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Rebuilding institutions through diaspora engagement: the impact of skilled migration on domestic change

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They descend and they climb, the fearful footsteps of men, and some limp, some drag, some speed, some trot, some run—they are quiet, slow, noisy, brisk, quick, feverish, mad, and most awful is their cadence to the ears of the one who stands still.

(*THE WALKER*,
ARTURO GIOVANNITTI
POET, TRADE UNIONIST, EMIGRANT,
1914)

Introduction

Migration is an integral and inseparable part of human being. Since the ancient time, man has moved to seek for new opportunities, resources, enhance his life, follow his ambitions, escape from danger. Much of the imaginary of the western world is related to migration: the experiences of migration have forged the minds, changed the identity of countries, shaped populations and activated epochal changes. As well, as an intrinsic component of human experience, migration is also an inevitable aspect to consider within the political and social sciences, especially with reference to the relationship between identities, cultures, institutional agents and international relations. Migration is also a massive process of change. This is because it has a determinant impact on the countries of origin and destination of migrants, as well on the migration routes and borders. In this context *development*, both economic and human, is one of the major topics of interest for the study of human mobility. In fact, migration is caused by a lack of development and – at the same time – is one of the processes which ensures the growth of economies and societies.

The most recent numbers on migration give a precise insight of the phenomena: the last estimations provided by UN for the year 2015 reveal that migrants worldwide have been 244 million, among which 65,3 millions were forced migrants[1]. As well in the same year the number of remittances has reached according to World Bank 431,6 billion dollars[2]. This huge amount of monetary flows has become the principal indicator of the positive impact of migration on the economies. In fact, much of the literature has highlighted how the

[1] CENTRO STUDI E RICERCHE IDOS, (2016), *Dossier Statistico Immigrazione*, Roma.
[2] *Ivi.*

transfer of money have enhanced livelihood in the country of origin, going beyond their nature of private savings.

It is evident that referring to the "positive outcomes" of migration just looking at the economic impact results reductive. Migrants do not "remit" just money, but a complex system of sharing of ideas, knowledge and values accompany the migrants' experience and influence both home and host country.

The migrant become, in this sense, the depositary of a strong potential for the activation of processes of empowerment and growth within the communities he relates with. Not only the country of origin, but his whole "transnational" network of relationships is affected. This approach toward migration has led to a shift of thinking within literature: migration as an opportunity rather than a treat, a driver of development able contribute to the reduction of poverty and inequalities.

Literature refers to this "shift of thinking" as the *transnational turn*[3]. After a long phase characterised by a structuralist approach to migration[4], the last twenty years have seen the affirmation of "transnationalism", as the principal understanding of the migration phenomena. Transnationalism in migration is defined by Bash as "*the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social*

[3] Cf. CARLING J., PETTERSEN S.,(2014), *Return Migration Intentions in the Integration in Transnationalism Matrix*, in *International Migration* Vol. 52 Issue6 p.13-30; CARLING J., (2008) *The Human Dynamics of Migrant Transnationalism* in *Ethnic and Racial Studies Vol.* 31 Issue 8 p.1452-1477; LEVITT P. ET AL.,(2015) ,*Transnational Politics as Cultural Circulation: Toward a Conceptual Understanding of Migrant Political Participation on the Move*, in *Mobilities,* Routledge, London; LEVITT P. (2007), *Constructing Transnational Studies*, Introductory Chapter from *The Transnational Studies Reader,* Routledge Press, New York.

[4] In particular, with regard to the "brain drain" vs. "brain gain" duality cf. WORLD BANK, (2003), *International Migration, Remittances, and the Brain Drain: A Study of Labour-Exporting Countries* (available online); DE HAAS, H., (2009), *International migration and regional development in Morocco - critical review of the literature*, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies Vol. 35 Issue 10.

relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement"[5]. It means that, as Levitt and Glick Schiller argue, the space of migrants is "*multi-layered, multi sited and fluid"*[6], allowing migrants to connect and strength ties with more than one society and, over time, to "*alter the economies, values and practices of entire regions"*[7].

This relatively new trend focuses on the ties through which societies of origin and settlement are connected. This is because, together with the processes characterised by the integration in the country where migrants are settled, the processes across borders have gained more and more importance, not only under a sociological perspective, but also in relation to the economic processes and the chances of institutional development.

The growth of the studies on Transnationalism has influenced the general interest toward the *migration and development linkage*, characterised by a growing enthusiasm of both researchers and policy makers, which is based on some strong claims highly influential for the research and the political action.

In this perspective, migrants are seen as agents of development because engage in cross border activities, both on the individual level or through political and entrepreneurial networks. Mobility is the driver of a virtuous circle may positively affect the countries of origin, the receiving countries and the migrants themselves[8] because, as an

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[5] BASH S. ET AL., (1994), *Nations Unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-states*, Gordon and Breach Publishers, Basel, Switzerland.

[6] LEVITT P., GLICK SCHILLER N., (2004), *Conceptualising simultaneity: A transnational social field perspective on Society,* in *International Migration Review*, Vol. 38 Issue145 p.1002-1039.

[7] In LEVITT P., JAWORSKY G., (2007), *Transnational Migration studies: past development and future trends*, in *Annual review of Sociology* Vol. 33 Issue 1 p.29-56.

[8] The idea of *triple wins* is present in the international debate on migration and refers to the mutual benefits for the actors involved in the migratory process. It has been referred to the "Migration and Development" linkage during the first High Level

essential part of human development: "*mobility at the individual and group level cannot be dissociated from more general processes of social and economic change which constantly alter the spatial distribution of opportunity structures and, hence, mobility patterns*[9]".
Furthermore, this trend does not refer only to the category of "labour migrants" but also to settled migrants. It means that, in the transnational society, return is not a condition of contribution to local development, and new patterns have emerged, as the "temporary return" or "circular migration". It has also contributed to shift from "migrants" to a new inclusive understanding of "diaspora", defined by IOM as: *"individuals and members or networks, associations and communities, who have left their country of origin, but maintain links with their homelands. This concept covers more settled expatriate communities, migrant workers based abroad temporarily, expatriates with the nationality of the host country, dual nationals, and second-/third generation migrants*[10]" .
This optimist trend is supported by the results of several empirical observations which mainly regard the impact of remittances on the local economies. It has been calculated that remittances keep on flowing from host countries to homeland despite economic recession and have resulted triple respect to the official aids for development. The impact of those money flows goes beyond the financial and economic sphere, and the presence of remittances incomes has revealed growing trends in human capital formation, health conditions and educational level. Those trends have been registered in several developing countries as Ethiopia, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Ghana, where, for instance, it has been registered a positive correlation between the money received from

Dialogue on Migration and Development held in 2006 (cf. UNDP, (2012), *Triple Wins for Sustainable Development,* available online).
[9] DE HAAS H., (2009), *Mobility and human development*, IMI Working Paper, Oxford University, available online.
[10] IOM (2011) *Glossary on Migration* – 2nd edition, available online.

abroad and the amount of people with secondary education. In this sense, remittances include also the system of ideas, beliefs and knowledges which migrants and returnees has gained abroad, enriching this "circulation" of financial resources with ideas, knowledges and practices which influence development with the same strength of money flows. As an example, the development of the high-tech sectors in India and Pakistan have been strongly influenced by the business models "imported" from nationals abroad. It is evident that the so called "Social remittances" have the same strength as development drivers because are considered as a vehicle of promotion of values, good governance, democratic practices and human rights, shaping the system of values of individuals and societies.

The strength of "Migration and development" practices has been acknowledged by international community, becoming in the last years one of the milestones of migration policies. This is particularly true for the European Union, who clearly considers the "Migration and development" nexus as one of the pillars of its migration and mobility governance policy.

Since the early nineties international organisations as ILO, World Bank IOM, UN agencies, together with governments and local authorities, started projects of development through the engagement of diaspora[11], based on temporary return activities, providing support and financing migrants associations or single members in carrying on initiatives of development. If initially those initiatives were mainly related to finance and business, in the recent years, diaspora started to be mobilised also

[11] The IOM MIDA programme is one of the case studies of the research. Further details on the mentioned initiatives will be provided afterwards cf. chapter 3.2.1

for social and political change, and to strengthen the institutional capacities of governmental bodies.

With reference to social remittances and norms and values diffusion, high – skilled migrants are engaged within the home country promoting policy change in different institutional sectors and civil society, as in health, justice/rule of law, finance, labour. The "development" sphere consists in giving a technical support (through capacity building activities, temporary returns or internships in home country institutions) to the government of home countries in strengthening or re-building the institutional framework and to increase the capacities of social learning of civil society actors

In parallel with the institutional promotion of development through migration, civil society and grassroots organisations of migrants and diaspora promote development efforts and sustain institution within home countries at various level. Together with an individual commitment or activism which single migrants is engaged in, also diaspora organisations or NGOs work is organised to provide institutional support and bring change. Those organisations which are mainly based on voluntary engagement of professionals, work following the same principles of international organisations and, in a way, retracing their activities.

The "theoretical space" which interprets those patterns of diaspora action is, close to the one conceptualised by Yossi Shain and Aharon Barth[12]. They refer to a "twofold" approach which is from one hand, the *liberal,* because highlight the individual action and the "identity" issue of diaspora; on the other hand, privilege the *constructivist,* theories, explaining diaspora as a social actor through active

[12] SHAIN Y., BARTH A., (2003*) Diaspora and International relation theory*, in *International Organisation*, Vol. 57 n. 3 p.449-479.

participation in political life. Those approaches share, according to the authors, the importance of non-state actors in international relations and, in the specific case of Diaspora, the "identity motivated" external influence on the home country. In this vein, diaspora contribution to change may be seen as an element of the process of Socialisation, which "*aims to facilitate the internalisation of democratic norms, policies and institutions through the establishment and intensification of linkages between liberal international fora and states actors and transnational communities*[13]".

Given this framework, some questions arise under a political science perspective. The first, and fundamental one, regards the assessment of the qualities and potentialities of diaspora as an actor of change, and the limits which that the processes of transmission of remittances undermine.

If an assessment of the effectiveness of economic remittances is possible through a quantitative and monetary analysis, for social remittances it becomes more complex.

In fact, it is clear that social remittances are a volatile concept, and a measurement of the impact on political processes is quite hard. Despite that, it becomes interesting to "challenge" this concept, also through the identification of a strategy of impact measurement which can be used as a model for further research.

To this purpose, my research is focused on the elaboration of a methodology and an analysis of the contribution of skilled migrants in the processes of institutional strengthen and rebuilding through social remittances. As well, the research aim is to find out to what extent skilled diaspora may act an actor of institutional change and as a

[13] MAGEN G., MORLINO L., (2008), *International Actors, Democratization and the Rule of Law: Anchoring Democracy?*, Routledge, London.

promoter of "*good governance*" following, for the assessment of diaspora action, the Lipset's concepts of *Legitimacy* and *Effectiveness*[14]. Those concepts are key for the elaboration of a model of analysis of social remittances which follows a political science perspective. Within the framework of socialisation theories of international relations[15], the ground for studying the legitimacy and effectiveness are the *factors of contribution of social development* which are, according to Wescott and Brinekerhoff , "mobilisation", "opportunities" and "motivations"[16]. Those three factors will enable, in my view, to give a comprehensive framework for the understanding of the patterns of engagement. Furthermore, they enable to provide a cognitive model on the topic different from the current in use, mainly influenced by governments and international organisations. This particular attention on motivations and behaviours allows to contribute in identifying a "diaspora perspective" and to find out a new inclusive policy perspective which, modifying the current pattern, considers diaspora an actor with a leading voice on migration and development potentialities.

The need of identifying a "traceability" of social remittances has been respected looking at concluded development initiatives and projects that diasporas and migrants undertake in the country of origin, and implemented in the framework of the European Union's principles leading migration and development. It means that the units of analysis identified are not single-stand initiative at the individual level, but the

[14] Cf. LIPSET S., (1959), *Some social requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and political legitimacy*, in *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 53, No. 1 p.69-105.

[15] Cf. LEWITSKY S. WAY L., (2006), *Linkage versus Leverage. Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change*, in *Comparative Politics* Vol. 38, No. 4 p.379-400.

[16] WESCOTT C., BRINKERHOFF J., (2006), *Converting Migration Drains into Gains: Harnessing the resources of overseas professionals*, Asian Development Bank.

structured, traceable and recorded work of diaspora organisations and institutionalised bodies, which engage diaspora through projects of development. Those "projects" have been deployed in the field of skill transfer and capacity building. The range of the project and programmes used as case study include both the ones promoted the international organisations, in particular IOM ("transnationalism from above") and the ones leaded by civil society organisations ("transnationalism from below"). This diversification is key in the building of the research question. The comparison between the "from above" and "from below" cases is particularly interesting for a political science analysis because allows the understanding of the nature of the *social linkages,* which, as Lewitsky and Way account[17], are understood within socialisation theory as able to enhance processes of democratic anchoring.

To do so, the presence/absence of an international organisation in the processes described is understood as a determinant variable for the analysis of the legitimacy and effectiveness. As it will be deepen in the methodology, the analysis will be conducted following those considerations, also for the understanding of the potentialities of diasporas in democratization processes.

The look at social remittances within institutions through the "developmental" approach makes this research a sort of hybrid between the two main research streams, which refer to development studies and political transnationalism. In fact, the research question formulated is relevant, in the context of the studies on migration and development, because enable a step forward the studies of remittances, in particular social remittances, classically based on the definition of the patterns of engagement of the actors and on social remittances formation. Going

[17] Cf. LEWITSKY S., WAY L., op.cit.

beyond some defined elements in literature, as the patterns of transmission and their impact at the individual level (es. Household level and small communities), the research aims at the definition of a model of analysis which assess the determinant of the impact of social remittances combining two different elements. Firstly, the model developed in the dissertation is based on the *a priori* definition of the remittance itself, its modality of transmission and the objective of the transmission. This would shape a pattern of interpretation of social remittances which concentrates on a system of transmission which different from the common interpretation[18], characterised by an informal, multipathway and flexible modality of transmission.

Secondly, this modality undermines the attention to the "collective" dimension of transmission[19]. It is given by the nature of the case study provided, which are organisations and diaspora's associations, with the consequent exclusion the "personal" and "individual" forms of transmission of social remittances, which are mostly volatile in their shapes, dimension and modalities, making difficult to find a model of evaluation of the actual impact within societies. In this sense, the "transnationalism" the research refers to, is based on development activities, looks at policies, but is not political. It means that the range of the political activities, as the personal engagement in parties or civil movements will be put aside, giving priority to knowledge and skills transfer within a precise pattern of intervention.

That understanding of the activity of diasporas within institutions enables, to ease the evaluation of the impact; in fact, the diaspora

[18] Cf. KOINOVA M., (2013), *Four Types of Diaspora Mobilization: Albanian Diaspora Activism For Kosovo Independence in the US and the UK* in *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol. 9 p.433-453.

[19] Cf. LEVITT P., (1998), *Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-Level Forms of Cultural Diffusion* in *International Migration Review,* Vol. 32 Issue 4 p.926-948; VERTOVEC S., (2004), *Migrant Transnationalism and Modes of Transformation* in *International Migration Review*, Vol.38. No.3.

activities in exam occur under a specific model of intervention (the *migration and development* framework) in a determined time and space. Except from IOM, the organisations which have been involved in the research have their headquarters in the United Kingdom. The empirical investigation for the present work have been conducted during a fieldwork in London, in occasion of a visiting research period at the School of Oriental and African Studies. To this aim, it has been chosen to frame the research in a precise geographical space, and consider a precise typology of social remittances.

The Case studies identified as representative of the analysis consist in total of 15 organisations within the UK. The geographical areas of intervention of the organisations are specific regions within Ethiopia and Somalia, where the diaspora people involved in the research still have social ties as families of organisations' co-workers. The main characteristics of the people involved in the research is that they are settled migrants within the United Kingdom (so, part of the Ethiopian and Somali Diaspora") and the professionalism of the individuals.

The research is organised as a qualitative case study analysis assisted by process tracing. The case study analysis will have a double focus: together with the data collection about the interventions, the research will try to capture behaves, motivation and framework which influence the impact, and the policy outcomes of any intervention[20].

[20] In the project will be used a combination of both positivist and interpretivist perspectives in process tracing, that will enrich the work both theoretically and empirically. As DELLA PORTA AND KEATING notice: "*A positivist perspective of process tracing helps to identify the existence of causal relations, to go beyond correlation and evaluate causality empirically (Dessler 1991). However, the positivist approach to process tracing faces difficulties in explaining how the mechanism implied in the causal relation actually works. The interpretivist perspective of process tracing leads to a detailed examination of the causal mechanism and explains how specific variables interact.*" Broadly speaking, the research will follow methodological indications for constructivist research, because "*they* [constructivists] *judge an interpretation of evidence by comparing it with alternative explanations. They search for evidence that would confirm the alternatives and disconfirm the*

The thesis is structured as following: at first, it will be presented the research rationale, and the research question, giving account of the key ideas which have lead the research work and why it is relevant in a political science perspective.

The first part of the dissertation will illustrate the methodology and the theoretical approach. Within the Methodology section, it will be provided a complete explanation of the ways through which the research has been conducted: In particular, it will be presented the research hypotheses, the variables and the research plan. Furthermore, the methodology will illustrate the research tools used for conducted the research, also providing a deep insight on the questionnaire handed out to single research participants.

The next part will illustrate the theoretical framework. Within this section, it will be presented the literature of reference through the illustration of the "concepts" leading the research which are "Diaspora and skilled migration", "transnationalism and diaspora networks", "social remittances for development and community building", "migration and development: from theory to policy". Furthermore, it will be provided a state of the art of the research to understand the effective relevance of the topic in the academic literature. Within this chapter, also data on remittances in general will be provided, to better define the effectiveness of remittances at the global level. The second part "Findings" will consist in the core research, where the case study analysis will be discussed. In particular, this section will contain the analysis of the context at the policy level within Ethiopia and Somalia, and the case study definition and study. As will be deeply explained in the methodology, the case study will be analysed through a qualitative

explanation being assessed. They ask if an explanation is supported by multiple stream of data" (FINNEMORE M., SIKKINK K.,, 2005).

analysis assisted by process tracing, which will enable to highlight patterns of behaviours and estimate the impact, and discuss the finding under the political science variables of "legitimacy" and "effectiveness". Finally, general conclusion will be provided, and also suggestions and reflections on further research potentialities on the topic.

Research design, methodology and theoretical framework

The first part of the research aims to define the research methodology and the theoretical framework. At first, it will be provided the research plan, in order to make clear the whole research rationale and the main steps which have characterised the work. In particular, the research question will be introduced together with the methodology and the tools used for the empirical analysis, as the questionnaire elaborated for the report of case studies. The theoretical framework part will introduce the main research concepts, and will illustrate some of the previous empirical findings which have led to the definition of the research strategy. A particular attention will be also given to the European approach to migration and development, key for a complete understanding of the environment of the research.

1. Research Design and Methodology

The following section will consist in the development of the research design, and the explanation of the research question, dependent and independent variables, the methodological approach and the case study selection.

The section will also provide an in-depth look at the main tools of the research, in particular the questionnaire, used as a base for the semi structured interviews, which consist in the core part of the empirical study. Furthermore, it will be presented a first analysis and explanation of the selected case studies.

Before the explanation of the methodology and the rationale of the choices of action which have lead the definition of the research design, it is worthy to say that, because of the limitations of time and resources of the Ph.D. course, the research is conducted as a single sited research. It means that the interviews and the case studies has been collected in one site of action of the actors involved in the research, London and the Wales, place of residence of the respondents and headquarters of the office of the organisations involved. It is clear that, a multi-sited research would complete the work because enables the understanding of connections and relationships across spaces. Due to that limitation, this research may be considered as a first step for a further investigation of social remittances effectiveness, to conduct through a multi-sited work in the countries of origin of the diaspora involved in the research.

1.1. Overview of the research context: framework, actors, work on the field

It is widespread in the European Union, also supported by governments and local authorities, the conception of diaspora engagement in the framework of the policies on migration and development or co-development, aiming to have an impact both on the economies of the most critical areas and- on the long run – reduce the migration pressure. The work of a large part of diaspora organisations and international organisations aims to the enhancement of the economic development, as the contribution to the reduction of brain drain, through the "brain circulation" and the creation of new opportunities of employment and work, which may positively affect the countries of origin. For instance, it has been encouraged through several programmes, as the IOM Mida[21], or Ghanacoop[22], the creation of a network of cooperatives and/or small medium enterprises, enabling the esteem of remittances and their productivity for development.

The present research work has put aside the "economic value" of remittances, focusing on the institutional and social development through the transmission of "social remittances". This shift, imply an attention on the transmission of ideas and specific knowledge in different sectors of public and community life, and to this aim, diaspora will be conceived as an "epistemic community[23]".

As already introduced, the research takes into consideration the results of the previous academic work on the topic in the definition of the

[21] Data available on https://www.iom.int/mida
[22] Data available on www.ghanacoop.it
[23] Cf. HAAS P., (1992) *Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination,* in *International Organization: Knowledge, Power, and International Policy Coordination* Vol. 46, No. 1 p.1-35.

contribution of diaspora in the countries of origin (the "migration and development" linkage), trying to add an input with reference to the impact of social remittances on institutional change for a good governance.

To reach the research objective, it has been chosen to focus on tangible transmission of social remittances, looking at the outcomes of projects of development that diaspora organisations carries on in their home countries, focusing not only on the effectiveness/impact of those projects, but also conducting a wider evaluation of each project and organisation work, with a particular attention to formal and informal networks of stakeholders that diaspora is able to build around its different organisational structures.

It is recognised that any kind of measurement or definition of social remittances is quite impossible, because their variety of shapes and understanding from academic literature. For this reason, it was necessary to narrow the concept of social remittances, taking as field on analysis the activities conducted in the field of knowledge and skills transfer by a number of diaspora organisations. The result of this narrowed focus is twofold: At first, there is a sort of "parallelism" with the classical concept of economic support of diaspora in the home country, because of the "shape" of the transmission, a development initiative. Secondly it allows the delimitation of this transmission in a definite time and space, and enable the provision of quantitative data which enable a description of the intervention in object. This approach, has the aim to reduce on of the principal bias in the study of social remittances, which may be addressed as "volatility", giving to the social remittances transmission a shape, a dimension and a definite goal to reach.

The choice of looking at the organisations rather than the individual action has been made according to some considerations on the nature

of diaspora engagement itself and the contingencies which have occurred during the research fieldwork and will deeply explained further.

At a first stance, the questionnaire prepared was understood to be hand out individually to single project participants of a certain organisation, reaching a sample of at least one hundred people.

During the fieldwork it has been realised that the first objective was unrealistic because of the structure of each organisation, especially the ones "from below". It has been noticed that there is a strong interconnection between stakeholders or partners outside UK, and that diasporic transnational organisations personnel or volunteers residing in London were quite few. Furthermore, the organisations sometimes used to work together and/or overlap with biggest networks or institutions.

Furthermore, this choice has been made also according to the consideration that the nature of individual engagement is wide-ranging and fragmented. The organisation assures the existence of a structured project of intervention, an internal organisation of the staff and an easier traceability of the stakeholders involved. In fact, considering each organisation as a "case study", enables to give an account of the dimension of the engagement, especially looking at the structure of stakeholders and partnerships in the home country.

In this way, in my view it is possible to exclude "unclear" intents in the home country and the predominance of "personal ambitions" as principal motivation for the engagement (ie. Economic or political advantage) which represents a bias for the objectives of the research.

To do so, the choice of the case studies has taken into account the typology of the activities that diaspora organisations carry on in the home country context. The selection of the organisations has been based their capacities to contribute to local policies through the

strengthening institutions, local capabilities and civil society awareness on definite issues, in the framework of specific projects or programmes and defined goals.

To better identify diaspora roles and to understand if- and how- the presence of an "international anchor" as an "international organisation" influence the local impact, the case studies have been classified following the conceptualisation of "transnationalism from above" "transnationalism from below" made by Smith and Guarnizo[24] . According to this conceptualisation, "Transnationalism from below" expresses the way diasporas relate to their country of origin in economic, cultural and political field from the grassroots, while "transnationalism from above" refers at the way in which the countries of origin or international actors take measures in order to channel and organise the transnational activities of migrants (top-down approach).

However, the empirical work on the fieldwork has revealed that one of the most interesting model of organisations which characterise the diaspora engagement consist in wider and more structured typology of organisations characterised by the aim of building and enhancing development partnerships among different stakeholders, in order to pursue the different needs of diaspora groups. Those organisations assume also the role of *networks,* being the principal point of reference of smaller diaspora organisations and also Home and Host country governments, local authorities and transnational institutions (in particular European Commission and United Nations). Together with activities of diaspora support in different sectors (es. employment, entrepreneurship, training), much of the work of those *network* organisations is based on lobbying and advocacy to governments,

[24] SMITH M.P., GUARNIZO L. E., (1998), *Transnationalism from Below*. Editors Comparative Urban and Community Research V6.

through the participation to the principal institutional dialogue processes on migration issues but also bringing together civil society and governmental partners in self-directed activities (conferences, platform, building of partnerships). Those organisations constitute a sort of hybrid of the two concepts of transnationalism "form above and from below", working as a sort of "juncture" among the two levels.

The empirical research has been conducted looking at fifteen organisations which engage diasporas, in particular: eleven diaspora ethnic or region based organisation, working both "from above" (as International Organisations principal partner in the UK) and "from below", two diaspora networks and one International organisation.

The organisations are based in the UK (England and Wales), where the largest part of the empirical work has been conducted. According to the UK Office for National Statistics, a fifth of the total non-UK born population in England and Wales (1,3 Million people) come from Africa[25]. The highest proportion of Black/Black British comes from Nigeria and Ghana (89%)[26]. The analysis reports that the most relevant migration flow is dated back in the '60 until 1981, when the majority of East and South African population settled in England and Wales.

Looking at the data on education and employment of the African Population collected by David Owen in the paper "African Population to the UK[27]" (2008) nearly a quarter of Africans have a degree or similar qualification, in particular west Africans, which are most likely to get high education degrees.

[25] data available on https://www.ons.gov.uk.
[26] *Ibidem.*
[27] OWEN R. (2008), *African Population to the Uk*, Warwick University, accessed online.

The majority of the people who have interacted and directly responded to the questionnaire on behalf of the organisations have a high-qualified jobs and higher education degree.

The present research has also narrowed the geographical area of origin of the diaspora organisations involved to the Horn of Africa, in particular Ethiopia and Somalia. It has been noticed that, despite the specific initiatives object of analysis is developed in those two countries, the nature of the majority of the organisations involved in the research is differentiated. In fact, if a half of the organisations has a national/regional base (for instance, the Ethiopian ones mainly work on the region of Tigray), the rest of organisations in their structure development have chosen to abandon the region -based focus building their network on a wider geographical area. It is particularly relevant with the advocacy activities on certain issues (mainly health and children - women rights), which have widespread and build partnerships in more than one country.

With the aim to "quantify" the strength and the effort of the transmission of social remittances it has been asked to each organisation to provide the following information:

- Year of constitution of the organisation
- Number of people affiliated in the organisation
- Number of people actively involved in the organisation
- Number of people involved in the home country
- number of projects beneficiaries (an average)
- Partnerships with other EU diaspora organisations (if any)
- Partnerships in the home country (both institutions and civil society actors)
- affiliation to a network

Those data, help in giving an account of the transnational nature of the network and its extension both in home and host country.

Almost each organisation provided the data on its own activity. This data collection had been particularly hard, because of the reticence of some of the respondents to give that information, considered as "sensitive". The information provided show that the number of stakeholders in the home country context is large, and may reach also 50,000 beneficiaries[28] for all the activities and services provided. Furthermore, the collaboration with home country civil society and the local institutions is particularly relevant in order to understand the structure of each organisation. Ethiopian organisations in particular, are able to build very good relationships with institutional stakeholders, due to the local policy on diaspora, considered as one of the major resources for the development of the country. Furthermore, the data clearly reveal that the number of people involved in the UK is not representative of the strength of the organisation on the home country context. It means that some organisations have a wider network of collaborators in the home country, both from institutions and civil society, and it has a great significance for the analysis of the research variables.

[28] The mentioned data have been provided by the organisations during the fieldwork in London.

1.2 Methodology

1.2.1 Research hypotheses and variables

Generally speaking, literature on migration and development is characterised by a widespread optimism regarding the contribution of diaspora to the home country economies and social development. This optimism is close to an institutional view of the migration and development linkage, in particular to the "*triple wins*[29]" idea, namely the possibility of the implementation of a virtuous circle that provides positive outcomes (at least) on the migrants themselves, sending and receiving areas.

The research will try out this optimistic approach, and will look at output and outcomes of the institutional rebuilding programmes, working on the main actors involved in the initiatives. In particular, the case studies identified are diaspora organisation and networks (Transnationalism from below), the international organisation programmes where diaspora is seen as "beneficiary" (Transnationalism from above)[30]. For both those cases, the unit of analysis will be single initiatives and projects, which enable to track diaspora action better than other occasions of transmission. In fact, a definite project assures the "systematic" and "intentional"[31] transmission of remittances, and an easily traceability through reports and documents provided by each single organisation.

The aim of the research in this sense is twofold: together with an assessment of the impact, seen under the "diaspora perspective" there

[29]Cf. ref.8.
[30]Cf. SMITH M. AND GUARNIZO L., (2006), op.cit.
[31]Cf. OSTERGAARD NIELSEN E. (2003) *The politics of migrants' transnational political practices*, in *International migration review* Vol.37 Issue 3 p. 760-786, and LEVITT P. (2011) op.cit.

is the experimentation of a methodology of investigation of social remittances, which recalls the impact assessment of economic development initiatives. In this sense, there is the will to identify how knowledge transfer occur and its actual reception in the local context following the ways of mobilisation, the opportunity structures and the motivations of the single actors.

The research hypotheses, which will be verified through the analysis, have been formulated on the elements of the literature both on socialisation theories of international relations and migration and development, and challenge the current research on the topic through the discussion on some sensitive issues as the relationship between diaspora and governance building and – most largely – the effective strength of Diaspora as democratisation actor.

The Research hypothesis have been structured as following:

H1: Policy discourse and literature does not take into consideration Diaspora as an actor able to give a direct contribution and policy advice. The constant presence of a "mediator" (international organisation, governments) distorts the role of diaspora in the home country.

H2: In the single activities, the presence/absence of the international organisation is a key determinant in affecting the impact, in particular the independent variable of "Legitimacy"[32].

H3: As well, it affects the variable of "effectiveness"[33].

H4: Diaspora and migrants will not affect "democratisation" directly: in this sense, is better to refer to a "development framework", characterised by the presence of specific structures which enable the actors to channel social remittances properly.

