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Heritage Tourism and Nostalgia Trade: A Diaspora Niche in the Development Landscape

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DIASPORAS & DEVELOPMENT POLICY PROJECT

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September 2010

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Acknowledgments
The authors thank Yvon Resplandy of the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and Renee Gifford of The QED Group, LLC, for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper, as well as the participants in a USAID/Migration Policy Institute (MPI) roundtable on heritage tourism and nostalgia trade held on June 17, 2010. The authors also thank Manuel Orozco of the Inter-American Dialogue for co-chairing the roundtable discussion, as well as Lisa Dixon, April Siruno, and Michelle Mittelstadt of MPI.

MPI's work on diasporas, including this paper, is supported by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

This report was made possible by the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) under The QED Group, LLC for the Knowledge-Driven Microenterprise Development project. The contents are the responsibility of MPI and do not necessarily reflect the views of USAID or the United States government.

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Suggested citation: Newland, Kathleen and Carylanna Taylor. 2010. *Heritage Tourism and Nostalgia Trade: A Diaspora Niche in the Development Landscape*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

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Executive Summary

Less-developed countries are typically poorly integrated into the global economy. In general, they benefit less than others from the comparative advantages that come with international trade in both goods and services. Their "traditional exports" are disproportionately primary products with little vertical or horizontal integration in the local economy. The expansion of trade in goods with more value added locally, and of globally traded services such as tourism, is seen by public and private actors alike as key to economic progress. But the barriers to entry are high in these sectors. Introducing and establishing unfamiliar goods and new tourist destinations in the international market is difficult. Diaspora populations can play an important role as bridges to broader markets. This study explores the development potential of forms of tourism and trade involving members of diaspora.

Diaspora populations can help to open markets for new tourism destinations and goods produced in and associated with the culture of their countries of origin. Tourists from the diaspora are more likely than most international tourists to have or make connections with the local economy, staying in locally owned, smaller accommodations (or with relatives), eating in local restaurants, buying goods from local vendors, and so forth — rather than staying in foreign-owned tourist enclaves with little connection to their surroundings.

The many forms of diaspora tourism include medical tourism, business-related tourism, heritage (or "roots") tourism, exposure or "birthright" tours, education tourism, VIP tours, and peak experience tours. Not all forms are aimed exclusively at the diaspora, but many are pursued by country-of-origin governments as part of their efforts to bind the diaspora more closely to the homeland. Each of these forms has the potential to contribute to development, by attracting investors, volunteers, philanthropists, or consumers from the diaspora.

Migrant households are regular and heavy consumers of home country goods, particularly foodstuffs, and trade in such goods earns significant revenue for migrants' communities of origin. "Nostalgia" goods tend to be labor-intensive and, often, artisanal, so that earnings are more likely to be enjoyed at the local and household level. In addition, the diaspora market for nostalgia goods can offer a measure of protection to small or artisan producers who may be threatened by the standardization of large-scale production for the global market.

Donor agencies can support country-of-origin tourism departments in reaching out to diaspora populations in marketing campaigns and in designing specialized tourist offerings for the heritage traveler. Preservation and development of historic sites may be particularly appealing to the diaspora tourist, but will also appeal to international tourists. Public-private partnerships are well suited to the sensitive conversion of traditional structures to hotels or restaurants. Producers of nostalgia goods often have difficulty with distribution and with taking advantage of economies of scale. Credit guarantee schemes and assistance in forming producer cooperatives could promote more robust enterprises, along with technical assistance to small producers in business planning, accounting, marketing, food safety standards, and export requirements. In sum, there are many opportunities for donors, home-country governments, and diaspora to partner in the development of nostalgia trade and diaspora tourism.

I. Introduction

One of the markers of underdevelopment is weak insertion into the global economy. In general, poor countries benefit less than richer ones from the comparative advantages that come with international trade in goods and services. In addition, their main exports are often primary products with little vertical or horizontal integration in the local economy. Public and private actors alike seek to expand trade in goods with higher local value added and those, like international tourism, that have strong earnings potential. But the barriers to entry are high for nontraditional exports. In particular, it is difficult to introduce and establish unfamiliar goods and new tourist destinations in the international market. In overcoming barriers to entry, diaspora populations can play an important role, acting as a bridge to broader markets.

This study explores the development potential of forms of tourism and trade that involve diasporas. We take diasporas to include emigrants and their descendants who retain an active connection to their countries of origin or ancestry.

Diaspora tourism cannot easily be disaggregated from other forms of tourism, but there is little doubt that, overall, tourism is an important source of export earnings (it is treated as a service export, even though it is consumed in the country in which it is provided). Between 2000 and 2008, the number of international tourists visiting developing and emerging countries grew from 259 million to 424 million — far outpacing growth in the number of tourists to advanced economies, which increased more modestly, from 423 million to 495 million.[1] In 2008, international tourism generated $29.9 billion in revenue for African countries, $49.2 billion for the developing and emerging countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, and $75.3 billion for the countries of South and Southeast Asia. While 2009 was a difficult year for the tourist industry, what with the dual crisis of the global economy and the H1N1 pandemic, preliminary data for 2010 suggest a robust recovery: during the first two months of 2010, tourist arrivals increased by 15 percent in South Asia, 10 percent in Southeast Asia, and 8 percent in North Africa. Moreover, 11 developing countries posted double-digit growth in tourist arrivals during the same period: Indonesia (14 percent), Vietnam (36 percent), India (13 percent), Nepal (30 percent), Sri Lanka (50 percent), Nicaragua (16 percent), Ecuador (14 percent), Kenya (18 percent), Seychelles (16 percent), Morocco (14 percent), and Egypt (29 percent).

In exploring trade in cultural goods from diasporas' countries of origin, the paper relies heavily on the pioneering work of Manuel Orozco of the Inter-American Dialogue. Orozco refers to these products as "nostalgic goods"; we prefer the terms *nostalgia goods* and *nostalgia trade* but refer to the same phenomena. Orozco demonstrates, through painstaking survey research in the United States, that migrant households are regular and heavy consumers of home-country goods, and that trade in such products earns significant revenue for countries of origin. As with diaspora tourism flows, precise earnings estimates of nostalgia goods are not available because they are not recorded separately in trade statistics. We can safely assume that trade in nostalgia goods is not a major stream of world trade; its importance instead rests on its composition. Nostalgia goods tend to be labor intensive and are often made by local artisans, so earnings from them are likely to be absorbed at the local and household levels. By contrast, revenues from traditional exports of primary products seldom trickle down.

Both nostalgia trade and diaspora tourism occupy niches in a broader market and operate according to distinctive patterns. Migrants often prefer products produced in their home country even when similar

1 Data in this paragraph are drawn from the UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), *World Tourism Barometer, Interim Update April 2010* (Madrid: UNWTO, 2010), www.unwto.org/facts/eng/pdf/barometer/UNWTO_Barom10_update_april_en_excerpt.pdf.

products made in their destination country are available at lower cost.[2] Diaspora tourists often desire different outcomes from visits to their home country than other travelers do, and may spend their money in different ways. They are literally more "at home" when they go to their country of birth or ancestry, and therefore may not demand the kind of insulating intermediaries that are thought to make foreign tourists comfortable.

The governments of countries of migrant origin may try to attract diaspora members as consumers of local products or experiences, as "first movers" to open new opportunities in the international market, as sources of valuable word-of-mouth advertising, and as investors in tourism or export trade. The hoped-for outcome is not simply that more emigrants and their descendants will visit or buy, but that the niche they occupy will attract other, nondiaspora customers and grow into a larger and more profitable market. Development benefits include the employment of local workers and the multiplier effects that their earnings generate in their communities; foreign exchange earnings to support the national balance of payments; and a reinforced relationship with members of the diaspora, including — importantly — the second and subsequent generations.

II. Diaspora Tourism

With the growth of tourism to developing countries obviously robust, why should we be concerned with attracting the diaspora visitor? In the first place, many developing countries have yet to join the roster of tourist destinations, and for those that have, the gains are limited. Often, tourism-targeted infrastructure is either poorly developed or confined to enclaves with little connection to the local economy apart from low-level employment. The enclaves are run by international companies that source many of their supplies externally and repatriate the bulk of their profits. Tourists from the diaspora, however, are more likely than most international tourists to have or make connections with the local economy; to stay in locally owned, smaller accommodations (or with relatives); to eat at local restaurants; and so forth. While they may not spend as much money as foreign tourists, on average, diaspora tourists' expenditures are more likely to go directly into the hands of local businesses. Thus they generally have a different and, in some respects, more positive development impact.

