4.3. France

France has a long-standing tradition in reflecting on and implementing projects in the realm of M&D, for instance via the ‘co-development’ concept dating back to the 90s, as well as with the more recent ‘solidarity development’\textsuperscript{120} approach. Recently, return and reintegration have gained weight on the co-development agenda and are mainly implemented via the increased focus on reintegration aid. However, subjects such as circular migration remain quasi virtually absent in the French discourse. PCD on migration and development is ensured through an Inter-Ministerial Committee for International Cooperation and Development (CICID) and a 2011 framework document for the French development cooperation describing how French authorities should ensure PCD.

Since 2007, France’s engagement in this area has gained weight through the allocation of a 30 million Euro budget for Program 301 in charge of conceiving M&D projects. Another crucial instrument of France’s M&D policy since 2007 has been the signature of ‘concerted management agreements for migration flows and co-development’\textsuperscript{121} with countries of origin, aiming at simultaneously facilitating human mobility, encouraging temporary migration and stimulating the return of competences and investments in order to favour local development. The French M&D perspective is dominated by diaspora engagement, and indeed France is a pioneer in involving diaspora communities in its development actions. 2012 policy documents reorient France’s M&D approach towards two main priorities: the transfer of knowledge and remittances. The 2012 elections triggered an administrative shift of Program 301 from the Ministry of Interior towards the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a shift which may lead to substantial changes in the future. Concerning its participation in the international fora on M&D, France is actively contributing to a wide range of dialogues and partnerships that aim at elaborating and fostering the links between migration and development policies, especially with its European partners and with countries in the Mediterranean area and in sub-Sahara Africa.

4.3.1. The Migration and Development concept

France studied the linkage between migration and development for a long time before this topic was discussed in international fora. In 1997, the Inter-ministerial Delegate for Co-development and International Migration, Sami Nair, issued a guidance report on co-development policy related to migration.\textsuperscript{122} The report suggested a theoretical framework, as well as precise objectives and an action-oriented methodology for managing migratory

\textsuperscript{120} Original in French: “Développement solidaire”.
\textsuperscript{121} Original in French: “Accord de gestion concertée des flux migratoires et de développement solidaire”
flows in a development approach. Affirming that “immigration is a vector for solidarity with poor countries”, the report suggests a co-development policy articulated around the following main axes:

1. Managing legal migration via migration contingents and the signature of co-development agreements with partner countries;
2. Supporting development projects in important regions of origin by involving migrants;
3. Strengthening the decentralized approach to co-development by fostering actions of local authorities, and of associated organisations and/or services;
4. Enabling students and young professionals towards co-development by helping them with studies and working experience in France on a circular migratory basis;
5. Facilitating productive investment of migrants’ savings.

The framework elaborated in this report aimed at simultaneously enhancing migrants’ integration in France and improving social conditions in the countries of origin in order to incite potential migrants to stay at home. Affirming that “migration is a micro-economic instrument for development”, the report hence suggests to mainstream migration into France’s development policy.

On October 8th, 2003, Pierre André Wiltzer, the Minister Delegate for Cooperation and Francophony, presented a *Communiqué to the Council of Ministers* which defines the two main axes of French co-development policy:

1. Channelling migrants’ savings towards productive investment in their countries of origin;
2. Mobilising the highly qualified diaspora for the benefit of the countries of origin.

On January 26th, 2005, another *Communiqué of the Council of Ministers* lays down a definition of co-development, defining it as “every development aid action, regardless of its nature and the sector within which it intervenes, where migrants living in France participate, regardless the modalities of their participation”123. This policy document adds two other axes to France’s co-development policy:

1. Supporting local development projects in the main regions of origin;
2. Fostering the development of reintegration aid for voluntarily returning migrants.

The French notion of co-development limits the notion of the M&D approach, as it is mainly about integrating diaspora communities in development projects and not about creating broader synergies between migration and development policies.

In 2008, the French government further developed its approach by introducing the notion of ’solidarity development’, which widens the initial co-development concept: “Whereas co-development only focuses on supporting migrant initiatives, solidarity development concerns all development actions that are susceptible to contributing to controlling migration flows”124. Solidarity development consists of two main actions:

1. Co-development actions, as defined in the 2005 communiqué, aiming at involving migrants and diasporas (i.e. local development of regions with

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heavy migration, reduction of costs of migrants’ remittances, promotion of migrants’ business investment, valorisation of diasporas’ expertise).

