

# Homebound Security

## Migrant Support for Improved Public Safety in Conflict-Prone Settings

A Report of the CSIS Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project

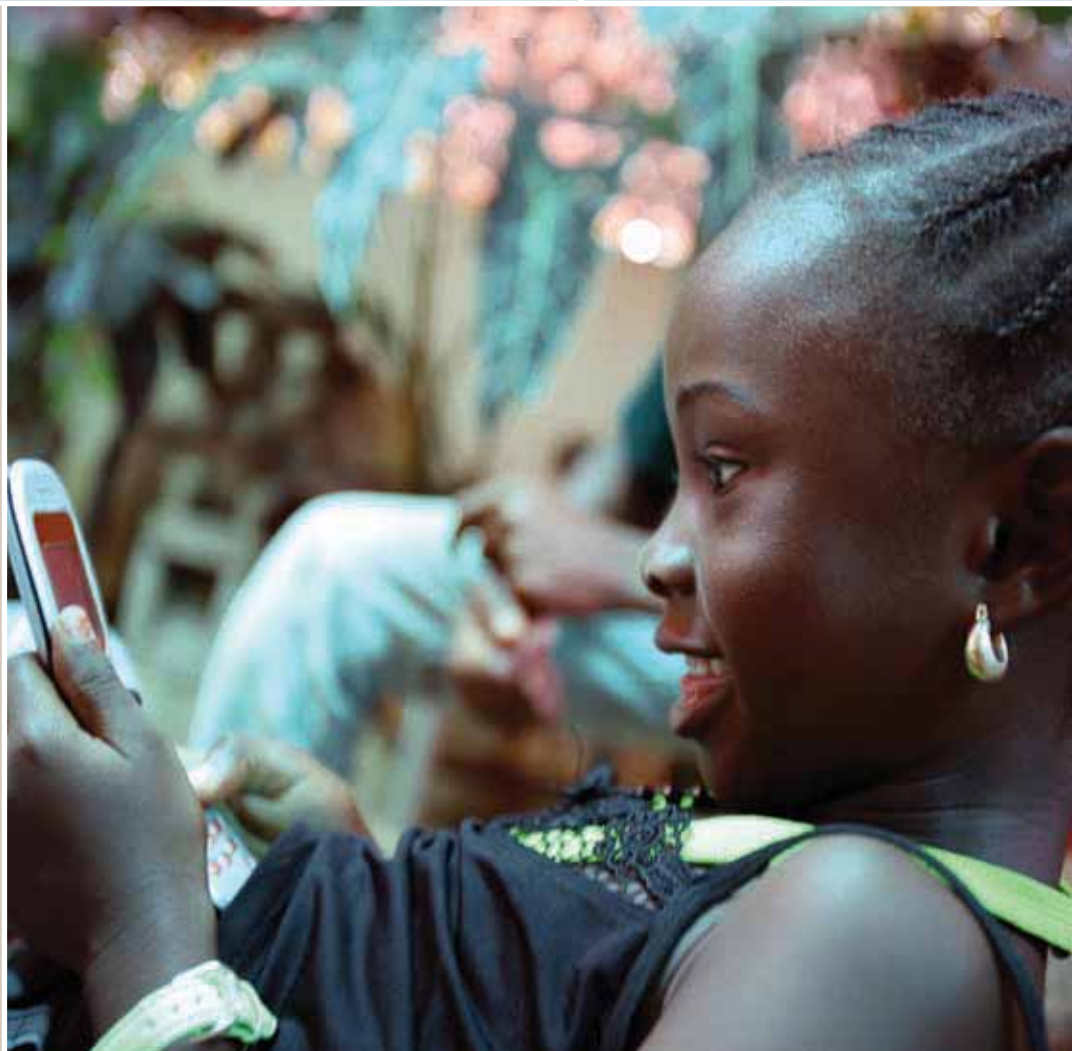
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Finally, as with all PCR Project products, the authors take full responsibility for the contents of this report.



# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The establishment of security and the rule of law are indispensable for effective post-conflict reconstruction.<sup>1</sup> A safe and secure environment provides the space for societies to begin the difficult task of rebuilding their economies and governing institutions. Yet in far too many instances, the international community and national counterparts fall far short of this goal and, instead, allow dangerous security vacuums to be created. Power vacuums, in turn, are quickly filled by the worst elements. Intervening powers and national security forces then spend months, if not years, trying to turn back the clock to ensure that national forces have primacy.

This study will focus on one potential way to improve security and public safety in conflict environments: developing new partnerships with individual migrants, migrant associations, and organized diaspora networks. These individuals and communities have a demonstrated and keen interest in the security and development of their home societies. They already support livelihoods back home by sending remittances (financial transfers), investing in businesses, engaging in social welfare projects, and providing technical expertise. Yet, to date, neither researchers nor policy-makers have paid any sustained attention to the potential contribution that these individuals and associations could make to support public safety.

There are numerous difficulties associated with such a premise. Four in particular stand out:

1. It has never been tried before;
2. Migrants and diasporas often exacerbate the conflict;
3. The rule of law is a fundamental responsibility of the state; and
4. Migrants and diasporas are rarely organized in coherent groupings that can easily be tapped.

These issues and concerns are valid and could interfere with attempts to enlist migrants and diasporas for purposes of enhancing public safety. The PCR Project believes, however, that if designed appropriately, the risks could be mitigated and the rewards worth the investment. In other words, this study will not recommend ways for migrants and diasporas to become directly involved in the basic security architecture of the state; rather, it will explore innovative ways they may complement official efforts.

The report is organized in three parts. The first provides a background for the study, defines terms, and outlines the methodology used. The second reviews the ways migrants and diasporas currently maintain ties and support livelihoods back home, and it addresses the four difficulties noted above. The third—the “ideas bank”—suggests innovative ways for migrants and diasporas, along with international partners, to improve public safety by introducing no-tech through to high-tech solutions. Finally, recommendations for next steps and implementation are included.

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1. CSIS Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project and the Association of the United States Army, “Post-Conflict Reconstruction Task Framework,” CSIS, May 2002, <http://csis.org/images/stories/pcr/framework.pdf>.



# 1

## SCOPE OF THE STUDY

### Background

Globalization has revolutionized the ways people communicate. Innovative connections empower the poor to fight poverty on their own terms, often with the assistance of family members living abroad. The intense surge in mobile phone use (and its increasing affordability) along with widespread access to the Internet in many developing states have generated inventive ways of doing business. Mobile phones provide daily price information on food exports for subsistence farmers in poor countries, such as in Burkina Faso and Mali. They are used as debit cards and, along with the Internet, facilitate transfers of funds from the developed to the developing world, reaching places where formal banking institutions are weak, as in El Salvador, rural parts of India, the Philippines, and even where such institutions are nonexistent, as in Somalia.

Some international agencies, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and national governments have started to focus on these connections—and migrants and diasporas more generally—to advance their goals of providing more targeted assistance. Migrants and diasporas possess local knowledge, resources, and expertise that could improve development outcomes, which is especially relevant in conflict-prone settings, where international access to and knowledge of local populations may be limited due to insecurity, as in Somalia, Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Central African Republic, and the tribal areas of Pakistan. Family members abroad often respond much more quickly in emergencies than national governments and international agencies.<sup>1</sup>

The increased attention by the international community to the contribution of migrants and diasporas is not surprising. In 2008, migrants sent an estimated \$330 billion back home.<sup>2</sup> In the aggregate for that year, these financial transfers, called remittances, exceeded official development assistance by nearly three times.<sup>3</sup> In addition to financial support at the household level, migrants have also made significant contributions to peace building and post-conflict reconstruction through collective philanthropy by pooling donations to fund schools and healthcare facilities, for example. Yet, despite the enhanced focus by donors, and some improved programming directed at harnessing the development potential of remittances, there are still significant gaps in understanding how best to leverage the positive impact of these flows—both financial and technical—for recipient communities.

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1. Dilip Ratha, “Leveraging Remittances for Development,” *Policy Brief*, Migration Policy Institute, June 2007, [http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/MigDevPB\\_062507.pdf](http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/MigDevPB_062507.pdf).