[32] cf. LIPSET (1959) op.cit.
[33] *ibidem.*

Explanation of the variables

As explained, the potentialities of change, which characterise the engagement of diaspora will be analysed through specific and concrete actions, organised and carried on by diaspora itself, or in which diasporas collaborate as beneficiary.

The main idea that undermine this choice is that the transmission of ideas, values, skills and knowledge is better understood if framed in a concrete action, and connected with the intentional will of bringing development.

In this vein, the case studies which are object of the research have been chosen with the precise goal to give concreteness to the theoretical framework and to look at those process through qualitative methods.

The empirical analysis will start with the building of the framework of the research, which will follow the listed elements:

- Description of the nature of the case studies (from above/from below) and identification of the key characteristics of the case studies set
- Description of the Institutional context of the home countries, with particular reference to diaspora policies in Ethiopia and Somalia
- Opportunities structures provided both in host and home country
- Social structures present in the home country and relative interactions with civil society
- Presence of a structure of partnerships of International Organisations, International Ngos, western and local government

The core empirical research will analyse the results of the case study analysis through two steps, linking the patterns of engagement of diaspora with the Lipset's legitimacy and effectiveness concepts.

At first, it will be provided an analysis the three patterns of diaspora engagement "mobilisation" "opportunities" and "motivations", which are conceptualised according to the definition of Wescott and Brinkerhoff as following:

- Mobilisation: Creation of a community identity and patterns of engagement of material resources, skills and organisational resources to canalise social remittances properly; identification of the nature of the linkages of social capital networks, and identification of the relationship among the actors.
- Opportunities**:** access to resources and identification of the main characteristics of the environment of action (both in host and home societies)
- Motivations: Purposes of action, to relate not only to the diasporic identity, but also to the opportunity structures and the relationships among the actors[34]

Those patterns will constitute the categories of analysis, and will be considered as the ground for the study of the interviews and the materials which each organisation will provide. Each definition will be "unpacked", with the objective of a deepest analysis of each single pattern.

It has been noticed that the three patterns of engagement defined constitute a ground for the analysis of Lipset's concepts. This is because they are used in the framework of the impact analysis of high-skilled potentials to development and are inclusive of the most salient aspects which characterised the engagement. In fact, they have been used in the volume "*Converting migration drains into gains: harnessing the*

[34] Cf. WESCOTT J., BRINKERHOFF J., (2006) op.cit.

resources of overseas professionals" for a complete assessment of the brain drain/gain duality and to understand the nature of the impact of high skilled professionals.

It is clear that, the framing of the patterns of engagement in the political science perspective, has to be enriched with the description of the level of recognition which diaspora have in the home country society. As well, this key question to identify have to be in line with part of the debate on diaspora as transnational political actor, which frames the question looking not only at the mere impact of diaspora, at the potential influence of transnational political networks and its consequences on domestic policies.[35] Furthermore, the analysis has to be completed with the assessment of the actual success in the satisfaction of the expectations of the receiving societies.

In this sense, the reference to the concepts of legitimacy and effectiveness also enable the opening of the discussion of the contribution of the actors the wider context of democratisation and state building, particularly interesting for post conflict societies as Somalia is.

Following Lipset, the two concepts have been formulated as following:

- Perceived legitimacy of diaspora presence and action in home country context: the legitimacy is understood as the capacity of the actors to engage and maintain relationship in the home country context which are legitimate because recognised as appropriate for the context of reception from local civil society and local authorities.
- Perceived effectiveness of diaspora action in home country context: for effectiveness is meant the actual performance of the intervention in object, and the actual success in satisfying the needs and the expectations of the receiving societies and institutions, and the

[35] Cf. OSTERGAARD NIELSEN E., (2003), op.cit.

ability to contribute to the resolution of problems related to institutional rebuilding and strengthening.

It is fundamental to underline that the definitions of "legitimacy" and "effectiveness" have been formulated from Lipset's article "*Some social requisites of Democracy: economic development and Political Legitimacy*", where the definitions are elaborated as following: *"by effectiveness is meant the actual performance of a political system, the extent to which it satisfies the basic functions of government as defined by the expectations of most members of a society, and the expectations of powerful groups within it which might threaten the system, such as armed forces. [..] Legitimacy involves the capacity of a political system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institutions are the most appropriate or proper ones for the society"*[36].

The choice of case study analysis as a methodology has been made in compliance with the theoretical approach. As Finnemore and Sikkink, "*Constructivists recognise that all research involves interpretation, and thus there is no neutral stance from which they can gather objective knowledge about the world, but they differ about how this interpretation should be done and what kinds of explanation it yields [..] These analysis can provide correlative evidence about the timing and patterns of normative change but are less suited to understanding how and why change happens. To accomplish this, constructivists have used a variety of tools to capture inter-subjective meanings, including discourse analysis, process tracing, genealogy, structured focused comparisons, interviews, participant observation and content analysis"*[37].

[36] LIPSET S., (1959) op.cit.

[37] FINNEMORE M., SIKKINK K., (2001*), Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics* in *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 4 p.391-416.

The case study analysis will consist in a narrative comparison assisted by process tracing. "*Looking at the at this stage the qualitative data are particularly useful for understanding why or why not emergent relationships hold. When a relationship is supported, the qualitative data often provide a good understanding of the dynamics underlying the relationship, that is, the "why" of what is happening*[38]".

Process tracing is "*a procedure for identifying steps in a causal process leading to the outcome of a given dependent variable of a particular case in a particular historical conte*xt[39]"(George and Bennet, 2005). It has the aim to establish regularities and discover relations between variables through document analysis and interviews to all the subjects involved.

In the project will be used a combination of both positivist and interpretivist perspectives in process tracing, that will enrich the work both theoretically and empirically. As Della Porta and Keating notice:

"*A positivist perspective of process tracing helps to identify the existence of causal relations, to go beyond correlation and evaluate causality empirically (Dessler 1991). However, the positivist approach to process tracing faces difficulties in explaining how the mechanism implied in the causal relation actually works. The interpretivist perspective of process tracing leads to a detailed examination of the causal mechanism and explains how specific variables interact*.[40]"

Following the methodological indications for constructivist research, "*they [constructivists] judge an interpretation of evidence by comparing it with alternative explanations. They search for evidence*

[38] EISENHARDT K., (1989), *Building Theories from Case Study Research* in *The Academy of Management Review* Vol. 14, No. 4 p.532-550.

[39] GEORGE A., BENNET A., (2005), *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences,* MIT Press, available online.

[40] DELLA PORTA D., KEATING, (2008), *Approaches and methodology to social science*, Cambridge Press, Cambridge.

that would confirm the alternatives and disconfirm the explanation being assessed. They ask if an explanation is supported by multiple stream of data[41]" .

1.2.2. The research plan

To answer the research question, this study will be conducted in two phases:

Phase 1: Desk research and concept definition

This phase is the theoretical one and consists in the definition of the theoretical framework, through the description of the research concepts. It will include both literature and documents related to the activities of the programmes of intervention that include diaspora in institutional rebuilding.
In particular, desk research will focus on:

- Identification of the research concepts through the literature review and its critics
- Identification of the policy framework regarding migration and development
- analysis of the main research streams on social remittances contribution
- Documents and declarations from civil society and diaspora association
- Data from International organisations official reports

In particular, the documents provided by the organisations which have chosen to collaborate, will be studied to the definition of the case study,

[41] FINNEMORE M., SKIKKINK K., (2001), op.cit.

in order to make clear their relevance and frame the findings of the qualitative interviews.

Phase 2: The fieldwork

Identification of the case studies and the empirical investigation

The core part of the case study analysis consists in the fieldwork period conducted in London, where the organisations object of the case study analysis have been identified and met.

During the fieldwork, the contact with a "gatekeeper", the "network organisation" has allowed the identification of the organisations which have resulted to work in coherence with the research needs. As well, constant contacts with IOM Somalia and IOM UK have allowed the identification of the key respondents of the research, and the provision of specific documentation. The choice of the case studies has been made according to specific criteria, which have been identified under the broad categories of "transnationalism from above" and "transnationalism from below".

The common feature which identifies the case studies related to the way in which people are engaged. The fixed characteristic is the temporary return of the subject in the context of origin, and the collaboration with an institution from the origin country, which may be direct or indirect.

The empirical work is introduced by a detailed discussion of the characteristics of the two sets of case studies, based on the data provided by the organisation. In particular, it will be discussed the specific nature of the two broad categories "from above" and "from below" on the basis of the materials provided by each single diaspora organisation. Those material include reports, impact evaluations and statistics of the projects in object.

To better study the potentialities in terms of impact, each organisation has provided quantitative data, which will be integrated with the replies to the interviews illustrated afterword.

A joint reading of those two elements enabled the building of a within case study analysis, and a a full understanding of each organisation activity.

According to the findings of the "within-case" study, the comparison will be held through the categories of analysis "mobilisation", "opportunities" and "motivation", which will facilitate the evidence of the relation between dependent variables and independent variables categorised inside the single units of analysis.

Because of the sensitivity of the data provided, and the request of the respondents to remain anonymous, the within case study won't be object of this dissertation, but the most relevant data will be part of the case study definition and the analysis through categories.

The privileged observants engaged in the research project, which have collaborated in the case study definition, have been identified as following:

- For the "from above" cases, the people which have been hired for the QUESTS Mida programme, and the responsible of the satellite organisations working with IOM
- For the "from below" cases, the people which work for the organisation, as project managers and directors.

To develop the "qualitative" part of the research, the principal methodological instrument which has accompanied the data collection has been the semi structured interview, conducted on the basis of on two questionnaires, which slightly differ according to the nature of the engagement (from above/from below). The main difference in the questionnaires regards the starting point of the case study: in the "from

above" cases, the respondents have referred to the experience for which they have been ask to participate. In the "from below" cases, the respondent had as a starting point an initiative of their choice chosen from the one of the organisation they belong to.

The questionnaire has been studied to be a flexible instrument, to adapt to the respondent needs: it has been filled autonomously, followed by an in depth interview, or by the respondent together with the interviewer, which in much cases has facilitate collection of the most relevant information.

The questionnaire, which will be attached as the appendix of this thesis is structured as following:

Section 1:

Details about the experience of engagement

- first time engagement
- nature of the past experience
- From Above: possible belonging to an organisation and description of the organisation
- From Below: description of the project main features and description of the organisation
- Rating of self-commitment (scale 1-10)

Section 2:

Information on the experience of engagement in the project

- Motivations of engagement to rate on a Likert Scale

(1) strongly disagree - (2) disagree - (3) neutral - (4) agree - (5) strongly agree

	1	2	3	4	5
My country suffers from brain-drain and lack of up-to-date knowledge in many areas					
I want to bring progress and lasting change					
"if the public administration works efficiently, this creates a reliable foundation for a whole range of activities with an impact on the lives and well-being of all citizens"					
I feel Rebuilding the homeland as a responsibility					
Is an experience which contributes to my professional growth					
I want to give continuity to my previous activity in my home country					
I am planning to return in my home country					
To enhance the role of diaspora in my country					
I found the [name-of-the-project] strategy in my home country innovative and relevant					
My community {CSO} is well organised					
Is coherent to my political beliefs					
It is coherent to the objectives of my organisation					
I believe that working with [international-organisation] adds value to my work					
My government lacks of spaces of dialogue with diaspora so it represents a good opportunity to engage					

Table 1: Questionnaire Section 2 - question 2.1

- Main tasks and responsibility which the respondent has carried on during the project, to rate on a Likert scale based on the perceived success of each one
- Evaluation, on a scale 1-10 of some components of the work

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Level of competence of the local staff										
Your integration in the work team										
IO support in your activity										
IO influence in your activity										
Host institution support in your activity										
Host institution influence in your activity										
Workload										
Personal freedom in the job										
Quality of feedback received from your team										
Quality of feedback received from IO										
Quality of accountability of the project in the host institution										
My qualifications have met the needs of the project										

Table 2 Questionnaire Section 2 - question 2.3

Section 3:

- Description of the "perception of change", through the identification of the limits and advantages of the different actors involved in the processes, identified as: diaspora, International Organisations, Civil society organisations – local people, Local authority. The limits and advantages will be classified and rated according to their relevance to "change" on the basis of a 1-5 scale.

- Evaluation of interactions with local partners, through the description of specific experiences

Section 4:

- Identification of Diaspora priorities in the processes of institutional rebuilding/ strengthening. This response is structured as an open question

The questionnaire has revealed to be an effective instrument for the empirical investigation. It has allowed to give to the interviewees precise terms of reference for their replies, and its flexibility has been functional in giving them the possibility to give deep explanations and examples on the replies provided.

The majority of the people which have been interviewed have been met more than once. Each interview has lasted totally from 1,5 to 3 hours[42]. Furthermore, because of the bond of anonymity, it has been noticed an extremely positive and collaborative attitude of the respondents. It has also led to the undertake some extra activities which have enriched the understanding of the phenomena in object. As an example, some of the IOM Somalia staff has been met during a "diaspora recruitment" event organised at UCL University, aimed at the dissemination of the Organisation activity among Somali descent students. Those considerations will be also reported as integral part of the case study analysis, because their relevance for the definition of the framework.

[42] The record of the whole interviews won't be provided.

2. Theoretical Framework

The following section of the research will consist in the theoretical research framework, which will allow to highlight the research assumptions as well as the state of the art of the empirical research on migration and development in the countries in object. As well, it will be presented the literature on the constructivist approach to International Relation, with reference to the role of international actors in institutional rebuilding and domestic change.

As from the introduction, Diaspora will be studied as a transnational actor, which has a certain grade of strength in influencing home (or sending) countries through several kinds of actions, mainly related to the transmission of remittances, both economical and social. This "strength", will measured within a precise policy framework, and will be related to the action of the policy actors engaged in the policies in object, the European Commission, single member states, international organisations.

Starting from the normative conceptualisation of the socialisation approach which is the principal term of reference of this work, the theoretical framework will be organised through the explanation of the research concepts and the state of the art of the research, in the attempt to give a framework of analysis of the diaspora role in development, as well as explaining social remittances in the framework of governance and institutions building.

2. 1. Constructivism/socialisation approach within the International Relations theory

Before to start the analysis of the key concepts leading the research, it is necessary to give account of the normative framework which explains the role of international actors in the processes of governance building and democratisation. The following paragraph has the aim to provide a general introduction on the normative theories which are at the base of the research, and will give account of the possible application of those theories in the study of the "transnational turn" within international migration theories.

According to the aims of the research, the investigation of the role of diaspora in governance building undermines a political science analysis conducted under the lens of the constructivist theories of international relations. In particular, here will be discussed the theories related to democratic anchoring, studied through the theories of "socialisation", which is defined as a process of *inducting individuals and states into the democratic norms and rules of a given regional, international or transnational community*[43] .

The reason to focus on the constructivist approach, lies on the "*focus on the role of ideas, norms, knowledge, culture, and argument in politics, stressing in particular the role of collectively held or "intersubjective" ideas and understandings on social life*[44]" .

Following this approach, diaspora contribution in institutional rebuilding may be seen as an element of the process of Socialisation, which "*aim to facilitate the internalisation of democratic norms, policies and institutions through the establishment and intensification*

[43] MORLINO L., (2008) op.cit.
[44] FINNEMORE M., SKIKKINK K., (2001), op.cit.

of linkages between liberal international fora and states actors and transnational communities[45]".

To follow, it will be deepen the key concepts of Constructivism and Socialisation, together with the empirical dimension of the concept. It will be given account of Checkel's work on European Union, and the way through which Social Learning has contributed to norms development. The final point concerns the developing world, in particular the contribution of socialisation theories within the study of post-conflict societies.

Constructivism and Socialisation

As an approach to social research, Constructivism in international relations refers to "*the role of human consciousness in social life*[46]*"*. To address the concept of constructivism and to explain its role in the present research, it is useful to refer to Finnemore and Skikkink analysis[47], which take account of the literature elaborated on the topic also providing an empirical framework. The two authors put a particular attention on the differentiation between the "institutions" and "international organisations" roles and the "epistemic communities" in the transmission of values and norms. As it will be illustrated further, this differentiation is particularly relevant for the research, which conceptualise and justify Diaspora mobilisation using the Haas' theory on epistemic communities to describe its support in the home country governance.The constructivist research programme recalled by Finnemore and Skikkink in the article "*Taking stock: the constructivist research programme in International Relations*" highlights the

[45] MORLINO L., (2008), op. cit. p.

[46] RUGGIE J., (1998), *What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge* in *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4 p.855-885.

[47] FINNEMORE M., SKIKKIK K., (2001), op.cit.

importance of "social facts" as the key focus of constructivists. In particular, all the "collective beliefs" assure a key role in constructivist theory as the principal mean for the action of individuals. The authors' main focus is the analysis of the role of social actors through the differentiation between the nature of the agents. To justify the role of constructivist approach within the present dissertation, it is worthy to mention the role of international organisation and epistemic communities, looking at the ways through which social learning is understood and brought in the institutional context.

In case of international organisations, the focus of constructivists are the ways through which international norms and new models of political engagement are disseminated. It has been noticed that the International organisations are effective actors of social construction because of their "rational-legal" authority and because the social model promoted is recognised as efficient and effective. Those characteristics enable to make the organisation's work effective and efficient, and give more power to the norms which are developed. As an example, the work of Finnemore (1993) and Adler (1998) outline, through empirical observation, the modalities of action of international organisation for norm diffusion. Adler[48] (1998) in particular, highlights the work of OSCE (Organisation for security and cooperation in Europe) and its strategic interaction diffusion of norms among its members.

It has also been emphasised other key characteristics that international organisations gain in norm diffusion processes: in particular, policy guidance, mediation in case of conflicts and construction of rules or new interpretation of rules are the key ones. According to the authors,

[48] Cf. ADLER E., BARNETT M., (1998), *Security Communities*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

those characteristics imply a strong legitimacy for the Organisation and its role, together with its authority in definite matters.

The notion of epistemic communities is also relevant to frame the research conceptualisation. The study of diaspora as Epistemic communities will be developed deeply further. At this stage, in relation to norm diffusion processes, this concept gains relevance because their nature of knowledge elites and experts which have a recognised power of influence and change. The "community" or "knowledge network" is recognised as accountable because able to provide a deep understanding on a certain matter, holding a shared system of values and norms which is diffused through several channels. The knowledge in this sense is not neutral and in definite contexts is able to become a source of power. As the authors argue, epistemic communities: "*can act as powerful mechanisms of social construction*". In case of diaspora this is relevant because: "*Diasporas are interest groups participating in the domestic political process of the homeland. As such, they seek to advance their identity-based interests, both directly through lobbying and indirectly by providing information to the institutional actors. Furthermore, given their international location, they are singularly (among interest groups) important to the homeland government as tools of influence vis-a-vis foreign governments. Analysing this relationship between diasporas and homeland governments will explicate the potential efficacy of diasporic activity*[49]".

To furtherly frame constructivism in the object of the study, it is useful to refer to the constructivist work in relation to the socialisation theories of international relations, which allow to take into

[49] SHAIN Y., BARTH A., (2003), *Diasporas and International Relations Theory* in *International Organisation*, Volume 57, Issue 3 p.449-479.

consideration the transnational action of the actors involved in the processes described.

The theoretical starting point of the work is the idea – developed in the socialisation theories - that external actors may serve as a bridge to build community linkages and social knowledge, impacting on the community as well as on the institutions and governments. In this sense, one of the key question of the present study is the strength of diaspora as an external anchoring actor, but is quite prudent in relating the technical contribution of diaspora to democratisation. Despite that, it is possible to define some reciprocal influences between transnational theories and socialisation.

Looking at the core socialisation theory, it is worthy to mention the work of Lewitszky and Way (2006) and Checkel (2005), which have developed the theory on socialisation normatively and empirically, with a specific reference to the European Union.

According to Lewitzky and Way[50], socialisation as an anchoring mechanism has five dimensions of linkages and Diaspora is included in the framework of the social and transnational ties, together with the involvement of transnational Ngos, international organisations and civil society associations[51]. In the article "*Linkage versus leverage. Rethinking the international dimension of regime change*" (2006), Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way analyse the dimension of regime change with a particular reference to the post Cold War context, highlighting the role of the "linkages" able to bring social and institutional change. In the article the authors point out several ways of external influence, and identify a precise pattern for the democratic norms diffusion.

[50] LEWITSKY S., WAY L., (2008), op.cit.
[51] LEWITSKY S., WAY L., (2006) op.cit.

In this framework, "linkages" and "leverages" constitute the two macro-categories for the explanation of the different modalities of "democratic anchoring". Leverage refer to the external pressure on authoritarian governments which include positive conditionality, sanctions, democratic persuasion and military forces. The strength (and vulnerability) of leverages lay in countries' institutional and economic status. It means that small countries with weak states and aid-dependent economies reveal a higher level of vulnerability and external pressure.
For the nature of the present research, the "linkages" acquire a high relevance, in particular with reference to socialisation theories.
Linkages are defined as the "*density of the ties and cross borders flows between a particular country and the U.S., the EU and western-dominated multilateral institutions*[52]". In this sense, linkages include economy (trades, investments, commercial agreements), geographical, political and social ties.
The last typology mentioned, *social linkages*, constitute the empirical ground of the present work, because include all the people across borders and, as explained, "*migration, tourism, refugees and diaspora community, as well as elites education in the west*[53]".
Speaking about social linkages as the way to enhance the effectiveness of leverage, the authors refer different modalities of "change". In particular, change undermines the generation of several sources of anti-authoritarian pressure, as well as increase of the likelihood of western governments to intervene in response of authoritarian abuses. Furthermore, linkages have the strength to shift domestic preferences in a pro-democratic values direction, and to re-shape domestic balances of power.

[52] *ivi* p. 379.
[53] *ivi* p. 383.

The normative conceptualisation of socialisation identified in political science has been analysed, also through empirical evidence, in the work of Jeffrey T. Checkel[54]. Following the same theoretical approach of Levitsky and Way, Checkel elaborates a normative conceptualisation of socialisation, and also conducted empirical research with a specific focus on European Union.

In the article "Getting socialised to building Bridges: Constructivism and rationalism, Europe and the Nation-state" (2005), socialisation is addressed as "the process of inducting actors into the norms and rules of a given community55". Furthermore, Checkel refers to socialisation with reference to the "rule adoption" as following: "*In adopting community rules, socialization implies that an agent switches from following a logic of consequences to a logic of appropriateness; his adoption is sustained over time and is quite independent from a particular structure of material incentives or sanctions. Yet there is more than one way in which agents may follow a logic of appropriateness. On the one hand, agents may behave appropriately by learning a role acquiring the knowledge that enables them to act in accordance with expectations irrespective of whether they like the role or agree with it. The key is the agents knowing what is socially accepted in a given setting or community. Following a logic of appropriateness, then, means simply that conscious instrumental calculation has been replaced by conscious role playing. We call this Type I internalization or socialization*56".

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[54] Cf. ZURN, CHECKEL J.T., (2005) *Getting socialised to building Bridges: Constructivins and rationalism, Europe and the Nation-state* in *International Organization*, Vol. 59, No. 4 p.1045-1079..

[55] CHECKEL J.T., (2005), *International Institutions and Socialisation in Europe: Introduction and Framewok*, in *International Organisation* Vol.59 p.545-560.

[56] *ibidem*

The empirical work of Checkel focuses on norms diffusion and socialisation within the context of European Union integration. The aim of the study presented in the article "*Social Construction and Integration*[57]" (1999) is to show how, an approach which looks at the socialisation patterns in the study of the role of institutions within European integration, enables the understanding of the process of European identity building. Despite the work examines a different field of study respect to mine, it has important implications in the theoretical framework presented especially for the methodology of analysis in use. In fact, it is particularly relevant the explanation of the relation between constructivism, socialisation theories and "social learning". In this context, "learning" for an agent means to acquire interests and preferences through interactions with other relevant agents. This typology of learning privileges the role of networks and epistemic communities, as well as small settings of learning environments.

Checkel's research highlights four hypotheses on social learning which are:

H.1 Social learning is more likely in groups where individuals share common professional backgrounds – for example, where all/most group members are lawyers or, say, European central bankers.

H.2 Social learning is more likely where the group feels itself in a crisis or is faced with clear and incontrovertible evidence of policy failure.

H.3 Social learning is more likely where a group meets repeatedly and there is high density of interaction among participants.

H.4 Social learning is more likely when a group is insulated from direct political pressure and exposure[58].

[57] CHECKEL J.T., (1999), *Social construction and integration*, in *Journal of European Public Policy* Vol. 6, Issue 4 p.545-560.

[58] CHECKEL J.T., (1999) op.cit.

In coherence with those hypotheses constructivist norms are considered as a mean for the understanding of the actions and behaviour of "socialisation agents". Following Checkel case study the empirical evidence has shown three dynamics of norms development. At first, it is highlighted the centrality of the individual agency: in this sense "*well placed individuals with entrepreneurial skills can often turn their individual beliefs into a broader, shared understanding*[59]". Secondly, those entrepreneurs are successful in bringing their ideas in the system of norms and beliefs in the most appropriate moment, when a policy "opportunity window" is open. Thirdly, the processes are key also for the exploiting of policy windows. The norm diffusion mechanisms identified from those processes are vary, and the most relevant is the process of social learning where agents tend to adopt prescription which are the basis for the sharing of new knowledges and empowered norms. The modalities of social learning described by the theorists of socialisation, in particular with reference to the social learning, need to be framed in the context of post conflict states and governance. The peculiarity of this context is the employment, for the development of formal governance structures, the engagement of social institutions together with marginalised communities and their network of reference within the society. As well, the level of action which is privileged in those analysis refers to the local institutions, which are characterised by a "*regularised pattern of behaviour between individuals and groups in the society*"[60].

According to this approach, the socialisation process in post-emergency and post conflict society undermines an involvement of human capital

[59] CHRISTIANSEN T., JØRGENSEN K. WIENER A., (2001), *Social Construction of Europe*, SAGE, UK.

[60] LEACH ET AL., (1999), *Environmental entitlements: dynamics and institutions in community based natural resources management* in *World Development*, Vol 27 Issue 2 p.379-400.

from the grassroots, and it is particularly relevant for governance building because potentially able to reconcile and integrate societies, mainly though social networks which directly cooperate with governments. As it has been developed by Ogbaharya[61] (2008), for the success in building formal governance in post-emergency and post conflict societies, social and communal institution hold a key role. It is particularly evident in the Somali case, where the social vacuum has stimulated the proliferation of grassroots initiatives from community based actors, associations and private entrepreneurs. As the author explains: *"These subnational, community-centred, and non-state social structures, which are increasingly treated as part of social capital and civil society in (post-) development theories, may exist prior to the dissolution of the state, but they are particularly amplified and illuminated during and after conflict because of the dire need of conflict victims to cope with acute conditions of lawlessness and disorder"*[62]. According to the author, the incorporation of community-based institutions in governance building are –especially for the African context – unique opportunities to challenge the struggles for legitimacy and, for the institutions, have an account of micro-realities at the local level, especially regarding practical issues as service provision, health and basic needs.

To conclude, a final remark which enables the definition of so-called "post developmental approach", as defined by Amartya Sen's in the volume *Development as Freedom*. In the book, development is understood as the principal mean to *expand freedoms that people enjoy*, and in this sense it is fundamental for developing societies building

[61] OGBAHARAYA D.G., (2008), *(re)-building governance in post-conflict Africa: the role of the state and informal institutions*, Development in Practice, VOl. 18 Issue 3 p.395-402.
[62] *Ibidem.*

human capital through proper education, health system and political rights.

It is possible to argue that, social remittances are, in a way what Sen calls "means of development". This is because their final aim, with regard to policy and institutional strengthen, coincide to the expanding "freedom", defined by Sen as following: "*Expansion of freedom is viewed, in this approach, both as the primary end and as the principal means of development. Development consists of the removal of various types of unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency [...]. For example, there is strong evidence that economic and political freedoms help to reinforce one another, rather than being hostile to one another (as they are sometimes taken to be). Similarly, social opportunities of education and health care, which may require public action, complement individual opportunities of economic and political participation and help to foster our own initiatives in overcoming our respective deprivations. If the point of departure of the approach lies in the identification of freedom as the main object of development, the reach of the policy analysis lies in establishing the empirical linkages that make the viewpoint of freedom coherent and cogent as the guiding perspective of the process of development*." [63]

[63] SEN A., (1999) *Development as Freedom*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

2.2 The research concepts

2.2.1 Diaspora and skilled migration

"Diaspora" as a concept and term has had an evolution in academia and policy debate, parallel to the evolution of the debate on international and transnational migration. As a term, Diaspora has a long history, and traditionally has been linked to the concept of displacement and the condition of a "minority" community within "majority" societies [64]. It is well known the use of this concept with reference to the Jewish diaspora or the Armenian diaspora (Safran, 1991), but nowadays the growth of the movements of people and the rising of the "global world" have changed the meaning of the term, making it more inclusive. It is widely recognised that the term "diaspora" includes all different kinds of expatriate minorities and communities as refugees, alien residents, migrants, expatriates.

In this sense, the term of diaspora includes "*any people or ethnic population that leave their traditional ethnic homelands, being dispersed throughout other parts of the world"*[65].

A further definition, which highlight the demographic characteristics of diaspora is provided by Beine, Michel, Docquier, Frédéric, Özden, Çaglar (2009), who define diaspora as "*dispersion of any people or ethnic population, voluntarily or by force, from their traditional homelands and the ensuring developments in their culture in the destination, mostly a minority. In the economic sense, the diaspora refers to migrants who gather in relatively significant numbers in a particular destination country or region. [...] Following this definition,*

[64] CLIFFORD J., (1994), *Diasporas in* Cultural Anthropology, Vol. 9, No. 3 p.302-338.
[65] IOM, (2011), *Glossary of Migration*, International Migration Law N°25, available online.

we consider the size of diaspora as the population (aged 25+) born in country i and living in country j"[66].

Looking at the characteristics of diaspora groups, it is possible to find some recurrent patterns which refer to their economic, social and cultural characteristic.
In the traditional definition of the diasporic condition, literature has often emphasised the condition of minority within the host society in relation to the sense of nostalgia and idealisation of the home country[67]. This characteristic is traceable in Cohen (1997)[68], who stresses the presence of an "ethnic group consciousness" which shapes the collective memory of a group, their sense of distinctiveness and a conflicted relation with the host society, suggesting the presence of a lack of acceptance and integration. Those characteristics may become the principal drivers for the myth of the return, another recurrent pattern in the diasporic discourse.

The "transnational turn" has enriched the idea of diaspora in relation to the idea of the transnational dimension of migrant communities, highlighting that the "borders" of diaspora are rarely founded on a nation-state dimension. In this vein, Diasporas maintain connections with their native home because "*transnational connections break the binary relation of minority communities with majority societies*[69]".