Diaspora tourism offers two further advantages. First, because it is not necessarily as seasonal as international tourism, it may entail a steadier use of infrastructure throughout the year and provide employment opportunities in off-peak times.[3] Observing how tourism in Cuba reflects winter and summer vacations in the Northern Hemisphere, Jorge Pérez-López offers a number of suggestions for increasing diaspora tourism's potential that could apply to other nations as well. These include promoting festivals, saints' days, and holidays; professional association meetings and conventions; vacations for seniors; and trips for medical treatment. Second, diaspora tourism may result in the geographic expansion of tourism within the country. Pérez-López suggests that diaspora tourists reach less-visited sites than do other international tourists by traveling to see friends and relatives, participating in cultural and sporting events, and visiting secondary or regional sites.

Diaspora tourism seems to occupy an intermediate space between international and domestic tourism. Within it there are two streams of tourists: one is made up of people who are more removed from the origin country and may not be able to call on friends and relatives for food and lodging; the second is composed of more recent emigrants who still have close family in the country of origin. As Regina

2 Manuel Orozco, *Tasting Identity: Trends in Migrant Demands for Home Country Goods* (Washington, DC: US Agency for International Development, 2008).

3 Jorge F. Pérez-López, "The Diaspora as a Commercial Network for Cuban Reconstruction" (Thought Paper for the Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy, 2007), http://146.6.146.2/project/asce/pdfs/volume17/pdfs/perezlopez.pdf.

Scheyvens's case study of Samoa illustrates, visiting emigrants and their families may use the same kinds of facilities that domestic tourists and local residents use — and these facilities are usually cheaper, simpler, and less isolated from the surrounding society than those used by most international tourists.[4] They require less capital to establish and consume fewer resources — especially imported resources — than more mainstream tourist facilities. And because they have lower start-up and running costs, they enable domestic entrepreneurs to enter the tourism sector more easily. As with the Samoan beach huts known as fale, these facilities cater to domestic and diaspora tourists, to adventurous, independent (and low-budget) foreign travelers and those in search of an authentic experience of the local way of living.

For new tourist destinations struggling to break into the international market, diaspora tourists may be important first movers. They not only test the waters and spread the word about the attractions of homeland locations but may also invest directly in building new tourist facilities or bringing existing ones up to the standard they have come to expect as a result of their experience abroad.

While educational tours and study-abroad opportunities have long involved a deep engagement with the country visited, such engagement is now becoming mainstream. Since the 1970s, the tourism industry has worked to engage sophisticated travelers whose interests go beyond sun, sea, and sand. For these travelers, going to a foreign-owned, all-inclusive resort or cruise is not enough; they want to experience a country's architecture, religious rituals, cuisine, art, music, and language, and meet local people. Accordingly, tourism marketing campaigns use terms like *authentic, real,* and *responsible* to promote new destinations. The multinational Africa Diaspora Heritage Trail conferences, for example, encourage public and private actors to promote these heritage resources not only among diaspora tourists but also in the fast-growing markets for educational, sustainable, geo-, eco-, and "values" tourism. A segment of this high-value-over-high-volume market also seeks travel experiences tied to philanthropy and volunteerism. Prof. Don Hawkins of George Washington University has explored the development potential of "SAVE" (scientific, academic, volunteer, educational) tourism.

To take advantage of these trends, businesses and tourism authorities are experimenting with offerings such as homestays and cooking and craft lessons that put money directly into the local economy. Some countries are developing certification processes so that these specialized offerings are indeed authentic and follow good practices (such as working in conjunction with local communities to identify volunteer and philanthropic activities). In many cases these activities support the development of local tourism services and facilities.

Some educational tourism offerings are specifically intended to acquaint members of the diaspora with their ancestral homeland. These are often designed for young people who have little or no direct experience of the country of their ancestors. Interactions between tour participants and their local peers are part of the learning experience. Trips such as those run by the Fund for Armenian Relief and Birthright Israel are intended to foster a durable sense of belonging to the broader nation, which in turn often leads to a sense of obligation to the homeland and a desire to contribute to its development. Other educational tours focus simply on learning the language or history of the homeland.

A. Forms of Diaspora Tourism

The definition of *tourism* is broad. The World Tourism Organization defines tourists as people who "travel to and stay in places outside their usual environment for more than twenty-four (24) hours

4 Regina Scheyvens, "Poor Cousins No More: Valuing the Development Potential of Domestic and Diaspora Tourism," *Progress in Development Studies* 7, No. 4 (2007): 307–25.

and not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited."[5] This study focuses on those forms of tourism dedicated to serving diasporas or where diaspora members play a role in the development of infrastructure and services that support tourism. A number of forms of diaspora tourism are mentioned below, but the discussion focuses on "heritage" tourism — a particularly promising avenue for diaspora-driven development.

Diaspora members' *self-directed visits* to their regions of origin may combine visits to friends and family with conventional tourist or leisure activities like going to the beach or attending cultural events. But many diaspora tourists also engage in activities of a more specialized kind. For example, they may choose to have medical procedures carried out, prospect for business opportunities, or take care of emigration-related logistics. Often, diaspora visitors use country-of-origin passports, which leads to an underestimation of their numbers and of their role in tourism and tourism-related development.[6] Those who enter of "visiting friends and relatives" (VFR) visas are not regarded as tourists by the county of origin — despite the fact that VFR visitors carry funds, values, and ideas (economic and social remittances[7]) that potentially affect local development.

Medical tourism. National tourism campaigns that reach, but do not necessarily target, diasporas promote their countries' medical infrastructure and expertise, as well as the competitiveness of their prices. Of the cases reviewed for this study, the Philippines, India, Taiwan, and Cuba all have strong medical tourism campaigns that show an awareness of diaspora members as potential clients and promoters. As a result, the medical sectors of these countries have benefited from diaspora investment, philanthropy, and volunteerism. Overall, however, diaspora involvement in medical tourism is difficult to gauge — again, because it is not measured separately.

Business tourism by diaspora groups or individuals has strong development potential. Conference facilities and top hotels are marketed directly to diaspora business people and professional associations through Web sites and as part of VIP tours (see below). In many cases, an introduction to business opportunities is combined with visits to top tourist attractions as countries of origin court high-net-worth diaspora members.

Longer-term return visits can also involve a mix of diaspora tourism and investment. Retirement to the homeland, seasonal migration of seniors from the north to warmer climates, and the building of second homes for prolonged visits all fall under this category. Governments and private-sector companies often promote such offerings to diasporas. For example, the government of the Philippines ran a site called "The Philippines: Live Your Dreams," which marketed homes to the Filipino diaspora.[8]

Heritage tourism centers on history and culture. While the term usually refers to cultural heritage — embodied in historical and archaeological sites, arts, festivals, and pilgrimages — some observers include natural heritage as well, particularly where it is linked to a way of life. Heritage tourism schemes do not exclusively involve the diaspora. The United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) designates outstanding landmarks as World Heritage Sites, and by doing so attracts many international tourists. Such sites serve as a significant development resource for

5 UNWTO, *UNWTO Technical Manual: Collection of Tourism Expenditure Statistics* (Madrid: UNWTO, 1995), 14, http://pub.unwto.org/WebRoot/Store/Shops/Infoshop/Products/1034/1034-1.pdf. Retrieved 2009-03-26.

6 See Alex Asiedu, "Some benefits of migrants' return visits to Ghana," *Population, Space and Place,* vol. 11 no. 1 (2005): 1-11.

7 See Peggy Levitt, *The Transnational Villagers* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001) for a discussion of social remittances among Dominican emigrants.

8 Government of the Philippines, "The Philippines: Live Your Dreams," www.liveyourdreams.ph (accessed June 15, 2010; site now discontinued).

poor countries since they attract international funds for their restoration and preservation as well as tourism revenue. Some sites are promoted to international tourists as much as or even more than to domestic or diaspora tourists. The Maya Route in Mexico and Central America and Angkor Wat in Cambodia are two examples of this pattern. However, the presentation of local culture to outsiders requires sensitivity and tact so as not to trivialize or denigrate local practices.

Customized tours for diaspora individuals or groups may also be initiated in the country of settlement. Multinational cruises, transnational family reunions, and overland tours of heritage sites certainly fall within the category of diaspora tourism, but their development potential is proportional to the degree to which locally owned and operated resources are used.