2. Dilip Ratha, Sanket Mohapatra, and Ani Silwal, “Outlook for Remittance Flows 2009–2011: Remittances expected to fall by 7–10 percent in 2009,” *Migration and Development Brief 10*, World Bank Development Prospects Group, July 13, 2009, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1110315015165/Migration&DevelopmentBrief10.pdf>.

3. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), “Development Aid at its highest level ever in 2008,” March 30, 2009, [http://www.oecd.org/document/35/0,3343,en\\_2649\\_34487\\_42458595\\_1\\_1\\_1,00.html](http://www.oecd.org/document/35/0,3343,en_2649_34487_42458595_1_1_1,00.html).

## Definitions

For the purposes of this study, “migrants” and “diasporas” will include the full spectrum of involved individuals and groups:

- First- and second-generation individual migrants.
- “Transnationals,” that is, first or second-generation migrants who hold more than one passport. They regularly travel between home and host country, and often have a residence and/or business interests in both places.
- Diasporas, or people who live away from their ancestral homeland – some are many generations removed - but maintain connections through culture, language, religion or other links.
- Migrant associations and diaspora networks (discussed in more detail in section two).
- Many donors, home governments, and even some scholars use the terms “diasporas” and “migrants” interchangeably, even though experts on migration might dispute the overlap in some instances. This report will refer primarily to migrants and/or diasporas to cover the full spectrum noted above, but will drill down further when specificity is required, as in the “ideas bank” section.
- These individuals and groups already stay connected with their homeland through a number of established practices, some of which may also be adapted to improve public safety. Yet, to date, neither researchers nor policymakers have paid any sustained attention to the potential contribution these communities could make to improving public safety. Much of the research on migrants and diasporas initially concentrated on how they perpetuate conflict and instability.<sup>4</sup> In the last decade, that research has expanded to focus on the positive contributions they also make to development and to peace and reconciliation processes back home.<sup>5</sup>

The lack of research and policy focus on public safety can partly be due to the concern over non-state actors becoming involved in such a critical core function of the state. But public safety extends beyond the state’s monopoly on the use of force.

“Public safety” refers to the provision of a safe environment so that communities can undertake economic and political reconstruction without fear of violence or intimidation. As men-

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4. For example, Irish-American support for the Irish Republican Army (IRA) during the conflict in Northern Ireland is well documented. For additional examples, see Daniel Byman et al., *Trends in Outside Support for Insurgent Movement* (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND, 2001), [http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph\\_reports/2007/MR1405.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/2007/MR1405.pdf).

5. See Randolph Kent and Karin von Hippel, with Mark Bradbury, “Social Facilitation, Development and the Diaspora: Support for Sustainable Health Services in Somalia,” International Policy Institute, King’s College London, November 2004, [http://csis.org/files/publication/091130\\_somalia.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/091130_somalia.pdf). See also, Jennifer Brinkerhoff, “Diaspora Mobilization Factors and Policy Options,” in *Converting Migration Drains into Gains: Harnessing the Resources of Overseas Professionals*, ed. Clay Wescott and Jennifer Brinkerhoff (Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2006), pp. 127–153, <http://www.adb.org/Documents/Books/Converting-Migration-Drains-Gains/ChapterV.pdf>; Patricia Weiss Fagen, “Migration, Development and Social Services,” *Transatlantic Perspectives on Migration*, Policy Brief No. 6, Institute for the Study of International Migration, Georgetown University, February 2009, [http://isim.georgetown.edu/Publications/GMF%20Materials/LOWRES\\_GMFPolicybriefDiasporas.pdf](http://isim.georgetown.edu/Publications/GMF%20Materials/LOWRES_GMFPolicybriefDiasporas.pdf); and, Public International Law and Policy Group (PILPG), “Engaging Diaspora Communities in Peace Processes: Assessment Report and Program Strategy,” African Diaspora Policy Centre, March 2009, [http://www.diaspora-centre.org/DOCS/PILPG\\_Engaging\\_Dia.pdf](http://www.diaspora-centre.org/DOCS/PILPG_Engaging_Dia.pdf).

tioned, achieving a secure environment has proven to be one of the greatest challenges for the international community and their national partners in post-conflict environments. Obstacles are faced in a range of areas, including attempts to demobilize, disarm, and reintegrate former combatants and to rebuild weak, ineffective and/or corrupt police, military, judicial, and penal systems.

Beyond these difficulties, additional barriers to improving public safety can include limited resources and expertise and a poor understanding of local dynamics by international actors, especially when they play a significant role in reconstruction. These problems can be exacerbated further when the reform process is being dictated by the capital city or even further afield and the local community does not have ownership.

Public safety depends on reliable actors and institutions and extends to citizens' ability to hold their officials accountable. Public safety is also contingent on physical infrastructure, streetlights, and emergency alert systems, which allow for greater freedom of movement. It can even include improved literacy rates among security officials. Effective information sharing and transparent institutions also reinforce public safety. This broader definition provides community members, including those living abroad, with opportunities to think more creatively about ways to complement official efforts.

## Methodology

Research for this study included four overlapping phases: (1) a series of consultations with experts on security and migration (see appendix A); (2) a comprehensive literature review of materials on migrants, diasporas, development, conflict, and innovative approaches to public safety (see appendix C); (3) small seminars and other interviews with members of migrant associations and diaspora networks and other experts (see appendix A); and (4) peer-review of the final draft, shared with experts on security and migration. The ideas bank in section 3 was developed in partnership with graduate students in law and international relations at Syracuse University's Institute for National Security & Counterterrorism (see biographies at the end of the volume).

## Goal of the Study

The purpose of this report is to stimulate thinking about how migrant and diaspora resources and expertise can be drawn on to address public safety concerns, especially in places where access by international development and humanitarian actors may be limited. This could include, for example, the development of online "crowdsourcing" platforms (using the "collective intelligence" of the wider community) to gather and share information about the security situation on the ground and provide security alerts to local populations on their mobile phones. Or it could be an online dispute resolution platform, using widely available and inexpensive tools such as Skype, so that well-respected judges and lawyers living in the diaspora could help settle disputes back home. Migrants could also pool donations to fund solar-powered street lighting or source patrol bikes and safety whistles for community patrols, mimicking well-established practices in other areas of development, as will be outlined in the next section.

# 2

## MIGRANTS AND DIASPORAS INTERACTIONS WITH THE HOMELAND

This section outlines the ways migrants and diasporas maintain ties and support livelihoods back home, as the basis for exploring their capacity to adapt such practices for improving public safety.

### Remittances

Perhaps the most significant and recognized way migrants and diasporas support relatives back home is by sending remittances. Numerous studies demonstrate that these financial transfers sustain livelihoods across the developing world.<sup>1</sup> The average individual monthly transaction is \$250, when sent by migrants from the developed to the developing world, though figures far lower are also transferred, especially when they move from one developing country to another. Funds remitted are used for household items, medical expenses, school fees, or to support a family farm or business. Remittances are more resilient than other types of financial flows. In fact, despite the global economic downturn, the World Bank estimates remittances will decrease by only 7 to 10 percent in 2009,<sup>2</sup> compared with foreign direct investment, which is expected to fall by more than 29 percent.<sup>3</sup>

Many developing countries, especially those in conflict or crisis, are highly dependent on remittances.<sup>4</sup> In Afghanistan, they account for approximately 30 percent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP), the highest percentage in South Asia. In Haiti and Honduras, remittances account for 20 and 24 percent of GDP, respectively.<sup>5</sup> Somalia receives an estimated \$1 billion annually in remittances.<sup>6</sup>

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1. See Richard Adams and John Page Adams, "Do International Migration and Remittances Reduce Poverty in Developing Countries," *World Development* 33, no. 10: 1645–1669 (2005), [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTAFROFFCHIECO/Resources/Migration\\_and\\_Remittances.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTAFROFFCHIECO/Resources/Migration_and_Remittances.pdf). Also see Ratha, "Leveraging Remittances for Development."