According to the purposes of the present research, the description of the transnational nature of diaspora has to be enriched to the identification

[66] BEINE M. ET AL. (2009), *Diasporas*, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 4984, available online.
[67] CLIFFORD, (1994), op.cit.
[68] COHEN R.,(1997), *Global Diaspora*, UCL Press, London.
[69] CLIFFORD, (1994), op.cit.

of further characteristics which highlight the nature of their activities and the different patterns of integration, together with the identification of the personal skills and competences.

In this vein, it is useful to refer to the taxonomy elaborated by Milton J. Esman (2009) through which he identifies three "classes" of diaspora: *Settler, labour* and *entrepreneurial*[70].

The purpose of Esman's taxonomy is to make a distinction between the reasons for migrating and the function which the diasporic subject assumes in the receiving context. The three classes he identifies cover the whole ensemble of diasporic groups, as the transnational, refugees, historical and contemporary diasporas. He also identifies some central tendencies which characterise single diaspora groups, and the predominant function which they perform in the receiving context.

In this conception, settler diaspora are those groups who, especially in the past centuries, migrate with the aim to settle in a certain territory and become the dominant group. The European colonisers in Asia, Africa and Latin America are the clearest example of this diaspora group.

The Labour and Entrepreneurial Diasporas, have a more contemporary focus, and retrace – in a way – the classical definition of low skilled and high skilled migrants.

For Labour diaspora the author refers to unskilled individuals or urban proletariat which migrate in search of better opportunities accepting low wages jobs. Those people are vulnerable to discrimination, and tend to remain in stuck in their condition for several generations. By contrast, the entrepreneurial diaspora consists in those people with business experience and professional skills which choose to seize better opportunities in the host country context, gaining new competences and

[70] ESMAN M.J., (2009), *Diasporas in Contemporary World*, Ed. Polity, London.

advancing their professional position. "*the first and certainly the second generation gain access to education and attain middle class status in business, skilled labour and professional roles. They provide role models for their youth. A few become wealthy and influential. If they encounter exclusion or discrimination, they innovate professional roles or discover and exploit niches or high-risk opportunities in the local economy that enable them to practice or further develop their entrepreneurial talents*"[71].

Esman's normative conceptualisation has to be read as an introduction to the description of the target diaspora groups of the present research, and the definition of "entrepreneurial diaspora" enriched with the empirical research on the topic.

The entrepreneurial diaspora described is, in my opinion, a side of the most general category of "*skilled/high skilled diaspora*". As from the World Migration Report 2008, it is not easy to identify a clear definition of skilled diaspora. The indicators that are commonly used are the level of education and the occupation and, with relevance to the research objectives to achieve, one or the other is privileged. As in Esman, the high skilled are often identified by people which have achieved a tertiary education level, which means with a university education or more. In addition, the professional activities and the job experiences have a high importance because they allow to further filtering the definition. It is particularly meaningful, for instance, for governmental demographic analysis, which use occupation and education as statistical variables for the definition of skilled migration. On the side of high skilled diaspora, it is possible to identify additional indicators which

[71] ESMAN M. J., op.cit. p.17.

concern the job categories (managers, health care provides, teacher, business people) or sector of interests (creative industry, arts).
A further conceptualisation[72] refers to skilled migration as qualified workers which are sorted according to: a) their participation to production of good and services, as entrepreneurs, technicians, engineers; b) academics and knowledge experts, as professors or researchers; c) workers in the sectors of social services and culture, as professional in the health sectors and cultural workers.

According to the aims of the present research, the key characteristic of skilled diaspora is the capacity to affect someway the economy of the countries of origin, not only through the economic remittances, but also through circular/return migration, participation in business, science, technology, political or educational networks and activities producing positive externalities.
Circular migration as a peculiar condition of human mobility differ from return migration because it is a "repeated" migration condition, characterised by frequent movements from countries of origin and destination, mainly for economic or working reason.
As Hugo explains[73] circular migration occurs at a wide scale, and is characterized by constant movement from a peripheral to a central area. Although there are individual differences on the time and frequency of those movement, circular migration is characterised by the spending of significand period at origin and destination countries, and the maintaining of economic ties in both contexts.

[72] Cf. GIORDANO A., PAGANO A., TERRANOVA G., (2012), *Mobilità della conoscenza e migrazioni qualificate: l'Europa nella competizione per il brain gain* in *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, Roma, Serie XIII, Vol. V p.749-771.
[73] HUGO G., (2013) *What we know about circular migration and enhanced mobility*, Migration Policy Institute Policy Brief, available online.

For development studies, the study of development impact of circular migration privileged migrants which main residence is in the country of destination, and engage in regular circulation within the country of origin. In this sense, it is possible to identify different strategies of adaption to the context of reception, which are linked to the individual possibilities and the level of integration.

In particular, it is worthy to mentioned that the individual choice to engage in circular migration activities does not affect the status of the migrant in the country of settlement. Several researches have shown that the status does not stops the mobility but also the circulation of resources and capital. Despite that, it is also evident that a secure and stable legal status has the effect of intensify the linkages and the exchanges.

The benefits of circular migration are supposed to meet the "triple wins" condition, where the three actors engaged in the process are considered as subjects of the benefits of the circulation of skills, economic resources and ideas. In this sense, the creation of networks, in particular political networks is fundamental to strengthen the personal engagement both for policy change and development.

The next paragraph will give a most precise account of transnationalism in the context of network theories.

2.2.2 Transnationalism and diaspora networks

In general term, Transnationalism includes all those activities taking place across national borders. One of the most recognised and rooted conceptualisations of transnationalism derives from Keohane and Nye (1971) which define transnational relations as "*contacts, coalitions, and interactions across state boundaries that are not controlled by the*

central foreign policy organs of governmen[74]*t*" and include a wide range of relations as economic and scientific networks, enterprises, social movements, international transports and communication. As Tarrow points out in the paper "*Transnational Politics: Contention and Institutions in International Politics"*, the study of transnationalism has been differently developed over time. In particular, he describes the latter normative conceptualisation in the framework of constructivist theory as relevant to analyse the new trends in world culture in particular with reference to transnational social movements, namely "*socially mobilized groups with constituents in at least two states, engaged in sustained contentious interaction with power-holders in at least one state other than their own, or against an international institution, or a multinational economic actor*[75]*"*. (Tarrow, 2001). In this vein, "Diaspora/migrants transnationalism" is a wide definition including different types of linkages where diasporas, diaspora organisations, home and host country institutions are engaged through social, political, economic and cultural relations. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in its *Glossary on Migration* defines Transnationalism as "*The process whereby people establish and maintain socio-cultural connections across geopolitical borders*[76]".

Social sciences use to refer to transnationalism as one of the principal aspects of globalisation, which encompass from social movements to labour market, from technological development to the international political frameworks and international relations. With regard to migration, it is possible to argue that the transnational practices deriving from the mobility of people include all those aspects and the relations

[74] NYE J., KEOHANE R., (1971) *Transnational Relations and World Politics, an introduction*, in International Organisation vol 25 n.3 p.329-349.
[75] TARROW J., (2001) *Transnational Politics: Contention and Institutions in International Politics* in *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 4 p.1-20.
[76] IOM Glossary on Migration, (2011).

between countries of residence, transit and destination which consequently have become extremely fluid and porous. Due to this wide range of activities, some scholars have identified a general categorisation of transnational activities, distinguishing the "transnationalism from above" and the "transnationalism from below". The first refers to all those activities which include institutional actors and large scale activities; the second is referred to the processes which include non-governmental and small scale actors, usually not framed in an institutional process. As Smith and Guarnizo (2009) "*transnationalism from above is that multinational corporations, media, commoditization and other macro-level structures and processes that transcend two or more states are not produced and projected equally in all areas, but are controlled by powerful elites who seek, although do not necessarily find, political, economic and social dominance in the world […] . Transnationalism from below generates multiple counter-hegemonic powers along non-elites. It is the creation of a new social space-one spanning at least two nations-that is fundamentally grounded in the daily lives, activities and social relationships of quotidian actors*[77]".

This distinction is key with reference to the case studies which will be object of the empirical part of the research. As it will be analysed further, the diaspora engagement activities object of the analysis may be attributed to those two broad categories, and their different nature is supposed to influence the independent variables identified and, in most general term, influence the debate on the effective contribution of diaspora's social remittances to domestic change.

Back to the academic literature on migration, the mainstream definition of transnationalism is the one provided by Bash, Nina Glick Schiller et.

[77] SMITH M., GUARNIZO L., (2006), op.cit.

al., which state that: "[transnationalism is] *the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement*[78]*"*. This definition highlights the social process through which immigrants, while integrating in the receiving country, establish social relations with the home country. Those relations are not only familiar (private sphere) but also *"cultural, economic and political linking of people and institutions within a variety of contexts including business and organisational practices, foreign investment and production, or cultural interchange*[79]" . In this process, "*Transmigrants*" (Glick Schiller) experience multiple connections which enable to shape their private sphere and public space because, as the author points out, their potentiality of influence overcomes the nation states: "*they are not sojourners because they settle and become incorporated in the economy and political institutions, localities and patterns of daily life in the country in which they reside. However, at the very same time, they are engaged elsewhere in the sense that they maintain connections, build institutions, conduct transactions, and influence local and national events in the countries from which they emigrated*[80]".

The theory of transnationalism does not develop in an abstract space but has to reply to the "*where?"* question. As Smith and Guarnizo: "*transnational practices, while connecting collectivities located in more than one national territory, are embodied in specific social relations established between specific people, situated in unequivocal localities, at historically determined times*[81]". For instance they may

[78] BASH, ET AL., (1994), op.cit.
[79] SØRESEN N., (2003), *From Transnationalism to the Emergence of a New Transnational Research Field* in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 27, Issue 2 p.465-469.
[80] BASH ET AL., op.cit.
[81] Cf. SMITH M., GUARNIZO L., (2009), op.cit.

take place in specific localities -primarily cities- which may represent the hearth of transnational activities through cultural, political, economic flows and influence the existence of specific opportunities and constraints (Lucas) which contribute to the connections between context of origin and destination. In general terms, the location of transnationalism, as some scholar notice[82], is not an indefinite space "in between" but is well grounded in a geographical, social, economic and institutional space.

To the aim of this study, the transnational relations in object have a precise "localisation" which undermines a strategy of intervention of host and home country. In other words, transnationalism is the "prerequisite" for the existence of the Migration and Development policy, which, as it will be shown, tends to canalise and institutionalise transnational practices which spontaneously occur among diaspora groups and home countries. European Union countries (in particular Italy and United Kingdom) and African country, and the single programmes of intervention based on global and European migration policies are the grounds of the research.

In a similar way, the second set of initiatives object of the study – the non-institutional ones – are grounded on specific basis and can be conceptualised under the framework of the so-called "core transnationalism", as activities that: a) form an integral part of the individual's habitual life; b) are undertaken on a regular basis; c) are patterned and therefore somewhat predictable[83].

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[82] Cf. BHABHA H., (1990), *The Location of Culture*, Routledge, London; SMITH-GUARNIZO, (2009) op.cit.

83LEVITT P., (2001), *Transnational Migration, taking stock and future direction*, in *Global Networks*, Vol. 1 Issue 3 p.195-216.

Given this framework, the second point to analyse concerns the way in which transnational practices are carried on and the role of diaspora networks as one of the key actors in those policies.

Generally speaking, the theory of networks in political science is referred to *"the role the networks of knowledge based experts – epistemic communities – play in articulating the cause and effect relationships of complex problems, helping states identify their interests, framing the issues for collective debate, proposing specific policies, and identifying salient points of negotiation*[84]".This definition undermines that epistemic communities are actors which - through knowledge - keep power and have a recognised influence on national and international polity ("*control over knowledge is an important dimension of power*[85]"). Epistemic communities' expertise is recognised and, as Haas points out, have the characteristics to sharing a value-based knowledge; sharing beliefs which are the basis for the contribution on policy issues and actions; sharing an inter-subjective notion of validity, which influences the criteria for evaluating the knowledge in a specific sector of expertise; sharing of policy practices in facing a specific policy issue to which their knowledge is directed. This definition undermines a conception of epistemic community as an elite, and its role in the decision making process is relevant because of an high level of legitimation of its policy action in the institutional and political context.

With reference to advocacy initiatives, the theoretical definition is the one provided by Keck and Skikkink, which state that: *"A transnational advocacy network includes those relevant actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values,*

[84] HAAS P., (1992), op.cit.
[85] HAAS P. (1992) op.cit.

a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services[86]*".*

In case of high skilled diaspora, the definition of "epistemic community" has to be mitigated. High skilled diaspora is perceived as *elite* in the origin country context but, its way of influence, prestige and reputation, may diverge as well as from the Haas' idea of "power through knowledge". In literature, the diasporic knowledge networks are understood in two main ways: through the "brain drain-brain gain" duality, for instance with reference to the mobility of high skilled and the effect on countries of origin and residence; and under the viewpoint of the activism of the transnational social formations[87] .

The present study will refer to the second understanding of transnational networks, which has been effectively conceptualised by Vertovec in the short book "Transnationalism" (2009). Compared to the Keohane and Nye's definition, the transnational studies theory has developed in the years with a deeper analysis of transnational linkage on the global scale[88] and a categorisation of the most common cross-border activities[89] as "international" "multinational" and "transnational".

[86] KECK M, SKIKKINK K. (1998), *Transnational Advocacy Networks*, UNESCO, Blackwell publishers, available online.
[87] VERTOVEC S., (2009) *Transnationalism*, Routledge, London.
[88] ROSENAU, JAMES N., (1980), *The Study of Global Interdependence. Essays on the Transnationalization of World Affairs*, Frances Pinter, London.
[89] Cf. PORTES A., (2001a) *Introduction: The debates and significance of immigrant transnationalism* in *Global Networks*, Volume 1 Issue 3 p.181-194.

Activities	*Areas*		
	Political	**Economic**	**Socio-cultural**
International	Establishment of embassies and organization of diplomatic missions abroad by national governments.	Export drives by farming, ranch, and fishing organizations from a particular country.	Travel and exchange programmes organized by universities based on a specific country.
Multinational	United Nations and other international agencies charged with monitoring and improving specialized areas of global life.	Production and marketing activities of global corporations with profits dependent on multiple national markets.	Schools and missions sponsored by the Catholic Church and other global religions in multiple countries.
Transnational	a) Non-governmental associations established to monitor human rights globally.	a) Boycotts organized by grassroots activists in First World countries to compel multinationals to improve their Third World labour practices.	a) Grassroots charities promoting the protection and care of children in poorer nations.
	b) Hometown civic associations established by immigrants to improve their sending communities.	b) Enterprises established by immigrants to export/import goods to and from their home countries.	b) Election of beauty queens and selection of performing groups in immigrant communities to take part in annual hometown festivals.

Figure 1 The diaspora cross border activities from Portes A. (2001) op.cit.

Furthermore, in the framework of the studies on social movements, transnational movements have some peculiarities which mainly regard their relations – economic and political- with foreign agencies/stakeholders or international partners, and it determines their influences and motivates their decisions. In the field of transnational migration, Vertovec[90] draws his definition on the "transnational social formation" theory, arguing that they may be able to ease the identification of patterns for the study of the phenomena, as well as contributing to the analysis of the transformation of urban structures, global and national politics and economies.

The role of transnational network in international migration is, according to Robert Lucas[91], twofold. From one hand, it is a way to

[90] LEVITT P., (2001), op.cit.

[91] LUCAS R., (2010), *International migration regime and economic development, Lessons from low income countries*, EGDI, available online.

increase familiar linkages amplifying the migration streams; on the other hand, they may play a key role in development, influencing economics and politics.

It is clear how the migration history of each individual cannot be regarded excluding the relations with the network in which people are embedded. Networks shape the engagement of people in economic, social and political fields influencing both private and public sphere.

As Peggy Levitt, diaspora networks raise "*at first in response to the economic relations between migrants and non-migrants, social religious, and political connections […] the more diverse and thick a transnational social field is, the greater number of ways it offers migrants to remain active to their homelands. The more institutionalised these relationships become, the more likely it is that transnational members will persist*[92]" .

The interactions and interconnections of diaspora with home countries has become deeper over time, mainly because two principal factors: Firstly, global processes at political, economic and social level, which tend to "*de-link from specific national territories while transnational processes are anchored in and transcend one or more nation states*[93]"; secondly the emergence of new pattern of global capitalism, which have permit the raise of communication and transportation technology, with clear consequences on mobility and connections. In addition, transnationalism influence the political and institutional sphere because diaspora is able to organise its political life across national borders and demand for new rights as dual citizenship or the exercise specific political rights, as the influence on institutions of the countries of origin through a "*diaspora quota*". In this vein, transnational political

[92] LEVITT P., (2001) op.cit.

[93] KEARNEY M., (2005), *Changing fields of antropology: from local to global*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

practices are defined by Eva Østergaard - Nielsen as: "*various forms of direct cross border participation in the politics of their country of origin by both migrants and refugees (such as voting and other support to political parties, participating in debates in the press), as well as their indirect participation via the political institutions of the host country (or international organisations)*[94]" (2003).

The issues which constitute the object of the present work are grounded in the transnational theory and look to diaspora networks activism as the key factor in the migration and development policies and practices. As Vertovec *There is a point to be emphasized in analysing the impacts of migrant transnationalism: while not bringing about substantial societal transformations by themselves, patterns of cross-border exchange and relationship among migrants may contribute significantly to broadening, deepening or intensifying conjoined processes of transformation that are already on-going (and often subsumed by the overarching concept of globalization)*[95]" .

It is necessary to clarify that the empirical research will look at the engagement through network as a substantial part of transnational engagement but, due to the nature of the development/institutional rebuilding practices in analysis the engagement through networks and civil society organisations may assume peculiar forms of involvement. Diaspora network are, according to the nature of the initiative (from above/from below), involved in different stages of the policy process. For instance, the initiatives "from above" prefer to collaborate identifying the networks as implementing partners, while, in the initiatives "from below", the patterns of action may assume different shapes. A further conceptualisation of this point and an in-depth study

[94] OSTERGAARD NIELSESN E. (2003), op.cit.
[95] VERTOVEC S., (2009), op.cit.

of those relations will be provided in the paragraph on case studies description.

2.2.3 Social remittances for development and community building

The transnational perspective on migration, and the idea of diaspora as an actor able to influence the home country context has to be linked with the main vehicle through which it happens, the "remittances".
Remittances are, in general terms, the stream of resources, mainly economic resources, that migrants mobilise between (at least) country of residence and country of origin at the time of migration.
In particular, economic remittances, the money that are sent back to the families are as considered the core object of analysis of development theory. As mentioned, the value of remittances sending goes beyond the private savings and also overcomes the total amount of aids from western countries. The most recent data published by World Bank are explanatory on the size and importance of remittances transmission: the estimation of 2015 worldwide remittances flows has reached 601 Billion Dollars[96]. Of the total of the amount, it is estimated that development countries receive 441 billion dollars, three times the total amount of development assistance.
Those data make clear that the values of remittances for societies go beyond the private savings. If at a "family" level, the employ of remittances is key especially in fostering human capital and contribute to individual development, much of the money sent back is employed for public investments and business activities. In particular, financial inclusion, foreign direct investments and the setting of affordable financial services are seen by policy makers as fundamental for the

[96] Cf. WORLD BANK, (2016), *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2016*, Available online (accessed September 2016).

reduction of poverty and growth, representing the principal challenge to ease the process of remittances transmission.

However, the "remittances" include not only the financial resources, but it is possible to define as "remittances" any kind of resource that diaspora shares with home country. As Peggy Levitt (2009): *People, money, and social remittances -- or the ideas, practices, identities and social capital that migrants remit home, permeate the daily lives of those who remain behind, altering their behaviour, and transforming notions about gender relations, democracy, and what states should and should not do*[97]*".*

As largely explained, the aim of this research is to evaluate the impact of diaspora social remittances through a qualitative analysis. To this purpose, and to define social remittances as a concept, it is appropriate to adopt the classification that Peggy Levitt has elaborated in the paper "*Social Remittances – Culture as a development tool*" (2005). As the major scholar who has conceptualised the role of social remittances and identified their main characteristics, Peggy Levitt has classified three types of social remittances, which are the "normative structures", "system of practices" and "social capital".

Firstly, normative structures are "ideas, values, and beliefs". This category includes norms and social notions of behaviour, principles on community life and aspirations for social mobility, including ideas about gender race and class identity. The "systems of practices" are defined as the ways in which normative structures are organised in social practices. They include both the private sphere (with reference to participation to political life and household behaviours) and the organisation of public life, as the way in which organisation may recruit new members or the establishment of organisational roles both in civil

[97] LEVITT. P., (2009), op.cit.

society and governments. Both normative structures and systems of practices are based on social capital, which also constitute, according to Peggy Levitt, social remittances.

Occasions of exchange of social remittances are vary, and identified according to the way of transmission. Those mechanisms have a common feature, which is a "*systematic and intentional*" transmission. It means "*a social remittance occurs when migrants speak directly to a family member about a different kind of politics and encourage them to pursue reforms. In cases such as these, ideas are communicated intentionally to a specific recipient or group. People know when and why they changed their minds about something or began to act in a different way*[98]". This feature is relevant with reference to the impact, and will be analysed, in the current research, according to the way in which the transmission occurs and to the actors which transmit.

To the purpose of this study, social remittances meet the characteristics identified by Peggy Levitt quite well, according to the following considerations:

- They include the "normative structure" about good government and how good organisations should work, through knowledge and skills transfer but also through advocacy and lobby on i.e. women rights and health.
- Due to their "political" nature, social remittances meet also the feature of "systems of practices" because their aim to improve organisations and institutions through the transfer of practices and experiences on the basis of specific and concrete actions and techniques.

[98] LEVITT P., (2005), *Social Remittances: Culture as development tool*, Wellesley College, Harvard University, available online.

- The exchange happens in a context of "circular migration" or through a "focused" temporary return, and also through a deep communication network which engage societies of origin and diaspora
- They are systematic and intentional because "*communicated intentionally to a specific recipient or group*". Social remittances object of this study are canalised through a specific intervention or programme, or, in case of the "from above" cases, through practices decided in coherence with a policy framework, mainly the European Union mobility policy.
- They are "part and parcel of ongoing process of cultural diffusion", as well as part of norms and knowledge diffusion[99]

Continuing to follow Levitt's analysis, the evaluation of the impact of social remittances may be determined by a variety of factors. In particular Levitt identifies six varieties of determinants of the impact, which are:

- The nature of the single "remittance", its way of transmission and the way it is "packed"
- The characteristics of the organisation or the diaspora network, and whether the society who receipts remittances is open or not to the potential change brought
- The message itself, its possibilities of being accepted as well the motivation of its acceptance
- Gender social class and life cycle stage of the recipients
- Structural differences between sending and receiving contexts
- The combination with "other remittances" and their "force of transmission". The research wants to explore the conceptual framework outlined by Peggy Levitt and refer to it to describe the

[99] *Ibidem.*

patterns of engagement, also trying to identify the impact of social remittances in institutional development. For the particular case of the research, the social remittances in analysis refer to specific technical knowledges that migrants and diaspora organisation transfer for the strengthening of local governance. In particular, the research refers to technical skills in government, administration, finance, together with professional skills (health policy, marketing, mentoring, advocacy). The research, considering the determinants of the above mentioned impact, stresses the importance of referring to a "systematic and intentional" modality of transmission, identified in the projects of the organisations.

2.2.4 Migration and development: from theory to policy

Migration and development: pre and post "transnational turn"

The issues presented in this work will be read through the theoretical framework of the transnational migration and development theories, which will allow to frame the current debate on the potentialities of change of migration in development in a wide perspective, but separate from the theories on the causes and drivers of migration. The theories concerning those interconnections arise in the '60, and developed since today shifting from optimistic and pessimistic approaches.

The studies on migration and development have become more vivid when the element of transnationalism came into play, reinforcing the optimistic approach toward the issue not only in the academia, but also within policy makers of host and home countries, which nowadays consider diasporas, labour migrants and remittances as one of the key sources of development and change.

The following paragraph will be based on the conceptualisations of Hein De Haas[100] (2010) and Thomas Faist[101] (2011) which have framed the principal big waves of thinking on migration and development from the '60 to the last ten years, when the academic debate was accompanied by the main policy declarations on the topic at the global level and European level.

The two scholars have conceptualised similarly the migration and development research theoretical orientations as shown in the table:

[100] DE HAAS H., (2011), *Migration and development: a theoretical perspective*, in International Migration Institute Working papers, paper 9.

[101] FAIST T., (2010), *The migration and development nexus – a transnational perspective*, Palgrave Macmillan, UK.

Hein De Haas (2010)	Until 1973: Development and migration optimism: Developmentalist optimism based on capitalism and knowledge transfer	1973-1990: Development and migration pessimism: It concerns mainly brain drain; migration out of sight in development field	1991-2001: Persistent scepticism, based on tightening of immigration policies	2001 – today: Rebirth of optimism based on brain gain, diaspora engagement potentialities and remittances boom
Thomas Faist (2011)	1950 – 60: Great expectations about return migration and remittances in development of countries of origin	1970-1980: Underdevelopment and migration – poverty and brain drain, dependency theories	1990 – today Raise of co-development, trust in remittances, brain circulation and transnational practices	

Table 3 The "migration and development phases" (De Haas 2011, Faist 2010)

For the purposes of the present research, the alternance of theories will be simplified through the identification of two macro periods, pre and post transnational turn. In this vein, the "transnational turn" is conceptualised as a phase when, both policy makers and researchers have started to widen the classical view on migration and development practices presuming that both diaspora and migrants are engaged in permanent and sustained cross country practices, sharing an approach which recognises the existence of "*works spanning structures and*

world-wide dynamics[102]" and considering the social and economic structures into play as a part of a larger global process inclusive of political, cultural and economic opportunities.

Pre transnational turn

It is possible to identify, in relation to the principal theories about migration, two different approaches toward migration and development nexus. The theories of "Balance Growth" and "Asymmetric development[103]" (also known as Optimist and Pessimist approach), can be, in general terms, traced back to the Neo-Classical and Structuralist approach.

The "optimist approach" considers migration as a form of optimal allocation of production factors to the benefit of all[104] (cfr. Hein de Haas, 2012), both in sending and receiving areas. In particular, the essential element for economic growth - and development process - is the re – allocation of labour from rural to urban areas, which can lead to increasing wage levels and, consequently, opposite sign capital flows (from urban to rural areas). Remittances, in this approach, are key for development of sending areas, especially accompanied with an efficient programme of industrialization and policies of large scale capital transfers. If at a macro level remittances are a vital resource, at a micro level they are able to improve the quality of life of single communities or families. Labour migrants are one of the key agents for development, because they bring ideas, innovations, and capabilities to their home countries.

[102] FAIST T., (2010), op.cit
[103] Cf . DE HAAS H., (2010), Op.cit.
[104] Cf. DE HAAS H., (2012), *The migration and development pendulum: a critical view on research and policy*, in *International Migration*, Special Issue, Migration and Development buzz? Rethinking the migration development nexus and policies.

The historical – structuralist approach highlights some criticisms in labour migration and development nexus, in particular related to the Brain drain [105]and the increase of inter personal disparities and inequalities within a country. The Pessimist approach recognizes the importance of remittances in home economies but there is a lack of optimism toward the nature of the investment of remittances. The view is that, although remittances are sent back, they are not invested properly for the development of the country of origin, and the non-migrant population of a country is likely to becomes non-productive and remittance – dependent. Among the causes of this pessimistic approach is the 'Brain Drain', which is perceived as unfavourable to development, because it deprives poor countries of their skilled human resources and professionals.

Other empirical studies have refused a rigid separation between optimist and pessimists, trying to harmonize the approach based on the role of the actor, and the one based on the structure, recognizing the relevance of both. In this sense the "pluralist" approach, the interaction between actors and structures allow for great variety of outcome, has given room for explaining and interpreting the relationship between migration and development process. In particular, it is possible to mention three theories: "New Economics of Labour Migration" (NELM), "Livelihood" theory and "Transnational turn"[106].

[105] In general term, brain drain refers to the negative impact of migration on the countries of origin, resulting from the outflow of skilled and high skilled workers. For the purposes of the present research, the binomial brain drain/brain grain won't be deepen specifically. Despite that it is worthy to mention that it has always been considered as one of the principal challenges in the definition of the effects of migration on the countries of origin, mainly because the idea of the "draining" of resources from one country to another developed under the structuralist approach of migration. As it will further explained in the paragraph, it is with liberal and individual theories that the switch to a positive approach has started to affirm.

[106] Cf. DE HAAS H., (2012), op.cit.

The theory known as "*New Economics of Labour Migration*", NELM (Stark & Levhari, 1982) has emerged as a critical response and an improvement of the neo – classical migration theory, to overcome the individualistic based approach of this theory and better explain migration and development interactions. In this model the behavioural and individual aspect is placed in a wider societal context, and the decision making unit is not the individual, but the family or the household. The fundamental assumption of this theory is that households and families act both to maximize income and minimize risks. Migration, both internal and international, is seen as a response for income risk, and remittances provide income insurance for the family of origin.

The Livelihood concept is strictly linked to NELM, and overcomes its perspective considering not only households and families, but also social institutions, intra-household and family relations, mechanisms of access to resources. "*For their livelihoods people and households draw on five categories of assets: natural social, human, physical and financial. A livelihood strategy can be defined as a strategic or deliberative choice of combination of activities by households and their individual members to maintain, secure and improve their livelihoods. This particular choice is based on (selective) access to assets, perceptions and opportunities, as well as aspiration of actors. Since these differ from household to household and from individual to individual, this explains why livelihood strategies tend to be so heterogeneous*[107]".

Migration, in this context, is seen as a strategy for diversification, to secure and improve rural households, to ensure a wider range of assets against future shocks and stresses.

[107] Cf. DE HAAS H. (2012), op.cit.

A further theory which enables the explanation of the link between migration and development is the model called "Migration Hump[108]" . The Migration Hump relates the extent of migration flows to some conditions such as income and education and the wealth of a country.
As De Haas explains: "*In the early stages of development, an increase in wealth tends to lead to a rise in migration, since a certain threshold of wealth is necessary to enable people to assume the costs and risks of migrating. With increasing wealth and the establishment of migrant networks, an increasing proportion of the population is able to migrate, selectivity of migration tends to decrease, and this process of "development" initially tends to lead to an increasing diffusion of migration across communities. […] Development in its broader sense is initially likely to increase people's propensity to migrate, first predominantly internally an in later development stages increasing internationally. On the longer run, decreasing spatial (internal and international) opportunity gaps might decrease people's incentives to migrate, which is likely to result in a slow down in both rural- to- urban and international out – migration but, most importantly, in an increasing diversification of migration patterns, along with increasing importance of immigration, rather than a decrease in mobility as such[109]*".

The Migration Hump is a representative model, which does not consider some factors such as geographical distances, available information, migration laws of single countries. Nevertheless, empirically, it is always confirmed that the countries of origin of migrants are not the poorest ones.