2. Sectoral development aid actions in regions with high emigration to France, aiming at promoting economic and social development in countries of origin (i.e. improvements in living conditions: health, education, training, governance, etc.).

France’s co-development policy is mainly orientated towards engaging the diaspora in development projects in their countries of origin. In this field, France is undoubtedly one of the countries with the most experience and expertise, with extremely well organised and institutionalised diaspora communities. Recently, return and reintegration have gained weight on the co-development agenda and are mainly implemented via the increased focus on reintegration assistance. However, themes such as circular migration remain virtually absent in the French discourse. It seems therefore that France’s focus is on how development can facilitate the national labour market instead of how migration can boost development in the countries of origin.

Recent policy documents reorient France’s M&D approach towards two main priorities: the transfer of knowledge and of remittances. One can read in the annex to the 2012 Finance Bill on France’s transversal development policy25: “Migrants represent a twofold, important development potential for their countries of origin via the:

- Competences that they have acquired: One knows that brain drain concerns all southern countries and is one of the main obstacles to their development. Instead, co-development is a form of ‘brain return’.
- Savings they accumulate: Financial transfers from migrant workers towards their countries of origin are considerable (on a national scale, the amount is at least as high as the public development aid). This has pushed the French government to implement mechanisms for productive investment in the countries of origin.”

The projects implemented under the solidarity development approach therefore mainly target labour migrants and returning migrants and focus on the transfer of remittances and knowledge.

4.3.2. Institutional framework and policy coherence for Migration and Development

In a first attempt to deal with the M&D issue, the French government created the ‘Inter-ministerial Mission on Co-development and International Migration’ in 1997, which led to a series of policy proposals and theorisations. In 2002, a Delegated Ambassador to Co-development was created and attached administratively to the Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs and functionally to the Minister Delegate for Cooperation and Francophony.

Before 2007, the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs was exclusively in charge of development aid. During the presidency of Nicolas Sarkozy (2007-2012), France engaged more actively in the M&D nexus leading to the creation of a ministry dedicated inter alia to solidarity development in May 2007: the Ministry of Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Solidarity Development. At the time, the idea was to create a ministry in charge of the whole migration chain, covering

all domains from immigration and return to integration and co-development. Also, the signature of ‘concerted management agreements for migration flows and co-development’ was accelerated under Sarkozy’s presidency.

From 2008 to 2010, the Programme 301 “Solidarity development and migrations” was administered by the Ministry of Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Solidarity Development. When the ministry was dissolved in November 2010 and integrated into the Ministry of Interior, the Programme 301 was shifted to the Unit of international affairs and solidarity development (SAIDS) within the Ministry of the Interior. As a consequence of the 2012 presidential and legislative elections in France, this programme was shifted from the Ministry of the Interior towards the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There, a special “Migration and Development Unit” under the supervision of the Minister Delegate for Development has been in charge of it since January 2013. Moreover, since 2009 the “Migration and Development Editor” within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is in charge of the follow-up to international, European and multilateral conferences on this topic.

Concerning PCD, France has reinforced its commitments in the conclusions of the Inter-Ministerial Committee for International Cooperation and Development (CICID), whose role is to ensure policy coherence, since its meeting on June 5th 2009. The CICID, chaired by the Prime Minister and run jointly by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the Economy and Finance and the Ministry of the Interior, is responsible for the definition and implementation of development policies that contribute to migration control. It comprises three programmes: Programme 301 “Solidarity development and migrations” currently under the Ministry of Interior and since 2013 under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Programme 209 “solidarity towards developing countries” under the Ministry of Foreign and European affairs, and Programme 110 “Economic and financial aid to development” under the Ministry of Economy and Finance. In particular, the CICID has decided that countries which have signed a “concerted management agreement for migration flows and co-development” will benefit from a preferential treatment within the French public development aid. However, this indirect conditionality may be dropped as a consequence of the 2012 political change in France.

France’s commitment to PCD is also highlighted in the 2011 framework document “Development Cooperation: a French Vision”\textsuperscript{126}, proposing a vision for the next ten years of French development cooperation and describing how French authorities should ensure PCD. In this framework document, the French government highlights the need for a stronger linkage between migration and development at bilateral and multilateral levels as well: “The implementation of this global approach requires coherence at two levels: first, between migration regulation and development assistance in the framework of partnerships between the country of origin and the host country and, second, in terms of harmonisation between host countries (national legal regulations on individual mobility and residence and integration policies).”

PCD is not only seen as a strategic topic discussed on ministerial level, but is also taken into account on an implementation level via a decentralised approach. Embassies, together with the French Development Agency (FDA),

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are in charge of assuring PCD between the different development projects that are done in their respective countries.

