

The Colombian diaspora in Germany: transnational action and country of origin-related involvement

Contributions to Colombia's development







The study was carried out by the Migration for Development programme on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

Around the world, societies are changing and individuals are on the move: around 250 million people currently live outside their country of origin. This evolving situation presents opportunities for all concerned: diversity and exchange across national borders provide impetus for economic, political and social progress – both in host countries and in countries of origin.

Migrants themselves play an important role in building bridges between countries. Through their expertise, ideas, experience and contacts, they stimulate sustainable change. In a variety of ways, they help their countries of origin to remain competitive, while simultaneously shaping society in their host countries. This interaction offers great potential for development. On behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), we support the activities of migrants from emerging and developing countries and advise our partner countries on how to use migration to advance sustainable development.

The Migration for Development programme focuses on four areas of activity:

- Knowledge transfer through returning experts
- Cooperation with diaspora organisations
- Migrants as entrepreneurs
- Migration policy advice

A study conducted on behalf of the Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM)

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Contents

List of Figures	4
List of Tables	4
List of Abbreviations	5
Introduction	6
1. Profile of the Colombian diaspora in Germany	8
1.1 The context of historical migration	8
1.2 Demographic and socioeconomic profile	
1.3 Levels and types of organisation	
1.4 Colombia's policy approaches to the diaspora	17
2. Forms of transnational action and contributions by the diaspora to development in Colombia	20
2.1 Country of origin-related involvement	20
2.2 Transnational entrepreneurship	21
2.3 Remittances	2 3
2.4 Student migration and knowledge transfer	25
3. Scope for cooperation between the Colombian diaspora and Colombian-German development cooperation	27
3.1 Portfolio of Colombian-German development cooperation in relation	
to the Colombian diaspora in Germany	27
3.2 Recommendations for action	28
Bibliography	31
Annex	34
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List of Figures

Figure 1:	Colombian nationals residing in Germany, 1967-2014	10
Figure 2:	Migration to and from Germany by Colombian nationals, 1967-2013	11
•	Purpose of residence of Colombian nationals with the right of temporary residence in Germany under the Residence Act 2004, 31 December 2013	13
Figure 4:	Remittances from Germany to Colombia, 2005-2014, in USD million	24

List of Tables

Table 1:	Proportion of Colombian expatriates by country, in per cent, 2011	8
Table 2:	Number of Colombian nationals in Germany by federal state, 31 December 2013	12
Table 3:	Colombian nationals studying at Germany universities, semester one 2012/13	14
Table 4:	Colombian nationals in employment covered by compulsory social security contributions, by sector, 30 June 2014	14
Table 5:	Remittances to Colombia by country, 2014, in USD million	24

List of Abbreviations

AA German Federal Foreign Office

ASPA Asociación Antioqueña de Profesionales con Estudios en Alemania

ASPREA Asociación de profesionales con estudios en la República Federal de Alemania

AufenthG Aufenthaltsgesetz (Residence Act 2004)

AZR Central Register of Foreign Nationals

BIBB Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training

BMUB Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear

Safety

BMZ Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development

CIAT Centro Internacional de Agricultura Tropical

CIM Centre for International Migration and Development

CNU Colombia Nos Une

COLCIENCIAS Departamento Administrativo de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación

DAAD German Academic Exchange Service

DANE Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística

DFG German Research Foundation

DKF Deutsch-Kolumbianischer Freundeskreis e.V. (Colombian-German Friendship As-

sociation)

DZHW GmbH German Centre for Research on Higher Education and Science Studies

FARC Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Colombianas

GDP Gross Domestic Product

GIZ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH

ICETEX Instituto Colombiano de Crédito Educativo y Estudios en el Exterior

IDB Inter-American Development Bank

MINT Mathematics, information sciences, natural sciences and technology

MoU Memorandum of Understanding

PME Migration and Development Programme

SENA Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje
SNM Sistema Nacional de Migraciones

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Introduction

More migrants move to Germany from Colombia than from any other Latin American country except Brazil and Mexico: micro-census data indicate that there are currently 14,000 Colombian expatriates in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt 2014b). In the wake of the global economic and financial crisis, Germany became more attractive as a destination country for Colombian migrants, and the most recent migratory movements have been characterised particularly by student migration. Migrants in Germany seek to maintain links with their home country to different extents and in different ways. Private networks, academic exchanges, economic activity and investment, and social participation all play a role, for example. Colombian nationals act transnationally across borders and influence development in their homeland from their place in the diaspora.

Scientific and political discourse now increasingly recognises migrants as actors in development (Brinkerhoff 2008, Faist and Fauser 2011). Migration is no longer framed predominantly as a facet of the 'brain drain'; the focus has shifted to considering the contributions that migrants living abroad can make to stimulating development, for example through knowledge transfer or remittances.

The extent to which any diaspora is involved in development activities is strongly context-dependent. The framework for transnational action and involvement varies both by migrants' country of origin and by destination country. Diaspora groups are also extremely diverse, with differing levels of institutional organisation, many different interests, and differing capacity to become involved in effective development activities. Therefore, rigorous research is needed to illustrate the contribution that diaspora groups can make to development against the backdrop of a range of specific contexts.

So far, there has been no such research into the Colombian diaspora in Germany.¹

Aim and structure of the study

The aim of this study is to draw up a differentiated picture of the Colombian diaspora in Germany and to analyse the contribution that diaspora actors make to development in Colombia. It aims to analyse the potential for, and challenges to, transnational action that is effective in achieving development. It also aims to identify approaches to cooperation within German development cooperation.

The study is divided into four Sections. Section 2, which profiles Colombian expatriates in Germany, begins with an overview of Colombia's migration history, illustrating the motives for and types of Colombian migration to Germany. The profile is followed by an analysis of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the Colombian population in Germany and of their level of organisation, particularly within Colombian migrant organisations. This Section concludes with an overview of Colombia's approaches to diaspora policy. On the basis of the resulting profile, Section 3 then outlines the forms of transnational action in which Colombian expatriates are involved and their contribution to development within

- The concept of 'diaspora' has come into vogue particularly since the turn of the millennium (Mayer 2005). Originally a Greek term, it means 'to disperse', 'to scatter' or 'to be separated'. Its original meaning was closely linked to members of the Jewish faith living outside Israel, but that meaning has now broadened out, and the term is today widely applied to diverse groups, including immigrants, refugees, expatriates, and cultural, ethnic and religious minorities (Safran 1999, Cohen 1997). Cohen refers to transnational communities that form, or are formed, into a diaspora (Cohen 1997). Nieswand interprets 'diaspora' as a social construct that is subject to influence, for example from the social praxis of migrants or the political activities of national governments (Nieswand 2008). This study uses a broad working definition of the term in which 'the Colombian diaspora in Germany' means primarily that part of the Colombian expatriate population in Germany that maintains its links with the country of origin or the country of one or both parents. The concept of a diaspora is an appropriate way of contextualising transnational action by migrants. It brings into focus cross-border forms of social action without neglecting the importance of nation-states or national identities (Faist and Fauser 2011), enabling the concept of 'diaspora' to form a framework for considering both individual and collective involvement within the specific contexts of the country of origin and the destination country.
- 2 For the purposes of the study, migrant organisations are defined as associations whose membership comprises largely individuals with a migration background. For further definitions, see Pries (2013).

Colombia. This Section distinguishes between country of origin-related social involvement, transnational entrepreneurship, the role of remittances, and transnational knowledge transfer in the context of Colombian student migration. It also identifies potential and challenges in these areas. Section 4, finally, outlines the diaspora-related portfolio of Colombian-German development cooperation, highlights possible approaches to cooperation with the Colombian diaspora, and makes a number of concrete recommendations for action.

Methodology

This is an exploratory study. As it is primarily qualitative in nature, it makes no claims to be representative but breaks new ground in offering previously unavailable insights into the issues. The findings draw on a mix of qualitative and quantitative analytical methods comprising:

- 1 semi-structured interviews;
- 2 web-based analysis of Colombian migrant organisations;
- 3 evaluation of statistical surveys;
- **4** a review of the specialist literature.

During the research period (January to April 2015), 21 interviews were conducted with 16 representatives of institutions, associations and initiatives and with five individuals. Some of these interviews were conducted face to face, the remainder by telephone or via Skype. The interviewees were representatives of migrant organisations and entrepreneurs or students from the Colombian diaspora. Research conducted for the study identified extensive involvement with Colombia on the part of general civil society in Germany, so representatives of human rights and funding organisations were also interviewed to gain an overview of the involvement and role of Colombian actors in these organisations. We also conducted conversations with the Colombian Ambassador in Germany, experts in Colombian-German development cooperation, and representatives of the private sector.3

Contacts with interviewees were generated by initial conversations with key individuals from the diaspora and by the results of internet searches. On the 'snowball' principle, these contacts supplied further contacts. Most of our contacts were approached by email, and participants were generally very willing to take part in the study. In some cases, contacts were not available to be interviewed because they were in Colombia during the research period. Not all the migrant organisations identified and contacted are still active.

20 migrant organisations in which Colombian expatriates are involved were identified online and analysed in terms of the nature of the organisation, its aims and activities, its membership, and its partner organisations. These organisations were identified through an initial search of the joint register portal for the German federal states, enabling us to search the registers of companies and registered associations across all Germany's federal states. Just three of the entries for Colombia could be identified as migrant organisations. The remaining 17 migrant organisations were identified through websites and information provided by interviewees. Evaluation of labour market data and migration statistics supplemented the analysis of Colombian expatriates in Germany.⁴ The review of specialist literature concentrated on research considering Colombia from a migration and/or development perspective.