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[108] MARTIN, P., TAYLOR J., (1996), *The Anatomy of a Migration Hump*, in Taylor E., (ed.), *Development Strategy, Employment, and Migration: Insights from Models*, OECD, Development Centre, Paris.
[109] DE HAAS H. (2010), op.cit.

Post transnational turn

The phase identified by the two scholars as a turning point, the "*transnational turn*", stresses the importance of the transnational role of migrants and their families, affirming that the development of exchange channels of information and money makes it difficult to sustain dichotomies such as "origin" and "destination", or categories such "permanent", "temporary", "return". This trend, linked with the NELM and Livelihood approaches "*Stress the need to see international migration as an integral part of transnational livelihood strategies pursued by households and other social groups. Return visits and return migration, remittances, transnational business activities as well as investments and civil society involvement in origin countries are all expressions of the transnational character of migrant's life. The insight that migrants often maintain the long – term ties with countries of origin and that integration does not necessarily preclude or can even encourage such transnational engagement, casts doubt on the assumption by structuralist migration theory that the departure of migrants would automatically represent a loss in the form of brain or brawn drain*[110]".

In this sense, the "transnational turn" includes much of the concepts discussed above, in particular the role of the networks and the implication of circular migration.

As De Haas points out, the new trend of theories on the positive impact of labour migration on the territories of origin has been strengthen from the empirical evidence, as well as from precise political choices. Since the "transnationalism has been already defined at a theoretical level, it is worthy, in this paragraph, to give account of the change under

[110] DE HAAS H., (2012), op.cit.

development theory that transnationalism as brought, and to link it with the development policy, in particular at the European Union level.

Migration and development: a view on the European Union mobility governance

Those processes have actively included EU and its countries, and have become a key element of the external action of the Union with a particular reference to Africa and the Mena Region, which are considered as key partners in the fostering of migration and mobility agenda. Since its first formulation, the EU agenda of migration has integrated the different aspect of mobility trying to develop an homogeneous solution to the different aspects of migration management. The *trait de union* of the formulation of the migration policies consists in three pillars, which are the promotion of legal migration, the fight against irregular migration and the enhancement of the migration and development nexus. Despite those pillars are presented integrated in a uniform policy, the contingencies, as the present "refugees crisis" determine a natural "shift of attention" on a determined priority area.

In the last decade, the attention of European Union toward the issues related to migration has been strictly connected with the increase of migrants. It has been registered that, in Europe, migrants represent the 3.9% of the total population, 19, 5 million of people – both from EU and not EU countries - which live in a state other than their own[111]. Looking at the irregular migration issue, UNDP data estimate that their number is between 6 and 15% of the total number of migrants. Furthermore, the migration flows to Europe have become highly diversified. Alongside the traditional flows, from countries that are

[111] SOURCE: Eurostat data 2015; cf. CHERUBINI F. (A CURA DI), (2015), Le Migrazioni in Europa: EU, stati terzi e migration outsourcing, Ed. Bordeaux, Roma.

relatively close to Europe, new flows are emerged, as the ones from China, Pakistan, Central Asia, and East Africa[112].

Looking more specifically at labour migration and the related remittances sending, it has been calculated that the EU is the place of residence of the 20% of the total of migrants workers, and the source of the 25%of the total remittances flows[113]. As Eurostat data reveal, Germany, France, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom represent the major remittances sending countries, while the top five receiving countries are Nigeria, China, Morocco, India and Uzbekistan (Source: Eurostat 2015).

The management of legal migration, and the effective promotion of integration for third country nationals has acquired an high significance within the EU migration and mobility policies, especially through the introduction of legal instruments which facilitate the stay of high skilled workers from abroad[114]. Furthermore, the relevance of the growth of cross border activities, transnational networks and entrepreneurial activities for development and the presence of practices at the single member state level, has acquired a growing relevance for the economies of remittance-receiving countries, revealing the need foster multilateral relations with third countries for developing an integrate migration agenda.

Since Tampere Council in 1999, the main effort of European Union in migration management is to build and enforce a common approach to migration, which include political, human rights, security, employment and development issues both in home and host countries. In this

[112] Source: Eurostat Data (2015).
[113] IFAD (2015) *Sending Money home: European flows and markets* avaliable online on www.ifad.org.
[114] The "Blue Card", introduced with the COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 2009/50/EC of 25 May 2009 *On the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purposes of highly qualified employment.*

context, one of the most fundamental policy instruments identified is the building of partnership to third countries, seen as key actors in migration management.

The general attitude on mobility, which is transversal to the whole range of policy priorities, is to foster the institutional cooperation with the strategic countries at regional level, with the aim to ensure the mutuality of migration benefits. To this aim, the communitarian policies developed an external dimension made of non-binding and voluntary agreements, carried on following the principle of conditionality. The external dimension is also evident looking at one of the instruments of cooperation developed, the "mobility partnerships", signed with strategic countries, which represents one of the main "operating tool" of migration governance. Mobility partnerships, as instruments of soft law, are a composed tool for the management of migration and creating a common European migration policy. They present together the characteristics of economic and social policy, security and foreign policy.

To develop the partnership, the signatory parties have not any formalised requirement to reach, and their agreements are based on a voluntary adaption of existing mechanisms of cooperation, perceived as more efficient in tackling problems concerning migration. This policy transfer is not regulated authoritatively and does not imply significant costs to the parts. Partners create a framework of cooperation, which may have different degrees and ties in adaptation, according to the existing agreements, and the activities already developed.

The most recent migration crisis, mainly related to the MENA region and Central Africa, have determined an emphasis on policy solutions regarding the fight to irregular migration, human rights and asylum. It is particularly clear from the European Agenda on Migration, signed in

2015 and the Khartoum Declaration, signed in 2014 during the Italian presidency of the EU.

Before analysing the most recent documents and policy framework, it is worthy to give account of the progresses made at the policy level regarding migration and development policy, in the framework of the EU mobility Governance.

Throughout the years, the European Union has developed several documents and declaration on migration, which are: Global Approach to Migration (2005); EU Pact on Immigration and Asylum (2008); Stockholm Programme (2009); Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (2011), European Agenda on Migration (2015).

"Global Approach to Migration" launched in 2005, and re-launched in 2011 as "Global Approach to Migration and Mobility" aims to address migration through comprehensive, balanced and coherent approach. The key objectives of this strategy are:

- improving the organisation of legal migration and facilitated mobility
- preventing and reducing irregular migration in an efficient, yet humane way
- strengthening the synergies between migration and development
- strengthening international protection systems and the external dimension of asylum[115]

[115] EUROPEAN COMMISSION, (2011), *Global Approach to Migration and Mobility, communication from the commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions*, Brussels, September

The core aim of the Global Approach is twofold: from on hand, it aims to set a comprehensive strategy to address irregular migration and trafficking; from the other, it aims to manage migration and asylum through a close cooperation with third countries, both origin and transit The background of the Global Approach lies in the international dialogue fora that European Union has set with third countries in order to find common synergies to manage migration issues. The activities of those dialogue processes are focus in enhancing the "triple wins" of migration in home and receiving countries, in particular the promotion of circular migration, which is seen as the core mutual beneficial strategy because it both serves the EU economy – through labour migration policies – and avoids brain drain in countries of origins. In this framework migration and development is integrated does not represent an isolated policy, but is integrate part of migration management, strictly connected with the other priorities.

The Global Approach of 2005 signs a turning point in the European migration management policy, because puts into practice the former intentions and policy recommendations in order to concretely develop a comprehensive migration policy.

The European Pact on Immigration and Asylum (2008) is coherent with the GAMM in combining the two souls of European Migration policies, security and sustainable development. As mentioned in the preface of the document "*in the last half century the political and civilisational project that underlay the establishment and deepening of the European Union has achieved considerable progress. One of the most remarkable benefits on this enterprise is the creation of a wide area of free movement that now covers most of Europe. This development has provided an unprecedented increase in freedom for European citizens and nationals of third countries, who travel freely across this common territory. […] (Migration) can be and opportunity, because it is a factor*

of human and economic exchange, and also enables people to achieve what they aspire to. It can contribute decisively to the economic growth of the European Union and of those member states which needs migrants because of the state of their labour markets or of their demography[116]".

The Pact, strongly supported by the French presidency of European Union, aims to give a comprehensive, harmonious and effective management of migration, through an organization of legal migration, fight to illegal migration and encouraging synergies between migration and development.

Stockholm programme (2009) is the five-year plan of the EU in the field of security and justice for the period 2010-2014. The programme was set with the aim to create a safer and open Europe, where people's rights are protected and the interest of all the stakeholders pursued. In its program, the Swedish EU presidency aimed to stress the need of a strengthening of cooperation with the countries of origin and transit of migratory flows, as well as the opening of legal channels for immigrant labour, the equal distribution of the burden of illegal immigration among member states, and to ease the access to asylum procedures. The Programme, following the policy direction of Lisbon treaty, stressed also the importance of migration and development nexus, to implement in a context of shared responsibility.

In particular it meant that flexible immigration policies can make a significant contribution to economic development on the long run, and that it should be given greater coherence between migration policies and other related policies, such as foreign policy, economic policies, the policies on employment, health, education. In coherence to the

[116] COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, (2008), *EU Pact on Immigration and Asylum,* September, Brussels.

Stockholm Programme, the European Commission's communication Maximising the development impact of migration reinforces the importance of the aforementioned priorities, stressing the significance of enhancing governance through bilateral agreements and involving civil society in the development related processes. Furthermore, it highlights the importance of migration and development linkages in south-south contexts.

As mentioned before, the policy documents elaborated in the last two years have been strongly influenced by increase of refugees and asylum seekers from Syria and Central Africa, with the aim to face those issues through the cooperation among the states. Both the Declaration of the Ministerial Conference at the Khartoum Process (2014) and the European Agenda on Migration (2015) see the security and protection nexus as key, preventing irregular trafficking and fostering human rights[117]. In this framework, sustainable development has become instrumental for addressing the root causes of irregular migration. The Road Map 2014-2017 signed in occasion of the EU-Africa Summit in 2014 goes in this sense, adding the importance of human capital development, education and science.

At this purpose, it is important to highlight the way of reception of European Policies within single member states.

Although there is a transversal interest in this topic in each single EU countries, the efforts toward migration and development policies appear highly diversified and recall the single experience of states, mainly in terms of external relations. A comparative analysis of the

[117] EUROPEAN COMMISSION, (2015), *An European Agenda on Migration*, communication from the commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Brussels, May.

"operationalisation" of the EU migration and development principles within single member states, shows that the main differences regard the providing of funding, actors and the focus of interest. The ICMPD report "Migration and Development policies and practices[118]" (2013), has highlighted a number of main differences.

The first difference regards the migration and development initiatives within the development agenda: countries as France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland have dedicated resources for specific projects and programmes while other countries have proceeded mainstreaming migration into developmental policy, or adopting a mixed approach.

Secondly, there is a change in the actors involved in the processes: not all the country work with a direct support to migrants' associations or organisation. There are different modalities of implementation, which involve government and implementing agencies at different levels. It may cause a differentiated knowledge of diaspora community within the country, and consequently a gap between the opportunity structure and migrants' organisation expectations. The third difference regard the involvement of the private sector, and business oriented activities. Also in this case, the modalities of involvement vary, but there is a growing attitude involving privates and chambers of commerce in all remittances related activities.

The last interesting difference that ICMPD has highlighted regard the approach toward migration and development with reference to the areas of return and reintegration, focusing both on the voluntary return or encouraging the return of experts.

[118] ICMPD, (2013), *Migration and Development policies and practices*, available online

In the case of Italy, it is fundamental to stress that Migration and Development have been part of the political framework of the Presidency of the EU in 2014 and, although the lack of a national policy, it is possible to identify some best practices of co-development implemented at the local level. Italian government has also contributed to the IOM's Mida strategy, and improved the channels for remittances flows. In this context, integration at all level – especially financial – and capacity building are perceived as key for an effective success of migration and development initiatives.

2.3 The "effectiveness" of remittances on development: some data and research insights

This chapter focuses on the review of quantitative data and previous research on the topic of remittances, social remittances and development. In particular, it will be provided data on remittances and migration flows with the aim to enable a precise tracking of potentialities of the migration and development nexus and its implication on local economies and institution. Furthermore, it will be presented some literature on the outcomes – on the global scale - of high skilled diaspora engagement also providing a conceptual framework of analysis to interpret the migration and development linkage for the institutional sector.

2.3.1 Thinking on social remittances contribution: the "knowledge translation" and good governance building

It is also important to notice that remittances sending do not deploy the development potential alone, but much depends on the skills and capability of the migrant itself, and it effective capacity to act as a development agent. It becomes even more evident in the case of social remittances and knowledge transfer, where the ways of transmission and reception may be even more variegated, as well as the outputs and outcomes of the context of reception.

The two paper presented, by Williams and Brinkerhoff, provide a further conceptual insight on the diaspora contribution and skills transfer. The first paper gives a more specific analysis on the issue of knowledge transfer, looking at the principal ways of transmission of knowledge and social learning on the workplace. The second paper

analyses the main challenges which occur in the study of the impact of social remittances on institutions, and gives some research indications and recommendation for the future study on the topic. Those two paper have been chosen because their attempts in understanding the potential spill-overs of diaspora knowledge transfer and social remittances in home country and give - in my opinion a reliable framework of understanding of the main tendency of literature.

In order to have a deeper analysis on knowledge transfer and learning in the framework of international migration, Allan M. Williams in the paper *Lost in translation? International migration, learning and knowledge*[119], gives an interpretation of the ways through which migration contributes to knowledge creation and transfer, focusing on its role on the workplaces. The paper is quite wide, and refers to different modalities of mobility and social learning, but is particularly relevant for the research because its conceptualisation of the role of migrants in knowledge transfer and the relative modalities. The author draws the attention to the literature developed on the effectiveness of migrants' contributions, highlighting two main knowledge gaps. In fact, is noticed that literature have provided limited insights on some key issues in understanding the potentialities of knowledge transfer, as the relationship with the nature of mobility (long or short term mobility) and the modalities implemented by returnees for knowledge transmission. In this sense, it is interesting to notice that the key of the transnational knowledge transmission is "relational". It means the implication of a physical moving of the individuals, and, as well, changes the role of migrants, shifting from the "transmission" to the "translation" of knowledge". It means that migrants "translate"

[119] WILLIAMS A. M., (2006), *Lost in Translation? International migration, learning and knowledge*, in *Progress in Human Geography* Vol. 30 Issue 5. P.588-607.

knowledge because bring a definite package of notions in a different context, where it has to be integrated and – above all- reframed. As the author explains: "*knowledge can be transferred across space via many different channels, and [..]migration involves a particular combination of enbrained embodied encultured and embedded knowledge. Embedded and encultured knowledge are especially prone to translation, because of their reflexive nature, but all knowledge transfer involve translation, because they are effected through social interactions with others (migrants and non migrants) in the destination organisation and territory. Knowledge transfer of translation, conceptualised in this way, does not privilege any particular group of migrants but is a process that all migrants necessarily engage in, even if their knowledges have different market values*"[120]. This key conceptualisation enables the author to deeply stress some interesting insights on migrants' modalities of skills transfer, and to build a model of interpretation of social learning in a definite workplace. Together with the idea of knowledge translation, it is noticed that this process is relational, because includes micro-processes among individuals, and is not one way: there are also processes of co-learning which may involve returnees, engaging different spheres of the self as social identities and intercultural communication, going, in this way, beyond the working sphere.

Those characteristics regarding knowledge transfer are important to frame the second paper, more specific on knowledge transfer in the field of the building of good governance. If fact, Jennifer Brinkerhoff' chapter "*Exploring the role of diasporas in rebuilding governance in post – conflict societies*[121]", gives a good insight of knowledge transfer

[120] *Ivi.*

[121] BRINKERHOFF J., (2008), *Exploring the Role of Diasporas in Rebuilding Governance in Post-Conflict Societies* in *Africa's Finances: The Contribution of*

applied in the governance development programmes, based on social learning and specific trainings. In this article, she adds some key elements for the understanding of diaspora contribution, which are also employed in the present research: motivations, in particular, is seen as the principal complement in the study of knowledge transfer, together with legitimacy and effectiveness which enable a more substantial analysis of the "knowledge translation" and its actual reception.

Starting from the recognition of the main fields of diaspora contribution (development, human rights, advocacy and philanthropy), the author refers to World Bank quantitative data on the high skilled engagement. In particular she refers to a WB study on African civil service reconstruction of the early 2000 which reports an estimation of 23,000 qualified personnel engaged in the whole African continent, mainly in the health sector (40%)[122]. The motivations of diaspora engagement, studies as fundamental for the understanding of the modalities of engagement, and are considered as independent from the assimilation/integration and levels of participation in the home country development.

Despite that, the identity issue is always key determinant in the mobilisation, also because it is reinforced through the activities for the homeland. Furthermore, holding power and resources is also a strong motivation, and it influence the perception of diaspora work in the homeland. Looking at the activities undertaken by diasporas, social security, restoration of civil services and enhancing of opportunities are considered from diasporas as the basic needs for the homeland. It is also relevant the enhancement of the level of participation of governments

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Remittances, Chapter, Publisher: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Editors: RAJ BARDOUILLE, MUNA NDULO, AND MARGARET GRIECO.

[122] WORLD BANK, (2003), *Recent Bank Support For Civil Service Reconstruction In Post-Conflict Countries* prem notes, no.79.

and their effectiveness in some key functions as civil services, management systems, fight against corruption and establishment of an appropriate legal framework.

Brinkerhoff in her paper also refers to the variables in use for the research, *legitimacy* and *effectiveness,* for a concrete evaluation of diaspora in post-conflict, highlighting that the analysis of the sole effectiveness is not complete and there is the need of going beyond, looking at legitimacy and securing diaspora governance in post-conflict areas.

In fact: *"Despite immediate needs, a sole emphasis on effectiveness can impede the sustainability of governance systems, which require security and legitimacy as well. On the one hand, citizens may withdraw government support if immediate needs and no-longer term material interests are not adequately addressed, either through the lack of capacity, insufficient political will, or corruption. On the other hand, regardless of service delivery performance, the legitimacy challenge is exacerbated by continuing rivalries among social groups that were party to the conflict, particularly where there are strongly perceived "winners and losers" with the "losers" perceiving the winners as having captured the spoil of governments*"[123]. In this sense, legitimacy relies on the political structure which is emerging, and on the demonstrated will and capacity to meet the needs of society. Another point of interest on legitimacy regards the donors' tendency to meet needs through a direct provision, bypassing all the mechanism which imply the contribution of citizens. It may cause, as the author states "*the creation of a de facto second civil service comprised of NGOs and private contractors performing tasks that would be, under normal*

[123] BIRKENHOFF J. , (2016), *Institutional Reform and Diaspora Entrepreneurs: The In-Between Advantage*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

circumstances, in the pureview of government civil service. And this second civil service is exorbitantly more costly – expatriates demand higher salaries; what local capacity may exist is drained as comparatively higher pay is available; and the resulting structures are less sustainable. At best, such provision does not contribute to building governments' legitimacy, at worst it may undermine it as governments' homelands"[124]. In addition, there are three challenges identified as fundamental in the understanding of diaspora contribution to governance: first, the raise of a new political elite generated from repatriation; secondly, the diaspora experience itself; thirdly the resentment which may exist among local civil servants and civil society. Those challenges are discussed looking at the experience of definite programmes of institutional development implemented by IOM and UNDP, touching also the second variable of effectiveness. With this specific focus, the author analyse the programmes implemented within knowledge transfer programmes, such as MIDA[125], TOKTEN[126] and RQAN[127]. The lesson learned from the analysis of those programmes may be summed up as following:

- returns are not fundamental. Most of those programmes encourage a temporary return or circular migration which is for the beneficiaries more feasible and close to their effective needs
- the programmes may have a "low cost effectiveness", because the employment of human capital does not result significant on the long term

[124] *ibidem*.
[125] IOM Mida – Migration for Development in Africa.
[126] UNDP – Transfer Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals.
[127] IOM – Return of Qualified African Nationals.

- the desirable conditions of High Skilled diaspora highlighted in the literature[128] are difficult to meet. As stated "they bring skills beyond those they left with, the skills are relevant to homeland needs, and they are willing and able to apply those skills."
- They are more willing to move if they have a secure legal status in the host country
- "*diaspora recruitment programmes, for whatever purpose, need to account or what is essentially a cost-benefit analysis on the part of potential host society in comparison to the gins they will experience in making their contribution to the homeland. This confirms the need for flexibility in the types of return and the importance of secure legal status in the host land*[129]"
- tension between a perceived need to offer incentives to attract those with specialised technical knowledge, and the potential for the resentment of the part of those who have remained.

To conclude the author provides some recommendation on both minimisations of risks and future research needs: it is necessary a deep analysis of diaspora motivation for a best appreciation of its contribution in reconstruction, as well as for a prioritization of short term capacity over long term learning and planning opportunities. Furthermore, the evaluation of legitimacy has to be conducted through a theoretical approach able to compensate the empirical one, also to minimise the trade-offs of diaspora engagement and enhance the future programming of the organisations.

[128] DUSTMANN, C., et.al. (1996) *Return Migration: The European Experience* in *Economic Policy* 11(22) p. 213–50; Ghosh, B (2000*), Return Migration: Journey of Hope or Despair?* IOM, Geneva.
[129] BRINKERHOFF J., (2008), op.cit.

2.3.2 Migration and remittances: an overview from the World Bank

The yearly Migration and Remittances Fact Book elaborated by the World Bank, gives a precise account of the data concerning migration flows remittance and sending at global and regional level.The World Bank elaboration for the Fact Book 2016 is coherent with OECD and UN data on the phenomena and confirm the trend of a substantial growth of remittances, confirming their importance on development of the origin countries for growth and poverty reduction. It has been calculated that remittances flows exceed the official aid for development (ODA), and biggest of the flows of foreign direct investments. The report defines personal remittances as the sum of "Compensation of employees", "personal transfers" and "Capital transfer between households". In general, the global trends reveal that remittances constitute a reliable source of income and foreign exchange. This is because they are stable and less volatile than other sources of income, also in times of crisis and instability.

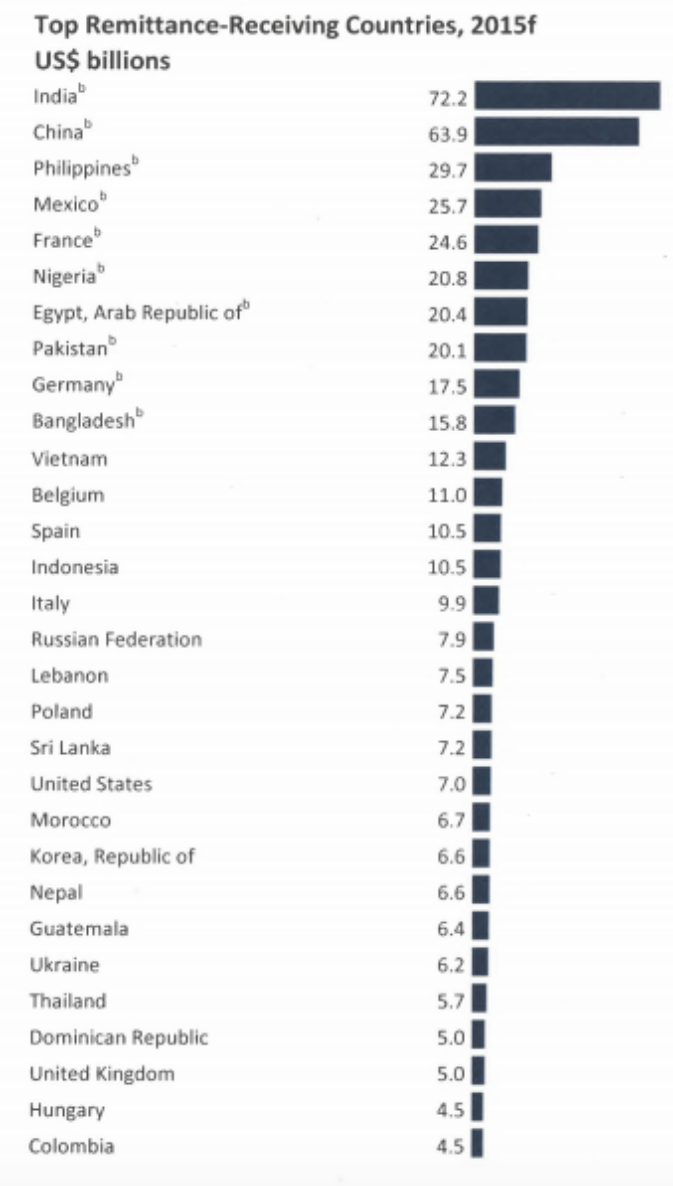

Figure 1 Source: Migration and Remittances fact book 2016

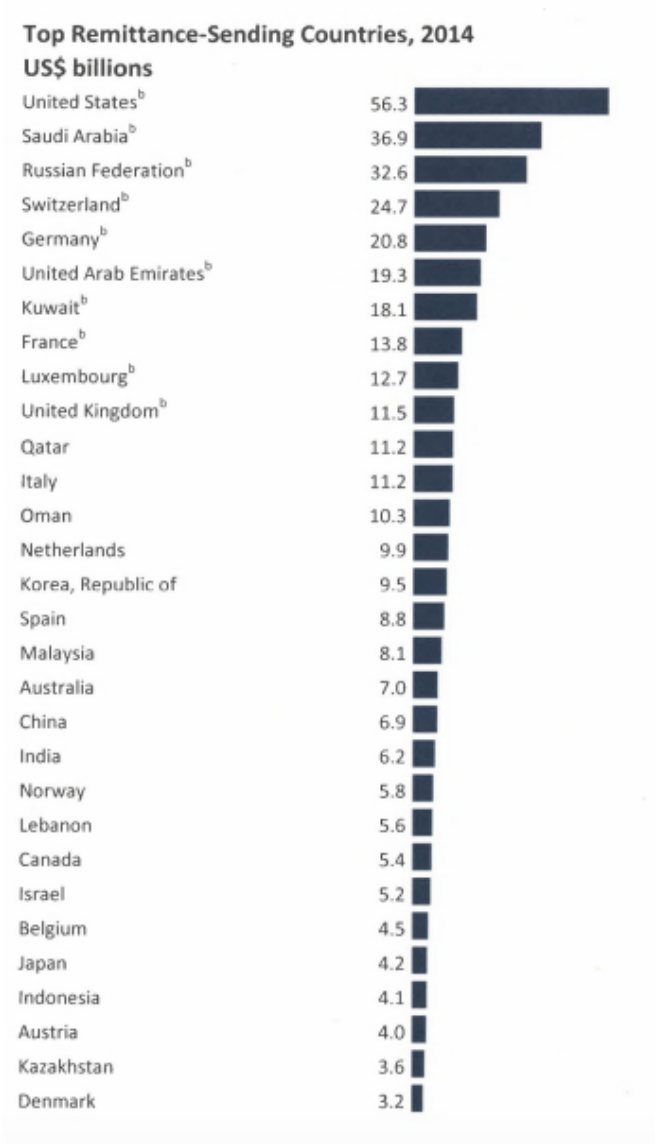

Figure 3 Source Migration and Remittances Fact Book 2016

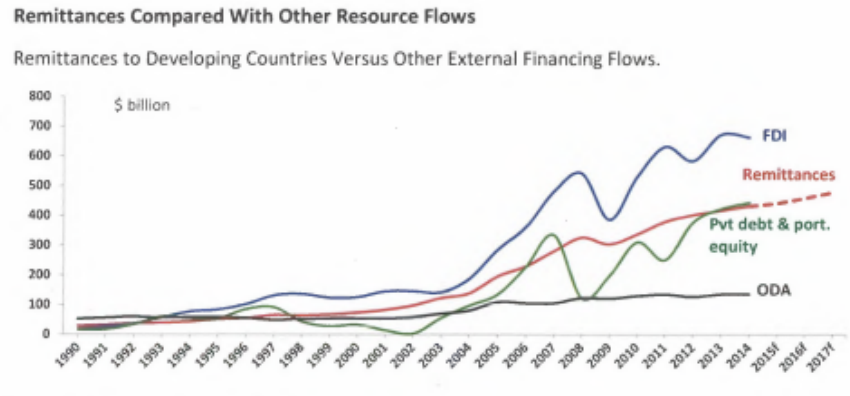

Figure 4 Source: Migration and Remittances Fact book 2016

To specifically look at the area of reference of the research, it has been calculated that the stock of emigrants from the sub Saharan Africa is 23.2 million people, the 2.5 per cent of the total population. Among the whole sub Saharan Africa, Somalia has represented, in 2013 the top emigration country. The countries of destination are the high-income OECD countries (26,1 per cent) and non – OECD (5,0 per cent). The report also illustrates the characteristics of the qualification of migrants: the 33.4have a tertiary level of education, and tertiary educated women are the 31.2 percent. Within the region, the remittances flows are quite huge: World bank reports that the total inward remittances flow for 2015 is 34,8 US$. In this area, the total value of remittances does not overcome the ODA (calculated in US$46,77bn in 2014), and represent the 2,4 percent of the gross national income.

Specifically, on the countries object of the study, Remittances inflows to Ethiopians increased sharply in 2015, up by about $2 billion to reach $3.7 billion from $1.5 billion in 2014. In case of Somalia, remittances in 2015 were estimated to reach a total of US$1.4 billion in Somalia and support 23% of the GDP.

Those data give a useful insight on the potentialities of migrants and diaspora contribution on the side of business and investments. In general, the remittances are associated not only as private households saving: traditionally, the remittances are employment in the health and education services, micro-enterprise and financial services.

In Africa, health and education represent the two main sectors of remittances investments: It has been observed a wide employment in schooling and reducing child labour, as well as on healthcare, and raise awareness on health practices. The actual effectiveness of this investments for development is debated, because of the difficulty in traceability and control.

The traceability of social remittances is also quite hard, especially for their high volatility and variety. Social and economic remittances are not a different field of study, but specific analysis on the capacity of diasporas and migrants in knowledge and capabilities transfer have been conducted, to underline the specific contribution of human capital and its future potentials.

2.3.3 Social remittances: Main reflections from empirical research

Which are the "numbers" for assess the effectiveness of social remittances? The answer is not particularly easy to get. In fact, this research question has been addressed from research under different approaches and modalities. In general, the main limitation of the studies of social remittances regards the difficulty in measuring them as such, because the high volatility and the difference of behaviour of the individuals. Furthermore, it is difficult to measure their "productivity" in a certain context, as well as assessing the positivity of the impact.