2. Ratha, Mohapatra, and Silwal, "Outlook for Remittance Flows 2009–2011."

3. Lisa Pham, "Overseas Investment Plunging," *New York Times*, September 17, 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/18/business/global/18fdi.html>.

4. Patricia Weiss Fagen with Micah Bump, "Remittances in Conflict and Crisis: How Remittances Sustain Livelihoods in War, Crises and Transitions to Peace," Policy Paper, International Peace Academy, February 2006, [http://www.ipacademy.org/media/pdf/publications/remittances\\_erpt.pdf](http://www.ipacademy.org/media/pdf/publications/remittances_erpt.pdf).

5. International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), "Sending money home: Worldwide remittance flows to developing countries," 2006, <http://www.ifad.org/remittances/maps/index.htm>.

6. Mark Ferenchik, "Anti-terror laws hinder Somali immigrants," *DispatchPolitics.com*, October 26, 2009, [http://www.dispatchpolitics.com/live/content/local\\_news/stories/2009/10/26/copy/REMIT\\_ART\\_10-26-09\\_B3\\_PEFFS0A.html?adsec=politics&sid=101](http://www.dispatchpolitics.com/live/content/local_news/stories/2009/10/26/copy/REMIT_ART_10-26-09_B3_PEFFS0A.html?adsec=politics&sid=101).

## Collective Philanthropy

Beyond household remittances, migrants and diasporas have engaged in collective philanthropy, pooling donations to fund community projects. Ghanaians in the diaspora have organized to sponsor a health insurance scheme for family members in Ghana.<sup>7</sup> Some in the Rwandan diaspora established a One Dollar Campaign to raise money to build housing for orphans and widows of the genocide, using Facebook and other online networks to spread the word. In Somalia, migrant remittances have been used to improve healthcare infrastructure, including private pharmacies and clinics.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps the most successful examples of organized philanthropy are the home town associations (HTAs), small groups of migrants that partner with home communities to fund development projects.<sup>9</sup> The first HTAs were formed by migrants from Latin America, but they have since been established by other migrant communities throughout the world as a vehicle for civic participation and collective action. Increasingly, these initiatives are organized with the support of home and host governments and international organizations. In Mexico, for example, the government has a “3 x 1” program, in which development projects supported by HTAs are matched dollar for dollar by the Mexican federal, state, and local authorities.<sup>10</sup>

Some donors and international agencies, such as the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and the Diaspora Network Alliance (DNA) at the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), have proven to be more innovative than others in collaborating with migrants and diasporas to achieve development goals. For example, in post-conflict El Salvador,<sup>11</sup> IFAD is working with families in rural communities that receive remittances to improve agricultural productivity. The project directs money gathered from HTAs to fund farming education and diversification programs. So far, it has helped nearly 30,000 families move away from subsistence agriculture to raise animals and grow crops that can be sold in local markets. In addition, the Committee for the Betterment of La Labor HTA in Los Angeles collaborated with the IFAD-supported Rural Development Project for the Central Region to assist with a project to build a high school in El Salvador using migrant donations, with support from the El Salvadoran community in Los Angeles and the Ministry of Education in El Salvador.<sup>12</sup>

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7. Richard Black, “Comments on the Ghana health care scheme funded by the Ghanaian Diaspora,” House of Commons Select Committee on International Development, January 6, 2004.

8. Kent and von Hippel, “Social Facilitation, Development and the Diaspora.”

9. For more information on HTAs, see Manuel Orozco and Rebecca Rouse, “Migrant Hometown Associations and Opportunities for Development: A Global Perspective,” Migration Policy Institute, February 2007, <http://www.migrationinformation.org/USfocus/display.cfm?ID=579>.

10. See also, Manuel Orozco with Michelle Lapointe, “Mexican Hometown Associations and Development Opportunities,” *Journal of International Affairs* 57, no. 2 (Spring 2004).

11. In 2008, the Central Bank of El Salvador estimated that remittances totaled \$3.8 billion, and a UN Development Program (UNDP) survey showed that an estimated 22 percent of families in El Salvador receive remittances. See U.S. Department of State, “Background Note: El Salvador,” September 2009, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2033.htm>.

12. IFAD, “Remittances: Spreading the Benefits in El Salvador,” *Stories from the Field*, September 2008, [http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/c/document\\_library/get\\_file?p\\_1\\_id=60350&folderId=100456&name=D LFE-1416.pdf](http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/c/document_library/get_file?p_1_id=60350&folderId=100456&name=D LFE-1416.pdf).

## Knowledge Transfer

Migrants and diasporas transfer knowledge back home in ways that take into account both the national ethos and the migrant experience abroad, blending the old with the new culture. The rise of mobile phones, cheap international calls, the Internet, and cable television have all reduced the virtual distance and transaction costs between families and communities across continents.<sup>13</sup> The Internet has led to what Jennifer Brinkerhoff describes as “digital diasporas”—diaspora communities online that debate, donate, and share information about the homeland.<sup>14</sup> According to Brinkerhoff, “where knowledge exchange is concerned, diaspora members can act as important interlocutors between the technology and its originating context and the homeland recipients and culture.”<sup>15</sup> They also can act as liaisons between international organizations and local communities, as will be highlighted later.

Beyond these virtual connections, migrants also stay physically connected. They may return temporarily to visit, volunteer, train others, work for an extended period, return permanently, or return to run for high political office.<sup>16</sup> The International Organization for Migration (IOM) recruits migrants to return to their country of origin for several months to several years to fill capacity gaps. Several programs, such as the Afghanistan Expatriate Program and Palestinian Expatriate Professional Program, identify qualified individuals living abroad to provide expertise in finance, health, urban planning, and other specialized areas for the home government.<sup>17</sup> Under the United Nation’s TOKTEN program, returnees fill positions in both the private and public sectors.<sup>18</sup>

## Advocacy

Migrants and diasporas are often the strongest advocates for their communities’ interests. The influence of the Armenian, Cuban, Irish, Jewish, and other diasporas in the United States has

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13. Michael Fullilove, *World Wide Webs: Diasporas and the International System*, Lowy Institute Paper 22 (Sydney: Lowy Institute for International Policy, 2008), <http://lowyinstitute.richmedia-server.com/docs/Fullilove-Diasporas-International-System.pdf>.

14. Jennifer Brinkerhoff, *Digital Diasporas: Identity and Transnational Engagement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

15. Brinkerhoff, “Diaspora Mobilization Factors and Policy Options.”

16. Ashraf Ghani, a candidate in the 2009 Afghan presidential elections, lived abroad for 20 years before the Taliban’s fall. He returned to serve as Afghan minister of finance (2002–2004) and then again to campaign for president in 2009, but he lacked the popular support necessary to win the election, a pitfall other political returnees may also experience. Those who do not join the government, but return to do other work, are part of a process dubbed “reverse brain drain.” See Jean Johnson, “The Reverse Brain Drain and the Global Diffusion of Knowledge,” *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* (Summer/Fall 2002).

17. See World Bank, “What Role for Diaspora Expertise in Post-Conflict Reconstruction? Lessons from Afghanistan, and West Bank and Gaza,” *Social Development Notes, Conflict Prevention & Reconstruction*, no. 25 (July 2006), [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTCPR/214578-1111751313696/21031828/DN25\\_Web.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTCPR/214578-1111751313696/21031828/DN25_Web.pdf).

18. The Temporary Return of Qualified Nationals (RQN) and Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN) programs both operate in a number of different countries around the world. These returnees are alternatively embraced by their country or seen as out-of-touch and opportunistic, especially because they did not experience the conflict in the same way as those who stayed behind. Returnees can be treated as expatriates by international organizations and thus may be paid more than permanent civil sector workers, and this may cause resentment. Still, they bring knowledge, skills, and resources that may alter the country’s economic and political environment.

been well documented.<sup>19</sup> Active migrants campaign to alter their host countries' politics toward the home country and in several notable instances have had a significant impact on host country policy. For example, Ahmed Chalabi may have been instrumental in the argument to invade Iraq.