³ The author would like here to express our gratitude to all those to whom we spoke for their support for the research. An overview of all the institutions, organisations and initiatives we interviewed can be found in the Annex, which lists 17 institutions: one interviewee was active in two separate organisations and was able to provide information about both.

The author would like to thank the Federal Statistical Office and the Federal Employment Agency for making available special overviews of the numbers of Colombian expatriates in Germany.

Profile of the Colombian diaspora in Germany

1.1 The context of historical migration

Until the mid-1970s, Latin America was an immigration region, and it was not until the 1990s that it became an emigration region (Gratius 2005, McIlwaine 2011). Colombia's migration history is very recent compared with that of other Latin American countries, such as Argentina or Brazil. There remains little immigration to the country (Bérubé 11/2005)5, but emigration has been a major phenomenon since the 1960s. Today, Colombia has the highest levels of emigration of all the Latin American countries (Ramírez/Mendoza 2013), and it is estimated that between 5 per cent and 10 per cent of the Colombian population lives outside the country.6 Traditional destination countries include the neighbouring states of Venezuela and Ecuador, the USA, and Spain. World Bank data indicate that Germany is home to 0.6 per cent of all Colombian expatriates (Table 1).

Phases of migration

Colombian migratory movements need to be analysed in the context of the country's political, social and economic evolution and that of destination regions. It is very difficult to separate out the phenomenon of labour migration from migration influenced by armed conflict over the last 50 years or more.⁸ The first significant waves of emigration occurred in the **1960s and 1970s**, when Colombians were particularly likely to emigrate to Venezuela (which was politically stable and, because of the expanding oil industry, prosperous) or to the USA, which in the 1950s opened its 'Bracero' recruitment programme to Colombian workers (Khoudour-Castéras 2007).⁹

During the **1990s**, armed conflicts intensified, with a growing impact on migratory flows both within and from Colombia. Such conflicts were regional up to the 1980s, but the expansion of the coca trade and the interdepend-

Table 1: Proportion of Colombian expatriates by country, in per cent, 20117

USA	Venezuela	Spain	Ecuador	France	Italy	UK	Germany	Other
28,8	28,4	17,6	8	1,1	1,1	0,7	0,6	13,7

Source: calculations by Ramírez/Mendoza 2013 based on World Bank 2011; author's own compilation.

⁵ This excludes migration that formed part of colonial conquests and the forced migration of Africans during the slave trade between the 15th and 18th centuries.

⁶ World Bank data from 2011 indicates that 2,122,100 Colombian nationals were then living outside Colombia, 4.6 per cent of the country's population (Ramírez/Mendoza 2013). These figures differ from data from Colombia's most recent census in 2005 conducted by the country's statistical service DANE (Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística): DANE gives the number of Colombian nationals living outside the country as 3,378,345 (Ramírez/Mendoza 2013). On the basis of the census, Garay (2009) has calculated that in 2005, 7.5 per cent of the Colombian population was resident outside the country, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores) estimates the figure at 4,700,000, or more than 10 per cent of the total population of 46 million (http://www.cancilleria. gov.co/footer/join-us/introduction, accessed 10 April 2015).

⁷ On the basis of the 2005 census, DANE estimates that 34.6 per cent of Colombians living abroad are resident in the USA, 23.1 per cent in Spain, 20.0 per cent in Venezuela, 3.1 per cent in Ecuador and 2.0 per cent in Canada (Ramírez/Mendoza 2013).

⁸ From the early 1960s, Colombia saw differing levels of armed conflict between government troops and left-wing guerrilla groups. From the mid-1980s, there was also conflict between right-wing paramilitary groups and drugs gangs. For a detailed account, see Kurtenbach (2004)

⁹ There is also documentary evidence of migration to the USA by large numbers of highly skilled Colombian nationals (Gehrlein et al. 2013). Migration via Colombia's border with Venezuela involved chiefly lowskilled migrants and decreased in the 1980s because of the recession in Venezuela, tighter immigration controls there, and relatively high growth in wages in Colombia (Ramírez 2009).

ence of the drugs trade and armed conflict were key factors in boosting the number of armed individuals and the spread of armed conflict to broader swathes of the country (Kurtenbach 2013). Human rights breaches, illegal land seizures, and expulsion of the rural population resulted in a growing number of internally displaced persons and international refugees from Colombia (Bérubé 11/2005). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has estimated that by July 2014, 5.7 million displaced persons had sought protection within Colombia and a further 397,000 Colombian refugees outside its borders (UNHCR 2015). The main destination countries for refugees were the USA, Costa Rica, Canada and Ecuador (Bérubé 11/2005). 11

Alongside the armed conflicts, the economic crisis of the late 20th century prompted a major increase in international migration by Colombian nationals. Between 1995 and 1999, the rate of unemployment in Colombia doubled, reaching 18 per cent in densely populated urban areas (Bérubé 11/2005). In 1992, less than 20 per cent of all Colombians lived below the poverty line, but by 1999, this had risen to more than 50 per cent (Ramírez/Mendoza 2013). According to data from the most recent Colombian census from 2005, around half of all current Colombian expatriates left the country between 2000 and 2005 (Garay 2009). Over recent years, the Colombian economy has stabilised and between 2012 and 2014, it grew by more than 4 per cent a year as measured by Gross Domestic Product. Nonetheless, at just under 10 per cent, Colombia continues to have one of the highest rates of unemployment in Latin America (CIA 2013/2014). Emigration continues to this day (Gehrlein et al. 2013, Ramírez/Mendoza 2013).

Colombian migration to Europe and Germany

Colombian migration has traditionally focused on neighbouring countries and the USA. For many years, Europe was the main destination region for the Colombian elite, including intellectuals, artists, students and political refugees. As armed conflict intensified and the economic situation deteriorated in the 1990s, Colombian migration to Europe increased and the profile of migrants broadened to take in individuals from different social backgrounds (Bermudez 2011).

Around half of all Colombian migrants to Europe live in **Spain**, and their migration history is well documented. There was a sudden spike in migration to Spain in the early 21st century: during the 1990s, Spain had fewer than 10,000 migrants of Colombian origin, but this had soared to almost 300,000 by 2009 (Gehrlein et al. 2013). Just 3 per cent had migrated before 1994, while 87 per cent had arrived between 2000 and 2005 (Garay 2009). Factors in this increase included not only the economic crisis in Colombia referred to above but also an increasingly restrictive US immigration policy. The 2007 global economic and financial crisis was a turning point: unemployment among Spain's migrant population rose to 36 per cent in 2012, prompting many migrants to return to their home countries (González-Enríquez 2014), and from 2008 onwards, Colombia saw a steady stream of migrants returning from Europe and the USA (Ramírez/Mendoza 2013).

¹⁰ UNHCR data for Colombian refugees include individuals whose refugee status cannot be confirmed for a variety of reasons but whose situation is equivalent to that of a refugee (UNHCR 2015).

After a series of failed attempts at bringing conflict to an end, the Colombian Government and the guerrilla group FARC ('Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Colombianas') opened negotiations in October 2012, with the jointly stated aim of achieving lasting peace. The negotiations have not yet been concluded, and there is no evidence yet of the most recent moves towards peace having any impact on migration from Colombia.

Germany is not a major destination country for Colombian migrants, but the number of Colombian expatriates in Germany has grown from fewer than 1,000 in the 1960s to 13,283 in 2014 (Figure 1). Data relating to emigration and immigration by Colombian nationals to and from Germany shows that emigration outweighed immigration, that Colombian migration grew over a long period and that migration to Germany – and, indeed, to Europe more generally – accelerated from the 1990s. 12 By contrast with

the situation in Spain, there was no drop in migration by Colombian nationals to Germany once the global economic and financial crisis hit. Moreover, there was only a temporary rise in the numbers leaving Germany at this time (Figure 2). Interviews conducted as part of this study indicate that against the backdrop of the global economic and financial crisis, labour migration actually increased as Colombian expatriates moved from Spain to Germany.



Figure 1: Colombian nationals residing in Germany, 1967-2014

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2015a, 2015b und 2015c; Central Register of Foreign Nationals (AZR); author's own compilation.

NB: Data up to and including 1990 relate to the Federal Republic of Germany before reunification; data for later years relate to the reunified Germany. In 2004, the AZR was aligned with data from the regional authorities responsible for registering foreign nationals. Data from 2004 are not, therefore, diretly comparable with earlier data.

¹² While figures for those moving to Germany ranged from 450 to 730 a year during the 1980s, they rose to between 1,000 and 1,600 a year in the 1990s and to between 1,400 and 1,950 after the turn of the millennium. 2013 saw 2,790 Colombians migrating to Germany, the highest number to date (Statistisches Bundesamt 2014a).



Figure 2: Migration to and from Germany by Colombian nationals, 1967-2013



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2014a; Central Register of Foreign Nationals (AZR); author's own compilation. Note: No data available for 1990, 2000 or 2001.

1.2 Demographic and socioeconomic profile

More Colombians migrate to Germany than nationals of any other Latin American nation except Brazil and Mexico. ¹³ Data from Germany's Central Register of Foreign Nationals (AZR) show that in 2014, **13,283 Colombian nationals** were officially registered as residing in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt 2015c). The 2013 micro-census, which also takes account of the growing number of nationalised Colombian expatriates and second- and third-generation Colombians, puts the number of those with a Colombian migration background living in Germany at 14,000 (Statistisches Bundesamt 2014a). ¹⁴ There are no

reliable estimates for the number of Colombian nationals living in Germany without formal right of residence, and in general terms, statistics provide only a partial demographic and socioeconomic profile of the Colombian population in Germany. The following analysis is, therefore, based largely on AZR data, which considers only those who have retained Colombian citizenship.