It is not possible to refer to an unique research stream: social remittances has been addressed looking at their political value, for the nature of the actors engaged and for different sector of engagement.
Despite that, literature has provided some specific case studies for the assessment of social remittances, which also give methodological insights for a better identification and study of the phenomena.
For instance, one of the major contribution on the effects of social remittances on policy development is the work of Eva Ostergaard Nielsen, who studies transnational political engagement looking at the ways through which migrants operate and in which terms the political mobilisation is perceived. As stated in the article: "*The politics of Migrants' transnational political practices*" (2003) she refers to transnational political practices as "*various forms of direct cross-border participation in the politics of their country of origin by both migrants and refugees (such as voting and other support to political parties, participating in debates in the press), as well as their indirect participation via the political institution of the host country (or international organisations). In the latter case, the transnational element includes the way that political participation in one country, such as voting patterns or lobbying is informed by political events in another*[130]". The work of Ostergaard Nielsen is quite important not only for the empirical findings provided but, most widely, for the methodology proposed in the analysis of social remittances: choice of focusing on migrants' organisation, the *understanding of the "how" and "then what*" enables the understanding of a narrowed field of political action. This is may leave aside a most comprehensive understanding of the migrants beyond organisational structures but, despite that, it eases the understanding of some strategies of actions and

[130] OSTERGAARD NIELSEN E., (2003), op.cit.

its implication. The author also explicitly refers to the issue of democracy and democratisation, arguing that *"research on the boundedness and unboundedness of migrants transnational political networks, and in particular on their degree of independence from the state, could provide an interesting contribution to such wider questioning of processes of globalisation and democracy*[131]".

Looking at the modalities through which diaspora engages, it is also relevant the research stream which gives an overview of the activities and some quantitative and qualitative data concerning the impact on home countries, as well as general insight on the effects of skills transfer.

Diaspora engagement at the empirical level has been studied following different patterns, and a wide variety of fields of action. One of the research streams regards the capacity of the actors, and their potentials in the development activities.

A study conducted by Sturge, Biligili and Siegel in 2016 *"Migrants' capacity as actors of development: do skills matter for economic and social remittances*[132]" clearly shows through empirical data the unique position that high skilled migrants have in home country development. The paper consists in quantitative study on first generation household from Afghanistan, Burundi, Ethiopia and Morocco residing in the Netherlands. The study uses the data from the project IS academy on Migration and Development, a dataset which collects information on migrants' background and characteristics. The findings provided are quite interesting for the understanding of the behaviour toward remittance sending individuals and their background, also discussing

[131] *ibidem*.

[132] STURGE G.,BILGILI B. SIEGEL M., (2016), *Migrants' capacity as actors of development: do skills matter for economic and social remittances* in Global Networks, Volume 16, Issue 4 p.470-489.

social and political implications. The findings confirm the trend of thought that high skilled migrants are most likely to contribute to social and economic changes in the countries of origin, showing an higher propensity in remitting. Despite that, the data suggest that also low-medium skilled have the potentialities to contribute to development because, even though they remit smaller amounts, there is a quite similar capacity to accumulate and invest. The most interesting differences emerge with social remittances, because the high skilled are most likely to send social remittances. In fact, high skilled have the major potentials because better equipped to offer advice, education and – in general – contribute to social learning. Furthermore, the high skilled have major exposure to information and resources within the destination country which enable them to have a most comprehensive and informed access to development means. In this sense the authors suggest that – despite of the level of education – the implication for development of social remittances has to be investigates jointly with the economic contribution, to better assess the development potentials.

Following the same research stream, the paper by Alfonso Giordano and Giuseppe Terranova "*The Indian policy of skilled migration: Brain return Vs Diaspora Benefits*" (2012) highlight the positive connection between economic remittances and the contribution to social learning within the Indian context, with a particular look at the Governmental initiatives which aim to a better management of remittances flow in a perspective of growth. The paper presents aggregate data which enable the understanding of the contribution of qualified "indiaspora" on the economic development, showing that the average of the remittances which are sent by immigrants with tertiary education level reach $1000 per year each. Furthermore, the paper stresses the positive correlation between the migrants' income and education level and the transfer of resources also highlighting that "*the lower the gross national income*

per capita of the country is, the higher is the probability that the country's qualified migrants abroad will send remittances[133]". As the authors notice, this is the it is not the size of the receiving country which makes the difference in remittances sending, but its income level which influence the quantity of remittances sent. The paper also stresses the importance of social remittances on the Indian business model, and the importance of knowledge transfer in the of the high skilled in terms of growth. With a particular regard to the IT industry, is noticed, indiaspora has deeply contributed in the forging of the country's technology, allowing the country to become a key geopolitical actor.

Other works which analyse social remittances look at specific sectors of intervention in definite geographical area. As in the case of Valentina Mazzucato's work, which specifically looks at Ghana diaspora residing in the Netherlands. The scholar' s work has a local focus, and looks at small communities in definite region. This is the case of the article "*Small is beautiful: the micro politics of transnational relationships between Ghanian hometown associations and communities back home*" (2009) where the diaspora practices are investigated at village/town level[134]. The study, conducted through a multi sited research, highlights the importance of the micro-study of social remittances, identifying the relationships of trust which are built between locals and hometown organisations working on the field. Similar findings may be identified in the study "*Unsettling connections: transnational networks, development and African home associations*" (2009) conducted by Mercier, Page and Evans. Also in this case, the power of influence of

[133] GIORDANO A.,TERRANOVA G.,(2012) *The Indian policy of skilled migration: Brain return Vs Diaspora Benefits* in *Journal of Global Policy and Governance*, Vol.1 issue.1 p.17-28.

[134] MAZZUCATO V., KABKI M., (2009), *Small is beautiful: the micro politics of transnational relationships between Ghanian hometown associations and communities back home* in *Global Networks*, Volume 1 Issue 9 p.227-251.

home town associations, highlighting the importance of less visible and non formalised ties between actors[135].

The effectiveness of social remittances contribution may also be analysed following other variables, as the nature of the stay of the returnee migrant.

This is the case of the paper "*Mobility and knowledge transfer, Understanding the contribution of volunteer stays to north- south healthcare partnership*", published on International Migration by Helen Louise Aekers in 2015. The paper illustrates the relationship between mobility and knowledge transfer through the study of North – south partnerships, as the Liverpool (Uk)–Mulago (Uganda) partnership in the healthcare sector. In this specific case, the nature of the partnerships consists in short- term diaspora return programme, for a knowledge transfer initiative[136]. The aim is to evaluate effectiveness of knowledge sharing for development purposes, through the length of time the diaspora stays within the home country partner structure. Through this study the social remittances impact is assessed looking at the length of stay, and the findings indicate that there is not a direct correlation between the effectiveness of the transmission and the length of stay. In case the contribution it is specifically planned especially though a strategic communication, the transmission of social remittances reveals to be effective as a long stay one. This is specifically the case of professional mobility projects, which enhance and support frequent and short repeated stays.

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[135] MERCIER C., PAGE B., EVANS, (2009), *Unsettling connections: transnational networks, development and African home associations* in *Global Networks*, Volume 1 issue 2 p.141-151.

[136] AEKERS H.L., (2015), *Mobilities and Knowledge Transfer: Understanding the Contribution of Volunteer Stays to North–South Healthcare Partnerships* in *International Migration*, Volume 53 Issue 1 p.131-147.

The articles provided are good examples of the modalities of research of social remittances. This literature has contributed to the affirmation of the so called "development mantra" largely diffused at governmental level. Furthermore, it is clear that this trend may change according to specific contexts. It is a recognised fact that remittances are a potential bottom up mean of development, despite their effective impact depends on specific factors as local political scenario, the existence of economic barriers and controls and the general investment climate.

What appears clear from those studies is that, although the population and the geographical area study are quite small, there are some recurrent patterns of mobilisation which may lead to a reasonable level of generalisation.

3. Research Findings

Introduction to the section

The theoretical background provided in the previous section has highlighted how the "transnational turn" has resulted fundamental in the study of migration and development linkages. In particular, the breakthrough intuition that diaspora and migrants bring change in a multi-sited context has led to new considerations, which have had a huge influence on the policy side. The main indicator of the potentialities of migrants as actors of change are the remittances, both economic and social. If in the case of economic remittances, the impact is evident, for social remittances a measurement of the effective contribution on development becomes quite hard, but some empirical considerations have highlighted that especially at the local level is possible to elaborate some empirical analysis on their effective capacity.

The second part of the research consists in the analysis of the findings of the empirical research conducted during a fieldwork held in London from January to September 2015. Those findings will be discussed following the methodology explained in the dedicated section: at first, it will be provided a context analysis of the countries of origin – Somalia and Ethiopia – with specific reference to the diaspora policy and practices. Secondly, it will be given account of the two set of case studies through a description of the nature of the projects included in the research. In this context, aggregate quantitative data on the initiatives promoted will be provided, in order to give an idea (and measurement) of the effective size of the diaspora action. To follow, the analysis of interviews and questionnaires will be held. In this analysis the replies will be categorised under the "mobilisation",

"opportunities" and "motivation" patterns of engagement. Those findings will enable the discussion of legitimacy and effectiveness highlighting the nature of the relationships among the actors, trying to give a response to the research starting hypotheses.

3.1 Context in the countries of origin and its relevance

The present research, as it will be illustrated afterwards, is developed mainly with reference to projects or initiatives which are run in the countries of origin of the interviewees, with some exception, as the biggest charities or diaspora network, which have a wider range of action.

For the purposes of the research, the beneficiaries of the projects chosen are institutions and civil society of Ethiopia and Somalia.

Before the analysis of the case studies in the aforementioned categorisations, it is important to give a general premise on the context of the research and the weight that it will have in the analysis.

The diasporas chosen as a case study mainly have their origin in the Horn of Africa and are actually residing in London and Wales areas.

As explained in the first part of the dissertation, literature has widely studied the determinant of transnationalism both at an individual level and group level.

Those studies include, for instance, the impact of socio economic position on engagement and its interconnections with the "identity" and the identification with the home country context.

In the case studies which will be analysed afterwards, the commitment toward the countries of origin is not just on a volunteer/charity basis, but is part of the professional identity of the interviewees. Furthermore, with reference to the case studies in object there have not being registered cases of marginalisation and lack of integration in the receiving context, and the people met during the research fieldwork are the symbols of "success stories" in the context of the British multiculturalism.

It determines, according to a preliminary observation for the case study setting that, for the economy of the research, it is possible to speculate

on similar attitudes toward the contribution factors "mobilisation-opportunities-motivations" among people which reside in the same context of destination and share the same socio-economic conditions.

At the same time, the choice of looking at Ethiopia and Somalia, although the structural difference of the two countries, has been made according to some reflections on the similarities which the two countries share in the attitude of the institutions toward citizens abroad. It has been notices, as an example, that the two countries share similar policies in the engagement of diasporas[137], and both have set a precise "diaspora policy" (which head to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of both countries) to reduce any gap between the countries and its citizens abroad.

In the policy documents which explain the aims of a diaspora policy, the will of attracting investments, skills and resources is common to both of the countries, and goes together with the need on ensuring participation, protect rights and promote benefits of citizens abroad.

In those context, a diaspora policy defines not only missions and objectives but also strategies of implementation and identify the implementer bodies and the resources provided to the organisations which will to undertake development initiatives or investments in the countries of origin.

[137] Cf. Chapter 3.1.

3.1.1 **Somalia and Somali population within the UK**

For a preliminary understanding of the Somali Context, it is possible to refer to the study: *Cash and Compassion: The role of the Somali Diaspora in relief, development and peace-building* (2011), elaborated for UNDP by a research team coordinated by Laura Hammond (SOAS). At first, regarding the Somali population in the UK, it is important to highlight that they are long resident and better established than in other EU countries. The number of people estimated (by 2011) is in a range of 95-250,000[138]. In this context, the wide range of Somali organisations in the UK represent a large interest. The high number of charities (236[139]) officially registered is not exhaustive of the total of the actors engaged in the development of the home county, which mainly exist on an informal basis. Most of the services provided are related to integration and assistance to Somali in the UK, and a smaller number to the assistance of the home country. A part of the organisations operates within home country context and another part operate in both contexts.

It is well known how, since the state collapse in 1991, Somalia had seen periods of fighting, insecurity and a general lack of stable and centralised governance, with several inefficient efforts for achieving lasting peace. Within this context, especially in Somaliland and Puntland, it is possible to find some initial conditions for stability: in Somaliland the 2010 elections have resulted as an asset for a future stability while in Puntland have been set the functions for basic services and general conditions of security are provided.

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[138] HAMMOND L., (2011), *Cash and compassion: the role of the somali diaspora in relief, development and peacebuilding*, available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/4f61b12d2.html [accessed 23 November 2016].
[139] ibidem.

Those conditions have influenced diaspora agenda, and have defined the patterns of engagement.

The contribution to enhance livelihood is mainly conducted through remittances, but also humanitarian assistance and participation in state building and reconstruction[140].

In this context, the diaspora operates through different bodies (NGOs, professional associations, confessional associations, women's or youth's groups) through a top down or bottom up approach, and influenced from different factors, firstly the level of integration in the country of origin.

The UNDP report in analysis highlights that the majority of the engagement and contribution of Somali and Somali descent is related to remittances flows, in particular at individual and household level. At this level of analysis, an estimation of an average amount of the economic flows is difficult to make[141], mainly because the lack of a formal traceability and the fact that the majority of the recipients and senders are reluctant to give information about the flows. Those flows are a support to private households and families, with a minor employ in community based investments i.e. cooperative business.

On the other side, the diaspora NGOs organise themselves to promote welfare and integration[142], and may be organised as clan based or Home

[140] SHEIKH, H. & HEALY, S., (2009), Somalia's Missing Million: The Somali Diaspora And Its Role In Development, UNDP Somalia, available online.

[141] Cf. *Hanging by a Thread: The ongoing threat to Somalia's remittences lifeline* (2015), Joint Report by ADESO, OXFAM, GLOBAL CENTRE FOR COOPERATION SECURITY, Joint Agency Briefing Note, available online; MAIMBO S., (2006), *Remittances and Economic Development in Somalia, an overview,* in *Social Development papers, Conflict prevention and reonstuction,* n. 38; HAMMOND, L., (2010), *Obliged to Give: Remittances and the Maintenance of Transnational Networks Between Somalis 'At Home' and Abroad*, in *Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies*, 9 p.125-151.

[142] cf. HAMMOND L., (2011) op.cit.; KLEIST N., (2008*), Mobilising the diaspora: Somali transnational Political engagement*, *in Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol.34 Issue 2 p.307-323.

town associations. Within this group, there is a professional management of resources and the members use to travel in the home country to control the on-going processes. The case of the professional associations is quite similar. The Diasporas organise around issue based or technical groups, which, at a transnational level run projects or provide support to specific groups[143].

In this context, with a particular reference to "social remittances" it is relevant to report that the Somali diaspora is active also at the civil society and political level, not only through activities of lobbying and advocacy, or issue-based campaigns, but also through a direct involvement in politics, as candidates to elections, and member of federal parliament[144]. In the case of Somaliland, fully half of the government cabinet is composed by diaspora returnees, which creates some problems mainly with reference to the accountability of the representatives within civil society. As reported it causes many tensions between diaspora and locals, due to the fact that diasporas are seen as people which not have a fully understanding of local traditions and political practices, and lack of personal capacities, with the possibility to open antagonism and diffused tensions.

[143] Cf. HAMMOND L. (2011) op.cit.; KLEINST N., (2008), op.cit.; LINDLEY, A., (2010), *The Early-Morning Phone call: Remittances from a Refugee Diaspora Perspective*, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Vol. 35, Issue 21.

[144] HORST, C. AND GAAS, M. H., (2009), *Diaspora Organsiations from the Horn of Africa in Norway: Contributions to Peacebuilding*? PRIO Policy Brief 2, Oslo; HORST C., EZZATI, R., GUGLIELMO M., MEZZETI P., PIRKKALAINEN P., SAGGIOMO V., WARNECKE A., (2010), *Participation of Diasporas in Peacebuilding and Development,* PRIO, Oslo.

3.1.2 **Ethiopian diaspora policy: an overview**

With reference to the context of the research, the estimated number of Ethiopian living in the UK is estimated around 20,000 people, with the 84% based in London[145], with well integrated community based in the northern, western and southern areas of the city.

In this section, it will be provided a general overview on Ethiopian diaspora, together with the efforts of the local government to attract back human and financial capital for the growth of the country.

Ethiopian diaspora has a high commitment in the participation to the political and civil life of the country of origin, and represents an important stakeholder for the Government in the areas of building good governance and democracy, as well as in the financial and entrepreneurial sector[146].

As one of the poorest countries of the world, characterised by the predominance of rural population relying mainly on agriculture and pastoralism, Ethiopia's economy is characterised by a high aid dependency, receiving over 2billion dollars in assistance every year[147].

In this framework the contributions and the investments of Ethiopian diaspora abroad become fundamental for the economy and the social development of the country, and their contribution is highly encouraged by the central authority.

The large emigration from Ethiopia started in the late seventies, after the the overthrow of Emperor Selassiè. The large scale emigration of

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[145] Data elaborated from the UK Office of National Statistics https://www.ons.gov.uk/.

[146] cf. CKACKO E., GEBRE P., (2012), *Leveraging the diaspora for development: lessons from Ethiopia*, in *GeoJournal* Volume 78, Issue 3 p.495-505; PELLERIN H., MULLINGS B., (2012), *The Diaspora option: Migration and changing political economy for Development* in *Review Journal of International Political Economy*, Vol.20 Issue 1 p.89-120.

[147] Cf. CKACKO E., GEBRE P.,(2012), op.cit.

those years was directed mainly in the neighbour African countries, Europe and US, and the majority of the expatriates was high skilled as students and diplomats. The fall of the regime of Derg in 1987 did not reduced the migration flows from the country, and the quota of Ethiopian overseas continued to grow reaching nearly 300,000 people between North America, Europe, USA and Middle East[148].

In this framework, the issue of brain drain has become key for the country. It has been noticed, for instance, that the number of resident doctors is lower than the number of doctors abroad, and the number of Ethiopian which have degrees and qualified jobs is higher among diaspora rather than within resident citizens.

The country has adopted some measures to enhance the economic growth and encourage the growth also with reference to education, skills and infrastructures. The strategic plan of growth of the country has been successful, and in the period 2000-2008 it has been calculated a GDP growth rate of 7,5%[149].

The new climate has attracted also investments from abroad, in particular diaspora investments, which have been highly encouraged from the Government.

The strategy of inclusion of diaspora for economic growth has been large and characterised by incentives to attract foreign direct investments, also through the creation of a General Directorate for Diaspora Affairs in 2002, and the creation of a "Diaspora Coordinating Office" within the Ministry of Capacity Building.

To enhance the ties with the home country, Government has also offered permits and designations for Ethiopian overseas ("*yellow*

[148] cf. LYONS T., (2007), *Conflict Generated Diasporas and transnational politics in Ethiopia* in *Conflicts, Security and Devlopment*, Vol. 7, Issue 4 p.529-549.

[149] OECD, AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, (2008), *African economic outlook 2007/2008*, Available online, accessed on September 9, 2016.

card") reducing legal restrictions to investments, and civic life (ie. Finding a job in the home country without a specific permit, level benefits and rights between domestic and foreign investors).

In parallel, diaspora, especially residing in the US, has always been a determinant actor on the home country politics. The most relevant episode which describe these linkages refers to the 2005 political opening and the following political crisis. In this occasion, the relationship between diaspora and home country politics has been characterised by a friction between diaspora and homeland government party, when diaspora advocated to boycott Parliament[150].

Most recently, with the aim of enhancing diaspora participation in civil and political life, the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has elaborated, in 2013, a *Diaspora Policy* document which intend to deep the relationship between the two actors in the areas of good governance and democracy in particular.

The document[151] represents the first diaspora policy and the first comprehensive approach to that, which aims to collect the different needs of both diasporas and government, and to set the strategies of collaboration.

Diaspora affairs are perceived as an issue of special attention for enhancing the relations between countries of origin and destination and for development cooperation.

For this reason, the influence of diaspora may be double, so also influencing the residence countries in their institutional and diplomatic relations with Ethiopia.

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[150] cfr. LYONS (2007) op.cit.; THE WORLD BANK, (2008*), International development association country assistance strategy for the Federal Democratic Republic Of Ethiopia*, Report no. 43051-ET.

[151] DIASPORA ENGAGEMENT AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE GENERAL (2002), *Ethiopian Diaspora policy* available online at www.mfa.gov.et.

The political document aims at: a) preserving the rights and interest of the diaspora, also through a system of registration of the citizens abroad and providing consular ID card; b) improving diaspora engagement in investments, trade and tourism, encouraging investments also through a direct collaborations with local investors; c) enhance knowledge and technology transfer; d) encouraging foreign currency inflows and strengthening diaspora participation, facilitating legal channels of transmission of money flows; e) promoting cultural values and promoting image building; f) advancing diaspora participation in good governance and democracy and the participation to the elections as passive and active electorate g) encouraging philanthropic and development associations; h) broadening Diaspora participation on image building.

The action which accompany those key points are aimed at a full understanding of the size of the diaspora abroad, also through a registration system, information exchanges and creation of a Fora which works for the cooperation of the diaspora abroad. Furthermore, the government aims at a full recognition of diaspora civic and political participation, through the strengthening of existing associations and the establishment of new ones, giving space to young people and volunteers.

At the same time, diaspora returnees are encouraged through services and opportunity structures at civil society and local level, in order to resettle in the home country and find a job.

3.2 Case studies "profiling": "transnationalism from above" and "transnationalism from below"

As the first step of the empirical research, this section illustrates in details the case studies also considering the institutional strengthen support under a quantitative perspective. As mentioned in the methodology, the research aims to investigate the perception of diaspora actors of their ability of change, comparing the case studies on the presence/absence of the international organisation as an anchor.

Although the nature of the work is qualitative, it is fundamental to take account of the quantitative aspect of the phenomena, in order to better verify the starting hypotheses.

To this aim, this section will include the data collected from each organisation regarding the projects, their size and the results. Much of those data came from official documents, monitoring and evaluation reports that each single organisation has product.

In this sense, it is important to clarify that the measurement of the dynamics of change and the democratic substance requires a wider and long term study and a timeframe which goes largely beyond the time required for a Ph.D. research. The data reported in the research have the objective to complete the empirical research through the analysis of the effective dimension of the projects object of the study. It is also important to clarify that the case studies which have been chosen do not represent single or sporadic development initiatives, but are systematic and part of a programme of intervention on the country with precise goals and means of implementation.

Transnationalism from above	- Assist and strengthen local institutions capacities through transfer of professionals and students' skills and knowledge - "Diaspora recruiting" - diaspora networks - capacity building
Transnationalism from below	- Advocacy for women and health rights - Campaigning - Capacity building - Training and mentorship in the areas of education and employment - Skill transfer and institutional support - Research - Institutional dialogue

Table 4 Summary of the main activities of the two case studies groups

A) Transnationalism from above

Diaspora return programmes – mainly temporary – are one of the major activities of engagement for diaspora set by international organisations, and imply an employment of human resources – skill, knowledge and capitals – in a perspective of growth. These initiatives - marked as "transnationalism from above" - are characterised by a commitment of international organisations, governments, local authorities, which engage diaspora as "beneficiary" of projects.

It means that the single returnee/participant is hired from the organisation to work for a specific project framed in a defined programme. In general, those programmes are defined in partnership with governments of the countries of destination of the intervention, and also receive funding and support from western countries governments.

This set of case studies includes three organisations and the two diaspora networks. In particular, the projects of the three organisations are run in Somalia, in the federal regions of Somaliland and Puntland. Within the area, since the nineties, interesting examples of initiatives lead by "conflict generated" diaspora[152] organisations have been developed, as well as participatory exercises which have engaged both communities and diaspora abroad[153]. Those initiatives have the

[152] "Conflict-generated diasporas are a particular category characterized by their displacement's source (violent, forced separation rather than relatively voluntary economic pursuits) and by the consequent nature of their homeland ties (identities emphasizing links to symbolically valuable territory)." From LYON (2006), op.cit.

[153] cf. PRIO (Peace resarech Institutute Oslo), (2010) *Participation of Diasporas in peacebuilding and development: and Handbook for practitioners and policy makers*, in *PRIO reports* - 2, available online.

common characteristic of dealing with the country fragmentation, caused by the conflict and reintegrate the conflict-induced diasporas in the local civil societies. The efforts of bringing together the communities and reduce fragmentation has not been always successful, and several studies highlight a lack of reciprocal trust between organisations and civil society groups[154]. The case studies identified are framed in this context, and respond to a modality of participation based on the individual engagement based on a short term return. The returnees are called to participate for the reaching of objectives established top down by the International Organisation, upon the payment of a salary.

Among the three organisations questioned for the research, the International Organisation for Migration is the one who didn't ask for being anonymous. A specific paragraph is dedicated to the IOM project chosen as a case study, QUESTS MIDA, providing quantitative data on its impact and width in the areas of Somaliland and Puntland.

The case studies *two* and *three* have been chosen because direct partner of IOM in the implementation of the QUESTS MIDA, or share its effort in a parallel and coordinated initiative. For those coordinated initiatives, the pattern of engagement of individuals follows the same scheme of IOM, with the participation of Somali descent beneficiaries among university students and young professional. The official reports of the organisations reveal that within the timeframe 2011-2012 the beneficiaries involved have reached 1000[155] people, in the priority areas of Agriculture, Education or Medicine and Health.

[154] Ivi.
[155] Estimation made from confidential data provided by each single organisation.

For the purposes of this research, the principal case study chosen refer to the most important programme of migration and development actually in place, MIDA – Migration and Development in Africa, run by the International Organisation for Migration since 2001.

Before a deeper illustration of QUESTS MIDA, the specific case study, is important to give an overview on the general aims and objectives of the MIDA programme.

The MIDA programme is a long-term strategy of development based on the participation – through mobility - of African diaspora in development initiatives in the countries of origin[156].

The MIDA approach has its roots in several programmes undertaken by IOM and since the '70, as the RQN (Return Qualified Nationals)[157] and includes a broad range of actions as the transfer of technology, know-how and skills, or setting of entrepreneurial initiatives.

The development of several lines of action within the strategy, and the inclusion of several African countries, have made possible the elaboration of a global strategy of intervention and a specific mechanism of mobilisation of human and financial resources, for the benefit of countries of origin, countries of destination and the migrant itself.

Through the MIDA Programme, it has been elaborated a mechanism which includes a wide range of development actors, which enables to draw up a picture of the development sectors in the countries which suffer of lack of qualified resources and skills. IOM MIDA aims to enable, on the long run, the promotion of the role of national

[156] cf. IOM, MELDE S. (2010), *The MIDA Experience and Beyond: Operationalizing Migration for Development Across Regions*, IOM; CESCHI S., STOCCHIERO A., (2006), *Partnership initiatives for co-development Ghanaian and Senegalese immigrants and CeSPI-IOM research-action*, Cespi Strategy Paper, Available Online.

[157] Project Weblink: http://www.iom-nederland.nl/en/migration-and-development/temporary-return.

government and their active cooperation with diasporas in the definition of national policies and their strategies on implementation[158]. The guidelines are elaborated in coherence with the national strategies, the Millennium Development Goals[159] and the actions undertaken in bilateral cooperation.

The advantages identified by IOM in the correlation between Diasporas and national institution may be summarised as following:

- *Recognition by national institutions of migrants' positive contribution to the process of developing and strengthening their capacities (as in the Great Lakes MIDA);*
- *The lasting tie created between the diaspora and the country of origin has the effect of strengthening the positive picture of the country among the expatriates and also within the indigenous populations and brings about a reconciliation, when necessary, between the migrants and their countries of origin (DRC, Burundi and Rwanda);*
- *The exchange of best practices, research results, working methods and management techniques, between the migrants, the representatives of the institutions of the host countries and the public and private undertakings in the countries of origin;*
- *The creation of lasting ties, twinning, and exchanges between national enterprises and institutions of higher education and scientific research in the countries of origin on the one hand and the host countries on the other (DRC, Burundi and Rwanda diasporas, the Universities of Brussels, Louvain, etc.);*

[158] cf. IOM (2006), *A global strategy of migration for development beyond the mida approach to mobilizing and sharing of human and financial resources of the overseas african community*, available online.
[159] And the most recent Sustainable Development Goals.

- *The opening of paths of cooperation and professional agreements between the private sectors of the countries of origin and the host countries, promoting a quality of production, an extended distribution, the opening of markets, or even exports (example : private companies in Burundi and expatriates in the private sector in Belgium).*[160]

The MIDA strategy is articulated in several initiatives mainly organised for geographical area (MIDA SOMALIA, MIDA GHANA, MIDA SENEGAL, MIDLA – Latin American), sectors (i.e. Health, governance), and stakeholders/beneficiaries (WMIDA, YOUTH MIDA)[161].

In the specific case of the present research IOM QUESTS MIDA stands for to *"Qualified Expatriate Somali Technical Support*"[162].

The principal aim of the project is to facilitate skills and knowledge transfer, and experience from qualified diaspora which apply for a period of short term work in home countries institutions. Within this research, the timeframe of reference coincides with the second phase of the project, started in 2009 and still ongoing.

QUESTS MIDA allows government to benefit from the experience of quality experts for the strengthening of institutions in four key areas, which are public finance management, development planning and aid coordination, public sector and parliamentary reforms, reaching of good governance standards.[163]

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[160] *Ivi*.
[161] Cf. organisation weblink: www.iom.int.
[162] Cf. project weblink: www.quests-mida.org.
[163] The short version of the data provided by the organisaiton confidentially, is available on line at http://www.quests-mida.org.

The organisation provided quantitative data on the project which mainly concern the beneficiaries' institutions of the initiative, the number of applicants for the positions in the home country and their placement.

In the timeframe September 2009 to April 2014, QUESTS-MIDA hired 42 Somalia diaspora people working in a ten key ministries in the federal regions of Puntland, Somaliland and South Central[164]. From the data provided by the Organisation, the majority of the beneficiaries hired are professionals in the area of Health with different kinds of qualifications (i.e. professional doctors, nurses, managers, HR experts), which are employed in the Ministry of Health in Somaliland and Puntland mainly to "*facilitate the transfer of skills, competencies and knowledge of qualified Somali to specific institutions within Somalia*[165]". A good number of participants (15-20%) are hired in the Ministries of Interior and the Ministry of Finance.

Furthermore, some beneficiaries are hired in specialised agencies, as among the others, the Civil Commission and the Civic Aviation Agency. Moreover, as highlighted from the Organisation, the programmes in place contribute to the improvement of the programmes of the Office of the Prime Minister and other public institutions, as in Somaliland, in the commissions devoted to anti- corruption policies through mentoring and technical assistance.

Furthermore, as indicated by IOM, the programme aims to develop and support the following items:

a. Disengaged Fighters and Youth at Risk;
b. Revival of Somali Traditional and Religious Justice System;
c. Stabilization through Peace-building and Peace Dividends;

[164] I*vi.*
[165] *Ivi.*

d. Stabilization through Establishment of Local Councils and Administrations; and

e. Improve livelihoods[166].