These individuals and associations can also alter the policies of home governments. Pressure from migrants can even shape elections in the country of origin.<sup>20</sup> Increasingly, countries recognize the right to vote of migrants, and national candidates will often campaign overseas. Thousands of Lebanese traveled back to Lebanon for the 2009 elections to vote,<sup>21</sup> while candidates running for president in Mexico and El Salvador have actively campaigned in the United States.<sup>22</sup>

## Private Investment

Migrants and diasporas can also be a source of large-scale private investment back home. Not only are they committed to promoting private-sector development in their country of origin, but they are willing to take risks that other investors may not be willing to make, especially in conflict or post-conflict societies.<sup>23</sup> Increasingly, countries have dedicated government ministries that identify and secure their investments. In Afghanistan, the government's national investment promotion agency, the Afghanistan Investment Support Agency (AISA), has reached out to Afghans living abroad to encourage private-sector investment.<sup>24</sup> The government of Sierra Leone recently founded an Office of Diaspora Affairs to link professional and technical expertise in the diaspora with local employment, inform the diaspora about political reforms, and encourage investment.<sup>25</sup>

Donor agencies are also working to promote investment. USAID has partnered with Western Union to host an online business plan competition for U.S.-based African diasporas, the African Diaspora Marketplace (ADM). The competition will award several grants to start businesses that create jobs, and address local needs.<sup>26</sup> USAID has also launched the Diaspora Network Alliance (DNA) to leverage diaspora resources for development purposes.<sup>27</sup> The DNA framework may provide an appropriate mechanism for initiating more diaspora-led public-private partnerships, facilitated by USAID, especially with respect to public safety.

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19. In addition to mentioning these, Fullilove gives a case study of the Indian diasporas' growing effectiveness in the United States. Fullilove, *World Wide Webs*.

20. "Diasporas—a world of exiles: The political influence of Diasporas," *The Economist*, January 2, 2003.

21. "Canadians fly on free tickets to vote in Lebanese election," CBC News, June 1, 2009, <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/calgary/story/2009/05/29/canada-calgary-fly-lebanon-election-vote.html>.

22. For example, last December, then El Salvadorian presidential candidate Mauricio Funes campaigned in Washington, D.C.

23. Kate Gillespie, Edward Sayre and David Sturges, "Diaspora Interest in Homeland Investment," *Journal of International Business Studies* 30, no. 3 (1999), <http://www.questia.com/googleScholar.qst;jsessionid=Kz6pVQy2W52sj222w4rJDBJqGHSWRTbG5YJLr4xTwS8hD27Jm3nl!299803806!1098105941?docId=5001837532>.

24. Jennifer Brinkerhoff et al., "Partnering to Beckon Them Home: Public-Sector Innovation for Diaspora Foreign Investment Promotion," *Public Administration and Development* 28, issue 1 (September 2007): 54–66.

25. Government of Sierra Leone, "Welcome Home: Office of the Diaspora," [http://www.diasporaaffairs.gov.sl/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=frontpage&Itemid=1](http://www.diasporaaffairs.gov.sl/index.php?option=com_content&view=frontpage&Itemid=1).

26. USAID, "African Diaspora Marketplace," <http://www.diasporamarketplace.org/>.

27. USAID, "Diaspora Engagement: Remittances and Beyond," [http://www.usaid.gov/our\\_work/global\\_partnerships/gda/remittances.html](http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/global_partnerships/gda/remittances.html).

## Established Practices for Transferring Money and Expertise

Remittances may pass through formal financial institutions, such as banks or Western Union, or through travel and trade. The informal *hawala* shops, found in the Middle East, South Asia, and many parts of Africa, for example, are also used to send money back home, notably in places where formal banking systems are weak, nonexistent, too inflexible, and/or costly. Migrants may also use any type of small business, such as a corner grocery or an Internet café, for sending remittances. In the United States, banks are increasingly catering to the needs of migrants, based on the recognition that remittances comprise a significant financial flow, even if the individual transactions are themselves small.

At the receiving end, there is a mix of formal and informal institutions; some even act as banks through extension of microcredit and other forms of loans. Both informal and formal transfer services exist at either end of the process and interact with each other regardless of legality. While the cash itself rarely moves, a number of creative accounting practices are used to ensure that the flow is accounted for in each direction.<sup>28</sup>

Today, funds are also transferred via mobile phone and the Internet, significantly reducing transaction costs. Mobile banking (“m-banking”) uses widely available technologies to offer low-income customers access to basic banking services, such as savings and bill pay. A number of telecommunications firms have extended their services to target microcredit and remittance transfers.<sup>29</sup> According to an assessment by the Consultative Group to Assist the Poor (CGAP), a policy and research center focused on financial services, the proliferation of m-banking is not surprising, given the global expansion of Internet and mobile phone coverage. They estimate that 80 percent of the global population has access to a mobile network, and nearly a quarter of those with mobile phones live in the developing world.<sup>30</sup>

Telecommunications firms are also partnering with banks and money transfer institutions to provide migrants with easy-to-use and more affordable ways to send money home. For example, Western Union, Radio Shack, and Trumpet Mobile, a small wireless carrier in Latin America, have combined services. Mobile phones are sold at Radio Shack, and these can be “topped-up” with money through Western Union. The customer can then alert the intended recipient that the money has been sent via mobile phone.<sup>31</sup> Remithome, an online money transfer provider established exclusively between the United States and the Philippines, charges a \$10 flat fee for each transaction under \$1,000 for registered users with a U.S. bank account.<sup>32</sup> There are numerous other examples of business ventures that recognize and seek to take advantage of opportunities in this

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28. Karin von Hippel, “Counter Radicalization Development Assistance,” DIIS Working Paper no. 2006/9, Danish Institute for International Studies, <http://www.diis.dk/graphics/Publications/WP2006/DIIS%20WP%202006-9.web.pdf>.

29. Christine Bowers, “How banking on a mobile phone can help the poor,” *Foreign Policy* blog, January 17, 2007, [http://blog.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2007/01/17/how\\_banking\\_on\\_a\\_mobile\\_phone\\_can\\_help\\_the\\_poor](http://blog.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2007/01/17/how_banking_on_a_mobile_phone_can_help_the_poor).

30. “Branchless Banking in 2020,” Consultative Group to Assist the Poor (CGAP), March 25, 2009, <http://www.cgap.org/p/site/c/template.rc/1.26.10532/>.

31. Cecilia Kang, “Three Firms Combine on Cell Phone Remittances,” *Washington Post*, April 1, 2008, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/03/31/AR2008033102512.html>.

32. Remithome, <http://www.remithome.com/about-us.html>.

space, from companies like Obopay,<sup>33</sup> operating in India, to Vodafone, in global partnership with Citibank,<sup>34</sup> and other smaller partnerships.

While many of these arrangements offer new opportunities for the poor to access banking services and minimize transaction costs, regulatory frameworks are struggling to keep pace. This is particularly worrisome since unregulated financial flows may also be used to fund conflict. Since 9/11, the Patriot Act and other regulatory reforms have attempted to stem such flows, but in so doing, they have also made it more difficult for some to send remittances.<sup>35</sup> In several notable instances, the U.S. government has shut down remittance houses altogether, as with the Somalia hawala shop, al-Barakaat.

Terrorist financing is a legitimate concern, but the U.S. government needs more nuanced tools to separate legitimate from illegitimate flows. Families in high-risk countries are highly dependent on household remittances and shutting down one remittance house only serves to further disenfranchise impoverished populations, driving these flows deeper underground, while new money transfer shops are inevitably set up within days so as to ensure family members back home can receive much-needed assistance.<sup>36</sup>

Whether through remittances, collective philanthropy, knowledge transfer, advocacy, or private investment, migrants and diasporas have a tremendous impact on the homeland. And their serious commitment presents a number of opportunities to expand this engagement to address public safety. While no clear examples of migrants or diasporas contributing to public safety emerged during this research, established practices for transferring money and expertise could be modified to achieve this end and support the concepts presented in the next section, the “ideas bank.”