AZR data shows that the majority of Colombian expatriates in Germany live in the federal states of Hesse (17 per cent), North Rhine-Westphalia (16 per cent), Bavaria (15 per cent) and Baden-Württemberg (13 per cent). They are disproportionately likely to be living in large towns and cities: 11 per cent live in Berlin, 7 per cent in Frankfurt am Main, 7 per cent in Hamburg, and 6 per cent in Munich. Relatively few Colombian nationals have settled in the federal states of the former German Democratic Republic (Table 2).

¹³ By country of origin, the number of Latin American nationals in Germany as at 31 December 2014 was: Brazil 38,253, Mexico 13,969, Colombia 13,283, Peru 8,999, and Cuba 8,455 (Statistisches Bundesamt 2015c).

¹⁴ The micro-census is an annual household survey covering about 1 per cent of the German population. Since 2005, it has collected data relating to citizenship and migration. According to the definition used by the micro-census, people with a migration background include all foreign nationals and nationalised citizens of other countries, individuals who have migrated to the current Federal Republic as Germans since 1949, and all those born in Germany as German nationals who have at least one parent who migrated to Germany or was born there as a foreign national (Statistisches Bundesamt 2013b).



	Federal state	Absolute	%		Federal state	Absolute	%
1	Hesse	2.165	17,1	11	Brandenburg	195	1,5
2	North Rhine-Westphalia	2.043	16,1	12	Bremen	190	1,5
3	Bavaria	1.855	14,6	13	Thuringia	155	1,2
4	Baden-Württemberg	1.658	13,1	14	Saarland	110	0,9
5	Berlin	1.367	10,8	15	Saxony-Anhalt	102	0,8
6	Hamburg	881	6,9	16	Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	60	0,5
7	Lower Saxony	819	6,5				
8	Rhineland-Palatinate	480	3,8				
9	Schleswig-Holstein	327	2,6				
10	Saxony	288	2,3		Germany total	12.695	100

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2014c; Central Register of Foreign Nationals (AZR); author's own compilation.

Because Colombian migration to Germany is a relatively recent phenomenon, Colombian nationals spend an average of only eight years in the country (Statistisches Bundesamt 2015c). Their age profile also reflects the recent nature of migration: one third of all Colombian expatriates in Germany are aged between 25 and 35; more than 60 per cent are under 35, 33 per cent between 35 and 55, and barely 7 per cent over 54. The average age of Colombian nationals in Germany is 34, making them younger on average than Colombians living in the USA (average age 37) but older than the Colombian population in Spain (average age 32).15 The majority of Colombian expatriates in Germany are first-generation migrants. By contrast with traditional migrant groups, relatively few were born in Germany - just 1.7 per cent (Statistisches Bundesamt 2015c) - although it should be borne in mind that children with German citizenship are not included in these statistics.

Colombian nationals living in Germany include a particularly high **proportion of women** (63 per cent). This is higher than the proportion in both the USA and Spain, where women make up 47 per cent and 56 per cent respectively of Colombian expatriates. ¹⁶ Men and women

also differ in terms of marital status: just 26 per cent of Colombian men living in Germany are married, compared with 45 per cent of Colombian women (Statistisches Bundesamt 2015c). Many interviewees reported that women were particularly likely to have a German partner. Interviewees also gave examples of both male and female labour migrants who were living apart from their Colombian partners and children.

Almost 4,600 Colombian nationals acquired German citizenship between 1981 and 2011, and since the early 2000s, the figure has averaged 300 a year (Statistisches Bundesamt 2013a). Not only nationalised Colombians but also 3,178 Colombian nationals without a German passport have the right of **permanent residence** and the right to settle in Germany. A further 757 Colombian nationals are citizens of another European Union country, giving them the right to freedom of movement under EU law. In 2013, 6,618 Colombian nationals – more than half of all Colombian nationals living in Germany – had the right of temporary residence (Statistisches Bundesamt 2014e).

For this latter group, the statistics distinguish between different **reasons for residence** in Germany. 43 per cent had received their temporary residence permit as students, 35 per cent for family reasons, and 17 per cent for employment reasons. There is relatively little migration for asy-

¹⁵ For further information on the age profile and the proportion of Colombians living in the USA and Spain made up by women, see Garay (2009).

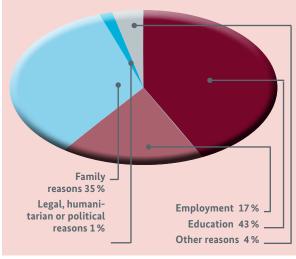
¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ The Federal Statistical Office has no data for years prior to 1981.

lum purposes: just 1 per cent of all Colombian migrants residing temporarily in Germany have been granted political refugee status (Figure 3). UNHCR figures indicate that in 2012, 242 Colombian nationals with political refugee status were living in Germany (Ramírez/Mendoza 2013); official German statistics put the 2013 figure for asylum-seekers at fewer than 100 (Statistisches Bundesamt 2014e). The narrow definition of a refugee under the Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which underpins the legal status of refugees, probably explains why Colombian nationals who have migrated to escape armed conflict then find themselves in one of the other categories listed above.¹⁸

The majority of Colombian nationals coming to Germany do so to **study** or to undergo initial or continuing training. In semester one of 2013/2014, 2,346 Colombian nationals were enrolled at German universities. This number has risen more than fourfold since the late 1990s, but just 5 per cent had also received their secondary education in Germany. ¹⁹This group includes comparable numbers of women and men. 45 per cent of Colombian students in Germany are studying a MINT subject. ²⁰ Particularly popular courses include mechanical and process engineering, electrical engineering, and biology. A quarter study law, economics and business, or social sciences, with the majority of this group opting for economics and business (Table 3).

Figure 3: Purpose of residence of Colombian nationals with the right of temporary residence in Germany under the Residence Act 2004, 31 December 2013



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2014e; Central Register of Foreign Nationals(AZR); author's owb compilation.

¹⁸ The socioeconomic profile of a migrant population group needs to be analysed against the broader backdrop of German and European migration policy. Vogel and Kovacheva argue that while Germany's 2005 Residence Act opened the country up to regular migration by international alumni of German universities, skilled workers, and migrants seeking to join family members already in the country, the legislation restricted migration by individuals seeking asylum and those with low skills levels (Vogel and Kovacheva 2014). In general terms, Colombian nationals seeking to enter the Schengen area require a visa. The German Embassy in Bogotá has, however, indicated that this requirement is likely to be lifted some time in 2015 following the decision by the Council of the European Union on 6 May 2014 to amend Council Regulation (EC) 539/2001 on visa requirements. This will give Colombian nationals the right to stay in Germany for up to 90 days without a visa. See http://www.bogota.diplo.de/Vertretung/ bogota/de/08Visa/HBVisaabteilung.html (accessed 16 June 2015).

¹⁹ Foreign students can be divided into those who have completed their secondary education and gained their school-leaving qualifications in another country and those who have done so in Germany (see the joint glossary of the Federal Statistical Office, DAAD and DZHW, downloadable from: http://www.wissenschaftweltoffen.de/glossar/a07_html (German) or http://www.wissenschaftweltoffen.de/?lang=en (English) (accessed 16 June 2015)).

²⁰ MINT is the abbreviation for 'mathematics, information sciences, natural sciences and technology' subjects.

Table 3: Colombian nationals studying at Germany universities, semester one 2012/13

Area of study	Absolute	%
Engineering	569	28
Law, business studies and social sciences	521	25
Mathematics and natural sciences	351	17
Languages and cultural studies	309	15
Fine art and visual arts	163	8
Other areas	152	7
Total	2.065	100

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2014f; DAAD ICE database; author's own compilation.

Micro-census data show that 5,000 employed persons in Germany have a Colombian migration background. Because this figure is low, however, it is not possible to statistically analyse the sectors in which they work or the type of **employment** for the group as a whole (Statistisches Bundesamt 2014b), although the Federal Employment Agency provides statistics for the largest group, employees with Colombian citizenship. As at 30 June 2014, a total of 3,548 Colombian nationals were employed in jobs subject to compulsory social security contributions and a further 1,515 were registered in low-paid jobs exempt from social security contributions; this group was able to take a second job. Given that 63 per cent of all Colombians in Germany are women, women are under-represented in employment subject to compulsory social security

contributions (58 per cent) but slightly over-represented in the low-paid group (66 per cent) (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2015a). In February 2015, 1,230 Colombian nationals were registered as 'seeking employment' and 634 as 'unemployed' (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2015b).

The **sectors** in which Colombian nationals are employed in jobs subject to compulsory social security contributions are very diverse and include, among others, health and social care, manufacturing, and jobs related to commerce, maintenance and repair. They also work in significant numbers in education, as freelance service providers, and in scientific and technical services and other business services (Table 4).