Some forms of heritage tourism exclusively involve diasporas — for example, genealogy tourism conducted by those researching their family trees. (Genealogy tourism is also known as "cemetery tourism" for the tendency of visitors to search out their ancestors' final resting places.) Private and public initiatives publicized through national tourism organizations help diaspora members track down documentation and locate graves. The Discover Ireland Web site, for example, suggests relevant information that can be gathered before making a trip (for example, the ancestor's name, date of birth, parish of origin, and religious denomination, and the names of his or her parents or spouse). The Web site also lists genealogical information sources, and links to the Ulster Historical Foundation, "a long-established, highly reputable research and publishing agency" that "offers extensive knowledge on the sources available for tracing Irish and Scots-Irish ancestors. Services include online databases of over 2 million records, genealogy and history books, and personal ancestral research."[9]

Box 1. Genealogy Tourism in India

The Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs in the states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar has a project that allows persons of Indian origin to apply to have their roots traced. The goal is to increase both tourism and philanthropy among the Indian diaspora. Those targeted by the campaign are largely descendants of slaves or indentured servants settled in the Caribbean, Mauritius, and Fiji. In an interesting twist, federal and state governments are also actively promoting "cemetery tourism" among British, French, Portuguese, and Dutch people whose ancestors died in India during the colonial period.[10]

Scotland's Homecoming 2009[11] is an example of a very deliberate effort to tap the benefits of diaspora tourism. Scotland dubbed 2009 the year of homecoming and organized a number of events, with a clan gathering as the centerpiece. Widely advertised, the promotion was meant to attract Scots from around the world and increase local tourism both directly, by attracting an influx of foreigners (with an average 10-day stay per participant), and indirectly, by educating Scots to be "better ambassadors" of a cosmopolitan, modern Scotland, one that has gone beyond kilts, swords, and smokestacks. The popular "I Am a Scot" campaign videotaped those with Scottish roots saying what made them a Scot

9 Tourism Ireland, "Irish the World Over" (accessed Sept. 27, 2010), www.discoverireland.com/us/ireland-things-to-see-and-do/culture-and-sights/trace-your-ancestry/irish-the-world-over; Tourism Ireland, "The major records repositories in Ireland" (accessed Sept. 27, 2010), www.discoverireland.com/us/ireland-things-to-see-and-do/culture-and-sights/trace-your-ancestry/the-major-repositories-in-ireland.

10 AMN Abdi, "Wooing Tomb Travelers," South China Morning Post, July 26, 2009.

11 Moira Birtwistle, "Genealogy Tourism: The Scottish Market Opportunities," in *Niche Tourism*, ed. Marina Novelli (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2005) : 59–72.

— and invited write-ins to a dedicated Web site.[12] The campaign encouraged diaspora members to feel that they have a stake in the country's future.

The participants in Scotland's Homecoming 2009 mirrored the extent of the Scottish diaspora: they came from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Romania, Sweden, Russia, Argentina, Japan, and every US state except North Dakota.[13] The direct development impact was controversial — not as much money came in as had been hoped, and many vendors and service providers went unpaid. A May 2010 government review of the event, however, stated that it had a positive effect on local tourist initiatives. Homecoming 2014 has been confirmed and will coincide with the Commonwealth Games, Ryder Cup, and the 700th anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn.[14]

African diaspora tourism. A prominent example of heritage tourism is that involving the African diaspora — also known as "roots" tourism, in part because of *Roots,* the 1977 television miniseries (and the book, by Alex Haley, on which it was based), which inspired a generation of African Americans to learn more about their ancestry. The term *slavery tourism* is used by some tourism boards to promote important sites of the slave trade, but it fails to capture the wider cultural and natural environment elements of African diaspora heritage tourism.[15] Numerous tour operators, regional associations, intergovernmental organizations, and individual countries actively develop and promote cultural, historic, and natural heritage sites under the umbrella of African diaspora tourism. UNESCO supports the development of African Diaspora Heritage Trails — an initiative originally proposed by the government of Bermuda to preserve and explain the artifacts of slave life — and commemoration of the slave route, which links sites in Africa and the Americas associated with the slave trade.

Religious or faith tourism. Visits to sites of spiritual significance are increasing around the globe. North Americans alone spend over $10 billion annually on religious tourism, traveling as groups or individuals for pilgrimage, missionary, volunteer, or fellowship purposes. A religious duty to be carried out at least once by every Muslim who is able, the annual Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia is the largest single movement of its kind (about two million people took part in 2009). Clingingsmith and others argue that the Hajj promotes shared principles and identity, increasing tolerance and unity among Muslims.[16] Some of the earliest accommodations for personal travel were developed for pilgrims — in Syria for the Hajj, for example, or in the south of France for pilgrims on the *Route Frances* to Santiago de Compostela, Spain.

An estimated 70 million Hindus go to the Ganges River each year in January and February.[17] In 2009, 140,000 pilgrims spent as many as six weeks walking or biking the Camino de Santiago to Santiago de Compostela, site of the tomb of St. James — an estimated 200,000 will make the trip in 2010, a jubilee year. Church officials have granted forgiveness of sins (indulgences) to pilgrims who complete one

12 Promotional materials for Homecoming 2009 are a good example of the discourse and logic being used in heritage tourism: "Tend to your Scottish roots. They say a Scotsman carries his country in his heart wherever he may go. And that sense of belonging is passed down through the generations — so that today millions of people worldwide are very proud to be the sons and daughters of Scotland. And visiting Scotland becomes much more than just a trip when you are given the opportunity to retrace your very own ancestral footsteps;" http://cometoscotland.com/what-to-do/search-your-ancestry.

13 Dani Garavelli, "Homeward bound: Scotland's diaspora heads to Edinburgh for the highpoint of the Homecoming celebrations this month," *Scotland on Sunday,* July 5, 2009.

14 Visit Scotland, "Discover your Scottish roots and start planning your ancestral journey to Scotland," www.ancestralscotland.com.

15 Slavery tourism also falls into what some call "dark tourism" — visiting sites to pay honor to those who have suffered from tragedies such as the Holocaust, slave trade, or natural disasters such as Hurricane Katrina.

16 David Lawrence Clingingsmith, Asim Ijaz Khwaja, and Michael Kremer, "Estimating the Impact of the Hajj: Religion and Tolerance in Islam's Global Gathering" (HKS Working Paper No. RWP08-022, Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government, April 2008), http://ssrn.com/abstract=1124213.

17 Mary Jordan, "Seeking Answers with Field Trips in Faith," *Washington Post,* June 25, 2007, www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/06/24/AR2007062401422.html.

of the official routes since the Middle Ages. While most pilgrims stay in humble lodges and shelters (some requiring only a voluntary donation), tour agencies are combining pilgrimage and tourism. One offers a ten-day, $2,552 package for this "crown jewel of walking tours," complete with elegant food and lodgings leading up to the simpler fare offered during the last, pilgrimage-dedicated days of the tour. The Camino, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, was awarded the Council of Europe's first European Cultural Route status in 1987.

The burgeoning religious tourism industry is not limited to traditional religious routes. Scotland plays up its role in the reformation. A major European travel firm offers tours of Poland exploring the life of Pope John Paul II. Visits to the shrines of local Sufi saints are a major organizing principle of internal travel in Morocco and draw visiting migrants as well.

Peak experiences and exposure programs. Birthright programs are designed to bring diasporas into closer contact with their heritage. They tend to operate in countries with a strong sense of national identity, transcending territoriality, and that have a commitment to perpetuating this identity, especially among second and subsequent generations. Exposure programs include study tours for youth, academic exchange programs, and VIP tours for business travelers and government officials. In another variant, Always and Forever, a company based in Portland, Washington, offers specialized tours in which families experience the homeland of their adopted children while the children connect with their birth country.[18]

The development potential of birthright programs and exposure programs is short term and direct (through funds spent by participants) as well as long term and indirect (through participants' future contributions as tourists, volunteers, investors, and advocates). The careful construction of these diaspora tours is described by Shaul Kelner as "a form of political socialization that fosters identification with a nation-state and a sense of belonging in a transnational ethnic community."[19]

Box 2. Birthright Israel

Since 1999, hundreds of thousands of young American Jews have visited Israel on an all-expenses-paid 10-day pilgrimage tour known as Birthright Israel. The most elaborate of the state-supported homeland tours that are cropping up all over the world, this tour seeks to foster in the Jewish diaspora a lifelong sense of attachment to Israel based on ethnic and political solidarity. The program is supported by a partnership between private philanthropists acting through the Birthright Israel Foundation, the government of Israel, and Jewish community organizations. Over a half-billion dollars (and counting) has been spent cultivating this attachment, and despite the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the tours are still going strong.[20]

Birthright Armenia takes its inspiration from Birthright Israel. It is a nongovernmental organization (NGO) that partners with internship organizations and study-abroad programs to offer young diaspora members professional internships and community service placements in Armenia, lasting

18 See Always and Forever Adoption Homeland Tours, "Through adoption homeland tours, we help the adoptive families to experience the children's culture of origin, discover their heritage, create positive memories of their birth country and build new friendships," www.alwaysforever.us/home/home.html.