In the timeframe 2012-2014, QUESTS-MIDA experts have drafted and developed over 10 policy documents for Somalia. For instance, as in the QUESTS MIDA factsheet[167], "*In Puntland, 5 QUESTS-MIDA participants developed the Puntland Second Five-Year Development Plan 2014-2018 (FYDP-2) in collaboration with the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MoPIC). In Mogadishu, QUESTS-MIDA experts were involved in the drafting of the community and peace dividend program, which is one component of the five programs contained in the national stabilization programs*[168]".

The international organisation uses to work on the engagement of diaspora directly, with frequent calls of application or indirectly, through the involvement of a Europe-based civil society organisation, which has the role to disseminate or make awareness about both the IO's programme and the issue of diaspora engagement itself.

Within the project, the support that diaspora participants have from the institution regards the management of the recruiting process, monitoring, facilitation of the contacts between selected participants and beneficiary institutions, provision of documents and logistic assistance, support to the host institution in order to provide the participants an adequate working environment.

[166] Internal evaluation paper provided by the Organisation.
[167] The short version of the paper provided by the organisation is available on line at http://www.quests-mida.org.
[168] *Ibidem*.

According to IOM, the programme is sustainable because of the skills and knowledge that diaspora transmit, and is conceived as an "institutional memory builder" rather than a gap-filling measure.
About the outcomes of the initiative, those are evaluated from the organisation as following: *"Overall, the project made a good impact on Somali institutions and regional governments. Puntland now has a five-year plan that will guide its development for the next five years. The Somaliland Anti-Corruption and Good Governance Commission is better placed to tackle corruption and provide a good-governance framework for government institutions in Somaliland. In South Central Somalia, the capacity of the Office of Prime Minster has been built and allows it to provide support to different public institutions to develop their own stabilization programs. These institutions have also been trained to monitor and evaluate their program implementation*[169]".
To better analyse this case study, the total number of interviews was 15, made among beneficiaries of the initiatives, contacted with the support of IOM Somalia.

Due to the fact that the majority of the sample was on the fieldwork engaged in the initiative, it has been chosen to ask to some diaspora people who has taken part in the past or it is currently involved in the programme, to fill the questionnaire and then reply to an in-depth interview via skype. Among the people involved in the research, just one has been directly met in person.

Within this set of case study, it has been chosen to insert the "diaspora networks". The peculiarity of those organisation is their will to gather together the ngos and diaspora organisation to provide them services

[169] Ivi.

and training. Furthermore, those networks act as a linkage with institutions both in host and home countries, working on lobbying and organising actions of advocacy for diaspora. Those networks also collaborate with Governments and International Organisations in providing support to diaspora for the enhancement of their capacity of impact. This typology of support is characterised by the setting of for a of discussion at the European level, aimed to gather together different stakeholders.

B) The Transnationalism from below cases

The main characteristic of the initiatives undertaken by the "transnationalism from below" organisations is the grassroots approach. This is when the people of a certain community plan their development projects and seek for financial or technical support themselves.

Grassroots approach does not mean that those organisations are not structured or do not employ qualified personnel with technical skills in development. In the majority of the cases Diasporas organisations are proper NGO/charity, with a hierarchical structure and formal partnerships[170]. It is particularly true in the case of *advocacy* organisations, or academic networks[171] of research.

Other initiatives are relatively small, and not structured or bureaucratised as the "from above" ones. Sometimes, those projects are not framed in a programme because too small, or do not follow formal rules of project planning or implementation. In spite of those limitations, "transnationalism from below" may overcome bureaucracies building non-formal relationships of trust between the stakeholders[172]. Those organisations are most likely to meet difficulties in funding, because of a lack of specific know how or lack of contacts with the funding institutions.

Diaspora based organisations "from below" are likely to have direct contacts with home country institutions and governments[173], and it is

[170] The partnerships are mainly established with donors in the UK and in the Home countries. Those donors are mainly larger NGOs or international organisations.
[171] In this case, partnerships are developed with universities, as the University of Addis Ababa.
[172] In particular with the stakeholders in the country of origin, which share a territorial linkage with the organisation.
[173] As in the case of mentoring and academic support.

one of the major factors of influence of the legitimacy both within institutions and civil societies.

In general, governments and institutions recognise the effort of diaspora in the home country due to the huge amount of remittances flows and investments which Diasporas undertake, and tend to support this flows through specific governmental programmes.

This is particularly true for Ethiopia, where, as seen, diaspora is seen from government as one of the major contributors for the development of the country, becoming part of the governmental development strategy. As from the principal diaspora policy document from Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs already mentioned:

"[the aim is] *To build up strong relationship between Diaspora with their origin country Ethiopia. Encouraging and facilitating conducive environment for participation of Diaspora on ongoing peace and democratization building process to benefit their county and to benefit from their engagement and to preserve their rights and interests abroad.*[174] ".

The main activities that diaspora undertake may be explained as following:

- Advocacy for women and health rights/ Campaigning

It undermines the will of seeking influence and change, through the active support and representation of the stakeholders of the action. The initiatives of advocacy are mainly carried on in partnership with local organisations in order to improve the response of the communities to

[174] DIASPORA ENGAGEMENT AFFAIRS DIRECTORATE GENERAL (2002) *Ethiopian Diaspora policy* available online.

the topics of interest (health, women rights). The work also includes the provision of specific training, open discussion and forums with the principal stakeholders and production of materials for dissemination in both countries of origin and destination.

- Capacity building/ Training and mentorship in the areas of education and employment

The organisation of capacity building initiatives, skills transfer, knowledge and technical exchange are the basis for every intervention of diasporas in the home countries. Much of those organisations deliver a number of courses/workshop in partnership with local actors also engaging stakeholders from civil society, as issue based organisations. In this categorisation, mentoring and "mentoring mentors" has a key role, especially in relation with the relations with young people and teens in particularly difficult contexts.

- Institutional support and research

This kind of initiatives mainly refer to the direct work of diaspora organisations with political stakeholders, especially in the initiatives are carried on for peace-building. For those cases, it may be foreseen also the direct involvement of members of the parliament which are connected to other relevant stakeholders from civil society.
In this framework is also important to mention the support that some diaspora groups provide to academic institutions. To the purposes of this research it is also taken into consideration the work of organisation supporting academic institutions in the home country. This support is based on knowledge exchange, through a strict collaboration between diaspora academics and university institutions in the contexts of origin.

The organisations also work on supervising students and organising workshop and conferences, together with a network of academic professionals. In some cases, the organisation also run an academic journal, with periodic publications.
In other cases, the organisations provide policy briefs and statistical data to organisations and government on certain issues concerning diaspora.

- Institutional dialogue

This particular case refers to the participation of diaspora civil society organisation to the institutional dialogue on the topic "migration and development". In particular, the organisation chosen as a case study has participated to the Global Forum on Migration and Development within the Civil Society Days. The forum: "*address the migration and development interconnections in practical and action-oriented ways. It is an informal, non-binding, voluntary and government-led process that marks the culmination of more than a decade of international dialogue on the growing importance of the linkages between migration and development. It reflects the progressive acknowledgement of the limits of a strictly national approach to migration questions and implications at global level in an intergovernmental framework. In view of the societal implications of these issues, civil society representatives have also been involved from the outset in this process*[175] *"*.

[175] Specific info on the Forum, available online at Global Forum on Migration and Development Website www.gfmd.org.

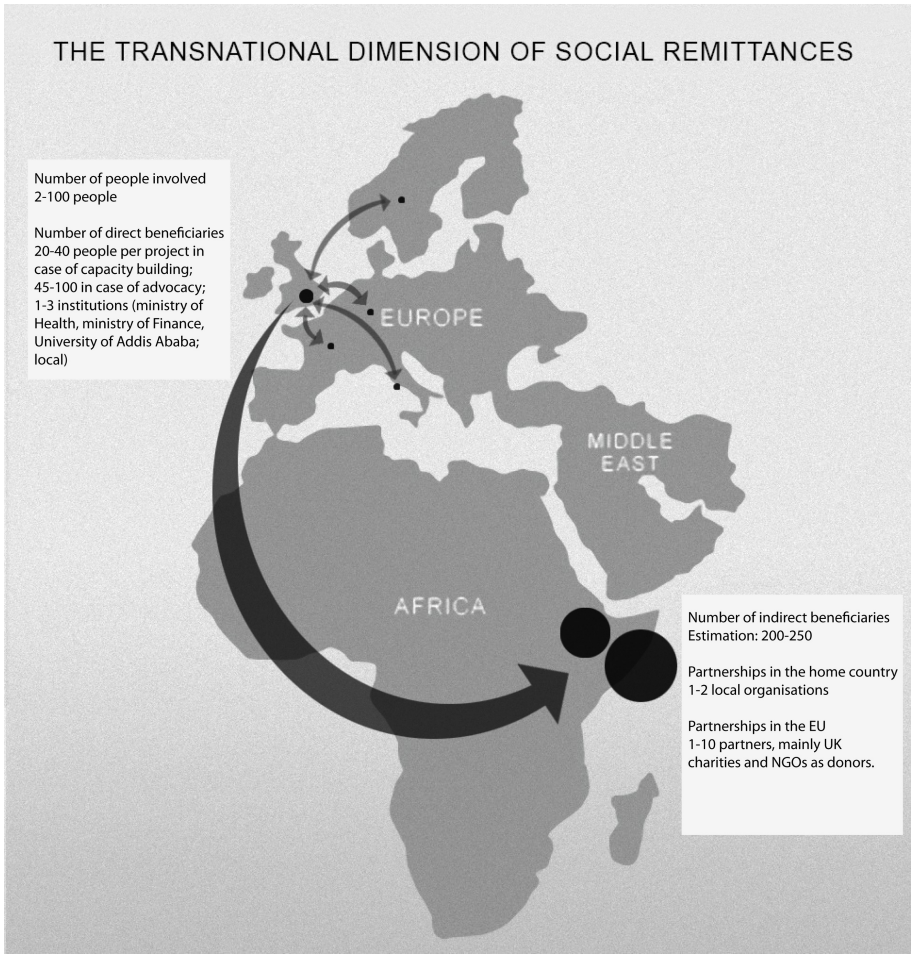

Figure 2 The transnational dimension of social remittances: a summary

- *A quantification of social remittances contribution: Quantitative aggregate data on the case studies from below*[176]

As reported in the introduction to this part in the figure 2 the scheme of the transnational dimension of social remittances identified by the case study analysis is characterised by a strong interconnection between country of settlement and country of origin, including a wide network of cross-European actors.

The graphic makes clear some of the most relevant "number" which characterised the "from below" projects in analysis.

Because the anonymous nature of the questionnaire and the case studies, it is not possible to provide a within- case analysis of each single projects. Despite that, it is possible to provide some aggregated data on the most important elements which give account of the impact of the initiatives in analysis:

a. Time

The majority of the projects in exam is conducted in relatively short term. The projects have all been started in 2011 and concluded within the years 2013 and 2014. It means that the maximum length considered is 2/3 years' projects. This is mainly because the nature of the project itself and the kind of activities programmed. As well, as in the case of the smallest organisations, the length of the project depends on the possibilities of return of the people involved. In fact, much of the people which work on the projects from the UK has to set timing according to its possibilities of return. In case of the biggest and most structured

[176] The data provided in this section are taken from the analysis of single organisation data.

organisations, the short-period projects are framed in wider programmes carried on on a larger timeframe. This is the case of the advocacy and lobby in the health sector.

b. Space

The definition of the geographical area of the research (Ethiopia and Somalia) has been chosen because of the opportunity structure provided for those countries and because the traditional activism of the diasporas coming from those country. Respect to the "from above" cases the nature of those projects is "local": it means that the action is delimited at the regional level, and the beneficiaries (both institutions and civil society) are framed in a definite area. For this research, the area involved within Ethiopia is the region of Tigray, and for Somalia, Somaliland and Puntland.[177].

c. Number of the actors involved as partners.

The result of the aggregate data regarding the actors involved may be summarised as following:

• *People involved in the home country*:

Both the biggest and smallest organisations work with a range of partners within the home country context. Those partners may be

[177] The study of the social remittances impact at the local level is a recurrent pattern in the literature. At this purpose is relevant to mention the work of Valentina Mazzucato on Ghanan diaspora in the Netherlands and Ali Chaudhari on Pakistani diaspora engagement. In those cases, the action of diaspora is studied at the very local level, looking at specific municipalities and regions. (see: MAZZUCATO V. (2009), *Small is beautiful: the micro-politics of transnational relationships between Ghanaian hometown associations and communities back home* in *Global Networks*, Vol. 9 issue 2; and CHAUDHARI A., GUARNIZO L., (2015*), State Policies and Pakistani Organizational Spaces* in *Toronto and New York City International Migration Institute* Working Paper 112, University of Oxford).

institutional, as the local donors, or other NGOs which work for the implementation of the project at the local level. This variable also regards the persons who have been working on the projects from directly within the home country. In fact, almost each organisation has staff members working on the field, which are mainly locals and/or returnees. The aggregate analysis of the data show that the personnel involved go from 2 people in the case of small organisations to 100 for the biggest ones. In this second case regards the biggest organisation. In particular, in the advocacy projects require a hugest rate of human capital because of the activities provided. For instance, when the activity requires an investigation on the change of behaviour of the direct beneficiaries, or in case preliminary studies require a direct data collection. The cases with a smallest number of actors, are most likely to be referred to the small organisation which rely on direct linkages as the family or friends. Some of the capacity building-mentoring projects in analysis are carried on with the collaboration of 1-2 locals, who directly collaborate with the organisations holding with them a relationship of trust. In those cases, the local is also the person who is able to provide partnership and linkages with institutions, and maintain the ties with the local authority in a longer timeframe.

- *Number of partners within EU:* in this case, the data provided reveal that the organisation build their network across Europe with a slightly large range of partners. Some of the project (3 out of 12 "from below") are built with the collaboration of home country national residing across Europe. The data provided reveal that the grassroots organisations have a European network which includes a range between 1 to 10 partner organisations.

- *Number of beneficiaries*

Referring to the number of beneficiaries, in this specific context, has the following implications: firstly, it refers to the institutions directly involved in the project which experiment the benefits of a policy change; secondly, it refers to the person directly involved in the activities (es. Number of people trained); thirdly, in the case of advocacy, the number of people which have been made aware of certain issue to bring change from below. In the first case, the institutions involved are quite few and easily recognisable: The Ministries of Health in Somalia and Ethiopia, the University of Addis Ababa and Iom and the structure of the "Global Forum on Migration and Development" are the institutional beneficiaries of diaspora action. The data on the number of beneficiaries is the most important, and the most difficult to get. This is because two main reasons: firstly, the reserved nature of the data requested; secondly, because some of the effects of the project, may go beyond the actual number of beneficiaries and involve a larger population. Capacity building based on technical exchange also involve associations of professionals, as in the agricultural sector. In the case of mentoring and "training of trainers" which is the activity which is strictly direct to the training of beneficiaries working within institution, the range is around 20-40 people per project.

For the advocacy and campaigning in general, each project has an estimation of direct beneficiaries which goes between 45 and 100 people per project. This range is quite reliable and correspondent to the nature of the intervention, which is carried on a very large scale. Looking at the indirect beneficiaries, the numbers are quite variable. In the case of woman's health advocacy projects, in particular, it has been calculated that after a training provided to 20-50 woman, the number of indirect beneficiaries variates between 200 and 250 people.

	Transnationalism from above	Transnationalism from below
Timeframe	2009-2014	2011-2014
Space	Somalia (Putnam, Somaliland)	Ethiopia (Tigray), Somalia (Puntland Somaliland)
Number of people involved	For IOM 42 diaspora member recruited in two years; 500+ people involved from the "IOM Satellite organisation"; 20-30 people from the 3rd case study	2-100 people working in the organisations
Number of direct beneficiaries	10 institutions	35-40 people per project in case of capacity building; 45-100 in case of advocacy; 1-3 institutions (ministry of Health, ministry of Finance, University of Addis Ababa; local authority)
Number of indirect beneficiaries	Whole population	Estimation: 200-250
Partnerships in the home country	Federal Government of Somalia, Somaliland, Puntland State of Somalia, South west State of Somalia, Jubbaland State of Somalia (source IOM)	1-2 local organisations per project
Partnerships in the EU	The International Organization for Migration Development Fund; Government of Sweden; Government of Finland; Government of the Netherlands; Italian Development Cooperation Agency (Source IOM)	1-10 partners, mainly UK charities and NGOs as donors.

Table 5 Resume of the quantitative aggregated data related to the case studies

3.3 Findings

3.3.1 Qualitative study of the patterns of engagement: "Mobilisation", "Opportunities" and "Motivations"

This first section consists in the qualitative study of the interviews and the questionnaire which have been handed out to the research participants during the fieldwork

As explained in the section dedicated to the methodology, the definition of the patterns of engagement has been made according to the concepts developed by C. Wescott and J. Birkerhoff in *Converting migration drains into gains: harnessing resources of Overseas professional diaspora*, where the factors of contribution of diaspora engagement are conceptualised in "mobilisation", "opportunities" and "motivation". The authors Wescott and Brinkerhoff have shaped the definition according to some relevant literature on the topic, and the present work has extrapolated the core part of them[178].

To follow, the analysis of the interviews divided in some sub-categories, which will enable to catch the fundamental elements of the definitions. The micro level analysis will be the basis for the explanation of the "legitimacy" and "effectiveness" variables.

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[178] Cf. BRINKERHOFF J., (2004) *Digital Diasporas and International Development: Afghan-Americans and the Reconstruction of Afghanistan* in *Public Administration and Development* Vol. 24 Issue 5; - (2005) *Digital Diasporas and Semi-Authoritarian States: The Case of the Egyptian Copts* in *Public Administration and Development* Vol. 25 Issue 3; - (2006) *Contributions of Digital Diasporas to Governance Reconstruction in Post-Conflict and Fragile States: Potential and Promise* in *Rebuilding Governance in Post-Conflict Societies: What's New, What's Not?*, Oxford,Routledge; BROWN M., (2000), *Using the Intellectual Diaspora to Reverse the Brain Drain: Some Useful Examples*, UNECA Conference paper, available online; HINKLE S., , LEE FOX-CARDAMONE, J. A. HASELEU A., BROWN R, IRWIN L., (1996), *Grassroots Political Action as an Intergroup Phenomenon* in *Journal of Social Issues* Vol. 52 Issue 1.

3.3.1.1 Mobilisation

Creation of a community identity and patterns of engagement of material resources, skills and organisational resources to canalise social remittances properly; identification of the nature of the linkages of social capital networks, and identification of the relationships among the actors.

a) Creation of a community identity

a.1 Creation of a community identity: Transnationalism from above

It has been noticed that the international organisation itself does not directly work on the identity building. This task is conduct mainly by diaspora-based partner organisations, which engages with the International Organisation in the recruitment of programme beneficiaries. International Organisation for Migration, which is the main case study of "from above", use to organise some "recruitment events" in partnership with those organisations – in this specific case based in Universities, which allows a more direct contact with the beneficiaries. This is the framework for the creation (or, better, strengthen) of a community identity of Diaspora (in this case Somali Diaspora), which aims to favour the building of the conditions of future engagement and collaboration with the Organisation.

In the transnationalism for above cases the creation of a community identity is the starting point for the engagement, especially for the projects targeted for young people. Student and young professionals residing in the UK, mainly second generations, often demonstrate a keen interest in the homeland of their fathers. The general idea of the International Organisation and its partner is that their knowledge and

interest need to be fostered. This aspect is key in the first step engagement of the youngest, through the raising of the idea of "belonging" to a nation-based community, sharing also the same objectives of development. To this aim, the "belonging" refers both to the native country and the organisation, with which the individuals have to share goals and objectives. It is important to notice that the organisations look at "the nation/the state" rather than a specific ethnic groups or clans.

> «If you have something to give, it meant that you have the same goal as us, so we arranged the possibility to set a membership with us»[179].

> «I would encourage young people to go back, but they have to contribute to their own lives first. They have to know the language and the culture, not to think only at their own clans. I personally believe and support anti-tribalism. I think that to support a tribe itself is a perpetuation. I use to say to my children, you do not belong to a clan, you belong to Somalia and Africa»[180].

The idea of a community identity finds its motivation in the feeling of a shared responsibility of diaspora toward the home country. From the questionnaire it is clear that it is always ranked with the highest marks (4-5). In some cases, the responsibility is not generally related to civic duty, but it comes from the responsibility felt toward familiar linkages. It is also an indicator of the general will of return which is shared by most of the respondents.

[179] QUESTS MIDA project beneficiary, *skype* i*nterview*, London, February 2015
[180] Organisation *three* project beneficiary, *interview*, London, March 2015

> «Diaspora have the responsibility to giving back, mainly because sometimes the families are still there. The responsibility goes toward the families, and depends from your expertise and networks»[181].

a.2 Creation of a community identity Transnationalism from below

Due to the nature of the engagement for this set of case studies, the formal/structured processes of creation of a community identity which characterise the *from above* cases are absent. It seems there is no need of an identity building processes within and for a certain initiative (as the QUESTS MIDA "recruitment" events described above) because of the nature of the engagement, but is important to notice that a kind of process of community identity occurs in the homeland, where the volunteer/workers of a project need to resettle, integrate and work for a deep understanding of needs and capacities of the home country context to better tailor the work. The "community identity" becomes, in this context, a personal effort for recognition and - in a way – homologation. It means that the community identity no not need to be "created" but to be "strengthen" mainly among the locals which will host the diaspora action.

[181] QUESTS MIDA project beneficiary, *skype* i*nterview*, London, February 2015

> «Diaspora is a few people; we are a sort of spray of the perfume»[182].

Furthermore, this community identity is based on the idea of "sharing" of resources, more than on the idea of "transmission" of resources. The attitude of the participants and is to include local civil society, enlarging the idea of "shared responsibility" to a wider community.
In this context, it is possible to identify different levels for the definition of the community. In the case of the smallest organisation, it starts from the family, which may be the first nucleus of the transnational organisation and which may have the duty of spreading the work done by the diaspora abroad.

> «If you have a family of five members, all of them are members of an organisation. If they have one pound each, they have 5 pound for one family»[183].

The biggest organisations, base the work on a wider community, and their officials are often people living in the home country context.
If this element may seem less stressed at a "formal" level, and not structured in any form (i.e. meeting, recruitment event, awareness building events), it is also important to notice that for those cases the personal feelings and direct and informal relations with home country national, acquire a major relevance. The perception of a "community" working on the same issue with the same horizon, helps in the success and in the accountability of diaspora.

[182] Project Manager from Ethiopian Organisation, *interview*, March 2015
[183] Project Manager from Ethiopian Organisation, *interview*, March 2015

b) Patterns of engagement of material resources, skills and organisational resources

b.1 Patterns of engagement of material resources, skills, organisational resources: Transnationalism from above

To see the functioning of the patterns of engagement for the "from above" cases, it is appropriate to divide between personal capabilities and organisational capabilities, with the aim to see the modalities through which those two elements interact.

In the transnationalism from above cases, the material resources coincide with the financing provided mainly by government and private sector. The programmes undertaken by the IO are coherent with the international and European policy guidelines on migration and development, including the policies of single governments concerning diaspora engagement. The organisation works through the dissemination of job vacancies, which undermine a certain salary according to the experience, in partner beneficiary institutions.

Diasporas are hired to engage in activities aiming to strengthen the capacities of the institutions, also providing policy guidelines and training. To this aim, personal resources as skills, capabilities and confidence in a certain work environment are essential. The majority of the people involved are men with high education diplomas, and past work experiences in development cooperation also as volunteers. The good positions and careers undermine a good economic integration in the country of residence.

In these specific cases, for the nature of the programme itself the individuals are not affiliated to an organisation/diasporic association, and choose autonomously to apply.

The people interviewed consider essential the support of the international organisation and – consequently – the approach of the programme to the institutional strengthen. Although Diaspora demonstrate a high level of commitment and high trust in its capacities, there is also the awareness of the importance of funding and resources – both human and material – which the organisation is able to provide.

> «Diaspora cannot contribute much, because they are not even involved here, also if you work in the system. We suffer from limited language and housing. I think it is important to identify what's there and help there. You don't have to impose anything from here»[184].

b.2 Patterns of engagement of material resources, skills, organisational resources: Transnationalism from below

In this case, the material resources are the major issue of concern, because diaspora organisations need to seek for funding from governments, charities, or international organisations. The projects which the diaspora organisations undertake do not take into consideration a policy framework regarding migration and development but recall those typologies of intervention in the patterns of engagement, general aim and ambitions. The people which are engaged in those organisations are high-skilled professionals residing in the receiving context since their years of studies (much of the respondents have a degree from a British university) and in their professional career mainly refers to in teaching, economic issues or project management. For this section, there is a balance between men and women engagement, and women are the majority of the

[184] QUESTS MIDA beneficiary f, *skype interview,* London, March 2015

responsible/chief in the single organisation, and usually engage in international platform and meeting as a leading voice.

For those cases, it is the whole organisation to be engaged, not individuals responding to a call. Behind any intervention in the home country context, there is a teamwork of an organisation which, regardless its structure, is also transnational with some representatives on the ground working as gatekeepers for the whole organisation.

Furthermore, the strengthening of the capacity of institutions, in this context is not direct. Those organisations prefer a bottom up approach outside the institutions, although local authority are the final beneficiaries and/or principal stakeholders.

In this paragraph it is relevant also to highlight that the principal pattern of engagement which the case studies in object share, is the relation which need to be established between diaspora and the "donor", namely the institution/government of the home country, because is the turning point regarding the engagement of resources, in particular economic resources.

> «diaspora has to build the links, because now they do not exist, in order to bring all the relevant issues to the decision making table. Without the link any policy of development would not work»[185].

[185] Organisation *two* president, *interview*, London, May 2015

C) Nature of the linkages of social capital networks

c.1 Nature of the linkages of social capital networks: Transnationalism from above

As widely explained, for the purposes of this research Diasporas are conceived as epistemic communities, which means that they aim to have a recognised interest and impact on home countries affaires, legitimised by their knowledge and expertise. The understanding of social capital for this section recall the OECD definition, which understands social capital as «networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups»[186].

As Brinkerhoff (2006) *"bonding social capital is represented in the development of a diaspora community, complete with various types of diaspora associations or more formal organizations"*[187] .

To better understand this variable, the analysis will concentrate on the network structure and the relationship between the grassroots level and the institutional level in both case studies sets.

In this particular case, the forms of organisation of diaspora are considered looking at the "network" and the International organisation and its partners.

For this aspect it is important to make a distinction between the single association partner of the International organisation, and the Diaspora networks. The both of them may be considered as a sort of

[186] OECD, (2001), *The Well-Being of Nations: The Role of Human and Social Capital*, OECD, Paris.
[187] WESCOTT C., BRINKERHOFF, J., (2006) op.cit.

"gatekeeper", which links civil society with the International Organisation, or home/host country government. The role of the gatekeeper is twofold: from one hand, it favours the "aggregation" of individuals; from the other hand, there is the need of the "enhancement" of social capital, which is possible through specific training.

The presence in this set of case studies of the "diaspora networks" is significant for the second point. Bonding and enhancing social capital represents one of the key actions of the network, which provide not only specific trainings, but also a platform for sharing knowledge and expertise privileging organisational structure.

> «Diaspora organisations from their own may struggle without some outside inputs. Some diaspora organisations are very small, they have limited capacities, and they presume they know the local system procedures and the local context when they have an incomplete or even not updated understanding. The responsibility of addressing it actually lies in institutions within countries of origin and countries of residence and some international organisations as IOM. I think primarily is something that countries of origin have to deal with, because they know better than everyone else the local system procedures and opportunities»[188].

The undermined idea is that social capital has to be built. As already mentioned in the "community identity" part, the recruitment events are one of the principal instruments of engagement, because leverage on the sense of belonging and identity issue. In this case the nature of the

[188] QUESTS MIDA beneficiary c, *skype interview,* London, February 2015

linkage does not undermine the idea of "building of the social capital network" in terms of skills, because of the assumption of hiring personnel already qualified.

The reference to social capital is mainly created to the idea of bridging between diaspora and local agents.

Diaspora groups and associations are supported in the process of knowledge building of the local context and networking with other organisations, governments and local institutions. Furthermore, big diaspora networks represent diasporas in institutional dialogue platforms or international fora.

In other cases, the diaspora organisation is an implementing partner of the IO. For the institutional rebuilding programme object of the study, the Diaspora organisation engaged as a partner works on the recruitment of diaspora beneficiaries and to connect them with the IO.

> «we were able to connect the diaspora young Somali in Europe to the means to go back home and encourage them to make it possible giving them the platform to meet other people as institutions or universities»[189].

c.2 Nature of the linkages of social capital networks Transnationalism from below

In the "transnationalism from below" cases, building social capital is the principal aim which may directly be referred to the issue of the "creation of a community identity". If, as mentioned, diaspora organisations do not feel the necessity of an identity building process,

[189] Organisation *two* president, *interview*, London, May 2015

social capital represent the first challenge in the process of engagement, because it strongly affects the success of the project.

The majority of the interviewed people have mentioned the social capital network as the first issue and the first problem to face, stressing the importance of overcoming the prejudices toward diaspora and creating an enabling work environment. Also in this case, the idea of "bridging" social capital is most appropriate to define the process

This point may directly be linked with the idea of creating a sort of "homologation" between diaspora and locals. To better explain, the nature of social capital for this typology of projects is informal and based on the values that the local organisation/beneficiaries/stakeholders and diaspora organisation share, which constitute the common ground to work as a legitimate actor in the area, to be a credible in the influence on behaviours and/or to be reliable on the training activities.

Together with the informal nature, social linkages need to retrace the history of the individuals and the diaspora community, stressing the community identity issue already existing, not building new paths for re-integration.

> «Diaspora has to be able to influence policy makers but at the same time not be part of the political processes. Policy advising and institutional rebuilding are the most appropriate spaces for diaspora action. Diaspora may organise themselves in several ways (for clans, or regions for instance), but it is important to have a coherent policy and be coherent to the good practices already existing carried on by the people on the ground»[190].

[190] ibidem

D) Identification of the relationships among the actors

d.1 Identification of the relationships among the actors: Transnationalism from above

As already explained, the principal actors involved in the processes "from above" are diaspora people engaged in the programme, the International Organisation, the local authority and the international donor (mainly EU-US governments).

In this picture, the International Organisation and the partner organisations are the "bridges" of the diaspora work between host and home country, because enable start and the continuity of the process, together with the necessary support (both financial and technical).

In this section is important to underline the relationship which occur among the three principal actors, and the outcomes in the processes of institutional rebuilding in place.

To this aim, it has been asked in the questionnaire the limits and the advantages of the principal actors involved in the process, diaspora, international organisation, and local authority, with the aim of understanding the nature of the relationship and the limits which may occur in the process.