Table 4: Colombian nationals in employment covered by compulsory social security contributions, by sector, 30 June 2014

Sector	Absolute	%	Men	%	Women	%
Health and social care	487	14	123	25	364	75
Freelance, scientific and technical services	459	13	229	50	230	50
Manufacturing	446	13	233	52	213	48
Other business services	435	12	148	34	287	66
Education and training	356	10	156	44	200	56
Vehicle sales, maintenance and repair	352	10	139	39	213	61
Hospitality	258	7	107	41	151	59
Information and communications	221	6	130	59	91	41
Other sectors	526	15	224*	43*	297*	56*
Total	3.540	100	1.489	42	2.046	58

^{*} Five individuals could not be assigned to a gender group because of low numbers and to preserve anonymity. Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2015c; employment statistics; author's own compilation.

The **professional status** of Colombian expatriates varies widely, according to our interviewees, from basic employee status to senior positions in leading German companies. Their knowledge of the Spanish language or of Latin American markets is often a factor in the professional status they achieve. Our interviewees reported instances of Colombian expatriates being unable to pursue the occupation for which they had been trained because their qualifications were not recognised in Germany; these individuals were now undergoing further training or had returned to study. Statistics on self-employment are not available for Colombian expatriates living and working in Germany, though information provided by the Colombian consulates suggests that very few Colombians are self-employed.²¹ On the basis of our interviews, we have been able to define a tentative profile of self-employed Colombian expatriates; interviewees referred to a wide range of entrepreneurial activities, including business and legal advisory services with a focus on Latin America, intercultural advisory services, and small businesses trading in Colombian goods. Colombian expatriates also run their own businesses in the beauty industry, in catering and in handicraft production. They see self-employment as one way of avoiding unemployment.

1.3 Levels and types of organisation

The Colombian diaspora in Germany is largely **non-institutionalised** and is characterised by informal networks and organised through local initiatives and associations. **Informal networks** focus on joint activities relating to cultural life in Colombia, although not all expatriates are involved in these. Colombian expatriates tend to congregate at parties and other celebrations, Latin American restaurants and bars, live screenings of sports events, and cultural events. Social media have, however, become increasingly important as a location-independent way of meeting other Colombians. Closed websites, such as 'Colombianos en Alemania' ('Colombians in Germany'), enable users to share information about cultural events

and other activities but also function as a platform for discussion of issues related specifically to migration, such as language tuition or visa regulations.²² Our interviewees reported differing experiences with these informal networks based on country of origin. Some described them as places that 'stop people feeling homesick' or where expatriates can go 'when they are tired of talking to Germans about Colombia's problems'. Others, though, said they deliberately kept their distance from such networks, sometimes because they found them superficial but also because they felt that belonging to them would hamper their integration in German society.

It is difficult to base any conclusions about the number of Colombian initiatives and organisations in Germany on the data obtained from the study. Mapping is also difficult because initiatives are not always registered formally as associations and seldom operate across regions or are networked beyond the local environment. It became evident in the course of our research that actors in the diaspora know very little about the activities of Colombian nationals outside their own local environment. In general, interviewees believed that Colombian nationals in Germany had a very low level of organisation. Their statements suggest two possible explanations. First, what they referred to as a 'certain basic mistrust' impedes more extensive networking of and cooperation between members of the Colombian diaspora: this lack of trust dates back to periods of enormous insecurity in Colombia, to violent conflict and to persistent corruption in the country. Second, the diverse composition of the diaspora in terms of when they migrated and why, and of generational differences, poses obstacles to networking.

The interviews we conducted and our analysis of 20 migrant organisations (see Section 1, 'Methodology') point to Colombian expatriates being strongly **involved beyond their own community**. Not only are they involved in broader Latin American or Hispanic organisations, but the Colombia-specific organisations themselves do not always have an exclusively Colombian membership. A common

²¹ Written response from the Colombian Embassy as part of this study: Embajada de Colombia en Alemania (2015): Información sobre la diáspora colombiana en Alemania, Berlin (received 25 March 2015).

²² https://www.facebook.com/colombianosenalemania/notes (accessed 10 April 2015)

factor is the joint involvement of Colombian-German couples in these associations. Colombian organisations are also very successful in attracting interest from a wide variety of nationalities. One example is 'Colombia Carnaval e.V.', a dance group based in Berlin: dancers from European, Asian and African cultures audition for the group's annual performance at Berlin's 'Carnival of Cultures'. And according to those we interviewed, intra-Colombian regionalism is becoming less significant in the German diaspora, so the region from which Colombian migrants come is no longer a major social distinguishing factor.

The examined migrant organisations in which Colombian expatriates are organised have between 10 and 30 members. The 'Deutsch-Kolumbianischer Freundeskreis e.V.' which has almost 500 members, is an exception and is the best known association within the diaspora for Colombian expatriates in Germany. This national association is organised decentrally, and its members work in local friendship groups and regional branches.23 Most of these initiatives and associations were set up to preserve and disseminate Colombian culture or to support Colombian migrants in Germany. Their activities include, for example, aid and support networks for migrants, intercultural awareness-raising activities, and community-based cultural activities. These associations are also strongly involved in collecting donations for social projects in Colombia. Only a few migrant organisations in which Colombians are involved have the capacity themselves to initiate development policy projects and provide volunteer support for them (see Section 3.1).

Clientele-specific organisational patterns are in evidence among **students** and **graduates**, whose activities are similar to those listed above. For example, 'ColAachen', a Colombian student group, advises and supports Colombian students already living and studying in Aachen or with an interest in coming to Germany to study or undergo further training. It also organises cultural events and uses the donations it receives to support social projects in Colombia.²⁴ However, the level of organisation of Colombian

students and graduates is generally seen as low. Colombian student organisations have a presence in only a few universities, and virtually none has a profile beyond its own region.

Returning students can obtain advice from ASPREA ('Asociación de profesionales con estudios en la República Federal de Alemania'), an association for alumni of German universities who held bursaries at these institutions. ASPREA, which is based in Bogotá, was set up with the aim of promoting contacts and cooperation between Germany and Colombia, particularly in the areas of culture and higher education and research.²⁵ Another association for alumni of German universities, ASPA ('Asociación Antioqueña de Profesionales con Estudios en Alemania'), offers a networking platform. This association was set up in 1987 by former students of German higher education and training organisations; its role is to promote intellectual exchange between its members and between German and Latin American scientific and cultural organisations, communities and entrepreneurs.26

Our interviews shed no light on professional organisations. In a study of diaspora knowledge networks, Meyer refers to 'Red Caldas' ('Caldas network'), a former network of Colombian expatriates that counted highly skilled Colombian nationals from Germany among its members. The network had been operating online since 1991 and was doing well but ultimately failed, among other reasons because of a lack of diversity in its membership and insufficient professionalism (Meyer 2011). Some Colombian entrepreneurs from the diaspora and Colombian senior white-collar staff are involved in the business network 'Lateinamerika Verein e.V.', which provides information, advice and contacts to businesses with an interest in Latin America. The association has regular exchanges with German and Latin American chambers of commerce, government agencies, and diplomatic representations.

²³ There are branches in the cities of Berlin, Hamburg, Munich and Stuttgart and in the Rhineland/Ruhr region.

²⁴ http://www.colaachen.rwth-aachen.de/Colaachen_Site/Bienvenidos. html (accessed 7 April 2015)

²⁵ http://www.asprea.org/ (accessed 7 April 2015)

²⁶ https://www.alumniportal-deutschland.org/mitglieder/alumninetzwerke/alumninetzwerke-liste/aspa.html (accessed 7 April 2015)

Most of the initiatives and organisations have no discernible political orientation. The majority of our interviewees described the diaspora as non-political, citing a range of reasons. There is evidence of a general 'politics fatigue' because of the complex conflictual situation and difficult labour market conditions back in Colombia. Comments made by respondents suggest that while political issues such as human rights work had a high profile in Colombian initiatives in the 1990s and into the early 2000s, younger migrant groups have less interest in politics. Interviews with representatives of human rights groups paint a more nuanced picture of the role of Colombian expatriates in this area. Such groups include, for example, 'kolko e.V.', a human rights organisation co-founded by Colombians, which currently has 25 members and a specialist office with two paid employees. Colombian members support the association with advice and in terms of networking with Colombia.

The Colombian diaspora in Germany has no **umbrella organisation** to function as a supraregional contact point and to represent members' interests. In our discussions, respondents expressed no explicit wish to be represented by an umbrella association; what they did want, however, was support for organisations and initiatives in boosting their profile beyond the local radius and promoting the more general networking of Colombian organisations. One example of a federation of associations beyond the region and local community is the Latin American umbrella association 'Circulo Latino e.V.', which represents 25 member organisations in and around Stuttgart, including the 'Deutsch-Kolumbianischer Freundeskreis e.V.'.

1.4 Colombia's policy approaches to the diaspora

Since 1961, Colombian nationals living abroad have been entitled to vote in Presidential elections. The 1991 Constitution broadened their rights: Colombian nationals may now acquire the citizenship of another country without giving up their Colombian citizenship, vote for the country's Senate, and be represented by a member of the House of Representatives (Bermudez 2011).²⁷

The Colombian Government's official stance on migration is that it is a positive phenomenon that contributes to development both in the country of origin and in the destination country.²⁸ The group known as 'Colombianos en el exterior' ('Colombians abroad') has enjoyed a higher profile as a development actor since early 2000. Current efforts are focusing on embedding migration in institutional terms and implementing programmes and projects that improve the lives of Colombians resident abroad and promote the contribution they make to development.