19 Shaul Kelner, *Tours that Bind: Diaspora, Pilgrimage and Israeli Birthright Tourism* (New York, NY: New York Univ. Press, 2010), xvi.

20 Ibid.

anywhere from eight weeks to a year. Although it is primarily a volunteer project, its promotion of leadership, a shared identity, and cultural ambassadorship make it a good example of how tourism and volunteerism can intersect as forms of diaspora engagement. Program participants returning to their countries of residence participate in alumni and networking programs and act as informal advocates of Armenia. As Kelner notes, birthright programs are becoming increasingly common, often in the form of public-private partnerships. Offering a "peak experience" of intense emotional engagement with the country of origin represents a new, instrumental approach to tourism.

VIP tours are a variation on the peak experience theme, but more focused on specialized adult markets. The Philippines' Department of Foreign Affairs, Department of Tourism, and Department of Trade and Industry run an annual Ambassadors, Consuls General, and Tourism Directors Tour. The goal of the tour is to get second- and third-generation Filipino Americans to see the country not just as the homeland of their parents and grandparents but as a tropical paradise with rich cultural offerings where they will always feel at home — and which they will speak about positively and promote with vigor.[21]

Asia Pacific Philanthropy, a nongovernmental organization, also recommends that the overseas Filipino organizations develop programs to expose their members, especially second-generation Filipinos, to development work in the Philippines. Likewise, in China, sending delegations to diaspora communities and hosting visits from diaspora community members are major avenues for tourism.

Nation branding refers to the process by which national governments create a "competitive identity," actively marketing themselves around a set of core messages and images.[22] Direct media marketing (through TV, radio, print, and the Internet) and social networking sites (Facebook, YouTube) are used to put a "fresh face" on a country and overturn negative perceptions.[23] Diaspora-oriented and nation-branding tourism campaigns such as "Incredible India" highlight iconic images, beauty spots, and colorful festivals such as Holi, with the intention of evoking what Morgan and Pritchard (2002) call an "embodied empathy" that persuades tourists and emigrants to visit or revisit a particular destination. By appealing to and even fostering diaspora identity, nation branding increases the potential for diaspora engagement of other kinds.

Just as companies or universities do, nations hire public relations firms to guide the branding process. In a recent article, the CEO of one such firm articulated ways in which China could use branding to overcome being seen as a threat to economic security, Western power, and the environment. His recommendations include promoting contemporary art and architecture; sponsoring exchanges of students, thinkers, and artists to build cross-cultural awareness and overturn stereotypes; producing a narrative of forging world-changing technologies; and creating a tourism brand that cherishes regional differences and can be spread by positive word-of-mouth and social media.[24]

The Indian government makes a coordinated effort to incorporate its diaspora into the national tourism industry as tourists and philanthropists. The "Incredible India" campaign works not only to increase the appeal of India as a tourism destination but also to cement national and diaspora identity — and this, in turn, increases the participation of the diaspora in tourism and tourism projects. The campaign is carried out across multiple media platforms, including an international award-winning commercial. A coffee-table book, *Explore Rural India*, promotes the development potential of rural tourism by highlighting UN-funded rural tourism sites. The campaign's YouTube page is young and vibrant, with multiple video clips, including one entertaining series in which a top Bollywood star pleads with resident Indians to remember the ethos of the traditional saying "The guest is God." Comment streams

21 Philippine Department of Tourism, "Philippines: Warmth - Wealth – Wonders" (accessed Sept. 27, 2010), www.experiencephilippines.ph/LM/news/id-1240299764502.html.

22 *Handbook on Tourism Destinations Branding* (Madrid: UNWTO and European Travel Commission, 2009).

23 Christopher Graves of Ogilvy PR China, *PR Week,* October 30, 2009.

24 Ibid.

praise the videos and assert pride in being Indian. (The IT-heavy campaign reflects the economic importance of information technology to India's development.)

B. *Can Tourism Create a Diaspora Identity?*

Arguably, efforts to create national brands to promote tourism have the potential to shape or cement diaspora identities, or even to create diaspora identities where none exist. Evans argues that promoting "Mexicanidad"[25] cements a national identity to motivate tourism and economic development. Giving priority to the Mayan heritage of Mexicans and Central Americans over other indigenous roots — in an extremely diverse region — may shape diaspora identity (see Box 3). This is no esoteric matter. In the case of Honduras, for example, it is very difficult to find funding for preservation, research, or development of non-Mayan sites because of the importance that the national government places on Mayan sites for tourism development. Formal education and national and international advertising on television and the Internet reinforce the Mayan identity. When emigrants returning to Honduras seek out their cultural roots, they turn to (the admittedly spectacular) Copan ruins; "secondary" sites rank below the beach, colonial towns, or Lake Yojoa on their itineraries.

Box 3. Privileging Diaspora Identities: The Maya Route and Mundo Maya

The Maya Route traces more than two millennia of the pre-Columbian Mayan civilization through the "Mayan world" of Mexico, Belize, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador. Arguably, these efforts aim to foster a transborder identity with which Mexican and Central American emigrants might identify — in a sense creating a regional diaspora identity. Figueroa and others (2010) give an archaeological perspective on how the label "Maya" is being applied to regions with predominantly non-Mayan heritage in an effort to capitalize on private and government tourism funds, such as in Honduras's Bay Islands, which are predominantly Garifuna. Contemporary Mayan people and mestizo descendants do not appear to identify as a Mayan diaspora and, as such, are not directly engaged in tourism development apart from employment in crafts, tourism, or lower-end jobs in hotels, restaurants, and resorts. At the same time, anthropologists have identified a trend toward the Mayanization of native Central American heritage, in which the development of Mayan heritage sites is favored over those of other pre-Columbian groups (for example, the Lenca in Honduras). Fostering identity, therefore, has serious implications for which resources — and which regions — are given priority in tourism development.[26]

25 Graeme Evans, "Mundo Maya: From Cancún to City of Culture, World Heritage in Post-Colonial Mesoamerica," *Current Issues in Tourism* 7, No. 3 (2004): 315–29.

26 E. Christian Wells and Karla L. Davis-Salazar, "Environmental Worldview and Ritual Economy among the Honduran Lenca," in *Dimensions of Ritual Economy,* eds. E. Christian Wells and Patricia A. McAnany, (Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Ltd., 2008): 189-217; Evans, "Mundo Maya: From Cancún to City of Culture."

C. How Do Governments Promote Diaspora Tourism?

Members of diasporas can play a variety of direct and indirect roles related to tourism and development. In addition to being tourists, diaspora travelers can simultaneously be (or later become) direct investors, remitters, philanthropists, volunteers, students, promoters, and/or informal ambassadors. Many of the programs discussed in this study are designed to cultivate multiple roles.

National governments (and in some cases state or local governments) and NGOs reach out to diasporas in a variety of ways, including (1) creating programs dedicated to diaspora tourism, (2) offering educational and exchange programs, (3) subsidizing heritage and sporting events, (4) developing a strong Internet presence, (5) marketing carefully crafted national brands across multiple media, and (6) making entry to countries of origin easier and less expensive.

Tourism is widely recognized as an essential industry in many developing countries. In addition to creating jobs — many of which pay relatively well without requiring extensive qualifications — it can promote infrastructure development and generate vital foreign exchange. While recognizing the importance of the tourism sector, most governments do little to take advantage of diaspora ties to promote tourism. There are exceptions, of course, some of which are discussed here. While tourism development projects such as Mexico's Ruta del Tequila[27] and the Rose and Saffron routes of Morocco[28] are built around elements of cultural heritage, they are not especially marketed to diaspora groups. Other countries that have barely begun to develop tourism could look to diaspora populations as an entry point into the sector. A country such as Liberia, for example, with its strong historical connection to the US African American population, might market itself as a diaspora destination as it emerges from war — although only a concerted effort might dispel historical tensions between the African American diaspora elite that returned to Liberia in the nineteenth century and the population with no emigrant background.