In order to guarantee policy coherence and success for the projects implemented under Programme 301, the Ministry of Interior has elaborated three success criteria:\n
1. Knowledge of the diaspora: exchange of needs and expectations before the project in order to guarantee their adhesion to and confidence in the project;
2. Selection of the partners: choosing NGOs or institutional partners that are capable of implementing ambitious projects and that are the closest possible to the target population;
3. Coherence of actions: identifying national needs and strategies in order to adapt the project to already existing development actions and developing South-South experience exchanges.

4.3.3. Operationalising the Migration and Development policy

France has a decentralised approach to the selection and implementation of solidarity development projects. Local authorities can engage in bilateral cooperation and support projects presented by migrants living in France; prefectures can be mobilized to identify and inform migrants’ associations and to give advice on decentralized cooperation projects involving migrants; finally embassies can be in charge of the implementation of development actions within the framework of concerted management agreements.

Currently, projects running under budget line 1 of Programme 301 (i.e. multilateral cooperation) are mainly implemented with international partners such as the World Bank or the African Development Bank. The authority in charge of budget line 2 (i.e. reintegration aids) is the French Office for Immigration and Integration (OFII). Projects implemented under budget line 3 of Programme 301, (i.e. bilateral cooperation) are mainly executed by the French Development Agency (FDA), which pilots publicly financed development projects in cooperation with NGOs, associative actors and local communities in the countries of origin, as well as in France.

FDA is the main implementing actor of France’s development policy and hence also of M&D projects. Although attached to the Ministry of Interior, FDA has some flexibility and independence in the implementation of projects. Their M&D strategy aims at further mainstreaming migration issues into FDA’s sectorial development strategies. For instance, FDA projects focus not only on the effect of international South-North migration on local development, but also on the impact of internal South-South migration. Hence, while the ministerial approach to M&D considers development policies a tool for migration management, FDA focuses more on the impact migrants can have on the local development of their regions of origin.

France’s M&D policy is currently implemented under Programme 301 of the transversal public development aid policy. It was created by the 2008 Finance Bill and entitled “Co-development” with a view to attaining the 2015

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Millennium Development Goals and implementing the 2005 EU Global Approach to Migration. The strategic orientations of the programme are laid down in a report issued by the Inter-ministerial Committee on the Control of Immigration in December 2006, and correspond to the four axes of the 2005 communiqué:

1. Promotion of productive investment in countries of origin;
2. Mobilization of migrant elite and diaspora competences;
3. Implementation of local development projects;
4. Strengthening of reintegration aid for returning migrants in their countries of origin.

Since 2009, Programme 301 runs under the name “Solidarity development and migrations” and aligns its activities with the conclusions of the European Pact on Immigration and Asylum, adopted by the European Council on October 15th and 16th, 2008, as well as with the orientations defined by the 2008 Paris Declaration on Aid Efficiency. Actions funded under Programme 301 should hence contribute to one of the programme’s five priorities:

1. Developing employment in the countries of origin;
2. Improving living conditions for women and children;
3. Improving the general environment via local development;
4. Protecting the rights of potential asylum seekers on site;
5. Reducing the transfer costs of migrants’ remittances.

Programme 301 is divided into three budget lines:\n
1. Multilateral cooperation via international organisms, which aim to trigger productive activities in countries of origin, in particular francophone and sub-Saharan Africa, by supporting sectoral policies and co-development activities linked to the transfer of migrants’ remittances.
2. Reintegration and resettlement assistance via the French Immigration and Integration Office OFII in order to support projects led by the diaspora or by voluntarily returning migrants which will benefit the socioeconomic development of their home country.
3. Bilateral cooperation via the signature of ‘concerted management agreements for migration flows and co-development’ with partner countries, but also via cooperation with the French Development Agency AFD, and with associations, companies and regional authorities in order to create local development initiatives.

Given the results of the 2012 elections, it was not clear at the time of writing if Programme 301 will be continued after 2013 or if it will be merged into the broader Programme 209 “Solidarity towards developing countries” which has an overall budget of 2 million Euro per year.

In the framework of the 2005 EU Global Approach to Migration, France developed another instrument for the implementation of its M&D policy and its cooperation with countries of origin and transit in 2006: the ‘concerted management agreements for migration flows and co-development’.