An institutionalised migration policy is underpinned by Document 3603 of Colombia's 'Consejo Nacional de Política Económica y Social' or CONPES (Council of National Economic and Social Policy) dating from 2009. The document was drafted as a response to trends in international migration with the aim of formulating a comprehensive migration policy ('Política Integral Migratoria' or PIM) and putting in place institutional guidelines for the implementation of migration-related measures. This policy explicitly targets not only foreign nationals living in

²⁷ Colombia's House of Representatives ('Cámara de Representantes') includes five seats for specific constituencies ('circunscripciones especiales'), including one seat for a representative of Colombians living abroad, two seats for representatives of the indigenous population, and two for representatives of the Afro-Colombian population.

²⁸ Embajada de Colombia en Alemania (2015)

in Colombia but also Colombian nationals living abroad and enshrines support for this latter group as one of the guiding principles of the PIM.²⁹

The **statutory basis** for work with the diasporas is represented by two laws, Law 1465 (2011) and Law 1565 (2012). Law 1465 governs the amalgamation of state and civil society institutions and organisations in a 'Sistema Nacional de Migraciones', or national migration system (SNM), which is intended to support the Colombian Government in drafting, implementing, monitoring and evaluating its migration policy. Consequently, this legislation sets up the civil society body, the 'Mesa Nacional de la Sociedad Civil para las Migraciones' ('national civil society board for migration'), on which private sector actors, higher education, non-governmental organisations and organisations of Colombian expatriates are to be represented. Law 1565, meanwhile, governs the creation of an incentive and support system for returning Colombian migrants.

Colombia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs ('Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores') has overall responsibility for implementing the PIM in relation to the Colombian diaspora and is tasked with protecting and representing the interests of Colombians living abroad. An internal working group, 'Colombia Nos Une' or CNU ('Colombia Unites Us'), which is part of the 'Dirección de Asuntos Migratorios,

Consulares, y Servicios al Ciudadano' ('Migratory, Consular and Citizen Service Department'), has responsibility for developing **measures** in five areas³²:

- 1 The 'Plan Comunidad' ('Community plan'): measures in this area target the strengthening of the Colombian community abroad. They focus on measures to network expatriates and preserve their culture and on capacity building. The online portal 'Redes Colombia' ('Colombia networks') is one example. It serves as a platform for information and communication for Colombians and those interested in Colombia, and its aim is to create new social networks to strengthen the social capital of Colombians around the world.³³ The 'ProMicro' programme, meanwhile, promotes the creation of small-scale Colombian businesses abroad, particularly in New York.
- 2 The 'Sistema de servicios' ('services system'): this has the aim of extending the system of state services to improve quality of life for Colombians and their families abroad. Alongside measures to improve social security and secure the recognition of vocational qualifications, this area includes initiatives such as support for the sustainable use of remittances from Colombian expatriates and the provision of educational loans and bursaries.³⁴
- 3 The 'Plan de retornos' ('returnees' plan'): this area of work supports returning migrants to reintegrate in Colombian society and employment. At local level, support networks ('redes de atención') have been set up in communities affected by migration to support returnees with, for example, access to health care, education, legal support and humanitarian aid (Ramírez/Mendoza 2013). In general, returning Colombian expatriates have access to advice on reintegrating into the labour

²⁹ Texts in Spanish and English may be downloaded from: http://www.cancilleria.gov.co/colombia/migration/conpes (accessed 10 April 2015)

³⁰ The text of the legislation may be downloaded from: http://wsp. presidencia.gov.co/Normativa/Leyes/Documents/ley146529062011. pdf (accessed 10 April 2015)

³¹ The text of the legislation may be downloaded from: http://wsp. presidencia.gov.co/Normativa/Leyes/Documents/ley156531072012. pdf (accessed 10 April 2015)

³² Information about these areas may be downloaded in Spanish and English from: http://www.cancilleria.gov.co/per cent20footer/join-us/work (accessed 10 April 2015).

³³ http://redescolombia.com/ (accessed 10 April 2015)

³⁴ The 'Colombiano seguro en el exterior' ('Security for Colombians abroad') programme offers Colombian nationals living abroad an opportunity to take out insurance with the Colombian pension system and to continue to pay into the country's social security system.

market and setting up businesses. This service is offered in cooperation with the national centre for vocational education and training SENA ('Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje').35

- 4 'Migración ordenada y regulada' ('regular and formalised migration'): regular labour migration is supported inter alia as part of bilateral and multilateral agreements. Programmes relating to temporary and circular migration are a particularly important component here, such as existing agreements with Spain and Portugal on support for migration processes among skilled workers in the agriculture and health sectors (Ramírez/Mendoza 2013).
- 5 'Vinculación de colombianos altamente reconocidos en el exterior' ('linking high-status Colombian expatriates'): with the aim of securing knowledge transfer, measures in this area are designed to develop contacts with expatriate Colombian entrepreneurs, graduates and artists who are known as outstanding performers.

Interviews conducted as part of the study also provided information on the status quo in relation to implementation of diaspora policy approaches. The SNM and the civil society organisation 'Mesa Nacional de la Sociedad Civil para las Migraciones' have not yet been convened within Colombia. Information available to the CIM advisor on Colombia indicates, however, that there are plans to involve German organisations within the body. Generally speaking, Colombian diaspora policy initiatives in Germany currently have little influence. Colombian expatriates in Germany are largely unware of forms of support initiated by the Government of Colombia: although the Colombian consulates in Frankfurt am Main and Berlin were considered to be points of contact, respondents did not mention any services that went beyond advising on visa matters and cultural events. It can be assumed that, with a relatively small Colombian diaspora, Germany is a not a priority country for diaspora policy. The Colombian Embassy has a special interest in research, science and innovation, so its main focus is on dialogue with Colombian graduates and students. It acknowledges that it barely has any other diaspora networks. There is interest in extending links but no structure for contacts with the diaspora.

³⁵ The 'Es tiempo de volver' ('It's time to return') programme was launched in 2015 and forms part of the Government agency for science, technology and innovation ('Departamento Administrativo de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación' or COLCIENCIAS) and is not part of the CNU. It focuses on integrating returning Colombian academics in the country's technology and innovation and research system ('Sistema Nacional de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación' or 'SNCT+I').

Forms of transnational action and contributions by the diaspora to development in Colombia

2.1 Country of origin-related involvement

Migrants' involvement in civil society is frequently of a cross-border nature. They move in a variety of national contexts and are involved with the society not only of their host country but also of their country of origin. Our interviews and analysis of migrant organisations illustrate that Colombian expatriates in Germany are involved privately or as part of community initiatives with people in Colombia.

Migrant organisations devoted to cultural and social activities in Germany (see Section 1.3) often combine this with **involvement in their country of origin**. For example, they organise public events such as Latin American festivals or benefit concerts with the aim of raising money for social projects in Colombia.

Most migrants work with partner organisations and social institutions in Colombia, whose projects they support financially. Colombian nationals in Germany help by collecting donations, recruiting sponsors and engaging in information and awareness-raising activities. They draw attention to projects and social injustice, for example through talks and exhibitions or via the websites of migrant organisations. The 'Haus der Kulturen Lateinamerikas e.V.' ('House of Latin American Cultures') association, for example, has established an archive related to street children that functions as a documentation, advice and research centre.36 The very wide range of partner organisations includes charitable and church institutions, Colombian foundations, and national and international non-governmental organisations. Contact between local partner organisations is made overwhelmingly through private networks and maintained during trips to Colombia.

What is striking is strong involvement in education and children's aid projects in Columbia.37 Children from poor families are the focus of many of the projects supported: sponsorship programmes or donations of school equipment, for example, make it possible for them to go to school. Projects aimed at street children and initiatives to provide medical and psychological support for children with disabilities are another focus. 'Engel ohne Heimat' ('Angels without a homeland'), for example, supports social agencies that arrange childcare for single mothers and provide street children with food and a place to sleep.38 'Amigos de América Latina e.V.' ('Latin American friends') cooperates with a charitable body to enable blind and deaf children and young people to lead independent lives and play a role in society. Other examples of target groups include the Afro-Colombian population and internally displaced Colombians.

Infrastructure projects are also initiated from the diaspora. For example, the 'Deutsch-Kolumbianischer Freundeskreis e.V.' stepped in after a volcanic eruption to facilitate the construction of the 'Instituto Técnico Colombo-Alemán' vocational school and educational workshop in Nueva Lerida and provided emergency aid in the wake of an earthquake in the Colombian city of Armenia by building the 'Escuela Colombo Alemana Villa del Café' school. The 'Sonne für Dich e.V.' ('Sun for you') association focused on supporting the construction of housing for families in need in Colombia.³⁹ Only a few of the migrant organisations in which Colombian nationals are involved

³⁷ The focus on educational and children's projects is also evident in associations not set up by migrants. Our searches of registers of associations for this study showed strong pro-Colombia activities by general civil society initiatives in Germany. Development associations have emerged from, for example, Christian initiatives or the Latin American solidarity movement. Interviews conducted as part of the study suggest a low level of networking between Colombian or Latin American migrant associations and the association mentioned here. However, in some cases, personal contact with Colombian nationals was a factor in setting up the associations. As the example of the 'Bildung gegen Armut in Kolumbien' ('Education against poverty in Colombia') association shows, returning Colombian nationals can also help to oversee supported projects on the ground.