Once a government has taken the first step of deciding to woo the diaspora tourism market, it can ease travel for emigrants and their descendants. Several countries, including Vietnam and India, have provisions allowing their diasporas to visit without a visa. Filipino Canadians are not required to get visas to visit the Philippines if they travel with a Canadian passport. The five members of the East African Community (EAC) — Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda — are reportedly close to agreement on a common visa for foreigners (citizens of the five states can already travel visa-free within EAC), a measure that would greatly facilitate diaspora tourism throughout the region.[29]

Volunteers participate directly in tourism by staging events in host and home countries and by developing information technologies and promotional materials. As with business travelers, those volunteering in countries of origin spend money on hotels and restaurants and may stay on to travel as tourists within the region.

Educational, birthright, and VIP tour programs widely expect that diasporas will promote tourism and the national "brand." In some cases the role is particularly clear: the Executive Committee of Overseas Vietnamese in France is pursuing a campaign to encourage every person in the diaspora community to persuade 10 French friends to travel to Vietnam. The initiative supplements major retail and hospitality campaigns designed to meet an ambitious target of 4.2 million international visitors in

27 La Ruta del Tequila/The Tequila Trail, www.rutadeltequila.org.mx.
28 Tourisme solidaire atlas Maroc, www.tourisme-atlas.com; Migrations et Développement: www.migdev.org.
29 Associated Press, "Kenya: Common Visa Favored For 5 East African Nations," *The New York Times,* July 3, 2010, www.nytimes.com/2010/07/03/world/africa/03briefs-VISA.html.

2010 — 400,000 more than in 2009, even as government funding of the industry has been reduced.[30] Some evidence supports the expectation that migrants will promote tourism in their countries of origin. A World Bank study found that migrants do indeed give advice to others about vacationing in their home countries. According to this study, "91 percent of New Zealanders, 75 percent of Papua New Guineans, 66 percent of Ghanaians, 56 percent of Tongans and 44 percent of Micronesians have done this. Although our surveys do not permit quantification of the value of new tourism created by such advice, they do show migrants engaging in this type of tourism promotion much more frequently than nonmigrants (with the exception of Micronesia)."[31]

Governments may also encourage diaspora investment in the tourism industry by providing finance or loan guarantees as well as technical assistance and marketing support. Tax breaks or other forms of support for restoring or converting historic buildings to use as hotels or restaurants can increase the attraction of visiting certain areas. The restoration of *kasbahs* in Morocco (akin to the restoration of historic buildings as *paradors* in Spain) provides opportunities for creative public-private partnerships as well. Many private investors are returned migrants or the emigrant families of local residents, while country-of-origin governments partner with donor agencies to support tourism development.

Government tourist organizations can make a special effort to reach out to emigrants and their descendants, particularly those that provide travel services in their communities. For example, the African American travel agent Meredith McCleary became a specialist in travel to Botswana and southern African spa destinations after completing a four-day training at an International Destination Expo in South Africa.

Governments should certainly take the lead in mobilizing resources from the private sector, nonprofit organizations and foundations, and multilateral and bilateral donors to preserve and inventory cultural assets that can add value to the tourist experience. The assets may be tangible, such as buildings or monuments, or intangible, such as festivals or exhibitions. Diasporas can be important partners in such efforts.

D. *Civil Society Engagement in Diaspora Tourism and Development*

The NGO Migrations et Développement (M/D) was founded by migrants who had returned to southern Morocco from France with the idea of establishing businesses in their home villages. Poor infrastructure and lack of electricity made successful business development impossible. Through M/D they brought electricity to the region and later improved roads and water services.[32] With the assistance of the Moroccan Social Development Agency and the French Development Agency, M/D turned to fostering tourism. It developed a series of tourism routes organized around the production of saffron, rose oil, and argan oil. Maps for each route also point out lodging and restaurants (many established by M/D members) as well as cultural and natural attractions. The organization's interactive tourism atlas, www.tourisme-atlas.com, links directly to rates and descriptions of each hostel. While Moroccans resident abroad are only 10 percent of the clients for these facilities, returned migrants were the crucial first movers who leveraged the creative public-private investment in planning and infrastructure that made tourism possible. Some migrants invest while remaining abroad and others upon returning to Morocco.

30 Vietnam Net Bridge, "Move to Lure Foreign Tourists," September 3, 2010, www.vietnamopentour.com.vn/vietnam-information/news/move-to-lure-foreign-tourists.html.

31 John Gibson and David McKenzie, "The Economic Consequences of 'Brain Drain' of the Best and Brightest: Microeconomic Evidence from Five Countries" (Working Paper 5394, Development Research Group, Finance and Private Sector Development Team, World Bank, Washington, DC, August 2010).

32 For more on Migrations et Développement, see Natasha Iskander, *Creative State: Forty Years of Migration and Development Policy in Morocco and Mexico* (Ithaca, NY: ILR Press, 2010).

E. Challenges for Diaspora Tourism

Fundamental safety and security. Diaspora members may have better information about potential threats to safety in their countries of origin than other tourists, and may be able to put such threats in perspective more easily. They can distinguish among subregions that have different levels of security, whereas foreign tourists may be more likely to dismiss an entire country because of reports of trouble in one area. However, diaspora travelers are as sensitive as any tourist to the threats posed by armed conflict, lawlessness, pervasive corruption, dangerous transport infrastructure, and so forth. Even the first movers will not move until certain baseline conditions are met for tourism — although they may still feel called upon to travel to the country for other reasons.

Keeping benefits in the target communities/nations. The development potential of tourism depends in part on involvement with the host population. Diaspora tourists are more likely to have the interest, the linguistic skills, the contacts, and the foreknowledge to engage with local people and enterprises. But these inclinations cannot be taken for granted, and they can be easily frustrated by opaque or unwelcoming local services.

Respect for visiting diasporas. It is, unfortunately, fairly common for diaspora tourists to experience different, and less welcoming, treatment in their homelands than that accorded to people perceived as "real" foreigners. Members of diasporas may even be resented for expecting such treatment, as if they were putting themselves above the local residents. Tourist industries that hope to attract diaspora visitors must ensure that they enjoy at least the same level of facilities and services as any other tourist paying the same amount — and it would be smart to treat them especially well in order to earn their loyalty and further involvement with the homeland.

Disposable income. Economic conditions in their countries of current residence and diaspora members' economic success affect their disposable income and time, and thus their travel plans. Travel patterns and spending vary greatly by income level. The country of origin may be a comparatively attractive destination for diaspora members in economic terms, as the hospitality of family and friends may defray some expenses. This potential advantage may be counterbalanced, however, by the obligation to bring presents or make cash gifts to family and friends.

Visa and mobility limitations affect diaspora member's ability to visit their homeland and affect the comparative advantage of nations within regional heritage areas.

Catering to generational differences. Interest in homeland tourism varies by generation, whether within a given diaspora or across diasporas. In some diasporas, especially those that originated in refugee flows, the first generation is alienated from the homeland government and discourages all interaction. Subsequent generations, however, may want to explore their roots and exploit their comparative advantages of linguistic and cultural familiarity in business or other forms of engagement. In other situations, the first generation maintains very close personal ties that diminish in later generations or transform into less personalized cultural interests. Tourist industries must be nimble to track and adjust to generational changes in the level and nature of interest in travel among diasporas.

III. Nostalgia Trade

Solid research supports the conclusion that the presence of an immigrant population leads to larger trade flows between the country of origin and the country of destination. This trend is evident in Spain, where exports to immigrants' countries of origin has increased,[33] and in Canada, where both exports to and imports from origin countries increased.[34] Such findings suggest that diasporas do indeed promote the integration of their countries of origin into the world economy.

Nostalgia trade involves goods produced in the country of origin or ancestry of a migrant group and marketed to that group in the country of destination. The traded goods, often foodstuffs, are distinctive to the country (or region) of origin and are somehow implicated in its culture. In addition to foodstuffs, such goods include films and music, reading material, utensils and dishes, ornaments, textiles and clothing, jewelry, and ceremonial goods. Nostalgia goods help migrants to maintain a sense of identity and community while living transnational lives.

Interestingly, Manuel Orozco found that commercial distribution networks for nostalgia goods in the United States are well developed and that "most migrants do not use informal mechanisms anymore to buy or bring home country goods."[35] The distribution networks rely primarily on ethnic distributors and small ethnic shops in migrant neighborhoods. The shops specialize in home-country goods and, in many cases, function as informal meeting places for diaspora members. In many cases they also serve as points of distribution for community information or for the collection of contributions for charitable purposes (in the aftermath of a natural disaster affecting the home country, for example).