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132 Original in French: “Accord de gestion concertée des flux migratoires et de développement solidaire”.
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Table 1: M&D spending 2007-2012, France (in million Euro)134

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<tr>
<td>Programme 301: Solidarity development and migration</td>
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<td>23.3</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>30.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Programme 303: Immigration and asylum</td>
<td>292.6</td>
<td>298.8</td>
<td>376.4</td>
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which aim to simultaneously facilitate human mobility, encouraging temporary migration and stimulate the return of competences and investments in the countries of origin in order to favour their development133. It was uncertain at the time of writing whether the existing agreements will be continued or cancelled under the new government elected in 2012.

Concerning the budget available for M&D activities, before 2007 co-development activities accounted for around 3 million Euro per year. With the introduction of Programme 301 in 2008, the French government showed an increased interest in M&D, with an increased budget and a growing number of partner countries.

However, the budget allocated to Programme 301 is much less than to other programmes. In its first year, Programme 301 had been allocated 14.5 million Euro. Since then, the annual budget accounts for around 30 million Euro.

Given that the French Public Development Aid (APD) accounted for 9.3 billion Euro (0.46% of GDP) in 2011, the percentage of budget allocated for M&D purposes accounted for 0.16% of the APD. For comparison, Programme 303 “Immigration and asylum”, which implements France’s management of its foreigners’ mobility and visa policy, the guarantee of the right to asylum and the fight against irregular immigration, has an annual budget of around 300 million Euro. In 2011, the 262.2 million Euro spent on this program accounted for 2.82% of the APD.

Concerning the priority countries for projects on M&D, before 2007, the French co-development policy was mainly directed towards Mali and Senegal, with some pilot projects also implemented in Morocco and the Comoros Islands. Since 2008, the action has been broadened, focusing on countries with important migratory flows to France and/or on countries with which France concluded a “concerted management agreement for migration flows and solidarity development”.

In the 2009 policy document presenting the new solidarity development approach135, 28 priority countries with an obvious geographic priority on the Maghreb, central, sub-Saharan and French-speaking Africa are mentioned: Algeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cap Verde, Cameroon, Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Guinea, Haiti, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Mauritania, Senegal, and Tanzania.

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nia, Niger, Nigeria, Central-African Republic, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Surinam, Chad, Togo, Tunisia, the Comoros Islands and Vietnam.

In 2012, the FDA also established a list of 14 priority countries\textsuperscript{136}, to which it wishes to allocate a minimum of 80\% of the grants and 60\% of FDA's resources: Benin, Burkina Faso, the Comoros Islands, Ghana, Guinea, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Democratic Republic of Congo, Central-African Republic, Senegal, Chad and Togo. Except for Ghana, which is not a priority country for the Ministry of Interior in its solidarity development strategy, the two priority lists perfectly match.

Projects within the M&D realm are funded under Programme 301 and hence are required to contribute to one of the programme's five objectives.\textsuperscript{137} See Annex III.ii. for a list of recent projects. Two types of projects can be considered as particularly successful in having an impact on local development, as they foster local expertise and have a multiplication effect. Hence, FDA would like to increase the number of projects within these thematic areas:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Mobilisation of diaspora competences} for development projects: it supports the creation of positive dynamics and matches between the needs of countries of origin and the competences which their diasporas have acquired.
\item \textit{Creation of productive investment} in countries of origin: it supports investors with an immigration background in France to invest in projects in their countries of origin by increasing the credibility of the projects to fund, and assuring the financial security of the investment. This would demonstrate that investing in countries of origin is a secure investment and hence create a ripple effect.
\end{itemize}

An important lesson learnt is also that the legitimacy of local authorities involved in the project is crucial for the implementation success of development projects.

France works with different kinds of partners in migrants’ countries of origin, subject to its two separate approaches towards implementing co-development projects:

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{In countries where there is a large potential of co-development}, i.e. in countries of origin that have a large diaspora living in France (e.g. Senegal, Mali), France establishes a “Solidarity Development Programme” together with the local authorities: This programme creates an ad-hoc unit within the local administration, comprising local and international experts, and headed jointly by the local authorities and the cooperation services of the French Embassy, who together select and implement co-development projects;
\item \textit{In countries where the potential for co-development is limited}, France adopts a project-based approach: The main cooperation partners here are local associations which implement the selected projects. The implementation agency (often FDA) either targets associations which they would like to support, or associations themselves take the initiative and apply for funding.
\end{enumerate}

\textsuperscript{136} French Development Agency (FDA), viewed on 10 October 2012, http://www.afd.fr/jahia/webdav/site/afd/shared/afd_en_chiffres/graph_06.swf.

