections.

The aforementioned finding led to believe that the use of decentralization as an instrument at the backdrop of clientelistic practices will not lead to any tangible results in terms of local development. It is therefore important to include the activities of migrants in the logic of progress and rebuilding of the State, which must benefit all of the sustainable development protagonists.

As a Conclusion

The Sahel, just like other parts of the world, is strongly affected by an intense movement of people inseparable from the world globalization processes. This mobility is growing in territories whose borders transcend political boundaries taking the shape of areas of exchanges consolidated by the cultural proximity of groups whose destinies are intertwined. The special feature of this development is a combination of two competing forms of integration: regionalization by the bottom based on practices that go beyond the sub-regional political projects carried out by nation-states.

The Sahelian populations do not ignore the enormous profits they can gain from migration and by strengthening the foundation of their mobility on a daily basis use it for the purpose of local development. The fact that migrants leave their village to allow those who remain to live better makes their engagement in the construction of emigration basins a clear added value that also benefits the host areas. It appears in this sense that mobility is an important factor of development, which must be supported and encouraged.

This focus on citizen participation in the management of grassroot development, recognition of the contribution of migrants to the departure and destination territories is a new deal for sustainable development in favour of the democratic advances. Provided the engagement of migrants is done on the basis of clear willingness and not for clientilistic considerations, the incorporation of the migration variable in local planning can contribute effectively to good governance and territorial development.

The inclusion of the migration variable as a sustainable development engine underlines the need to develop a qualitative analysis tool for articulating the relationship between migration and local development by identifying the range of mobility resource issues with a view of boosting their value. This leverage tool enables, following a retrospective analysis, to have a comprehensive picture of all the skills to mobilize, to recover or strengthen in order to consolidate proactively other projects and/or to take on more ambitious challenges.

Considered to be essential and decisive protagonists of social, economic and political transformation of host as well as departure territories, migrants can be remarkable pillars of local development. They will however have to comply with the requirements of inclusive dialogue and be respectful of the responsibilities of each actor in the construction of territories in particular of local elected officials - the cornerstones in running urban affairs – whose legitimacy originates from the ballot boxes.

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