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33. Obopay, <https://www.obopay.com/consumer/Welcome.do>.

34. See Vodafone, “Vodafone and Citigroup announce worldwide mobile financial remittance venture,” press release, February 12, 2007, [http://www.vodafone.com/start/media\\_relations/news/group\\_press\\_releases/2007/vodafone\\_and\\_citigroup.html](http://www.vodafone.com/start/media_relations/news/group_press_releases/2007/vodafone_and_citigroup.html).

35. See Patrick M. Jost and Harjit Singh Sandhu, “The Hawala Alternative Remittance System and its Role in Money Laundering,” Interpol General Secretariat, January 2000, <http://www.interpol.int/Public/FinancialCrime/MoneyLaundering/Hawala/default.asp>.

36. See Karin von Hippel, “Aid Effectiveness: Improving Relations with Islamic Charities,” in *Understanding Islamic Charities*, ed. Jon B. Alterman and Karin von Hippel (Washington, D.C.: CSIS, 2007).

# 3

## IDEAS BANK PUTTING INNOVATION TO WORK TO IMPROVE PUBLIC SAFETY

While the international community has learned significant lessons in post-conflict reconstruction in the last few decades, as noted earlier, public safety remains a major challenge. More effort needs to be made to integrate local actors as equal partners in all stages of the reform process. Local actors here are defined not only as those within the conflict environment, but also, critically, abroad.

Migrants and diasporas can play a more significant role in terms of providing expertise and resources to improve public safety. They can also serve as the “interlocutor” between north and south, bridging the divide between the old and the new.<sup>1</sup> During the difficult transition from conflict to peace, they have a critical interest in ensuring that their friends and family are safe. As social networking and new technologies become more accessible, these individuals and associated groups have also become better equipped to respond to the needs of their home communities.

In fact, there are opportunities for migrant and diaspora engagement in innovative approaches to public safety that put community members in the lead and complement ongoing, official efforts, especially when using the more expansive definition of public safety in this report. Community patrols, civilian oversight bodies, reconciliation projects, infrastructure support, and literacy training for judges and police are all examples of nontraditional support to public safety, which could benefit from resources and expertise available in the diaspora. Youth are a particularly vulnerable population during armed conflict, and there are project models available that provide positive ways to include them as well.<sup>2</sup> Migrants also have the ability to learn from the successes of these efforts in their host country and provide families and friends with resources and expertise to initiate similar campaigns back home.

The “ideas bank” as presented here utilizes this broader definition. It taps into innovations facilitated by globalization and increased access to technology, which have fundamentally changed interactions with the homeland and altered assistance provision for populations in conflict-prone settings. The ideas bank suggests a number of ways that migrants and diasporas—as individuals, associations, and/or in partnership with international actors—can address local security and public safety needs in their home communities, using no-tech through to high-tech concepts. These concepts are presented in three sections: (1) early warning, (2) timely justice, and (3) safer streets.<sup>3</sup>

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1. See also Marcelo Suarez Orozco, “Western Union World,” *Harvard Business Review List* 2009, [www.hbr.harvardbusiness.org/web/2009/hbr-list/western-union-world](http://www.hbr.harvardbusiness.org/web/2009/hbr-list/western-union-world).

2. Frederick Barton, Karin von Hippel, and Steve Seigel, *Engaging Youth to Build Safer Communities* (Washington, D.C.: CSIS, August 2006).

3. Several of the ideas were informed by contributions from graduate students at Syracuse University’s Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT), especially section two, timely justice. See acknowledgments and about the authors and contributors for more information.

## Early Warning

Early warning includes the provision of updated information about the security situation so that communities can adjust their activities to minimize their exposure to violence or intimidation. Public safety could be significantly enhanced by providing local communities with greater access to information using the Internet and mobile phones. Any combination of individual migrants, diaspora networks, or international actors can help augment the supply of and connection to these technologies. As noted, even in remote places, access to the Internet and mobile phone networks is on the rise (other parts of the ideas bank discuss the use of solar power and other innovations to enable these technologies to work in places with limited access to electricity).<sup>4</sup>

Mobile phones, in particular, have become powerful tools for sending and receiving information. Online platforms like Twitter can serve as an interface between short message service (SMS) texting and instant messaging online. These platforms are ideal for early warning because they can be anonymous and gather information from anywhere, thus significantly reducing the risk of intimidation to users.

One way these technologies could be used to help aggregate information is through “crowdsourcing”—using the “collective intelligence” of the wider community to gather and share information about security conditions and public safety.<sup>5</sup> Some models already exist, such as Ushahidi, an online platform that plots user-generated information about security incidents on Google maps to create visual representations of the number and type of incidents reported. Originally developed to track post-election violence in Kenya, it has since been used in a number of conflict-prone settings, including reporting xenophobic attacks in South Africa and violence in the Congo. Ushahidi receives information over the Internet, e-mail, and mobile phones.<sup>6</sup>

FrontlineSMS is another free tool that enables NGO workers in developing countries to run two-way, large-scale communications using simple software, a mobile phone, and a computer.<sup>7</sup> It is currently used in over 50 countries to provide information about public health services, weather, and updates about local events. FrontlineSMS also is used to coordinate electoral observers and send security alerts from NGO headquarters to aid workers.<sup>8</sup> For example, a few users identifying electoral fraud can text large numbers of people, helping to mobilize for change. This tool is especially important in places with limited information flows due to lack of democracy or poor infrastructure.

EveryBlockChicago, originally [chicagocrime.org](http://chicagocrime.org), is a Web site that collects and organizes information about crime, news, public regulations, and other data by sorting local government and open-source information based on neighborhood, zip code, and street address. Information

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4. For example, MIT Fab Labs provide high-speed Internet access to communities in approximately 40 labs, located in 11 countries, including the Nangarhar Fab Lab in Jalalabad, Afghanistan, [http://wiki.fablab.af/index.php/Main\\_Page](http://wiki.fablab.af/index.php/Main_Page). For more information on the use of mobile phones in the developing world, see “Mobile marvels: A special report on telecoms in emerging markets,” *The Economist*, September 26, 2009, [http://www.economist.com/specialreports/displayStory.cfm?story\\_id=14483896](http://www.economist.com/specialreports/displayStory.cfm?story_id=14483896).

5. This section was informed by discussions with Shelly Kuipers, Claudia Moore, and Sarah Blue, crowdsourcing professionals from Chaordix, Washington, D.C., September 24, 2009. For general information, see <http://www.chaordix.com/>.

6. For more information on Ushahidi, see <http://www.usshahidi.com>.

7. For more information on FrontlineSMS products, see <http://www.frontlinesms.com/what/product.php>.

8. For more information on FrontlineSMS, see <http://www.frontlinesms.com>.

on crime is provided by the local police department and can be found on the Web site, depending on the location and type of crime committed. Users can receive e-mail updates directly to their mobile phones or browse the Web site to learn more about crime in their neighborhood.<sup>9</sup>

Ushahidi, FrontlineSMS, and EveryBlockChicago are all examples of innovative ways that crowdsourcing and other information-sharing techniques can be used to disseminate information to the communities most affected. Any of these existing platforms can be built on or “mashed up” with others to serve an early warning function, depending on the needs of the particular place. FrontlineSMS is already being used to provide security alerts to international NGO workers, but this capability could be expanded to inform local populations as well. Alive in Afghanistan is an example of a “mash up” with Ushahidi and FrontlineSMS, which allows users to submit incident reports and contribute commentary online, but it is not intended to provide an early warning function.<sup>10</sup>

Migrant associations and international donors could potentially create and manage a community-based information-sharing platform for people in the affected community. Based on available technology, the platform could send and receive photos, text messages, and e-mails, and do so in an anonymous manner so as to protect the sender. It could also link to public records and other open-source information, and send out security alerts or daily reports.<sup>11</sup>

Deeply insecure regions of the world have become no-go areas for anyone but local actors. It is extremely difficult for outsiders (often even family members living abroad) to obtain reliable, real-time information as to the veracity of security incidents or the movements of insurgent and other militant groups that may be terrorizing these communities. Migrant associations and international partners can help by providing mobile phones and explaining how these platforms work to families back home. Radio and other local media outlets could assist in outreach. Migrants can also post information, and monitor the site for anomalies or misinformation.<sup>12</sup>

Some migrants and diasporas constitute a natural constituency for this sort of work because of their local knowledge and commitment, while international donors and NGOs should also partner in such endeavors. It is critical that all interested actors improve their understanding of the situation on the ground—no one group has enough information on its own, while together, these various constituencies can help improve security.