In a nationwide survey of 1,200 immigrants from 12 different nationalities across the United States, supplemented by interviews in 50 ethnic shops, Orozco found a very high participation of migrants in the market for home-country goods (see Table 1). Migrants' expenditures on nostalgia products "range up to almost $1,000 per year and may amount to over twenty billion dollars annually" in the United States alone.[36] Orozco also found that nostalgia foodstuffs accounted for a substantial part of migrant households' budgets: in 27 percent of cases, more than half of the diet. The high use of home-country products was also associated with other ways of maintaining connection such as calling home frequently, going on annual trips, and so forth. A January 2010 study by the Honduran Central Bank reinforces Orozco's research with its finding that 75 percent of Hondurans abroad consume nostalgia goods.[37]

33 Giovanni Peri and Francisco Requena, "The Trade Creation Effect of Immigrants: Evidence from the Remarkable Case of Spain" (Working Paper 15625, National Bureau of Economic Research, December 2009).

34 James Partridge and Hartley Furtan, "Immigration Wave Effects on Canada's Trade Flows," *Canadian Public Policy* 34, no. 2(2008): 193-214.

35 Orozco, *Tasting Identity.*

36 Ibid.

37 Remesas y Desarollo, "Remesas familiares enviadas por hondureños residentes en el exterior y gastos efectuados en el país durante sus visitas," www.remesasydesarrollo.org/documentos/remesas-familiares-enviadas-por-hondurenos-residentes-en-el-exterior-y-gastos-efectuados-en-el-pais-durante-sus-visitas.

Table 1. Percentage of Immigrants Who Buy Home-Country Goods, by Country of Origin

	Colombia	Ecuador	El Salvador	Guatemala	Guyana	Honduras	Mexico	Nicaragua	Dominican Republic	Bolivia	Jamaica
% who buy home-country goods	81	95	56	50	82	74	76	83	65	70	64

Source: Manuel Orozco, B. Lindsay Lowell, Micah Bump, and Rachel Fedewa, "Transnational Engagement, Remittances and their Relation to Development in Latin America and the Caribbean" (Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of International Migration, Georgetown University, 2005).

A. *Moving Beyond the Diaspora Niche Market*

While nostalgia goods help to preserve the ethnic and cultural identity of diaspora communities, they also help to integrate the country of origin into the global marketplace. There are challenges, however, in moving beyond the network of ethnic stores into the wider marketplace and reaching nondiaspora consumers — or bringing the wider market into ethnic stores. Trade fairs are an important marketing tool for country-of-origin producers, and are often sponsored by their governments. But marketing remains a barrier to entry for many small producers who cannot find distributors to the countries of destination. On a research trip in the Mexican state of Zacatecas in 2009, one of the authors discussed the issue with two small producers who were eager to sell to Mexicans living in the United States. One, a cooperative producing mezcal, found the general market dominated by tequila (the two liquors are virtually identical, but only that produced in the state of Jalisco can be called tequila) and the diaspora market for mescal saturated by too many small producers. Another found the logistical requirements of selling through large chain stores too costly and demanding for his small enterprise.

Table 2. Consumption of Nostalgia Goods in 12 Countries

Country of Origin	Number of Products Bought (#)	Times Bought per Month (#)	Price Paid per Unit ($)	Monthly Expense ($)	Total Paid per Year ($)
Honduras	3	8	4	95	1141
Ethiopia	3	14	3	90	1077
Philippines	3	3	13	99	1020
Ghana	3	7	3	77	919
Paraguay	3	7	3	74	884
Dominican Republic	3	8	3	66	793
Total	**3**	**6**	**4**	**64**	**768**
India	4	4	4	58	694
Nigeria	3	6	4	57	683
Colombia	4	5	2	47	564
Mexico	3	3	4	41	494
El Salvador	2	4	4	38	458
Bolivia	2	5	4	34	408

Source: Thomas Debass and Manuel Orozco, "Digesting Nostalgic Trade: A Prequel to a Value Chain Approach" (USAID Breakfast Seminar Series Presentation, Washington, DC, November 20, 2008), www.microlinks.org/ev_en.php?ID=29168_201&ID2=DO_TOPIC.

Many countries have export promotion agencies such as Pro-Mexico, which was established in 2007 to strengthen Mexico's position in the global marketplace. But few of them promote the artisanal producers who are responsible for a significant proportion of nostalgia goods. And were they to succeed in expanding the market, many artisanal producers might have difficulty keeping up with demand. Producer cooperatives might be better equipped to meet the challenges of going to scale, especially when that involves meeting more elaborate consumer protection standards in the importing country. Scale and safety requirements are among the reasons that some nostalgia products succeed in "going mainstream" yet fall short as promoters of development when production shifts to the country of destination. Although salsa has overtaken ketchup in the value of US sales, most salsa production is now US based.

Public- or private-sector donors may play a part in helping nostalgia-goods manufacturers expand their operations to meet demand. In one example, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) used a credit guarantee scheme to help secure financing for an enterprise in Ethiopia (Etteff Flour Factory and Injera Bakery) that sells teff flour and injera both locally and internationally — including to the United States. Expansion was needed because the factory was to become the sole distributor of injera in Saudi Arabia and other countries in the Middle East.[38]

When Oromo refugees from Ethiopia were unable to find jobs in the United Kingdom, they reached out to the Lorna Young Foundation (LYF). The small charity drew on its experiences with Oromo coffee smallholders and received support from Bolling Coffee (a family-run international coffee importer) to establish the Oromo Coffee Company (OCC). The social enterprise sells its upscale, free-trade, organic coffees to independent delicatessens, ethically aware food stores, corporate purchasers, and faith groups. Income and employment benefits reach producers in Ethiopia and diaspora suppliers in the United Kingdom.

Through OCC and local volunteers, LYF builds skills, experience, and capacity among refugees; fosters income generation and employment opportunities for Oromo both in the United Kingdom and in Ethiopia; and increases UK consumers' respect for fairly traded products and refugees.[39] LYF meets its goal of "helping farmers in developing countries to become more fully empowered and supporting them to shorten the supply chain" through business and enterprise education, marketing, public relations, education on ethical certification, and so on. It partners with a range of individual trustees, commercial ethnic traders (such as Zaytoun and Imani), Coop College UK, Trading Visions, local grassroots campaigners, and community groups.

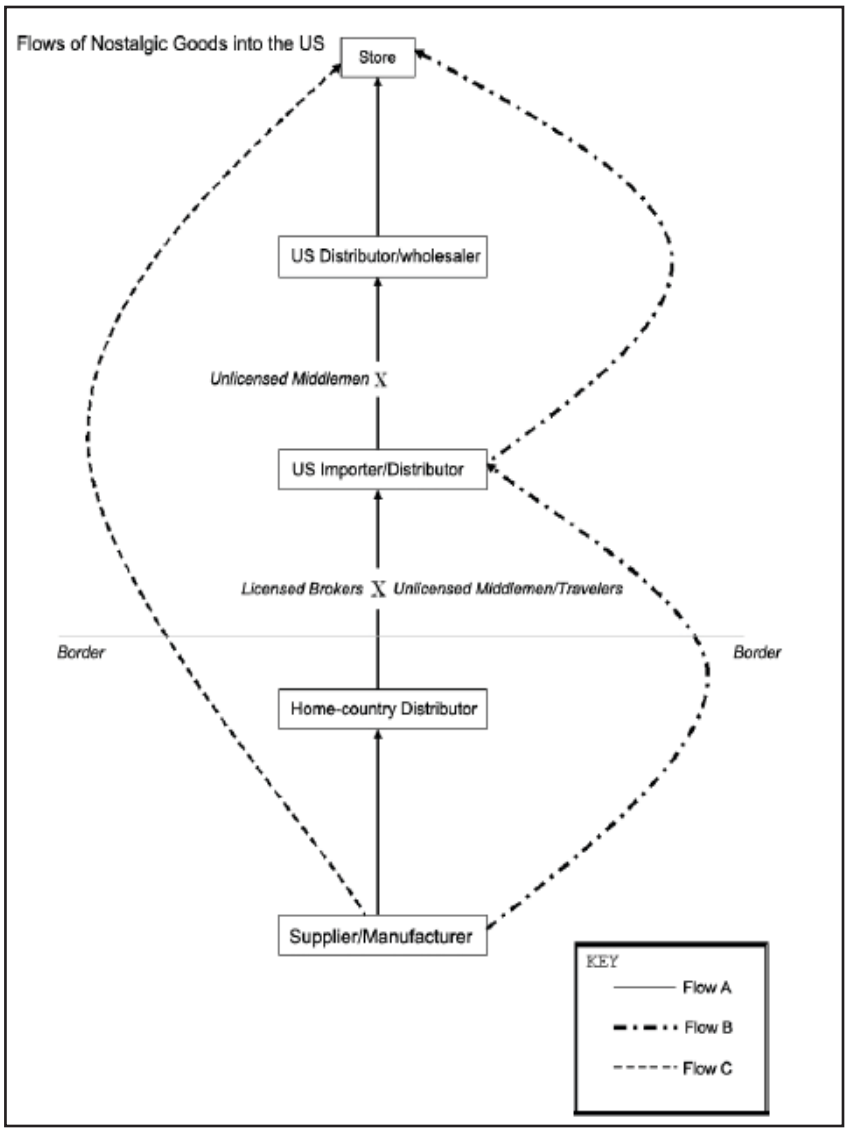
B. *The Value-Chain Approach*

Nostalgia goods flow through a multistep process involving manufacturers, home-country distributors, host-country importers, wholesalers, and stores — with a number of middlemen and at least one border crossing along the way (see Figure 1). The potential for policy or project intervention can be found at each step. LYF's activities with OCC demonstrate a multifaceted approach to development that focuses on increasing the value added to a product at each step and, as a result, increasing the overall value of the product.