³⁸ http://engelohneheimat.wix.com/engel-ohne-heimat#!_web-pages (accessed 30 April 2015)

³⁹ This body was dissolved in 2014. See http://sonnefuerdich.jimdo.com/ (accessed 30 April 2015)

³⁶ http://casalatinoamericana.de/de/projekte/Strassenkinderarchiv/ (accessed 30 April 2015)

have the capacity to initiate and provide voluntary support for **technical development projects** beyond offering financial assistance. Working with Colombian organisations, and with the support of the 'Migration and Development Programme' (PME) of the Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM), members of the 'Deutsch-Kolumbianischer Freundeskreis e.V.', for example, have launched an agri-business project involving 30 Afro-Colombian municipalities on the Pacific coast with the aim of making sustainable improvements in income and food security.⁴⁰

Typical of the Colombian diaspora in Germany is the involvement of private individuals who use their personal contacts to initiate and promote projects in Colombia from the diaspora. Factors such as professional background and networks often play an important part here. According to our interviewees, engineers, researchers and artists are sometimes involved at high levels in implementing development projects within their areas of expertise. The 'Schule fürs Leben' ('School for life') project, set up by a German-Colombian architect and his wife, shows that such initiatives can sometimes lead to the creation of a professional organisation. 'Schule fürs Leben' began with the construction of a school in the founder's birthplace and now employs four people in Germany and works with various project partners in Colombia to coordinate a range of educational projects and to oversee the placement of 30 volunteers from the German development volunteer programme 'Weltwärts' in Colombia.

Those interviewed for the study were able to identify factors that facilitate or hamper transnational involvement in development activities. In general, they argued, engagement requires a certain degree of integration within German society – security of residence and a job or place at a university. One migrant organisation that had not so far become involved in projects in Colombia also pointed to the need for reliable contacts in the country of origin and to the fact that such associations did not know 'where

the need is greatest'. Most associations and initiatives that provide financial support for social projects in Colombia are unable to guarantee this support on a reliable longterm basis. The volume and frequency of support depend on the level of donation income an association is able to generate in Germany, and while some migrant organisations are very professional in the way they plan and run cultural and benefit events and are able to draw on a wide circle of informal supporters, their representatives reported difficulties in hiring inexpensive premises for such events or varying levels of donations during celebratory events. A lack of time and human resources means that they are unable to rely on more professional fund-raising measures, something that is also evident from the example of associations that - despite many years of involvement and experience in raising donations - have had to be dissolved because their members could no longer afford to commit the necessary time. Making the transition from student life to employment and starting a family, for example, is a difficult time in young people's lives at which to become involved in such associations. Few organisations report experience of applying for financial support from the state. On the whole, voluntary support for technical development projects in Colombia was considered by our respondents to be difficult to combine with a private life and work commitments in Germany and confined to those with substantial financial resources. In some cases, associations wanted to professionalise their involvement in development activities but thought there were limited opportunities for paid employment in development cooperation.

2.2 Transnational entrepreneurship

Colombian expatriates in Germany maintain entrepreneurial links with their country of origin in many different ways. Our interviewees mentioned models for transnational entrepreneurial action from Germany and examples of start-ups by former expatriates who have returned to Colombia.

⁴⁰ CIM is jointly run by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH and the International Placement Services (ZAV) of the Federal Employment Agency. See also Section 4.1.

Most Colombian nationals in Germany are employed on a salaried basis (see Section 1.2). Their cultural knowledge, Spanish language skills and professional networks means that a group of them work in global businesses, holding positions in which they build bridges between markets. As traders or bankers, and in marketing or sales, Colombian nationals working in large corporations and in small and medium-sized enterprises are helping to develop business links and undertakings between Colombia, Latin America and Germany. Professional and private networks in Colombia also help to implement individual business ideas in Germany. Self-employed Colombian nationals use their social capital and their local knowledge to import foodstuffs or handicrafts from Colombia, for example, and to sell them on or offer them in their own restaurants and fashion and ethnic craft shops.⁴¹ Interviewees indicated that long-term trade links with partners in Colombia and principles of fair trade were extremely important in such ventures.

Our respondents also cited many different examples of Colombian entrepreneurs in Germany who run businesses in Colombia from Germany. Some of them bring entrepreneurial skills from Colombia, particularly skills gained in family businesses. And while some migrant businesses failed during the economic crisis in the late 1990s, others continue to be managed from within the diaspora. The individuals doing this are not always paid, and the support of family members living locally is often crucial. One respondent, for example, runs a medical practice in her home town with her sister; she set up the business before she migrated to Germany and continues to carry out administrative responsibilities that do not require her to be in Colombia. Other examples cited include tourism and catering businesses that expatriates run with their families. The expatriates help to keep these businesses going not only with capital input but also with new ideas and with the transfer of the technical skills they have acquired abroad, securing employment for local people. Other Colombian entrepreneurs make effective transnational use of country-specific skills to build a professional profile

both in their country of origin and in their destination country. As tax advisors, lawyers or intercultural trainers, for example, they offer their services in both Germany and Colombia, helping to get new businesses off the ground in Colombia, for example as a subsidiary of a German company.

By contrast with the Moroccan diaspora, for example, Colombian expatriates in Germany see the geographical distance from their home country as a major challenge to running cross-border businesses.⁴² Not infrequently, they use their annual leave to maintain contacts and professional activities back in Colombia, which costs both time and money that not all Colombian migrants have. Some entrepreneurs also told us that it is difficult to gain access from Germany to information held by Colombian authorities and that they would like to see measures to develop the skills and expertise of Colombian consulates in Germany.

Alongside entrepreneurial activities in Germany, transnational **entrepreneurship by returning Colombians** is a further strategy used to gain a professional foothold in Colombia. Professional experience and the cultural and technical expertise gained abroad, along with networks, are integral elements of business ideas. Our respondents cited examples of returning entrepreneurs from among their circle of friends and acquaintances. One returnee, for example, set up his own renewable energy business and is using his expertise in photovoltaic technology to expand the family business. Respondents also cited a number of examples in the tourism sector. Tourism, they told us, was regarded as a sector of the future, because tourism to Colombia is growing and because it benefits from investment-friendly legislation. These entrepreneurs acquired most of their clients in Germany or other German-speaking countries. Respondents cited returning migrants who had set up a tourist agency, taken over running a hotel or were organising tours in their region of origin, for example.

⁴¹ Bourdieu (1983) describes social capital as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group'.

⁴² See Schüttler (2007) on transnational businesses run from Germany by Moroccan expatriates.

The decision to return to Colombia comes after personal factors and professional opportunities, both in the country of origin and in the destination country, have been weighed up. Our interviewees, who included a returning entrepreneur, were asked about their ambitions and motives for returning and about the opportunities and challenges in relation to securing professional integration and setting up a business in Colombia. Overall, these returnees acknowledge the progress that Colombia has made in terms of security and economic growth. A general feeling of missing family members and the Colombian mind-set have to be weighed up against the high cost of living, especially the substantial cost of education and childcare. Expertise in other markets and language skills acquired abroad are seen as an asset in reintegrating back in Colombia, but inadequate or lost contacts and connections in the country of origin are perceived as a challenge. Students in particular regard a lack of professional experience as an obstacle to finding employment. Colombian expatriates in employment compare working conditions in Colombia with those in Germany, citing low pay and an expectation that they will do overtime in Colombia as against secure employment and good social security in Germany as reasons for staying in Germany. The business climate, economic growth and the opportunities this growth is creating in Colombia are viewed as positive in relation to business start-ups. The major obstacles to returning include a shortage of capital and contacts, inadequate support from state agencies, and the expectation of bureaucratic difficulties. Our interviewees also pointed to the need to give those starting up businesses an opportunity to submit their business ideas to a 'reality check' before they return to Colombia, and to gauge their likelihood of success on the basis of market research and a business plan.

2.3 Remittances

Data from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) show that Colombia is one of the largest recipients in Latin America of remittances from migrants, exceeded only by Mexico, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic and El Salvador (IDB 5/2015).43 Remittances by Colombian expatriates totalled USD 4.1 billion in 2014, increasing by 24 per cent since 2005 (Banco de la República 2015). The value to the economy of these remittances has fallen, however: as a proportion of Colombia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), they fell from 3.3 per cent in 2005 to 1.2 per cent in 2014, while as a proportion of Colombia's exports, they fell from 15.9 per cent in 2005 to 6.3 per cent in 2011.44 By comparison with other Latin American countries, the proportion of GDP accounted for by remittances is broadly comparable with the figure for Peru and Panama (less than 2 per cent), but diverges substantially from countries such as El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua, where remittances account for between 15 per cent and 20 per cent of GDP (Ramírez/Mendoza 2013).

In 2014, Colombian migrants in Germany made remittances to Colombia worth a total of USD 44 million, broadly comparable with those from Colombian expatriates in Switzerland and France. The highest remittances to Colombia from European countries come from Spain, the United Kingdom and Italy (Table 5). The growing number of Colombian migrants in Germany (Section 2.1) suggests that the total value of remittances from Germany has risen over the past 10 years, almost doubling between 2005 and 2014 (Figure 4). Its value as a proportion of total remittances to Colombia by migrants around the world has also risen over the past 10 years, from 0.72 per cent to 1.07 per cent, illustrating the increasing importance of monies remitted by Colombian expatriates in Germany to their home country.

⁴³ Remittances to Latin America from migrants totalled USD 23.6 billion to Mexico, USD 5.5 billion to Guatemala, USD 4.5 billion to the Dominican Republic and USD 4.2 billion to El Salvador (IDB 5/2015).

⁴⁴ Our own calculations, based on remittance data for Colombian nationals provided by the Banco de la República (2015) and estimates of Colombia's GDP by Germany Trade & Invest, the foreign trade and inward investment agency of the Federal Republic of Germany (2014). The relative proportions of GDP and export volume for 2005 are taken from calculations by Khoudour-Castéras (2007). The proportion of export volume for 2011 is taken from calculations by Ramírez/Mendoza (2012).