If a community-based information-sharing platform proves successful, these security alerts could also be received by local, national, and when available, international security forces, who can respond when possible, as well as document raids, corruption, and intimidation to help hold authorities accountable. Diasporas have proven advocacy skills and may be able to push for reforms at the local or national level in their country of origin, or for greater conditionality with the donor community.

An added benefit of this type of interactive security platform would be that it could encourage “citizen journalism,” whereby people would provide much-needed information about the type and severity of attacks, information about the perpetrators, and number of injured or dead, focusing

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9. To see how it works, visit <http://chicago.everyblock.com/>.

10. Visit Alive in Afghanistan, <http://www.aliveinafghanistan.org/#>.

11. For example, this is done by the Afghanistan NGO Safety Office (ANSO), which sends daily security briefs to NGOs. See Afghanistan NGO Safety Office, <http://www.afgnso.org/>.

12. Discussions with Shelly Kuipers, Claudia Moore, and Sarah Blue, crowdsourcing professionals from Chaordix, Washington, D.C., September 24, 2009.

on the personal stories of the victims and the heroes. This kind of reporting may offer a way for communities to identify the victims, tell their stories, and express their loss, helping to generate outrage at home and abroad. Small rewards could be offered for stories, and the reports could be made widely available through other communications means (e.g., radio). As journalist Philip Bennett explains:

Bearing witness is one of our [the media] richest and most vital public services. In the case of terrorism, it is a way of holding terrorists accountable. If terrorism aims to “indifferentiate” its victims, turning them into ciphers, then stories showing the opposite to be true is a way of challenging the arguments used to justify such attacks.<sup>13</sup>

## Timely Justice

Just as early warning can make a significant contribution to improving public safety, so too can timely justice be critical to reconstruction efforts. In most conflict-prone settings, rule of law institutions are weak, corrupt, or nonexistent, presenting a critical challenge for the establishment of peace and stability. In fact, in some conflict zones, as in Somalia, the tribal areas of Pakistan, and many parts of Afghanistan, insurgent groups have gained support in local communities by providing basic justice and adjudication of disputes, even if it is often described as “rough justice.”

In mid-2006, many Somalis initially supported the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) when it took over much of southern Somalia. The ICU was composed of a loose association of 19 radical and moderate groups that established local sharia courts in many parts of Mogadishu to improve security. The courts and affiliated militias rapidly expanded their influence throughout southern Somalia and succeeded in making parts of that region safer than they had been since the state collapsed in 1991. In December 2006, the ICU was pushed back by the Ethiopian military, which intervened with the support of the United States, due to fears about the increased influence of radical elements within the union. The intervention did not succeed in eliminating the group, however. Today, the radical youth militia, al-Shabaab, that was formerly affiliated with the ICU still has a destructive presence in many parts of southern Somalia.

In Pakistan and Afghanistan, citizens can wait for years before getting a simple case heard if they attempt to navigate through official channels, while Taliban courts can take a week or so for each case. For example, in Matta in the Swat Valley, Taliban-backed Muftis hear one case a week and release the verdict after Friday prayers. They allege that their court provides immediate justice, whereas government courts not only are slow and cumbersome, but they can also involve heavy bribes just to get a case heard, much less resolved.<sup>14</sup>

Afghanistan also has an enormous legal backlog: according to Afghanistan’s 2007 National Human Development Report, as many as 6,000 cases are still waiting to be heard, while the country’s estimated ratio of citizens per judge is 21,317:1.<sup>15</sup> Due to the weak judicial system and fragile law and order, nearly 80 percent of legal cases are settled by traditional decisionmaking. Moreover,

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13. Philip Bennett, “The media and the war: seeing the human,” openDemocracy, November 20, 2007, [http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/media\\_net/journalism\\_war/media\\_war\\_seeing\\_human](http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/media_net/journalism_war/media_war_seeing_human).

14. Mudassar Shah, “Shariah Courts Popular in Pakistan’s North West Frontier Province,” Asia Calling, October 16, 2008, <http://asiacalling.kbr68h.com/index.php/archives/2064>.

15. “Afghanistan: Taliban must stop executing civilians—rights watchdog,” IRIN News.org, December 25, 2007, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/news/2007/12/mil-071225-irin01.htm>.

because of insecurity, 138 of the 408 courts are not in operation. Insecurity, along with perceived and real corruption, appears to be a major incentive for people to turn to the shura system rather than the state system.

If the goal is to build stable and secure societies, then the first step should be isolating violent extremists and reducing their appeal. To do this, effective provision of the rule of law is an essential component of a larger strategy. It may be possible to work directly with a number of informal courts and even learn from potentially more successful practices, but in those instances where insurgent groups are promoting an extremist vision of the state against the wishes of the population or have a violent transnational agenda, those groups need competition to reduce their appeal. Here is an area where the full range of migrants and diaspora networks could help by bolstering national and donor efforts.

One innovative solution could be online dispute resolution, using judges and lawyers who live in the diaspora to adjudicate disputes via Skype and other simple webcam tools. A small legal center could be set up in any village or town, with several computers and Internet access (using alternative means if electricity is not widely available).<sup>16</sup> It could be funded by any combination of home town associations, the national government, and/or international donors, and potentially organized by an international NGO dedicated to improving the rule of law in conflict countries.

Individuals could file complaints, respond to complaints, and have cases adjudicated quickly and inexpensively. The system contemplated is intended for civil suits but may be extended to criminal cases once all issues surrounding criminal procedure and rights of a criminal defendant have been contemplated fully (with the proper protections implemented).<sup>17</sup>

The process could work in the following way:

- *Filing suit:* Case intake may occur at the legal center, where an individual who feels that they have a contract, tort, or property claim may file or record a complaint. Web-based technologies, such as A2J Author<sup>18</sup> and Virtual Courthouse<sup>19</sup> may be used as models for developing an Internet-based case intake system, thus guiding the claimant through the process of filing a claim. Voice command technologies may also be implemented to assist illiterate system users as an alternative to in-person assistants, though in-person assistants may be preferred. The complaint would then be sent to an appointed official via text message, who would in turn locate and serve papers to the defendant(s).
- *Response by the defendant:* Defendant would answer the complaint officially by visiting the legal center and filing an official answer to the complaint using the same Internet-based intake systems. Both the complaint and the answer would be placed in an electronic case file to be accessed by the neutral arbiter.
- *Motions, discovery requests, evidence, witness testimony, etc.:* Motions and discovery requests by the plaintiff or defendant may be entered for review by the neutral arbiter via the intake system.

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16. This could include solar power (see <http://gnuveau.net/> or <http://gnuveau.net/cgi-bin/wiki.cgi>), pedal power, and other creative techniques as espoused by MIT's Poverty Action Lab and Media Lab, among other institutions.

17. It should be noted that, even for adjudication of civil cases, there are a number of issues surrounding procedure that would still have to be addressed.

18. See Access to Justice (A2J), <http://www.kentlaw.edu/cajt/A2JAuthor.html>.

19. See Virtual Courthouse, <http://www.virtualcourthouse.com/>.

Evidence that may be entered, such as photographs (if available), may also be uploaded. Finally, witnesses may be ordered by subpoena to testify. Testimony may be entered at the legal center and sworn in virtually with a screen reading of the locally accepted version of “Do you agree to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth so help you God,” at the conclusion of which is an “I do” button. After swearing in, the witnesses would be directed to a screen where they recount what they witnessed. An option to record spoken testimony should be provided in case the witness is unable to write or physically go to the center.