In the table, a sum of the replies of the people interviewed:

Question: In your perception, which are the advantages and the limits in terms of potentialities of change which the actors involved in the project may bring to the institutional development of your home country?

	Advantages	Limits
Diaspora	education and skills, work ethics, attitude; capacity building for the local staff, improved public service delivery, instil professionalism within the ministry; good capacity of transmit message and good in teamwork; reverse brain drain in brain gain; investments in home country.	clash of attitudes with local staff; competition with locals, cultural conflict, frustration if locals are incompetent; situations of lack of work ethics or professionalism; concurrency with locals; few women.
International Organisation	financial support, human capital, implementation tools; building partnership with government entities, commitment in strengthening the capacities of local institutions; provides know how; good connections with diaspora; access to worldwide diaspora.	exposure to reality and situation on the ground; over reliance on diaspora staff; cultural and language barriers.
Local Authority	support in implementation; environmental knowledge; eagerness to learn; attitude to learn and competences; will of rebuild also the image of the administration.	not capable staff; over reliance; uncooperative and not available; lack of communication with diaspora; lack of institutional building.

Table 6 summary of the replies question 3.1 questionnaire A (see annex)

The picture which emerges from the replies in table is that the relationship in place are characterised by a set of pros and cons which may be summarised as following:

a) diaspora: skills vs. clash of attitudes
b) International organisation: resources vs. cultural barriers
c) Local authority: good attitude vs. lack of reliance of diaspora

According to a), the responses reported, together with the interviews, have highlighted the "self-confidence" of diaspora in their skill and knowledge, together with their will in contributing in in the project. This aspect, influenced by the aforementioned factors (community building and sense of belonging) may meet difficulties at the local level mainly for the diffidence (which may also turn in suspect) of local civil society and local authorities toward diaspora returnees. In this framework, it seems that the local authorities have a "double" approach: if on one side accepts diasporas, on the other side it may lack of a proper communication or collaboration with the returnees. For the point b) the diaspora beneficiaries have a deep understanding of the advantages of the work with an international organisation. They are aware that the IOM has the resources and the skills to set an effective programme of diaspora engagement, which works especially in terms of outcomes on the long run, because of the ability of building partnership with governments and donors, and to access to wide networks of diaspora, ensuring a reliable transnational environment. According to the diaspora actors, the relationships that the IOM builds may leave aside local civil society, considered by the majority of the interviewed the final beneficiary of the process of institutional rebuilding. The lack of a substantial involvement of civil society actors, is considered an

important limit because may affect – more than the work in the institution itself - the processes of integration of the beneficiary in the home country context, and influences the relation of trust which the returnee establishes within his working environment.

The last point c) concern the nature of the linkages that the Local authority build with the other actors on the "playground". In this sections the experiences which have been reported are various, and need to be interpreted carefully. If for the other points the replies where quite homogeneous, here the sample group is exactly divided. One one side, there is the feeling that the local authority is cooperative and supportive, on the other side, the local authority gives the impression of being hostile to the project beneficiaries and the "change" they will to bring, uncooperative and not capable both in their work in the institutions and in the support within the project.

> «I think that The IO has known how and access to all the resources they can get from western countries. They have connections with different diasporas. I met here in Mogadishu different people from different countries. It is very important to get a lot of experience and meet different people»[191].

> «International organisations have to ask us what we need. They also have to have greater consideration toward people who have background information on a country. They use to hire people who do not have enough information or have been out from the country for years. Those people have

[191] QUESTS MIDA beneficiary, *skype interview,* London, February 2015

language and cultural barriers. People in Somalia need people who understand them»[192].

«I will evaluate my interaction as average which is 5 according to this ranking. There is two different feelings among the local staff. One group are co-opearting and are ready to learn while the other sees the diaspora staff as a threat to their growth and will try to sabotage the work of the expatriate»[193].

«My interaction with host home country institution is a 10. The other experts and I are very involved with the institution; in fact we have integrated very well into the institution due to the fact that we have now been there for 2 years and more. At the beginning, I would say our interaction level was about a 7 but now we have assimilated into the organization. Also the reason interaction with the organization is at a very high is because the staff is now very open and trustful of us due to the duration we've been there»[194].

«There are two different feelings among the local staff. One group are co-operating and are ready to learn while the other sees the diaspora staff as a threat to their growth and will try to sabotage the work of the expatriate»[195].

[192] QUESTS MIDA beneficiary, *skype interview,* London, February 2015
[193] QUESTS MIDA beneficiary, *skype interview,* London, February 2015
[194] QUESTS MIDA beneficiary, *skype interview,* London, February 2015
[195] QUESTS MIDA beneficiary, *skype interview,* London, February 2015

«When I came here I noticed that local people see diaspora just as people with a lot of money and good diplomas. They can get jobs from government and IO so diaspora is a concurrent from the local people. We can solve it making awareness and making debate between locals and diaspora. What I miss here is the lack of contact between local people and diaspora. IO has to bring together diasporas and local people and discuss on all the problems which arise between them. In this way diaspora may be useful for the home country through its skills. A lot of diaspora has invested in the country, and it can be an advantage for local people»[196].

[196] QUESTS MIDA beneficiary, *skype interview,* London, February 2015

d.2 Identification of the relationships among the actors: Transnationalism from below

Also in the framework of the "transnationalism from below" set of case studies it has been asked information about the perception of the work of the main actors involved in the projects and interventions.

In this context, the questionnaire slightly changes in the identification of the actors to "evaluate" because of the absence of the international organisation and the indirect involvement of the institutions and local authorities. It is interesting to notice, for the identification of the relationships that in this case the "gatekeeper" often lack, and diaspora and organisation work directly with the actors on the field.

For this reason, it has been added the "civil society organisation" and home country actors, which refers to a wider spectre of actors involved, including the local authority.

Question: In your perception, which are the advantages and the limits in terms of potentialities of change which the actors involved in the project may bring to the institutional development of your home country?

	Advantages	Limits
Diaspora	More and varied exposure; better academic achievements, more resources; genuine intentions; technical expertise; mobility income; knows the language; cultural ties with locals; may provide insights as insiders; independent actors; may overcome problems related with corruption; are vocal.	Time, resources; limited knowledge of the local context; different values and system; co-optation into positions of powe (become political); could create barriers, distances, no regula hard push; the action is limited.
Civil society organisation	Potential government support; knowledge of the local context; Commitment; Freedom; they may complement the government.	Lack of international standards; Resources; lack of organised body to accommodate diaspora needs; lack of closemindness with locals.
Home country actor/beneficiary	Familiarity; Openness to learn; local donors privilege diaspora.	Lack of knowhow; lack of incentives; quality of the services.

Table 7 summary of the replies question 3.1 questionnaire B (see annex)

On the basis of the replies summarised in the table, it is possible to state that the relationships among actors are characterised by the following pattern:

a) expertise and skills, independence and genuine intentions vs. limits in resource, time, and barriers related to the aspiration to positions of power
b) support and knowledge of the local context vs. lack of standards, resources and organisations
c) familiarity with the ground and good attitude toward diaspora vs. bad quality of services

Generally speaking, for all the sections reported is highlighted a lack of resources at all levels, and or/a bad quality of the services and experience provided. This element may impact on the relationship among the actors and is extremely relevant, because affects the relationship of trust at the basis of every project or intervention.
On the other side, the local authority and the local civil society organisation have a deeper knowledge of the community and territory and better possibilities to act as gatekeepers, especially when they work for the organisation and connect civil society with the project.
In this sense, the building of partnerships is essential, and much of the work in the home country context is carried on by local staff. It may become an obliged choice when people, because the general lack of resources, can't travel to the home country. This aspect has been frequently highlight, because one of the principal concerns regarding

the establishment of an accountable working environment, with the risk of the self-perception of "outsiders".

A further element regards the related issues of "independency" and "political diaspora". Those elements are mainly referred to the frequent commitment of diasporas in policy[197], and the possible lack of legitimation of diaspora action that this may cause. In this sense, much of the respondents have highlighted the will of independency, especially from local political parties. The third point concerns the relationship with local authority. According to the respondents, there is a familiarity with the ground and local people and the good attitudes toward diaspora are often linked with a lack of competences and material resources, which makes them not a fully accountable stakeholder. For this reason, much of the respondents have highlight that they prefer seek for funding and technical assistance to UK organisations, charities and local authority.

To follow, some of the statements from the in depth interviews to the research participants, explaining their replies in the questionnaire:

> «After training and workshops I am optimist because I have been financed and my local partners are happy and asked me to set the mentoring programme again because of its positive results. I am waiting for funding to start again. Civil society and local authorities accepted me and my work, and government officials have approved it entirely. The real problem is to meet the expectations of those people»[198].

[197] cf. par. "*Somalia and Somali population within the UK*" p.

[198] Ethiopian organisation president, *interview*, London, April 2015

«you have to keep timing and finance balance; clear balance sheet and expenses has to be precise, otherwise we don't get funding next year»[199].

«If the diaspora person has the skills to contribute, it is fine, apart from being a clan. There are engineers, doctors, nurses, even the ones who knows administration or work in the local governments, if they have got money and want to make thing there it is fine. But the people who go there and just want to become ministry or parliamentarian no, they are damaging the people who are there. On 300 parliamentarians, 2/3rd of those are from the Diaspora, and what happened to the people who are coping there? Rebuilding our country is always in our mind, but the question is how»[200].

«You are a foreign person. Because of Diaspora there are some issues, which usually came out. I am not a stranger, but people think there is a lot of money and diaspora is favoured. For this reason the government tries to take some measures in order to take the population from abroad»[201].

«Diaspora is a few people; we are a sort of spray of the perfume. We as diaspora, are nothing. No way for me to influence the civil society. You can contribute to change. For instance, if you work in the government, but in society you are nothing»[202].

[199] Ehtiopian organisation project manager, *interview*, London, March 2015
[200] Somali academic organisation president, *interview*, London, April 2015
[201] Ehtiopian organisation project manager, *interview*, London, March 2015
[202] ibidem

«It has been a positive learning curve overall, but now more than ever I am convinced that sustainable development in Africa will come from home-based effort. The role of the diaspora is to support this change not lead it. The narrative of Diaspora as saviour of home countries is reductive and in some cases diaspora involvement can be counterproductive as some Diaspora get involved in home affairs for person financial and political gains, which may not align with the national good. It is legitimate for local actors to be critical of Diaspora motives in taking part in development initiatives. It is up to diaspora actors to prove the value added of their contribution to the development of their country of origin, and diaspora actors need to lose their sense of entitlement as whether it is by choice or not, the fact is they are not permanent residents living the everyday reality of their country of origin»[203].

«Is not a matter of influence. We sit down and identify the need and then we prioritise it according to the needs. The people choose the projects»[204].

«you have to invite yourself to the table, you don't have to wait be invited to meetings. it is fundamental to identify how and where the conversation is taking place and get yourself there»[205].

[203] Somali academic organisation president, *interview*, London, April 2015
[204] Ethiopian organisation project manager, *interview*, London, March 2015
[205] Ethiopian organisation presindent and coordinator, *interview*, London, May 2015

3.3.1.2. Opportunities

Access to resources and identification of the main characteristics of the environment of action (both in host and home societies).

The opportunity structures provided by the organisation (from above and from below) has been discussed widely in the presentation of the case studies.

As illustrated, the main difference is in the top-down vs. bottom-up approach, the funding structure, and, in some cases, the typology of action.

Furthermore, if in the transnationalism from above cases the host countries commitment is strong, I the other cases there is not a direct support or patronage. On the contrary, home country government (especially Ethiopia) seek for diaspora resources – social and economic.

In this section it will be deepen the perception that the interviewed have about those opportunities in reaching the objective of institutional strengthen and good governance.

In the questionnaire this issue has been raises transversally in the questions 2.2 and 2.3, where it has been asked an overall evaluation of the work, with the aim of understanding the main characteristic of the work environment and the overall tasks and responsibility within the working context.

Before to start, it is important a methodological consideration: the questionnaire will be studied through qualitative methods, integrated with the replies of comment of the single questions that the sample gave during the in-depth interview.

Question 2.2 has collected the main tasks and responsibilities of the returnees within their specific activities, together with an evaluation (on a scale 1 to 5) of the degree of "success" of their personal work.
For question 2.3 the request was to evaluate on a scale 1 to 10 some of the characteristics of the work, with a particular focus on the relationship that the interviewed had with the other actors.

a) Opportunities: Transnationalism from above

Question: Which were your main tasks and responsibilities during your work in the home country institution? Please list them in the following table and rate the success on a scale 1-5 as indicated below

Activity (collected by typology)	**Evaluation average**
Training – capacity building	5
Mentorship – civic education	4
advocacy	3
Setting of Policy strategies	5
Projecting and budgeting	4

Table 8 summary of the replies question 2.2 questionnaire A

Question: Please evaluate, on a scale 1-10 (1 lower mark -10 higher mark), the following components of your work:

	Average mark									
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**
Level of competence of the local staff						**x**				
Your integration in the work team								**x**		
IO support in your activity								**x**		
IO influence in your activity								**x**		
Host institution support in your activity									**x**	
Host institution influence in your activity								**x**		
Workload								**x**		
Personal freedom in the job						**x**				
Quality of feedback received from your team							**x**			
Quality of feedback received from IO								**x**		
Quality of accountability of the project in the host institution									**x**	
My qualifications have met the needs of the project										**x**

Table 9 summary of the replies question 2.3 questionnaire A

From the in-depth interviews:

> «In 2013 I started the project with IOM Netherlands to support the staff of the Ngo. I choose the NGO because I knew the organisation before. I think there are many gaps within NGO in Somalia. So, I choose to contribute to the Training on financial management, leadership and PCM. Somali people do not develop their learning after graduation. You have to work with the people and correct what they have already done and improve the skills, motivation and commitment. It is needed more job on training»[206].

> «My interaction with host home country institution is a 10. The other experts and I are very involved with the institution; in fact, we have integrated very well into the institution due to the fact that we have now been there for 2 years and more. At the beginning, I would say our interaction level was about a 7 but now we have assimilated into the organization. Also the reason interaction with the organization is at a very high is because the staff is now very open and trustful of us due to the duration we've been there»[207].

> «I think that The IO has known how and access to all the resources they can get from western countries. They have

[206] QUESTS MIDA project beneficiary, *skype interview*, March 2105
[207] QUESTS MIDA project beneficiary, *skype interview*, February 2105

> connections with different diasporas. I met here in Mogadishu different people from different countries. It is very important to get a lot of experience and meet different people»[208].

According to the replies, the majority of the activities that diaspora beneficiaries of QUESTS MIDA carry on in the home country context, concern the training/mentoring of home country officials on several matters concerning technical issues of administration work (project management, budgeting), or specific issue of the institution of destination (i.e. health issues for the ministry of health and so on). Those activities, in particular the feedback that they received from their work, is always evaluated with a high mark, and reveal a good perception of their work and a certain degree of confidence.

Looking at question 2.3, the confidence toward the international organisation, accountability and the quality of the support is also high, which may be a signal of the recognition of the quality of the opportunity of the programme both for diaspora and host society.

The local authorities have lower marks, as well as the issue of "personal freedom" marked with 6.

[208] QUESTS MIDA project beneficiary, *skype interview*, March 2105

b) Opportunities: Transnationalism from below

Question: *Which were your main tasks and responsibilities during your work in the home country institution? Please list them in the following table and rate the success on a scale 1-5 as indicated below*

Activity (collected by typology)	**Evaluation average**
capacity building	4
research	5
Partnership development	3
Support to social change/advocacy	3
Development assistance	4
Financial assistance	4
Training, mentoring	5
Organisation of workshops	4
Academic cooperation	4

Table 10 summary of the replies question 2.2 questionnaire B

Question 2.3

Please evaluate, on a scale 1-10 (1 lower mark -10 higher mark), the following components of your work:

Average mark										
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**
Level of competence of the local partner						**X**				
Your integration in the work-team							**X**			
Your organisation support in your activity								**X**		
Your organisation influence in your activity									**x**	
Home country partner support in your activity						**X**				
Home country partner influence in your activity					**x**					
workload								**x**		
Personal freedom in the job										**X**
Quality of feedbacks received from your work team								**X**		
Quality of feedback received from your organisation								**X**		
Quality of accountability of the project in the host institutions									**x**	
My qualification have met the needs of the project										**X**

Table 11 summary of the replies question 2.3 questionnaire B

From the in-depth interviews:

> «It is fundamental to work with the right partners. the organisation is working in partnership with big donors and NGOs as Comic relief, i.e. the support to mango producers. In order to evaluate the impact, it is fundamental to take into consideration the specificities of the countries. In this sense, diaspora is fundamental on the creation to a development formula based on the specific knowledge of the single areas and provinces. As organisation, there was the feeling of that potentialities and ideas as correct, but they were lacking the tools. The participation to the Global Forum on Migration and Development in Mauritius, gave the real dimension of it. Furthermore, it is necessary to restart the diaspora debate. In some countries of origin the debate itself lacks, and this is the main limit for diaspora. The aim of the organisation is to restart the debate at all levels, trying to build bridges and transitional dialogue between institutions and international organisation which usually do not talk with each other. another issue is related to the shape of the "country programmes" of the international organisations have. They do never include diasporas. In this sense, there is a strong misunderstanding on the impact of remittances. They are an undoubted source of development and contribute to the wealth, but they demonstrate only the contribution of diaspora here. The real challenge is to build relationships with the people on the ground and connect them with the international actors. Furthermore, it is

necessary to give policies empirical evidence, through data and research. and this is another field of effort for the organisation, writing and sending research papers to government in home and host countries. Those efforts have to be evident by the local communities in order to legitimise diaspora action. To this aim, the organisation has legitimised through the engagement in conference and meeting at the institutional level, to speak directly with policy makers»[209].

«Transnational linkages between diaspora organisations is critical for better policy development in areas such as tackling female genital mutilation as these are issues that cut across Europe and makes added value if these organizations are able to work together on similar issues and learn from each other as the countries of origin are often similar across Europe»[210].

«It is important to be independent. For the following reasons: when the central government allocates its budget, he thinks that it is enough for everything. So there is a huge gap that has to be bridged by somebody else. So those NGOs do provide the gap, the shortage of central government budgets, they provide the money, the skills, the manpower, and the necessary resources. Now, if you entangle with central government, you will not be independent anymore. Furthermore, government donate not

[209] Ethiopian organisation project manager and coordinator, *interview*, London, March 2015
[210] Ethiopian organisation project manager, *interview*, London, March 2015

in cash but in benefits, so to say, land, reduce taxation etc. If you enter in government finances you risk your freedom. If you are an independent expert, you challenge them».

«Our prime minister declared, when he won the elections "now we are in peace and it's up to you where to go in your lives. Your life is in your nails". This has to be implemented. Governments encourage in becoming an association, in order to conduct several activities as running business. Government will give land, loans and market. Diaspora policy of the government is the same. Government wants us to be an entity and start our activities. It is up to us. Charity is another interesting thing because only 10% of the budget has to come from outside. They do not want to be directed from outside. Diaspora in government policy is not an external actor. They say "you have no choice as investors, the only choice is Ethiopia". They need knowledge and skills from diaspora. But it is a two-way process»[211].

The set of the replies reported in this section has revealed that the wide range of activities implemented by the diaspora organisations, is characterised by a high level of freedom in the job, good levels of accountability in the home country and good feedbacks. Also in this context, the replies show a slight mistrust toward the home country local authority/institution, although the work has good levels of accountability within them.

[211] ibidem

It is also relevant to highlight that the abstracts from the interviews reported have outline an environment of action which lacks of a full integration especially in the host country. Looking at the interviews it is clear that host country financers and supporters lack of a general knowledge of independent diaspora action, and the organisations need a strong effort to strengthen their positions, also at a transnational level. With reference to the United Kingdom as field of research, the lack of empirical evidence and research on the diaspora-lead NGOs and associations makes the environment action difficult because a lack of diaspora debate. At a wider level, it is interest to report some of the effort of diaspora of "sitting at the table", as the participation to the Global Forum on Migration and Development, as the [Q.X], with the aim to restart a diaspora debate.

3.3.1.3 Motivations

Purposes of action, to relate not only to the diasporic identity, but also to the opportunity structures and the relationships among the actors

To conclude the first part of the findings, the last factor of contribution of diaspora are the "motivations", the purposes engage and act which are not only related to the diasporic identity, but also to the opportunity structure and to the relationship among the actors.
Also for this section, some of the data and the replies to the qualitative interviews will be reported.

3.1.*Motivations: transnationalism from above*

Question: Why did you choose to engage in the project? Please rank the statements according to the following scale:

					Average rank
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
My country suffers from brain-drain and lack of up-to-date knowledge in many areas					**5**
I want to bring progress and lasting change				**4,5**	
"if the public administration works efficiently, this creates a reliable foundation for a whole range of activities with an impact on the lives and well-being of all citizens"					**5**
I feel Rebuilding the homeland as a responsibility				**4,5**	
Is an experience which contributes to my professional growth				**4,5**	
I want to give continuity to my previous activity in my home country			**3**		
I am planning to return in my home country				**4**	
To enhance the role of diaspora in my country				**4**	
I found the [capacity building] strategy in my home country innovative and relevant			**3,5**		
My community {CSO} is well organised			**3,5**		
Is coherent to my political beliefs			**3**		
It is coherent to the objectives of my organisation				**4,5**	
I believe that working with [international-organisation] adds value to my work				**4,5**	
My government lacks of spaces of dialogue with diaspora so it represents a good opportunity to engage				**4**	

Table 12 summary of the replies question 2.1 questionnaire A

«Twenty years ago when I went back I was the person who helped because one of the reasons was my graduation and education level. I didn't were there by myself. I was part of an assessment mission of an International Organisation from the UK. For the situation at that time, going back was a real contribution because was stuck in somewhere they didn't know what would happen because the whole country collapsed and we were losing hope. So we were encouraged to come back with the international organisation and help. And that's what I did when I went back for 8 months. At that time I was financed by the International organisation, I had the resources and if I didn't I was able to identify where to get it, I could give the technical assistance that they need. So, we started to build bringing some materials they couldn't have to cope with the situation; I went everywhere in the world it could be relevant and it was needed, for instance I went to Namibia for an induction course because at that time they get the independence two years before that I went there and they were still recovering from war. Other people were sent to Latin America from Somaliland and also brought some people there. So my role was to identify whenever they may have some need and which country had the relevant solution and bring it back. And it really worked because when we managed to open an umbrella organisation we also managed to build institutions. It really worked, because the institutions in Somalia are a product of that exchange. Now I think that diaspora is more a problem than help. For the reason they are not going back with money, they do not have much education from here. For instance, when I went back for the first time in 20 years in

2012, they were crying they were competing with the resources. Sometimes when diaspora goes back wants to rule, politics is influenced from outside and it is more damaging to me than ever before»[212].

The replies reported in the form, and then deepen during the in-depth interviews reveal that inverting "brain drain" is the principal concern of diasporas abroad and the principal motivation to engage, together with the will of helping in developing a public administration which has to become, according to the respondents, effective and reliable.

The whole range of the motivations identified in the questionnaire are quite strong as well, although it is possible to notice neutral attitude on the issue related to the political belief of the beneficiaries, and the will of give continuity to previous activity/ experience of engagement in the country of origin.

While investigating this issue, it started to come out, in both the case studies set, the issue of the feelings that local civil society has toward the diaspora returnees.

In the *from above* cases, it is relevant within the "Motivations" because it is one of the principal matters of concern. From the replies it is possible to notice that, although the institutions suffer from the critical issue already revealed, (referred to organisation and skills), local civil society is not always identified in the same way.

The long quotation of one of the interviews is explicative of the general attitude. Civil society is the actor which more than the others is affected by the diaspora intervention, and the principal concern of the people which have been interviewed is not to resemble as "competitor" but as people who will help. At the same time, there is the will to strengthen

[212] Somali "organisation three" beneficiary, *interview*, London, April 2015

the role of diaspora in the community, in the majority of cases for a permanent return.

Furthermore, the aforementioned strength of resources and opportunities which the International Organisation provides, represents also one of the motivations to engage, because the presence of a strong opportunity structure.

3.2 Motivations: transnationalism from below

Question: Why did you choose to engage in the project? Please rank the statements according to the following scale:

				Average rank	
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
My country suffers from brain-drain and lack of up-to-date knowledge in many areas				**4,5**	
I want to bring progress and lasting change				**4,5**	
I want to influence homeland political practices			**3,5**		
I feel rebuilding the homeland as a responsibility					**5**
Is an experience which contributes to my professional growth				**4**	
I am part of a transnational political network			**3**		
I am planning to return in my home country			**3**		
To strengthen the presence of diaspora in home country politics		**2**			
To strengthen the presence of diaspora in institutions				**4**	
To increase the influence of diaspora on home country civil society		**2,5**			
Is coherent to my political beliefs		**2**			
It is coherent to the objectives of my organisation				**4,5**	
It is coherent to the action of my political party		**2**			
To enforce the political links between host and home country			**3**		

Table 13 summary of the replies question 2.1 questionnaire B

From the in-depth interviews:

> «Not sure about calling it brain drain but for sure there is a lack of knowledge in many areas due to the history of the country. Since the war there has not been any good education, the institutions set up were ruined and the knowledge and skills disappeared and since then it hasn't been updated»[213].

> «There is a danger I think because if someone returns permanently he-she has the right to be more directly involved in the political processes and development. But us just going back risk to just using and not benefiting the country and privilege the personal gain»[214].

> «Diaspora is always been seen as a new phenomenon, but the governments are not fully aware about diaspora work. It is difficult as well to find out who does what and the success in development issues. It comes the issue of trust, and the need of diaspora of being threatened as first class citizen. So, the engagement has to be mutual, and governments have to make sure that diaspora is part of the system»[215].

[213] Somali academic organisation president, *interview*, London, may 2015
[214] Ethiopian organisation project coordinator, *interview*, London, april 2015
[215] ibidem

«There is the need to influence civil society, because of the expertise and on what the diaspora is. Diaspora can put pressure on international level as well»[216].

« [civil society is] absolutely well organised. They saved their lives and survived from all kinds of disasters. We have to find how they survived and build up from there»[217].

In the case of the transnationalism from above it has been considered as a matter of interest to deeply understand, with relation of the purposes of action, if the core motivations are "political" or may be conducted to a wider range of reasons. As anticipated in the other section of the research, the presence of a "political diaspora" may deeply affect the accountability of diaspora action within local civil society. For this reason, this part of the questionnaire was thought to understand the role of the "political beliefs" in the engagement, and to investigate if among the motivations there are reasons related to the participation in parties or political organisations, although none of the organisation are explicitly political.

According to the replies, the "political engagement" is not the core motivation, and any reference to policy and politics has obtained the lower mark. The reply shown reveal that the motivations of diasporas to act are close to the "sense of responsibility" toward the home country and the will of bringing progress and lasting change. In this sense, the action become issue-based, confirming the will of a genuine contribution, and – integrating the replies already analysed – to stress

[216] Ethiopian organisation president coordinator, *interview*, London, May 2015
[217] Ethiopian organisation project coordinator, *interview*, London, April 2015

that political ambitions have to be left aside. In the motivation, it is also worthy to stress that the "strengthening of the presence of diaspora within the institutions" in this context acquire the significance of enhancing the diaspora policies to encourage diasporas, not as an active engagement within the institutions.

3.4 Analysis of the data : Legitimacy and Effectiveness[218]

The findings presented in the previous chapter have highlighted the nature of the pattern of engagement of diaspora actors. The picture which emerges, reading together the case study definition and the analysis of the patterns of engagement, confirms some of the most important elements of analysis which are present in literature, adding some specific remarks. Looking at the "mobilisation" parameter the main difference which characterise the transnationalism from above and the transnationalism from below cases may be referred to two main elements: at first, the most important difference in the approach of the people interviewed consists in the outcome of the "community building" processes: if the people working in the international organisations need to be hired and trained using the classical development concept of "remitting" resources, the people who autonomously engage use a different perspective. In fact, the idea of "sharing" of resources is prevalent in those replies, together with a stronger understanding of the local community engagement. This is clear looking at the replies of the key informants interviewed, which have stressed that the need of recognition of diaspora within the local society which encompassing the family level may allow a sort of homologation in the local society. In the other case, the diaspora "speaks as the the International organisation": the idea of shared responsibility and "giving back" is the most recurrent patterns. At the same time, the fact that social capital is build top down leave diaspora not much possibilities of personal initiatives to shape their relationships with locals.

[218] Part of this section has been published on the *Journal of Global Policy and Governance*, Issue V n.1 in June 2016 in the article "*Rebuilding institutions through diaspora engagement: the impact of skilled migration on domestic change*"

Secondly, the bonding of social capital is strictly connected with the training of human personnel which is hired or engages in the home country.

The reference to social capital as OECD "*networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups*[219]", enable a double understanding where the presence/absence of the International Organisation becomes key in the shaping of social capital formation: in the case where the international organisation is the "bridge" between the actors, the social capital is built through a skilled-based identification of groups of people coming from different social fields. This may cause tensions on the long run, especially if there are not intermediate actors from civil society which may support diaspora and institutional actors in creating bridges. This is the case of the IOM supporting organisation chosen as gatekeepers. They enable to strengthen the connections though the creation of formal and informal linkages, encourage and creating a system of support which goes beyond the capacity building. In the case of civil society organisations, social capital is built through the sharing of values and objectives, thought the aforementioned "homologation process".

Thirdly the last point which identified the mobilisation pattern, regards the identification of the relationships among the actors. In this case the list of the perceived limits and advantages stresses two principal findings: the first regards the nature of the human resources and the second the cultural barriers. It has been noticed that there is not a correlation between the nature of resources and the level of reciprocal trust. It means that although the international organisation results most reliable under an economic and financial perspective, the presence of cultural barriers and lack of cooperation results as influencing more the

[219] OECD, *Glossary of Statistical terms*, available online

relationships among the actors. In this sense the international organisation is considered in difficulty in the overcoming of some barriers on the ground, while the grassroots approach is most likely to accommodate some needs at the very local level.

In the same vein, the "opportunity structure" identified goes beyond the mere presence of resources and the quantitative data. The case study description has provided a reliable insight on the dimension and capacity of the organisations in terms of quantitative impact, beneficiaries and width of the intervention. The high accountability of the International organisation among the diaspora actors is related to the presence of resources but it is recognised the presence of a gap of interests which include the recognition of diaspora feedbacks. In the case of from below organisations this gap is reduced, despite the structural problems linked not only to the lack of resources, but also to an organised body which may accommodate the diaspora needs.

Despite that, for this set of respondents, the closeness of objective between the stakeholders involved in the processes of development, is funding element of accountability among civil society, and affects effectiveness much than the presence of huge resources.