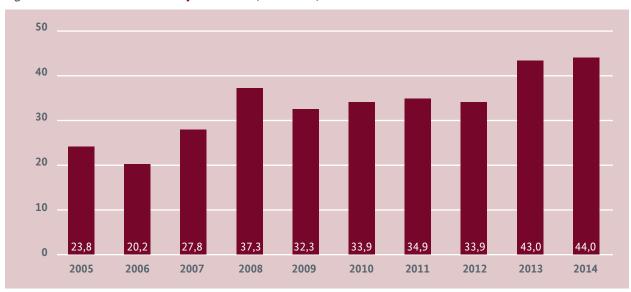


Table 5: Remittances to Colombia by country, 2014, in USD million

	Country	Amount		Country	Amount
1	USA	1.685	11	Peru	58
2	Spain	886	12	Venezuela	51
3	Panama	151	13	Switzerland	50
4	Chile	144	14	France	47
5	UK	121	15	Germany	44
6	Italy	106	16	Brazil	40
7	Canada	93			
8	Mexico	72		Other	413
9	Ecuador	71			
10	Costa Rica	61		Total	4.093

Source: Banco de la República 2015; author's own compilation.

Figure 4: Remittances from Germany to Colombia, 2005-2014, in USD million



Source: Banco de la República 2015; author's own compilation.

No research is available on the use made of remittances from Germany to Colombia. Surveys of remittances made by Colombian expatriates in Spain and the USA show that the money is used mainly to purchase everyday consumer goods and for recurrent costs, such as food and public services (65 per cent and 59 per cent respectively)⁴⁵ or for rent (16 per cent and 11 per cent respectively). Expendi-

45 That is, 65 per cent of remittances from Spain and 59 per cent of remittances from the USA are used wholly or partially for these purposes. ture on education (38 per cent and 30 per cent respectively) and health (30 per cent and 26 per cent respectively) was also comparatively important, with only a small proportion of remittances being saved (5 per cent and 4 per cent respectively) (Garay 2009).

The contribution that remittances make to development is controversial, in relation to Colombia and other countries. Since many recipients in Colombia live below the poverty line, observers point out that remittances have a high degree of potential to reduce poverty, not least

because they go directly to households, circumventing corruption.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the literature points out that migration is a lower middle-class phenomenon and that because the poorest households do not benefit from it, this merely reinforces social inequality. This argument is supported by research showing that most Colombian migrants do not come from poor regions, such as Chocó, Cauca or Nariño, and that most remittances go to industrialised regions, such as Bogotá, Antioquía and Valle de Cauca (Khoudour-Castéras 2007). There is insufficient research on the influence that remittances have on conflict development and peace building in Colombia. Kurtenbach is ambivalent about their role, arguing that the money sent by expatriates at least helps the victims of violence to survive but that this means that the Colombian state does not fulfil its social responsibility (Kurtenbach 2004).

2.4 Student migration and knowledge transfer

The most recent wave of migration from Colombia to Germany has been accounted for largely by student migration (see Section 1.2). After the USA, Spain and France, Germany is the most popular destination for Colombians wishing to study abroad (DAAD 2013). In 2013, almost 10 per cent of all Colombians studying abroad were enrolled at German universities, with a significant proportion studying at Masters or PhD level.⁴⁷ Highly qualified Colombian nationals are also employed in German research institutions: in 2009, for example, 51 Colombians were working as visiting scholars at one of the Max Planck institutes, rising to 68 by 2011.⁴⁸

The growing number of **Colombian students and visiting scholars** reflects a general increase in the interest of German and Colombian universities and research institutes in stepping up exchanges. Information provided by the Colombian Embassy shows that over the last three and a half years, 140 Memorandums of Understanding (MoUs) have been signed between Colombian and German universities. Joint conferences also help to create an appropriate infrastructure for network building and technical

exchange; these include the 'Deutsch-Kolumbianisches Forum zur Innovationsförderung' ('German-Colombian Forum for Promoting Innovation') run by the Universidad de los Andes and the University of Potsdam in 2012 in Bogotá and the 2015 'Kolumbien-Tag' ('Colombia Day') organised by the University of Bayreuth, which attracted 120 Colombian and German experts in areas as varied at biotechnology and biodiversity, marine research, sustainable cities, health, and tropical diseases.⁴⁹

Knowledge transfer and cooperation arrangements are supported at the highest political level. When the President of Colombia made a state visit to Germany in April 2011, the two Governments announced a formal initiative to increase cooperation in the areas of education, science, research and innovation. Against this backdrop, an MoU was signed between the German Research Foundation (DFG) and COLCIENCIAS. It was accompanied by a framework agreement between Colombia's vocational education and training agency 'Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje' (SENA) and the German Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training (BIBB) and an agreement on cooperation in the area of education and training between the 'Instituto Colombiano de Crédito Educativo y Estudios en el Exterior' (ICETEX), the Colombian body providing financial support for education and training abroad, and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).50 DAAD had already stepped up its activities in relation to Colombia in the run-up to the agreement: 153 Colombian nationals were awarded DAAD funding in 2000, rising to 634 in 2010 and to 783 in 2013.51

^{46 64} per cent of recipients in the Metropolitan Area of the Midwest administrative region ('Área metropolitana de Centro Occidente') live below the poverty line (Khoudour-Castéras 2007).

⁴⁷ In 2013, a total of 24,146 Colombian nationals were studying abroad (DAAD 2013).

⁴⁸ http://www.bmbf.de/de/20976.php (accessed 30 April 2015)

⁴⁹ http://www.uni-protokolle.de/nachrichten/id/244974/ (30.04.2015); http://www.kooperation-international.de/en/detail/info/kolumbientag-in-bayreuth-spannt-forschungsbruecke-von-deutschland-nachsuedamerika.html (accessed 30 April 2015)

⁵⁰ http://alemania.embajada.gov.co/de/kolumbien/instrumente_vereinbarungen (accessed 5 May 2015)

⁵¹ It should be noted that the proportion of German students receiving funding to study at education and training establishments in Colombia has also risen. According to DAAD, almost 200 German students were enrolled in Colombian universities in 2014. German students' increasing interest in studying in Colombia was perceived as positive by the Colombian interviewees. For further information on DAAD statistics and DAAD's Colombian partner organisations, see: http://www.kooperation-international.de/buf/kolumbien/kooperationen/deutsche-programme.html, http://www.daad.co/es/13125/index.html (accessed 16 April 2015), and DAAD (2013).

International students and researchers from developing countries and emerging economies are perceived as important mediators of knowledge and development actors. The cooperation landscape and funding architecture between Colombia and Germany and the significant interest on the part of highly skilled Colombian nationals in enhancing their academic and professional profiles in Germany demonstrate substantially greater potential for development-related knowledge transfer in this area. Interviews conducted as part of the study also identified challenges that make knowledge transfer as part of Colombian student migration more difficult and showed clearly that these challenges apply both to Colombia itself and to migrants' destination countries.

The numbers of Colombian nationals studying at German educational establishments should not be equated with the numbers who graduate. Our interviewees reported instances of Colombian nationals studying in Germany without bursaries or financial support from their families who were unable to complete their studies. Irrespective of their financial situation, these students also faced challenges in terms of the language skills required to complete a programme of study. A popular migration pattern, including for students, is immigration to Germany as an au pair, which enables migrants to learn German. However, it is predominantly young adults who take up this option.

In relation to knowledge networks, it should be noted that Colombian students and researchers in Germany are largely un-networked (see Section 1.3). Respondents perceived networking in different ways: some saw it as an obstacle to integration in Germany, but others saw it as a resource for professional development and professional integration that would be particularly useful for returnees to Colombia. One positive example of networking cited by respondents was DAAD's involvement in supporting networking across Germany of all recipients of DAAD funding through social gatherings for bursary holders.

There are many successful examples of Colombian graduates from German universities going on to development-related posts in Colombian research institutions, companies or state agencies. However, it should be noted that graduates continue to find it difficult to become professionally established in Colombia. In general, our respondents rated **post-return opportunities** for appropriate employment as poor. They emphasised the huge importance of personal and professional contacts in securing integration in Colombia, stressing that a lack of professional integration also made it difficult for returnees to repay their student loans and forced them to accept employment for which they were over-qualified.

Scope for cooperation between the Colombian diaspora and Colombian-German development cooperation

3.1 Portfolio of Colombian-German development cooperation in relation to the Colombian diaspora in Germany

The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH has been working in Colombia since 1965.⁵² On behalf of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the Federal Foreign Office (AA) and the Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety (BMUB), GIZ supports projects involving Government, civil society and private sector partners in Colombia. The Colombian and German Governments have defined the following three priority areas for their cooperation:

- **1** peace building/crisis prevention;
- 2 environmental policy, protection and sustainable management of natural resources;
- **3** sustainable economic promotion.

The Colombian-German development cooperation portfolio includes instruments relevant to migration. Colombia is one of the 26 priority countries in the 'Migration and Development Programme' (PME) run by the Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM), which is jointly run by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH and the Federal Employment Agency (BA).⁵³ The objective of the PME is to promote the development potential of international migration for the benefit of migrants, their country of origin and their destination country. The transfer of knowledge and expertise by migrants and their organisations to their countries of origin is crucial. The PME has four main areas of activity.