- *Party representation:* Through the use of an intake and adjudication system that blends A2J Author and Virtual Courthouse technologies, the need for representation is no longer necessary (with an obvious exception if the system is to be adapted to criminal cases). Parties may seek counsel if they so choose, but would do so at their own expense.
- *Neutral arbiter:* For arbitration or for a judgment, a neutral arbiter agreeable to both parties would be selected. Preference would be given to either a local judge or a judge residing in the diaspora who is known and respected back home. This latter option may be preferable if the judge may be threatened because of his/her decision. This arbiter would either receive the electronic case file to be accessed electronically at his or her own personal computer, or local arbiters may access the case file at the legal center. The arbiter’s opinion and ruling would be written and entered into the case file. The opinion would be binding, but with the option to appeal the judgment to a higher court. Appeals should be limited to cases where the burden placed on the person against whom the judgment is to be enforced, or where the injury or harm suffered, is substantial.<sup>20</sup> Allowing appeals only of a substantial nature would help to unburden dockets of the courts until the legal system is developed enough to handle all appeals.
- *Virtual courtroom:* The plaintiff or defendant may move for a live hearing, which should be limited to those that are substantial in nature. A virtual courtroom using Skype video chat technologies would allow the arbiter to hear live arguments of the plaintiff and the defendant. The arbiter would then be able to state his opinion and ruling in real time either during the same session or at a later session. The case file (complaint, answer, motions, evidence, etc.) would be available online as well as at the legal center. Appeals of decisions by the neutral arbiter may be sent to higher courts, which may be physical “brick and mortar” courthouses or the virtual courtroom. In either case, the number of cases that are adjudicated through arbitration using this online system would substantially reduce the backlogs of all courts.
- *Enforcing the judgment:* Judgments would be filed online and in the local/county/provincial justice office, along with case files, for official records and publishing purposes. Notice of judgments may be sent to the parties either by an officer of the court or by using the same agent that serves the papers. All parties could even receive notice of the judgment via text message.

The winning party may attempt to enforce the judgment independently. If the losing party refuses to pay, an enforcement officer should be sent to collect on the judgment for the winning party. Alternatively, both parties could contribute a set amount into a fund before the judgment is made, and that money could be used for compensation. Rule of law would be enhanced through joint agreements between local *shuras* and security forces, which would agree in advance to assist

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20. We would recommend that the party for whom the judgment is ruled in favor of must move for summary judgment prior to further appellate proceedings that the injury was not substantial, which should be decided by the appeals court. If adapted to criminal cases, there should be an irrebuttable presumption that injury is substantial.

in enforcement. Transparency could also be enhanced through periodic releases of case decisions in the local media. The NGO managing the program could also create an incentive and punishment system to encourage that decisions are enforced by sending or withholding additional resources and by helping to broadcast the decisions in the media and other outlets.

## Safer Streets

Migrant and diaspora efforts to bolster public safety may complement those of national or international security forces by addressing community concerns, such as violence against women, petty crime, and youth delinquency in ways that take into account local dynamics and culture. Tapping into well-established practices noted earlier, individuals or associations in the diaspora can help to identify and support immediate needs, such as improvements in physical infrastructure, literacy training for police, civilian oversight capacity, and by providing resources, advocacy, and support for victims of crime. An international or national NGO could help to aggregate funds and needs, depending on the place.

## Physical Infrastructure and Safety

In many developing states, electricity to light streets and other public areas is a luxury and not widely available. In conflict settings, public lighting can be a critical and effective deterrent for violence, second only to an active police presence.<sup>21</sup> Solar lighting may be a useful and affordable alternative for communities without electricity. Solar lights could be placed alongside roads, on walkways used by women to collect firewood, in front of household entrances, and near rural police outposts. Individual migrants and home town associations could use established fundraising practices and develop partnerships with solar technology organizations and interested donors (such as the Rockefeller Foundation) to improve community access to street lighting. Ideally, the HTA model would work here so as to ensure local buy-in, sustainability, and protection of the lights.

Unarmed patrols are another way communities can respond to insecurity. A 2006 CSIS report, *Engaging Youth to Build Safer Communities*, identifies a number of programs that involve youth (usually young men) in a range of activities to reduce delinquency and improve public safety.<sup>22</sup> These programs usually operate with limited resources and on a volunteer-only basis. Any combination of national and international NGOs and/or HTAs could create a fund to provide youth with civic education and public safety training. The program could also supply youth with bicycles and whistles to go on unarmed patrols in their neighborhoods, working with local and national security forces to establish safer streets.

## Literacy Training for Police (and other Security Officials)<sup>23</sup>

The creation of a new police force is not only necessary for public safety, but it also helps to establish local ownership over the reconstruction process and ensure that international security forces

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21. Ronald V. Clark, *Improving Street Lighting to Reduce Crime in Residential Areas* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, U.S. Department of Justice, December 2008), <http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/files/RIC/Publications/e1208-StreetLighting.pdf>.

22. Barton et al., *Engaging Youth to Build Safer Communities*.

23. This section was informed by discussions with Robert Perito, U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington, D.C., November 13, 2008, who also recommended police twinning programs.

are not seen as an occupying force. The goal is a comprehensive change in mindset of the local police and the public. In too many conflict settings, the police only serve to terrify civilians through extortion and torture, instead of providing protection. Police reform, however, has been one of the most difficult tasks in reconstruction efforts. Even in places with internationally funded police training programs, as in Haiti or Afghanistan, the lack of institutional capacity, low levels of civic engagement, and poor literacy rates negatively impact the effectiveness of the police.

Police illiteracy presents a particular challenge, since officers that are illiterate cannot accomplish basic administrative tasks, submit incident reports, and may have difficulties staying informed about new laws and public regulations. In Afghanistan, it is estimated that 71 percent of the police force is illiterate.<sup>24</sup> Any combination of individual migrants or diaspora associations could organize to conduct literacy training for the police using Skype, other videoconferencing tools, or even support weekly national radio shows to improve adult literacy. Alternatively, migrants with some expertise as teachers or police officers could return to provide intensive literacy training, similar to the aforementioned return of qualified nationals programs.

Trained police from the diaspora may also be able to return as qualified nationals to conduct one-on-one mentoring with local police, although this has been tried in a number of conflict situations, as in Haiti, with mixed results. In the late 1990s, 100 Canadian-Haitian police officers were recruited to return to Haiti to strengthen the national police training program.<sup>25</sup> While a public review of the program was never conducted, insufficient institutional capacity to manage the police allowed expatriate officers to fall into many of the same bad habits as local police.<sup>26</sup>

Diasporas may also facilitate police station twinning programs, which pair a police station in a post-conflict environment with a more well-established police station in another country, preferably where some police officers may be from the home country. This type of twinning can mimic city twinning programs and help provide resources to reconstruct police stations, purchase uniforms and other equipment, or help with literacy and other educational needs.<sup>27</sup>

## Building Civilian Oversight Capacity

Migrants and diasporas may also be able to contribute nontraditional oversight solutions to their home communities. Successful community-based programs, like the Agha Khan Foundation's social audits, present an interesting model for countering intimidation and corruption. This particular program in Afghanistan teaches local communities how to understand budgets and programming so as to assess the cost and effectiveness of development projects and to improve accountability.<sup>28</sup> HTAs could potentially help by supporting the expansion of such programs and by publicizing the findings of the social audits (potentially on the crowdsourcing platforms described

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24. German Federal Foreign Office, "Afghanistan: Literacy and Trainer Courses for the Police," <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/diplo/en/Aussenpolitik/RegionaleSchwerpunkte/AfghanistanZentralasien/AktuelleArtikel/081001-Alphabetisierungskurse-Masar,navCtx=278562.html>.

25. Roy Thomas, "Does tapping the diasporas for recruits provide an advantage in policing? The experience of the Canadian Trained Haitians," *Canadian Journal of Police and Security Services* (December 2005), [http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_m5EQH/is\\_4\\_3/ai\\_n25120972/pg\\_2/?tag=content;col1](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m5EQH/is_4_3/ai_n25120972/pg_2/?tag=content;col1).