38 United States Agency for International Development (USAID), DDI Project Quarterly Update, March 31, 2010 (Washington, DC: USAID, 2010).

39 Lorna Young Foundation (LYF), "The Oromo Coffee Company and the Lorna Young Foundation" (Information Sheet, 2010); LYF and Oromo Coffee Company, "The Story behind it…The Oromo Coffee Company and the Lorna Young Foundation" (PowerPoint presentation, 2010), www.oromocoffee.org; Andrew Bounds, "Ethiopian refugees discover benefits of coffee," Financial Times, May 7, 2009, www.ethiopianreview.com/articles/3989.

Figure 1. Flow of Nostalgic Goods into the United States



Source: Manuel Orozco, *Tasting Identity: Trends in Migrant Demands for Home Country Goods* (Washington, DC: US Agency for International Development, 2008).

USAID has adopted such a "value chain approach" to linking multiple small firms along international, national, and local chains, tapping into economic growth opportunities while "ensuring both the incentives for and the capability to compete in and benefit from market participation."[40] "The focus of the value chain approach is therefore on transforming relationships — particularly between firms linked vertically in the value chain to help stakeholders to: a) become competitive by upgrading their products and distribution, and b) remain competitive by adapting to changes in end-markets, in the enabling environment, or within the chain."[41] A value chain approach is useful in deciding how to tap the development potential of nostalgia trade in both origin and settlement countries.

40 MicroLINKS Wiki, "Value Chain Development" (accessed Sept. 27, 2010), http://apps.develebridge.net/amap/index.php/Value_Chain_Development.

41 MicroLINKS Wiki, "Key Elements of the Value Chain Approach" (accessed Sept. 27, 2010), http://apps.develebridge.net/amap/index.php/Key_Elements_of_the_Value_Chain_Approach.

Box 4. USAID-Funded Pakistani-Embroidered Cloth Exports

A three-year, $600,000 project completed in December 2007 integrated rural women into more profitable value chains, increased their economic participation, and enabled greater contribution to household incomes. With funding from USAID, Mennonite Economic Development Associates (MEDA) and the Entrepreneurship and Community Development Institute (ECDI) partnered to successfully train and deploy 213 mobile female sales agents, who unlike traditional middlemen, could conduct face-to-face transactions with sequestered embroiderers. The women sales agents purchased finished fabrics from embroiderers for sale to higher-value urban markets. As part of these transactions, the sales agents embedded product information, quality control, and contemporary designs into their services, reaching a total of 9,425 rural embroiderers. The project also stimulated the supply and demand of commercial design services into the value chain by connecting sales agents to skilled designers. On average, rural embroiderers increased their income by close to 300 percent as a result of project participation. In addition to these economic benefits, producers and sales agents participating in the project also experienced advances in their social conditions — for example, through greater say in household decisions. Program benefits are expected to continue through a number of initiatives aimed at enhancing the sustainability of services provided via the project, namely, a sales agent network association, buying houses, and business development services centers.42 Some of the production output is sold to "suitcase exporters" — women who purchase suits and sell them to friends and neighbors in the diaspora community when they return to Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Exports are rising as the quality of production improves.[43]

IV. Policy Options and Conclusions

Various combinations of the policy recommendations given below are relevant to most organizations interested in the development potential of diaspora tourism and nostalgia trade. These include governments in countries of origin and residence, donors (bilateral, multinational, and private), private businesses, trade associations, and civil society. All are aimed at "expanding the pie" beyond a handful of sites or companies in order to spread the benefits of tourism and trade to more areas with diaspora ties. Identifying and sharing the lessons learned with other groups is a goal of all the following policy suggestions.

Some general considerations should be kept in mind. Projects need to have good information on the characteristics of the diaspora being targeted — and on the motives, scope, capacity, and manifestations of diaspora-related trade and tourism. Diaspora tourism and nostalgia trade occur across a continuum

42 Mennonite Economic Development Associates (MEDA), "Behind the Veil: Access to Markets for Homebound Women Embroiderers," www.meda.org/WhatWeDo/ProductionMarketingLinkages/WhereWeWork/Longtermprojects/BehindtheVeil.html.

43 E-mail communication between co-author Carylanna Taylor and Alex Snelgrove of MEDA, June 22 and June 24, 2010.

of emigrant experience ranging from emigrants with a strong primary affiliation to their country of origin, to truly transnational citizens with feet planted in both their countries of origin and of residence, to second- and later-generation descendents who are just beginning to explore their origins.

Donor agencies need to find the intersection between diaspora tourism and trade on the one hand and broader development policy on the other. Questions such as whether a donor government should play a role in promoting a specific industry, product, or value chain, or which organization should be responsible for providing training and technical assistance may be best answered on a case-by-case basis. In most cases, the answers must be determined by the country-of-origin governments, but there may still be points of entry for donors to, for example, support research, training, and capacity building.[44]

Diaspora engagement in tourism and trade can occur in conjunction with or provide an entry point to education, direct investment, philanthropy, and volunteerism. The intersections of these can provide fertile ground for development initiatives. The following subsections draw on existing programs and policies to highlight mechanisms through which stakeholders at all levels can recognize and cultivate the development potential of diaspora tourism and nostalgia trade.

We loosely group suggested interventions in diaspora trade and nostalgia tourism under the following categories:

- Education and training
- The regulatory environment
- Institutional and infrastructure development
- Research and coordination
- Branding and marketing

A. Education and Training

Foster the interconnections between education and diaspora tourism. Heritage tourism in its many guises offers opportunities for education and cross-cultural understanding among travelers and with local populations. Teaching about national or ethnic heritage in countries of origin helps attract education-minded tourists and students and train local residents involved in tourism.[45] Teaching heritage at schools and universities in countries where diaspora populations reside broadens understanding and may help spur tourism. Offerings such as study tours tied in to university courses or language and culture "camps" may translate interest into actual visits by diaspora members and other tourists.

Educate (and learn from) travel professionals and organizations about offerings, trends, and needs that relate to diaspora tourism, with the aim to better promote cultural and heritage resources and expand diaspora and nondiaspora niche markets amenable to sustainable development.

Promote awareness of the scope and potential of diaspora tourism among local residents, in order to expand offerings and, where necessary, foster equal treatment of diaspora tourists who might otherwise be regarded as less worthy of respect than foreign tourists.[46]

44 For example, supporting civil society and academic efforts to track Jewish heritages back to Jamaica.

45 One roundtable participant noted that Cape Verde prioritizes technical education (for example, fisheries management). Yet, in a country where there are more Cape Verdeans living outside of the country than inside, heritage and literature offerings would be important educational experiences for visiting second and third generations, galvanizing their future participation in the cultural and economic development of their homeland.

46 India has a television and YouTube campaign that promotes hospitality and features a popular Bollywood actor.

Train entrepreneurs in the technical and business skills necessary to be successful in nostalgia trade and heritage tourism. Alternatively, find ways to *connect those with ideas to those with the specialized training and aptitude* needed to implement them. Organizations in home and host countries may find ways to train potential entrepreneurs, support transfer of knowledge between those receiving training and their partners abroad, and find volunteers/partners in areas of specialized knowledge (exports, health regulations, labeling, developing products suitable to the target market,[47] scaling up production) and/or basic business training (human relations, book-keeping, making a business plan).[48]

Provide critical support for innovation through training and incentives in order to add value to products and retain benefits within the diaspora or home communities. Innovation requires attention. A local community may, for example, be successful producers of agriculture products, but lack the capacity to add value to the products; for example, turning cassava into cassava chips. Diaspora members may be willing to help develop products and marketing channels or volunteer their assistance in projects to move local production up the value chain.