The programme approach is preferable because it creates local expertise in dealing with development projects and is hence more sustainable than the project-based approach. However, this approach is linked to higher investment and can therefore not be adopted in all partner countries. Currently, it is mainly used with Senegal, the Comoros Islands and Cameroon, as well as formerly with Mali.

4.3.4. Involvement in international fora on Migration and Development

France is eager to promote its M&D policy on the international and European scene and is very interested in engaging in new partnerships within and without the European Union framework that could strengthen its policy and position. Hence, France is actively contributing to a wide range of dialogues and partnerships that aim to foster the links between migration and development policies, especially with its European partners and with countries in the Mediterranean area and in sub-Saharan Africa. The following actions provide an overview of French activities on the international scene:

4.3.4.1 Intra-European policy developments

France has openly supported the *Global Approach to Migration* since its introduction in European texts in 2005. Under the presidency of Nicolas Sarkozy (2007-2012), France was very eager to push migration management higher on the European agenda and therefore made it a priority during the French presidency of the European Council during the second half of 2008. Under the prompting of France, the European Council adopted the *European Pact on Immigration and Asylum* in October 2008, where the creation of a global partnership with countries of origin and transit in order to favour M&D synergies features as the fifth commitment. The EC has also asked France to contribute to the definition of the financial instrument “migration and asylum” within the European context.

4.3.4.2 Cape Verde Mobility Partnership

France is one of the four member states, together with Spain, Luxembourg and Portugal, which are part of the Cape Verde Mobility Partnership, aiming to build a comprehensive migration management system in the interest of the partner states and the migrants themselves. *Mobility Partnerships* are the EC’s new tool to comprehensively address the M&D issue with countries of origin and transit, and are largely inspired by the French concerted management agreements with countries of origin, elaborated in 2008 and currently signed with 13 countries. Indeed, France is very committed to participating in the elaboration of the Mobility Partnerships, for instance with Morocco and Tunisia.

4.3.4.3 OECD Working Group on Migration

France participates also in the meetings of the OECD Working Group on Migration established in 1996, which is responsible for the Continuous Reporting System on Migration leading to the yearly SOPEMI report on international migration.

4.3.4.4 Euro-African Migration and Development Process (‘Rabat Process’) 

France played an active part in the organization of the first Euro-African Conference on Migration and Development, which was held in Rabat on July 10th and 11th, 2006, and led to the creation of the Rabat Process. France hosted the second conference in November 2008, where a three-year cooperation programme was adopted, insisting on monitoring employment policies and the economic and social development of countries of origin, on encouraging circular migration, supporting the transfer of migrants’ remittances and their
use for development purposes, and promoting links between diaspora, home countries and host country.

4.3.4.5 5+5 Dialogue on Migration
Next to Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia, Italy, Malta, Portugal and Spain, France has been a member of the 5+5 Dialogue since its establishment in 2002.

4.3.4.6 MTM Dialogue
France has been an active member of the informal, inter-regional and intergovernmental MTM Dialogue since its inception in 2002. Initially focusing on transit migration, the MTM has extended its scope over the years to cover the various aspects of irregular and mixed migration, as well as migration and development. France is one of the main donors of projects implemented within the MTM Dialogue and a member of the steering groups for the AMEDIP project (Strengthening African and Middle Eastern Diaspora Policy through South-South Exchange), as well as the i-Map project (Interactive Map on Migration in Africa, the Middle East, and the Mediterranean Region).

4.3.4.7 MME Dialogue
France participates in the meetings of the MME Dialogue established in 2007. The 2011-2013 Action Plan has two main strands: (a) enhancing dialogue, and (b) identifying and implementing concrete actions.

4.3.4.8 EuroMed Migration III
France played a crucial part in the re-launching of the Barcelona Process via Euromed in 2008. The project line on migration, EuroMed Migration I-III, aims to create mechanisms to promote opportunities for legal migration, support for measures to promote the linkage between migration and development and the stepping up of activities to combat people trafficking and irregular immigration, and to manage mixed migration flows.

4.3.4.9 GFMD
France was actively involved in the GFMD process having chaired four round tables and participated in country teams. The government also provided financial resources for the organization of the GFMD. The French government is also a member of the GFMD Steering Group, as well as of the Ad-Hoc Working Group on Policy Coherence, Data and Research.

4.3.4.10 IGC
France signed a funding agreement in November 2011 in order to support ICG in their expertise meeting and information exchange on migration and asylum.
4.3.5. Sources