26. Interview with expert on police reform.

27. For example, see Kent Police, "Liberian officer on fact-finding mission to Kent," [http://www.kent.police.uk/Your%20Area/Mid%20Kent/Mid\\_Kent\\_news/Liberian\\_visit\\_-\\_28\\_.html](http://www.kent.police.uk/Your%20Area/Mid%20Kent/Mid_Kent_news/Liberian_visit_-_28_.html).

28. Aga Khan Development Network, "Social Audits in Afghanistan: Making Local Governance More Transparent," August 6, 2009, <http://www.akdn.org/blog.asp?id=765>.

earlier), working with community groups to address discrepancies that may arise. Esteemed and trusted members of the diaspora that maintain strong ties with their home communities may be elected by the community to act as ombudsmen (again, via Skype, for example) to represent community interests through advocacy and outreach or to help solve disputes that may arise.

The idea of using radio to provide accountability is another way such associations could support civilian oversight of security institutions. HTAs could raise money for and host a call-in show for public safety. The radio show could provide public safety tips and disseminate information about new laws and public regulations.

## Providing Resources, Advocacy, and Support for Survivors of Crime

Victims of crime in conflict-prone settings are often unable to access services and may not be well informed about their rights. Women, in particular, endure great hardships through gender-based violence and may not have access to resources to help them cope with trauma. The stigma associated with sexual violence is enough to keep many women from seeking help.

Migrant and diaspora networks may be able to provide survivors with access to legal advice, support, and resources in an anonymous forum over a hotline, which could include an online component that is able to receive text and instant messages. This platform could be modeled on an innovative outreach service provided by the Rape, Abuse, and Incest National Network (RAINN) and the Online Hotline (OHL).<sup>29</sup> The OHL uses instant messaging and trained volunteers to give advice to visitors to the Web site and provide them with resources in a safe and secure anonymous setting. This concept could potentially be altered to rely on SMS texting and could be supported by trained volunteers in the diaspora, including lawyers, mental health professionals, and others with appropriate language skills and cultural background.

## Concluding Remarks

Any of the suggestions made in this section can be “mashed up” with others, and certainly improved upon by report readers. Moreover, there are numerous ways that international donors and NGOs could partner with individual migrants or organized diaspora networks in these efforts to increase the potential impact. International involvement in any event would help to prevent overlap and duplication of other ongoing efforts, and ensure that the widest possible audience is fully informed and involved. The PCR Project would like to encourage any interested reader to e-mail comments, suggestions, and criticisms directly to us at [pcrproject@csis.org](mailto:pcrproject@csis.org).

As an immediate next step, the project will host an event in December 2009 (date TBD) to present this study. The event will kick off a discussion of the recommendations in the “ideas bank” and focus on the technology platforms. Participants will also brainstorm about how these platforms might be used by local communities and their relatives abroad to improve early warning capacity, provide timely justice, and ensure safer streets. The hope is that this event will serve as a starting point for future collaboration between the numerous communities that need to integrate their work in order to improve public safety in conflict-prone settings.

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29. See Rape, Abuse, and Incest National Network, <http://www.rainn.org/get-help/national-sexual-assault-online-hotline>.

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## APPENDIX B: PROJECTS REVIEWED

### Diaspora Networks and Initiatives

African Diaspora Marketplace, USAID, <http://www.diasporamarketplace.org/>

IFAD-supported Rural Development Project in El Salvador, [http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/web/guest/country/voice/tags/el%20salvador/remittances\\_elsalvador](http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/web/guest/country/voice/tags/el%20salvador/remittances_elsalvador)

Mexico 3 x 1 Program

Pakistani American Leadership Center (PAL-C), <http://pal-c.org/index.html>

Pashtun Research Policy and Advocacy Centre (PRAP Center), <http://www.prapcanada.com/>

Rwanda International Network Association, <http://rinaonline.org/default.aspx>

Rwanda One Dollar Campaign, <http://1dollarcampaign.org/about.html>

Sierra Leone Diaspora Network (SLDN), <http://www.sldn.org.uk/>

Temporary Return of Qualified Nationals Programs (TRQN)

Tofa, <http://www.tofa.af/>

Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals Programs (TOKTEN)

Migration for Development in Africa Program (MIDA), <http://www.iom.int/MIDA/>

Somali Diaspora Network

### Public Safety Projects and Related Ideas

Access to Justice (A2J), <http://www.kentlaw.edu/cajt/A2JAuthor.html>

Alive in Afghanistan, <http://www.aliveinafghanistan.org/#>

Afghanistan NGO Safety Office, <http://www.afgnso.org/>

Aga Khan Development Network, Social Audits in Afghanistan, <http://www.akdn.org/blog.asp?id=765>

Center for Court Innovation's Red Hook Public Safety Project, <http://www.courtinnovation.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=Page.ViewPage&PageID=580&currentTopTier2=true>

EveryBlockChicago, <http://chicago.everyblock.com/>

Frontline SMS, <http://www.frontlinesms.com/>

Rape, Abuse, and Incest National Network (RAINN) Online Hotline (OHL), <http://www.rainn.org/get-help/national-sexual-assault-online-hotline>

UN-HABITAT neighborhood watch groups, <http://www.un-habitat.org/content.asp?typeid=24&catid=375&id=1470>

UN-HABITAT South Africa Durban Safer City Project, <http://www.unhabitat.org/content.asp?cid=1606&catid=404&typeid=13&subMenuId=0>

UNIFEM Afghan women legal aid training program, <http://afghanistan.unifem.org/prog/GJ/justice/paralegals.html>

Ushahidi, <http://www.ushahidi.com/>

VirtualCourtHouse.com, <http://www.virtualcourthouse.com/>

Youth Crime Watch of Liberia, <http://www.ycwa.org/world/liberia/index.html>

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## About the CSIS Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project

The Post-Conflict Reconstruction (PCR) Project at CSIS develops innovative strategies to speed, enhance, and strengthen international conflict response. Established in 2001, the PCR Project is seen as a leading global source for authoritative analysis, evaluation, and recommendations for fragile states and post-conflict reconstruction.

The project focuses on the full spectrum of conflict-related concerns, from early warning and conflict prevention to rebuilding shattered societies. It incorporates the four essential pillars of reconstruction: security and public safety, justice and reconciliation, governance and participation, and economic and social progress. PCR Project staff collaborates closely with U.S. congressional and executive branch decisionmakers—as well as local communities and international partners.

The PCR Project has conducted path-breaking studies on Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Sudan, Sri Lanka, and special challenges—such as youth in conflict. For additional information and a complete list of events and publications, visit <http://csis.org/program/post-conflict-reconstruction>. Contact Justine Fleischner at [jfleischner@csis.org](mailto:jfleischner@csis.org) for more information.

## About the Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism, Syracuse University

The Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism (INSCT) at Syracuse University was established at the College of Law in 2003 through the vision of Professor William C. Banks, with the support of Dean Hannah R. Arterian. Beginning in the 2004–2005 academic year, the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, with the support of Dean Mitchel B. Wallerstein, joined the College of Law in sponsoring the Institute. The Maxwell School and the College of Law support a systematic, interdisciplinary approach to important questions of law and policy related to national and international security and counterterrorism.

INSCT is dedicated to interdisciplinary teaching, research, and public service focused on important national and global problems of security and terrorism. INSCT faculty and graduate students pursuing professional and doctoral degrees engage in advanced coursework toward specialty certificates in security and terrorism studies. They collaborate in the development of innovative interdisciplinary courses and seminars team-taught by political science, history, communications, international relations, public administration, and law faculty.

The Institute research portfolio is broad and deep, ranging from faculty-supervised student working papers and research reports, to significant articles and books for academic journals and presses, to sponsorship of major workshops and conferences designed to further a research agenda in security or terrorism. Additionally, INSCT is the new cosponsor and home of the *Journal of National Security Law and Policy*. While all INSCT research advances knowledge in the field, many projects are conducted on behalf of or in consultation with agencies, municipalities, and other public entities, thus providing direct public service. See <http://www.insct.syr.edu> for more information.