B. The Regulatory Environment: Facilitating the Flow of People and Goods

Make entry easier and less expensive for diaspora visitors. Efforts to waive visas or eliminate entry costs include the Persons of Indian Origin Card, the Overseas Vietnamese Card, and visa waivers for Filipino Canadians traveling to the Philippines under a Canadian passport. Ghana has proposed a "Sankofa stamp" to eliminate the need for visas for African Americans and is considering allowing dual citizenship. The Irish foreign affairs minister has proposed a Certificate of Irish Heritage that would entitle tourists with Irish roots to discounts on tourist facilities.

Share information in order to make diaspora travel safer, easier, and more transparent. Many countries have Web sites that provide information on entry requirements and online visa applications. To answer logistical questions about travel by Mexican nationals and by second- and third-generation emigrants, Mexico's Programa Paisano runs a Web site, staffs a 24-hour phone line, and prints more than a million booklets each year containing information about entry and exit, imports and exports of personal goods, and about the 3x1 remittance investment program. By increasing transparency and standardization, the effort reduces corruption, empowers migrants, and actively engages Mexico's diaspora.

Ease transactions for the manufacture, export, import, transport, and distribution of nostalgia goods. For example, delays in smaller ports caused by the practice of searching and x-raying containers add costs and make it difficult for smaller producers to establish sustainable supply chains.[49]

Help producers connect with diaspora markets, gauge the nature and scope of demand, and find ways to strengthen the value chain among diaspora communities and producers in order to retain control of local production. Provide support to diaspora communities working to develop and strengthen distribution networks to allow them to better compete with dominant external distribution networks.

47 Textile artisans from Oaxaca, Ecuador, initially had difficulties selling in the central valley of California because the fabric used for traditional clothing weighed too much. People were not buying even though they liked the product.

48 Mexico's 3x1 program and Ministry of Agriculture support some nostalgia products, but many do not flourish because they are stuck in fundamentals, such as making a business plan — comment made by a participant at the MPI roundtable on Diaspora Tourism and Nostalgia Trade, Washington DC, June 17, 2010.

49 Just Scotland (referring to facilitating imports of jams, marmalades, curries, and chutneys by Eswatini Swazi Kitchen, a Manzini Youth Care project owned and operated in Swaziland), www.justtradingscotland.co.uk.

C. Institutional and Infrastructure Development

Involve the local community, including the poor, in tourism development. USAID and other donors can help by encouraging better local governance, increasing awareness of the role of diasporas in tourism, and developing policies and regulations that involve the local community, even at the outset, such as when building permits are granted and the need for labor and skills is assessed. Local governments can provide incentives for hiring local people, and tap into their connections to diaspora communities

Foster production of cultural goods — music, art, and cinema — that would be attractive to tourists and/or consumers in countries of settlement.

Invest in domestic tourism and smaller ventures. By catering only to high-end tourists, many countries fail to engage the much larger pool of lower- and middle-income diaspora visitors and domestic tourists. Large tourism venues, for instance, are generally owned by foreigners or nationals from other parts of the country and tend to invest little in the surrounding community. Developing tourism venues with an eye to domestic and lower- and middle-income visitors supports smaller entrepreneurs with deeper ties to a community's or a region's economy and may have greater multiplier effects than those aimed at higher-income tourists

D. Research and Coordination

Measure the scope and patterns of diaspora visits to friends and relatives, including from within a given region. Determine if diaspora visits to developing countries have helped soften the blow of the global downturn on tourism. If so, identify how economic development policies could take advantage of the relative inelasticity of diaspora members' demand for tourism-related services.

Identify, target, and develop tourism-related areas of interest among diasporas. These may include heritage offerings such as festivals, churches, or historic sites, or social issues such as health care that indirectly support the tourism industry. Different generations within a diaspora may have different priorities. One MPI roundtable participant suggested that recent emigrants place a higher priority on social issues, while second, third, or later generations might be more interested in parks and heritage sites.

Identify products and services with high local value added, going beyond traditional exports of primary or unprocessed products with little value added.

Host conferences and events to promote and share research about diaspora tourism and nostalgia trade. Use these events to identify and build up businesses and attractions that draw diaspora visitors and encourage them to participate in the local economy (hotels, local restaurants, sightseeing companies, arts and crafts vendors). Conferences can also be used to encourage multinational collaboration in researching and documenting diaspora histories and cultivating heritage trails.

C***ollaborate with and strengthen international government and private trade organizations***, such as the UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) and the World Travel and Tourism Council (WWTC). Seek out opportunities to collaborate across national borders in order to better appeal to diaspora members whose roots and interests span regions. Support promotional events and tourism-industry training in host countries.

Encourage genealogy tourism by cataloging and facilitating access to birth, death, marriage, residence, baptism, and other public records.

E. Branding and Marketing

Develop and promote a national brand to attract tourists and change foreign public perceptions of a country. Web sites and social networking media may further serve to strengthen a diaspora's identity and ties to the home country.

Generate marketing materials that appeal to and feature both diaspora members and traditional foreign tourists.

Emphasize the quality and uniqueness of home-country goods. Protect national products and brands from infringement by third-party knockoffs, (for example, Thai-grown rice has been marketed in New York and New Jersey as rice grown in Haiti). The Mexican state of Jalisco (tequila), Italy (olive oil, wines), and France (wines, cheeses), among others, have been successful in brand control. Designations like France's Appellation contrôlée may help to reduce misrepresentation of goods in countries where nostalgia goods are sold.

Pay attention to identity issues. When crafting national brands take care not to unduly privilege a single regional identity. Members of diasporas can have multiple, mutually reinforcing identities and simultaneously hold strong ties to both home and host country. Careful consideration of how heritage initiatives are funded and national brands are crafted can aid in effective engagement of the widest range of diaspora members.

Aim for high value, not high volume. The diaspora market is an intermediary market that is more connected to the local economy and society rather than enclave tourism, and with lower costs. High value doesn't need to be high cost.

Top Five Recommendations for Strengthening Diaspora Tourism and Nostalgia Trade

- Provide technical support throughout the value chain
- Ease the flow of people and goods across borders
- Support research, training, and policy development for diaspora tourism, trade, and heritage sites
- Support marketing and branding efforts
- Identify opportunities for high-value-added trade and tourism investments with development potential in home and/or diaspora communities.

F. Conclusion

In 2009 the UNWTO reported that tourism had become the fourth largest industry in the world.[50] It was a leading export earner for 83 percent of developing countries.[51] Even as profits often leak out of the local economy, some benefits also leak in, through associated services such as local transportation, guided tours, shopping, and dining. In some cases, tourism also serves as an impetus for promoting environmental protection, as in Costa Rica and Kenya. However, there is widespread recognition that a viable tourist industry requires a minimum level of security and development. Moreover, positive impacts on the local economy are not always realized when a tourist industry is isolated or restricted to secure enclaves. The potential for socially irresponsible tourism with harmful ecological and social externalities is a matter of concern. The observed characteristics of diaspora tourism indicate that it is less susceptible to these negative effects than many other forms of tourism — especially if it is tied to the preservation and enjoyment of cultural heritage.

Trade can, similarly, be a double-edged sword. While it encourages greater efficiency and specialization, it can also undermine the viability of small producers. The diaspora market for nostalgia goods can offer a measure of protection to small or artisanal producers whose products are bought for their quality and symbolic evocation of the homeland rather than for their competitive pricing. Without heavy-handed intervention, governments of countries of origin should promote the distribution and marketing of nostalgia products and encourage cooperative arrangements among small-scale growers and manufacturers who supply the diaspora market.

Nostalgia trade and heritage tourism can involve diaspora populations in transactions that ease the integration of their homeland economies into an increasingly connected global economy, while also helping diasporas to maintain their ties to their countries of origin or ancestry. The governments and societies of those countries would be well advised to cultivate these interactions, and donors to assist them in doing so.

50 UNWTO, *World Tourism Barometer* (Madrid, UNWTO, June 2009).

51 Martha Honey and Raymond Gilpin, "Tourism in Developing Countries: Promoting Peace and Reducing Poverty" (Special Report 233, US Institute of Peace, October 2009).

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The Migration Policy Institute is a nonprofit, nonpartisan think tank dedicated to the study of the movement of people worldwide. MPI provides analysis, development, and evaluation of migration and refugee policies at the local, national, and international levels. It aims to meet the rising demand for pragmatic and thoughtful responses to the challenges and opportunities that large-scale migration, whether voluntary or forced, presents to communities and institutions in an increasingly integrated world.

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