The 'Cooperation with diaspora organisations' area supports the implementation of development-related projects in migrants' countries of origin by organisations that are registered in Germany and a majority of whose members have a migration background. In Colombia, two agri-business projects have so far been implemented on the Pacific coast by the 'Deutsch-Kolumbianischer Freundeskreis e.V.'. In the 'Knowledge-sharing by returning experts' area, the PME also provides advice and support to graduates and experts with professional experience who have decided to return to their country of origin and engage in development activities there. In June 2015, 26 returning experts in Colombia were receiving support through a top-up to their local salary. Some of these experts are working in universities and research institutes, such as the 'Centro Internacional de Agricultura Tropical' (CIAT - 'International Center for Tropical Agriculture'), government ministries and agencies, including COLCIENCIAS, and social institutions and non-governmental organisations, such as the Colombian partner association 'Fundación Escuela para la Vida', which is part of the 'Schule fürs Leben' project initiated in Germany (see Section 3.1). Entrepreneurs planning to set up their own business in their country of origin are able to obtain support through the 'Business ideas for development' area. Since 2015, advisory services have been available for Colombia as well as Cameroon, Georgia, Indonesia and Morocco, including help with drawing up a business plan.54 Through the 'Migration policy advice' area, finally, selected partner countries receive support with making development-oriented improvements to their migration framework. At the time of going to press, it was unclear whether this area of activity will in future be extended to Colombia as part of a structured process. Diaspora actors also receive support from GIZ's general information service on action in areas related to development activities. One example is the price comparison website GeldtransFAIR.de, which offers comparisons of the cost of money transfers to 21 countries. This provision is not yet available in Colombia.55

⁵² www.giz.de/de/weltweit/397.html (accessed 30 April 2015). For the English version, see http://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/397.html.

⁵³ www.cimonline.de (accessed 30 April 2015). For the English version, see www.cimonline.de/en.

⁵⁴ www.geschaeftsideen-fuer-entwicklung.de (accessed 30 April 2015)

⁵⁵ www.geldtransfair.de (accessed 30 April 2015)

3.2 Recommendations for action

The Colombian diaspora in Germany is growing and, with it, its importance for Colombia's development. The Colombian diaspora in Germany is very diverse and represents wide-ranging potential for development in the country, offering various approaches to cooperation for Colombian-German development cooperation organisations. On the basis of the findings presented in this study in relation to transnational action by Colombian expatriates in Germany, we make the following recommendations to the CIM 'Migration and Development Programme' (PME) and further development cooperation institutions that support development activities by migrants in German development cooperation partner countries. We have identified six possible areas of cooperation with actors from the Colombian diaspora.

Initiating networking and dialogue

The diversity of the Colombian diaspora is reflected in the fact that Colombian expatriates in Germany are largely un-networked and unorganised. Respondents from the diaspora also explain this in terms of a general lack of confidence resulting from conflict in their country of origin. Support for social initiatives and for development projects in Colombia tends to come from private sources or from migrant organisations that are largely unknown beyond the local radius. In general terms, the Colombian diaspora in Germany is broadly unaware of the many different individual initiatives in place.

An initial step would be to invite actors involved in development activities to demonstrate their commitment and, as a second step, to support them in sharing their experience and developing tools for a long-term exchange in the area of activities related to their country of origin. One way of initiating dialogue is a diaspora workshop aimed mainly at helping participants to get to know each other, offering scope for presenting existing initiatives and projects and new ideas. Such a workshop would also enable participants to identify the requirements for, and forms of, ongoing exchange. The following proposals and their viability could be discussed:

- Development of an online database and platform for exchange in relation to country of origin-oriented development activity in Colombia. Such a database would make it possible to publicise initiatives, solicit support and pinpoint potential for cooperation. We recommend researching the scope for linking the database to existing online diaspora networks.
- 2 A pilot project in the area of cooperative administration of a diaspora donation pool into which small initiatives in Germany can pay donations and sponsorship money, pooling their resources to provide long-term support for jointly selected projects.
- 3 Organisation of a Colombia conference with the aim of demonstrating opportunities for supporting engagement by and networking between Colombian diaspora actors, migrant organisations and other civil society organisations, and state actors in Colombian-German development cooperation.

Developing cooperation with transmigrants

The Colombian diaspora in Germany is characterised by private individuals who are involved in development activities in their country of origin, supporting projects out of their own pockets and using their professional networks to initiate new development projects. According to our interviewees, private projects may be very professional. In the case of the Colombian diaspora, we therefore recommend cooperation with private individuals as well as migrant organisations and support for knowledge transfer to underpin their efforts to implement projects relevant to development in their country of origin and boost their contribution to development.

Capacity building and awareness-raising of peacebuilding activities

Many migrant organisations in which Colombian nationals are involved have experience of financial cooperation with project partners in Colombia, in particular in relation to education and children's aid projects. The first few technical projects have also now been implemented by migrants from the Colombian diaspora from Germany.

With a focus on opening up opportunities for education and development for children and young people from disadvantaged families, members of the Colombian diaspora in Germany represent significant potential for helping to secure lasting peace in Colombia.

One way of professionalising such involvement more generally would be through financial cooperation for training in fundraising and the acquisition of state finance. Colombian stakeholders need to be made more aware of existing capacity building provision. In the area of technical cooperation, exchanges between experienced and interested actors and organisations should be supported and consideration given to ways of equipping projects launched on a voluntary basis with human resources to help them provide technical and project planning support to projects in Colombia; this would avoid over-burdening volunteers and ensure long-term implementation. Meanwhile, individual development of concepts for distributing the work within migrant organisations in relation to current projects can also support those involved in development activities in sharing the responsibility more equitably and relieving the workload on individuals.

Colombia has had more than 50 years of armed conflict, although there are signs that peace is now being built. Against this backdrop, it is also very important to raise awareness among Colombian expatriates involved in development activities of initiatives in the country that both promote and inhibit peace. A further important recommendation is to create provision for auditing concrete projects or funded project partners in relation to activities that exacerbate conflict and to support them in monitoring results.

Paving the way for labour market integration at an early stage

Germany has become a popular destination country for students and researchers from Colombia. Difficult labour market conditions in Colombia, but also in Germany, are a particular obstacle to the wider potential that student migration represents for development-oriented knowledge transfer. A successful transition from academic study or further training to employment may, for example, be supported through development of mentoring systems in both countries. We recommend consideration of a mentoring system run by diaspora actors from the private sector and from higher education and research, with support from migrant organisation, to give interested Colombian educational migrants or returning students an opportunity for support in their efforts to integrate into the German or Colombian labour market. Such support could be offered on a volunteer basis by an individual working in the same area of technical expertise, with mentors responding to individual needs and offering support particularly with building professional networks. In Colombia, members of alumni organisations such as ASPA and ASPREA could be recruited to build a mentoring system.

Realising entrepreneurial potential

Colombians have a wide range of entrepreneurial expertise that they deploy on a transnational basis in both Germany and Colombia. Colombian entrepreneurs increasingly see their home country as an attractive country of return. The 'Business ideas for development' area of the PME provides support that is closely tailored to the needs of Colombian start-ups: in particular, potential returnees value the opportunity to have their business ideas assessed professionally for prospects of success before they take the decision to return. One possible area for advice in the context of Colombian entrepreneurship might be the resumption or expansion of family businesses. Consideration should also be given to minimising the financial burden on returnees in the early stages of starting up a business by providing financial support, such as contributions to the cost of childcare or education for their children.

Implementing diaspora policy measures in Germany

Since early 2000, the Colombian Government has increasingly viewed Colombian nationals living, working and studying abroad as development actors. Current efforts are focusing on putting migration issues on an institutional footing and on implementing programmes and projects to improve the livelihoods of Colombian nationals living abroad and promote the contribution they make to development. Diaspora actors in Germany have so far not been the main focus of these measures. However, against the backdrop of an expanding Colombian diaspora in Germany and the potential its members represent

in the areas of country of origin-related development, transnational entrepreneurship, remittances, student migration, and knowledge transfer, state institutions such as 'Colombia Nos Une' and 'COLCIENCIAS', along with the Colombian Embassy in Berlin, are stepping up their efforts to highlight the development potential of deeper cooperation with Colombian nationals in Germany. Cooperation in the areas of developing Colombian consulates into advisory and service agencies in the aforementioned areas and the development of dialogue with diaspora actors in such forms as thematic fora, is one potential way of implementing Colombian-German development cooperation.

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Annex

Institutions, associations and initiatives interviewed

- **1** Action pro colombia e.V.
- 2 Amigos de América Latina e.V.
- 3 AMIKAL center for educational and cultural exchange e.V.
- 4 Bildung gegen Armut in Kolumbien e.V.
- 5 Botschaft der Republik Kolumbien, Berlín
- 6 Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM)
- 7 Círculo Latino Arbeitskreis der lateinamerikanischen Vereine Baden Württemberg e.V.
- 8 Colombia Carnaval e.V.
- 9 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH Global Business Exchange Programme
- 10 Deutsch-Kolumbianischer Freundeskreis e.V.
- 11 Industrie- und Handelskammer, Karlsruhe
- 12 kolko Menschenrechte für Kolumbien e.V.
- 13 Lateinamerika Verein e.V. (LAV) business network
- 14 moveGLOBAL e.V. Berliner Verband migrantischer-diasporischer Organisationen in der Einen Welt
- 15 Ojalá diaspora journal
- 16 PROCOLOMBIA Central Europe Exports, Tourism, Investment, Country Brand, Frankfurt am Main
- 17 Schule fürs Leben e.V.





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