For the last point, "Motivation", for the most interesting point of difference among the two set of case studies consist in the presence of an "issue based" motivation in the grassroots organisation which is absent in the *from above* ones, where the motivation are mostly related a closeness to the institutional discourse on migration and development. In fact, the issues of brain drain and inefficiency of local institutions are the most recurrent patterns, as well as the will of return. It is relevant to underline that the "political" motivation, based on the affiliation to a party or political group is absent in the both cases. It is an interesting element of reflection for the identification of further elements of accountability of diaspora within the home country.

The further paragraphs will discuss those empirical findings under the lens of the "legitimacy" and "effectiveness" concepts, reconstructing the relationships among the actors and the mechanisms of socialisation which characterise diaspora engagement.

3.4.1 Legitimacy

The concept of "legitimacy" is expressed as "*the capacity of the actors to engage and maintain relationships in the home country context which are legitimate because recognised as appropriate for the context of reception from local civil society and local authorities*". According to this definition, the understanding of the legitimacy of the action of the diaspora actors has to be understood as the ability of the diasporic actor to be recognised and – eventually – supported from the local actors in the processes of change.

It goes beyond the reconstruction of the relationships among the actors, and include much of the elements of the patterns of engagement described, as well the structure and the modalities of action of the organisations. In this context legitimacy of diaspora action is also the ground for the understanding of the role of diasporic civil society in the democratisation processes and governance enhancement. This last point retraces the general idea that the grassroots collaboration of NGOs in services provision has a high level of repercussion in the overall democratisation processes. This positive understanding of NGOs action comprehends the totality of the phases of the transition processes and is a support to the whole initiatives of strengthen of the public services and strengthen the social ties.

In this framework diaspora organisations have a peculiar position for two reasons, linked to the transnational nature and the circularity of mobility of the actors. At first, the "time and space" limitation, which

is mostly related to the time that diaspora may spend in the origin context risks to lead to a fragmented or "stand alone" action. At the same time the enlargement of the flow of ideas and knowledge brought, which encompass the national context under a high variety of perspectives.
Those are the elements which are discussed in this chapter, following the identified division between the two sets of case studies.

As seen, in the case of the "transnationalism from above" cases, Diasporas are hired to engage in activities aiming to strengthen the capacities of the institutions, also providing policy guidelines and training. In these specific cases, for the nature of the programme itself the individuals are not affiliated to an organisation/diasporic association, and choose autonomously to apply.
To this aim, personal resources as skills, capabilities and confidence in a certain work environment are essential. The majority of the people involved are men with higher education diplomas, and past work experiences in development cooperation also as volunteers. Those elements undermine good positions and careers and good economic integration in the country of residence at the moment of return.
The people interviewed consider essential the support of the international organisation and – consequently – the approach of the programme to the institutional strengthen. Although Diaspora demonstrates a high level of commitment and high trust in its capacities, there is also the awareness of the importance of funding and resources – both human and material – which the organisation is able to provide.
The most important case study for this section has been the IOM QUESTS MIDA project, which aims to employ, for a definite period, diaspora professionals in home country institutions.

To study legitimacy, the analysis will consider the interaction between the International Organisations, the local authority and the diaspora and the consequent effects on civil society, which is considered as "indirect beneficiary" of the project in analysis, because do not have an active role in the project activities.

From the interviews it has emerged that "*engage and maintain relationships*" in the home country context means to build a relationship firstly with the International Organisation, which will provide support and resources during the "return period" of the diaspora.

It has been registered variegated level of trust between "beneficiaries" and the organisation, which will be the first "relation" analysed. This is a sort of pre-condition for the analysis of legitimacy because IOM is the "mediator" between the diaspora and the local authority.

Diaspora, in general, considers the International Organisation accountable, but may become particularly severe, on the basis of the perception of how the IO knows the territory it operates.

The main critical points regarding the appropriateness of the intervention lays in the perception of the level of awareness that the organisation has, and the capacity of building bridges also beyond the institutional level, including civil society.

> «I think that The IO has known how and access to all the resources they can get from western countries. They have connections with different Diasporas. I met here in Mogadishu different people from different countries. It is very important to get a lot of experience and meet different people».

> «International organisations have to ask us what we need. They also have to have greater consideration toward people

> who have background information on a country. They use to hire people who do not have enough information or have been out from the country for years. Those people have language and cultural barriers. People in Somalia need people who understand them».
>
> «If diaspora works together with the government of home country it may avoid a lot of problems. The advantages of diaspora engagement have to be communicated to Somali people, In particular with reference to social remittances. There are no disadvantages for Diasporas. International institutions have to be a partner in this process»[220].

The second level, which may enable the understanding of the "legitimacy", lays in the modalities of interaction between the diaspora beneficiary and the hosting local authority. The collaboration between diaspora and local authorities is the key element of the project, and influences its success and the "appropriateness" of the interventions deriving from this collaboration on a wider scale. This element is one of the most critical, because for the majority of respondents, there is not a full collaboration, and the local authorities is often considered as unskilled and not cooperative. In this sense, the full cooperation represents an aspect of the legitimacy, because is the symptom of the total acceptance of the intervention and the mutual recognition of the significance of diaspora work.

[220] QUESTS MIDA beneficiaries, skype interviews, see above

> «I will evaluate my interaction as average which is 5 according to this ranking. There is two different feelings among the local staff. One group are co-operating and are ready to learn while the other sees the diaspora staff as a threat to their growth and will try to sabotage the work of the expatriate».
>
> «My interaction with host home country institution is a 10. The other experts and I are very involved with the institution; in fact we have integrated very well into the institution due to the fact that we have now been there for 2 years and more. At the beginning, I would say our interaction level was about a 7 but now we have assimilated into the organization. Also the reason interaction with the organization is at a very high is because the staff is now very open and trustful of us due to the duration we've been there»[221].

The last level to identify the legitimacy in the "from above" cases regards the relationship between project beneficiaries (and the whole programme) and civil societies of home countries.

As mentioned civil society is an indirect beneficiary of the IOM initiatives, and marginally involved in the process.

However, is the subject that mostly concerns Diaspora, which aims to establish a relationship based on accountability and trust.

In particular, in the Somali context, the interviewed highlight the presence of a widespread concern among locals respect the motivations

[221] ibidem

of their return. The idea of returnees as people who tend to privilege personal ambitions, career opportunities etc. is the principal factor of risk of a "conflict" with locals in the process of re-integration. This issue is present in the replies, and much of the respondents are critical toward the returnees who seek for political roles or economic speculations.

In the cases where an engagement of civil society actors occurs, there is a slight change in the abovementioned perception. In fact, the creation of a linkage between civil society, diaspora and the International Organisation enhances trust among the actors. Although the project object of the study mainly refers to institutional strengthen, there are some spaces for civil society, both as partners (recruiters of potential project participant) or beneficiary of diaspora intervention.

Especially in the first case, their presence is essential not only for recruiting, but in building awareness and sense of belonging (identity building), and helping the re-integration within home country context minimising the risk of tensions.

> «If the diaspora person has the skills to contribute, it is fine, apart from being a clan. There are engineers, doctors, nurses, even the ones who knows administration or work in the local governments, if they have got money and want to make thing there it is fine. But the people who go there and just want to become ministry or parliamentarian no, they are damaging the people who are there. On 300 parliamentarians, 2/3rd of those are from the Diaspora, and what happened to the people who are coping there? Rebuilding our country is always in our mind, but the question is how».

«There are many good stories and less good stories of diasporas back home, but in the end the advantages are more than damages».

«Anyone at any age of Somali origin living outside the country has the idea of giving back to the community and a strong sense of going back. The way to do that has a lack of "how" to do it and I think it is the gap we fill because we were able to connect the diaspora young Somali in Europe to the means to go back home and encourage them to make it possible giving them the platform to meet other people as institutions or universities».

«Now there is a more complete understanding from African governments that diasporas are doing what they are doing, they are acting, and the real challenge is to find a way to support the diaspora without negatively affecting local communities, and finding a compromise. This issue can be overcome, and is strictly correlated with training. At the same time, I can understand the feeling of frustration of local communities, because we are speaking about access to resources, and resources are power. Diaspora is competing unfavourably for positions. I think is also important to stress the transnational dimension of the diaspora, so I think is a mistake to assume that diaspora goes back only to have best jobs. In reality they do back and forth and have good relationships with the communities, because they are their relatives»[222].

[222] see above

In the case of "transnationalism from below" the decision of diaspora organisations to mobilise toward the home country vary according to their dimension, necessities and capacities. Much of those organisations are region-based and engage mainly in coherence with their professional skills. Some organisations are academic or research based, working on the strengthening of institutions; other organisations mainly work in their native region, through personal contacts and informal networks. There are also – among the case studies – issue-based transnational organisations, which involve an high number of officers and beneficiaries, with a long tradition of engagement and a trans-national recognised impact.

Although the variety of the cases, those organisations share the basic feature of being independent from an international organisation, and to prefer a grassroots approach for their initiatives of development. There is not a mediator between the diaspora organisation, the local government and the local civil society, with a consequent change of the nature of the relationships among the actors in term of interactions and – consequently – on the level of trust.

This set of case studies collect the organisation which prefer to work through a "grassroots approach", which act through direct contact with civil society also through the collaboration with local organisations involved as implementing partners of certain initiatives.

On the side of legitimacy, in more than one interview the basic question which diaspora asks itself is whether they are legitimised to bring change, and it has been the principal point of reflection of the majority of interviews.

For the "from below" cases the nature of the relationships and the linkages with home country actors has resulted heterogeneous: diaspora may be seen outside civil society and- consequently- perceive itself as

an “outsider”, although others feel more integrated, because of their ability to build partnerships. In this context, Local NGOs or charities are “gatekeepers” able to support diaspora in building the relationships. Once the relationship of trust is build, it become easier to communicate and to find a welcoming environment, while in some cases diaspora may tend to rule.
A more general point object of discussion is that, for those cases, the idea of “democratisation” is strongly contested, in favour of the idea of “development”.

Looking at the factors of engagement, the first difference concerns the “identity building” of the community. The reasons to engage lay in the identity of the groups, and there is not the necessity of a preliminary process of identity building, as the “recruitment phase” in the from above cases.
During the interviews, the “legitimacy” has been investigated through several questions on the perception that home country actors usually have on the organisation’s activities.
The picture given by the separate analysis of the attitude of civil society and local authorities reveals two mail points of interest: firstly, the issue of “integration” within the local civil society, Secondly the modalities through which the trust between the organisation and the local authorities is shaped.

According to the first point, it has been noticed that the integration within civil society is the most problematic issue for diaspora actors.
It has been asked to the organisation’s respondent to illustrate the relationship between them and the beneficiaries/ stakeholders of their intervention, under the perspective of the potentialities of change.

For the respondents “engage and maintain relationships” and the issue of “appropriateness of the action” are related with the integration within civil society. It means, essentially, to be perceived not as a “foreign” but as an equal member of civil society with the same ambitions and aspirations.

> «It is a responsibility, and diaspora is key because is the most titled actor which can take action. It is a moral responsibility. But the diaspora has to be skilled properly otherwise may cause damages rather than benefits».

> «Diaspora has to be able to influence policy makers but at the same time not be part of the political processes. Policy advising and institutional rebuilding are the most appropriate spaces for diaspora action. Diaspora may organise themselves in several ways (for clans, or regions for instance), but it is important to have a coherent policy and be coherent to the good practices already existing carried on by the people on the ground. What is needed is a systematic approach rather than a “here and there” approach».

> «You are a foreign person. Because of Diaspora there are some issues, which usually came out. I am not a stranger, but people think there is a lot of money and diaspora is favoured. For this reason, the government tries to take some measures in order to take the population from abroad».

> «Diaspora is a few people; we are a sort of spray of the perfume. We as diaspora are nothing. No way for me to

> influence the civil society. You can contribute to change. For instance, if you work in the government, but in society you are nothing»[223].

This tendency changes the objectives, which are not related to lead and "import" an institutional or policy change, but to support it from the inside.

> «It has been a positive learning curve overall, but now more than ever I am convinced that sustainable development in Africa will come from home-based effort. The role of the diaspora is to support this change not lead it. The narrative of Diaspora as saviour of home countries is reductive and in some cases diaspora involvement can be counterproductive as some Diaspora get involved in home affairs for person financial and political gains, which may not align with the national good. It is legitimate for local actors to be critical of Diaspora motives in taking part in development initiatives. It is up to diaspora actors to prove the value added of their contribution to the development of their country of origin, and diaspora actors need to lose their sense of entitlement as whether it is by choice or not, the fact is they are not permanent residents living the everyday reality of their country of origin».

[223] interviews with QUESTS MIDA beneficiaries, see above

> «It is not a matter of influence. We sit down and identify the need and then we prioritise it according to the needs. The people choose the projects»[224].

The second point which enables to explain the "legitimacy" of diaspora concern the relations with the institutions, which become more articulated and have a direct influence on the aforementioned issue. It is important to remember, to clarify the analysis, that the influence on institutions is mainly understood as "policy change" and is carried on through advocacy and campaigning, but also mentoring, skill transfers through training or lobbying. Policy change do not mean that the issue is "political": the organisations are de-politicized, they are not activists but - as the respondents often remarked - actors of development.

Institutions search and ask for more diaspora, recognising the role of remittances in the local economy and societies and taking the best from diaspora action in term of knowledge, networking, policy and investments. This is particularly true for the countries of the Horn of Africa where the interviewed diaspora comes from. In these contexts, specific regulations are in place as in the case of specific "diaspora rights" (Ethiopia), and where Diaspora is one of the key actors in the rebuilding of the country (Somalia).
The grassroots approach toward the "rebuilding" of home country institutions has to be accountable also in the host country institutions. This is because local charities or administration often finance diaspora organisations for their development projects.

[224] interviews, see above

In the both of cases, there is a good collaboration with the two levels, but at the same time diasporas seek for independency. Although "independency" is often mentioned as a core issue for the legitimacy in the home country, particular cases or tensions have not been registered. Too much "harmony" may result counterproductive for diaspora. Especially in the case of Somali diaspora, when institutions give too much space or there is a manifest line up with a certain party, there are risks of tensions with civil society.

There are cases where independency is not the first and fundamental issue, and the organisation completely share governmental goals and attitude toward the diaspora organisations' projects, through a mechanism of mutual support, in terms of finance but also in accountability and visibility towards civil society. According to the respondent organisation, it has not an impact on the legitimacy within civil society, revealing a general optimism toward the success their own work.

In general, organisations work to have an impact on institutions, which is mainly indirect. They do not work directly within a certain authority with personnel and politicians, but they prefer to bring issues from a grassroots level with the aforementioned instruments. In some specific cases, the organisations choose to be engaged in particular dialogue platforms where both institutions of host and home countries take part. This particular aspect, which has been observed in a couple of case studies, requires the capacity of mobilisation at an higher level, much closer to "activism". Their behaviour results in coherence with Price's: «A final issue concerning the authority of transnational civil society actors is the acceptance of their role in bringing information and moral concerns to light. As noted by Paul Nelson (in Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink), this legitimacy can derive from claims to represent affected communities (for example, of the global poor, the South), to represent

a domestic constituency, or to be official participants in institutionalized political processes[225]».

Within this particular cases, it has been highlighted from the respondents the need of "learning" the policy language and an intense work of networks to be invited at the "table" and to be "legitimised" from the grassroots levels to speak in their voice.

> «Now, if you entangle with central government, you will not be independent anymore. Furthermore, government donate not in cash but in benefits, so to say, land, reduce taxation etcc. If you enter in government finances you risk your freedom. If you are an independent expert you challenge them».

> «After training and workshops I am optimist because I have been financed and my local partners are happy and asked me to set the mentoring programme again because of its positive results. I am waiting for funding to start again. Civil society and local authorities accepted me and my work, and government officials have approved it entirely. The real problem is to meet the expectations of those people».

> «Diaspora has to be able to influence policy makers but at the same time not be part of the political processes. Policy advising and institutional rebuilding are the most appropriate spaces for diaspora action. Diaspora may organise themselves in several ways (for clans, or regions

[225] PRICE R.,(2001), op.cit.

for instance), but it is important to have a coherent policy and be coherent to the good practices already existing carried on by the people on the ground. What is needed is a systematic approach rather than a "here and there" approach».

«You have to invite yourself to the table, you don't have to wait be invited to meetings. It is fundamental to identify how and where the conversation is taking place and get yourself there»[226].

[226] interviews, see above

3.4.2 Effectiveness

As the concept of legitimacy, the definition of effectiveness has been borrowed from Lipset[227], as: "*the actual performance of the intervention in object, and the actual success in satisfying the needs and the expectations of the receiving societies and institutions, and the ability to contribute to the resolution of problems related to institutional rebuilding and strengthening*".

The analysis of the effectiveness will proceed according to the examination of "outputs" and "outcomes". In particular, the outputs will regard the direct effect of single diaspora intervention, while the outcomes the general effects, with a look to the potentials of diaspora as an actor of domestic change.

As precised in the concept elaboration of the research, a unitary definition of social remittances - and their measurement, is almost impossible, because their volatile nature, and the concept itself has been framed according to their "systematic and intentional" transmission. This is the principal reason why it has been chosen to work on the efforts of some diaspora organisations, framing the research into specific interventions.

As mentioned before in the explanation of the case studies selection, the choice has been made according to the activities implemented in the home country, which – in their heterogeneity – have the common feature of the will of impact – through a direct collaboration or indirectly – on local institutions or policy making.

[227] LIPSET S., (1959), op.cit.

In the case of "transnationalism from above", the analysis of the patterns of engagement has to be addressed, in terms of effectiveness, under a double consideration: at first, the capacity of addressing and adapting "top-down" strategy of development which is "global", not only to a specific country (Somalia), but also to individual needs and contingencies which characterise a political and institutional space which is extremely fragile. This is valid also for Diaspora Networks, which share with the International Organisation a top-down approach in addressing some specific issues.

Furthermore, the particular adaption of the "MIDA strategy[228]" to Somalia, has the peculiarity to be addressed to a "conflict generated diaspora", which may encounter further challenges and doubts in their return path.

A second element of concern, regards the real participation of the institutions, in the sense of openness and capacity of reception of Diasporas' contribution. As well, the reception of the returnee in civil society has revealed to a highly influencing factor of effectiveness.

The official evaluations provided by IOM[229] address those factors without a precise quantitative assessment. It is highlighted the need of enhancement of cooperation with the governmental institution, in order to strengthen the approach to governance and make institution more receptive. This element is addressed more specifically within the interviews. As noticed above, in several cases the beneficiaries complain a lack of reception in the host institution, and the frictions related to the barriers identified tend to be one of the principal concerns

[228] Cf. Chapter 3.2.1

[229] IOM (2007), *Evaluation of the migration for development in Africa (MIDA) initiative as an illustration of IOM's approach to making migration work for development*, report accessed in September 2016

not only in terms of legitimacy but also for the actual effectiveness of the project.

Despite that, there is a wide recognition that, with regard to the "success in satisfying needs and expectations", the "from above cases" clearly have major opportunities in terms of resources and influence. There is a big response to the calls published by the IOM and good evaluation of the activity at all. The data presented, provided by the Organisation, reveal that the project has generated, both among diaspora and government, a high level of interests. It is evident not only for the number of people hired (42 in a timeframe of 5 years[230]), but also with reference with the growing number of institution involved and the state policies on which diaspora is called to work on. Those data reveal that, under a quantitative point of view, there mutual commitment of the International Organisation and the local institution is well established, and the accountability of IOM within local and wester government ensures also its sustainability over time.

It is clear that some of the "needs and expectations" which has to be considered in an effectiveness analysis regard not only the country where the intervention is deployed, but also the single returned/diaspora beneficiaries. In this sense the option of return which is offered by the Organisation results effective for two main reasons: at first, the presence of an incentive (a salary) provided to the returnee: it overcomes some of the issue related to the fragility of the country and avoid the "brain drain" of the programme itself[231]. Secondly, the possibility to overcome some of the principal difficulties of the

[230] Data IOM
[231] cf. IOM (2007), op.cit.

returnees, mainly the resettlement and reintegration after long time absence.

Also in the case of diaspora network and "satellite organisations" the numbers provided reveal a good level of participation in the activities, especially because respond to the need of the potential returnees of being "accompanied" back in their origin country, especially if the beneficiaries are young second or third generations migrants. It highlights that the scheme of action proposed is accountable within the diasporic communities. It mainly depends, according to the response to the interviews, to the facility of engaging with government in host and home societies and providing a proper guidance for individuals and organisations.

Given those elements, the case study's outputs are not affected by substantial challenges in terms of effectiveness. With regard to the "top-down" established objectives, the needs and expectations of the stakeholders are not only met, but also understood and faced properly by the International Organisations. Furthermore, the individual impact of single returnees has been registered overall as positive, and the the presence of the organisation guarantees, at least on the short term, the completion of projects and programme within the country.

Looking at the outcomes on the country, the scenario results vaguer. According to the official reports provided by the organisations, in general, it has been noticed that the organisations provide a certain degree of sustainability over time, but the impact depends on a variety of factors which go beyond the effectiveness indicators provided, and are related to the constraints that country may face, as well as unexpected events related to instability.

«I think that the IOM has known how and access to all the resources they can get from western countries. They have connections with different diasporas. I met here in Mogadishu different people from different countries. It is very important to get a lot of experience and meet different people».

«We have worked in over 9 African countries supporting over 18 partner organisations, including being the driving force behind the foundation of 3 local, women-led organisations. Currently we support 50 girls clubs across Africa, involving over 1,500 girls to provide peer support, information and signposting on sexual and reproductive health and girls' rights».

«Sometimes there are tensions between the centre and the periphery and- most importantly – there is a real need to manage expectations of diaspora about what they can achieve, in particular by authorities and local authorities, because in many case the diaspora we are working with has an incomplete understanding of the local context in terms of local system, local procedures, entitlements, even legal system. This is a point which has been raised to us by three African governments that we trained. There is a sort of frustration because diaspora who goes home expects a lot and sometimes those expectations are unrealistic (ie. Access to resources, infrastructures, will of receiving a special treatment). Example: we interviewed a number of diaspora returnees, relocated to Addis Ababa principally. None of them had any idea about the system of structures

> of Ethiopian government had in place to support returnees. There seem to be a disconnection between what governments are doing and how diaspora relates to locals. Partially it is a trust issue, partially a knowledge issue. I'll give you another Ethiopian example: There is a number of Ethiopian women based in the same building with their office and they usually collect schoolbooks and other educational materials to donate it back to Ethiopian schools. They usually complained about taxes they had to pay to send those material in Africa. I addressed this issues to the government but they told me there was a misunderstanding because they didn't have to pay any taxes»[232].

With reference to the second case of case studies "from below", it has been noticed that the success in satisfying the needs has also to be considered in relation to the stakeholders. In particular, the "from below" cases have a wider range of stakeholders, including the donors of host countries and local civil society, which, as seen, is engaged widely in this range of activities.

It results evident from the data provided by the organisation: there is a good level of collaboration with institutions, and a widespread support from the local government. Despite that, also in this case, some tensions have been registers, in particular regarding a slight mistrust toward local authority.

In their regard, the organisations have the duty of being accountable, especially through a precise balance of finances. Furthermore, some of the people engaged use to be part of "pre-departure trainings", which

[232] see above

enables them to have a major awareness of the local issues and reduce possible tensions.

The "ability to contribute" is the most controversial issue, especially because the difficulty of an access of some of the monitoring and evaluation documents, because their "confidentiality".

In this specific case, it is possible to refer as "ability to contribute" to the capacity (and strength) to address determined issue from the grassroots, and interact within the policy processes and institutions affecting the attitudes and approaches within a specific context.

Also in this case, the differentiation between outputs and outcomes is essential for a full understanding.

On the basis of the documentation provided, on the short period the self-evaluation of the effectiveness of is positive.

According to the documentation which each organisation provided, there is a general success of the initiatives in place, especially in reference of the number of beneficiaries reached and the continuity of the projects throughout the years. Going beyond the data, an analysis of this perception regards mainly two element: at first, the presence of "gatekeepers" and a wide structure of local partners; secondly the high level of education and skills of the organisation of the partner, which is the ground and the necessary (but not sufficient) condition for the support of every democratic practice[233], resulting more significant than

[233] cf. LIPSET S., (1959): "*Education presumably broadens men's outlooks, enables them to understand the need for norms of tolerance, restrains them from adhering to extremist and monistic doctrines, and increases their capacity to make rational electoral choices [……]If we cannot say that a "high" level of education is a sufficient condition for democracy the available evidence does suggests that it comes close to being a necessary condition*" in "*Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy*." In *American Political Science Review*, 53(1), pp. 69-105.

income and occupations. The work of grassroots organistion goes in this sense, in order to meet diaspora needs and civil society needs.

To conclude, it is important to highlight that the presence of the "international organisation" or "diaspora network" has an impact in terms of effectiveness. International organisation, as a mediator, guarantees finances, continuity and accountability of diaspora initiatives. The "ability to contribute" as from the definition refers not only to the project itself, but – with reference to the outcomes - also to the ability to contribute to spread the idea of good governance and - in particular cases – democratic norms. On the contrary, the "from below" cases which, as seen, have a closer contact with civil society, and the impact on governance is indirect, with a lower success of adoption of certain norms or practices. However, the absence of the international organisation in the grassroots processes have increased chances to include wider ranges of civil societies and build awareness on certain topics, or to ensure a direct support in certain activities.

Conclusion: hypotheses discussion and future research needs

The analysis conducted in the dissertation determines several considerations, which in this final section will be addressed following the research hypotheses, starting points which have lead the whole work.

Generally speaking, what I have tried to demonstrate is that the enthusiasm related to the "transnational turn", which have accompanied the literature on migration and development, needs to be deepen and discussed through empirical analysis, in order to avoid easy conclusions and bring innovative policy solutions. This idea has been put into practical terms through the identification of a methodology of analysis of social remittances which have combined the study of the patterns of engagement of diaspora with the concepts of "legitimacy" and "effectiveness".

To this aim, it has been highlighted the need to reduce the field of analysis of social remittances, focusing on the ones having a "systematic" and "intentional" transmission. Development projects of NGOs and International Organisations, in this sense, have resulted an appropriate field of action. In fact, they have enabled to moderate a potential bias in the study of social remittances, reducing the analysis to advocacy and capacity building projects.

In this context the question "*Does diaspora impact on institutions through social remittances?*", that was at the centre of the research, may be answered positively, under several considerations which emerge from the discussion of the starting hypotheses of the research.

The thesis has started with the reconstruction of the theoretical framework, functional for the developing of the whole work through

the definition of the research concepts and the policy framework on migration in the European Union.

The presented framework is functional for the discussion of the first research hypothesis.

It has been noticed that the policy discourse, as well the practices around migration and development, attribute to the diaspora actors a marginal role in the definition of the agenda those policies and practices. This element has resulted evident both from the empirical analysis and the reconstruction of the theoretical framework. At first, looking at the literature, the so called "development mantra" which undermines clear liberal roots, has been addressed mainly under an economic point of view, which have privileged the dimension of the individual transmission of remittances and its impact at the household level. This is also evident from the policy focus of the European Union, and the slow process which have led migration in becoming one of the focuses of Sustainable Development Goals.

It is possible to argue that the main limitation of this policy approach consists in the distance from diaspora's consolidated practices, which privilege a collective and communitarian dimension. It means that diasporas action for development follow a path characterised by the will of inclusion in the local community and a substantial re-integration which, in a post conflict context as one in exam, is aimed to overcome local conflicts and, in particular, competition with locals. In fact, it has been noticed the will of diaspora organisations and association to contribute to an idea of development which is network based and grassroots, privileging a pattern of action based on the local and municipal level. Furthermore, it is relevant to notice that, despite do not hold positions of "power", diaspora acts as an "epistemic community" in the home country, in the sense that effectively work as a knowledge-based transnational network of experts with a high potential of

influence of the local context. This potential, as the interviewees notice, seems to be underestimated at the policy level. At the same time, it is recognised the need of grassroots actors of *learning to speak the institution's language*, in order to better their accountability when sitting at the policymakers' table. In this sense, a need of shaping a different model diaspora engagement emerges, aimed to find solutions to better acknowledge diaspora role and interest, understanding if- and to what extent – a "diaspora agenda" exists and to integrate it within the official policy discourse.

The illustration of the empirical findings provided in the second section of the research, has aimed to give a response to the identification of the way through which the modalities of engagement influence the legitimacy and effectiveness of the diaspora agents in the home country context.

Generally speaking, it is evident, in coherence with the literature provided, that diaspora potentials are related to their advantage in education, professional experience and economic condition. This emerges from the single profiling of the people and organisations interviewed, together with some specificities of the organisations. As from the interviews, also the smallest and volunteer-based ones have a background which recall an academic environment, and some of the organisations are strictly focused on the empowerment of the universities.

Those potentials related to education and skills are the ground also for the top-down engagement: in fact, international organisations hire people on the basis of specific skills and training, as well as on the basis of their professional background.

Within those case studies, this element has emerged from the interviews in several points: at first, the professional experience is a driver of engagement, as well as the element which gather together the work

teams. In fact, the presence of pre-departure "community building" initiatives, is determinant to gather skills and capabilities of the individual beneficiaries, aiming at bonding social capital before the return for the joining of a specific project. Secondly, skills are one the principal element of concern of diaspora when they identify the nature of the relationships among the actors. Much of the clashes which occur between diaspora and locals is related to skills: diaspora complains weak institutions because of a lack of skills and professional resources, which lead to higher barriers mostly related to language, culture and different visions. The other side of the coin is the knowledge gap which occur when diaspora is not totally aware of the local context, and differences in values and systems of reference emerge. In those cases, diaspora seeks for support of a larger network, which enable the organisations to have familiarity with the ground, with the normative structure and opportunities. Those elements have the characteristic of shaping the environment of action, in particular the actual access to resources and the level of assimilation in the home country context. Given those elements, if skills and capabilities are a necessary condition of engagement, they are not sufficient in ensuring a legitimacy among local actors. Understanding legitimacy as the capacity to engage through appropriate action for the context of reception makes the inclusion of local civil society a key determinant, because is the turning point to evaluate the level of legitimacy of the initiatives of "change", being the principal concern of single diaspora members and organisations. This is relevant in both the set of case studies. In particular, in the "from above" projects the interviews reveal that this lack of legitimacy emerges from a low rate of reciprocal trust, specifically based on the perception of knowledge and skills of the context of action. Also the international organisation is part of this "conflict" because, as reported from the respondents, is perceived as

lacking of some elements of knowledge of the local context, and important cultural barriers are identified.

This gap is not new and highlights the existence of unsolved barriers which characterise the relationship between the actors. In this case the presence of the international organisation in the whole process of engagement and institutional change based on diaspora action is seen as "incomplete". Together with the recognition of the validity of the work, there is the awareness of those barriers which mainly concern language, culture and, most generally, deeply affect the re-integration of the returnee in the context of origin.

Despite that, those issues concerning the re-integration seems not to affect the effectiveness of the International Organisations' work. In this sense, the interviewed people beneficiaries of the projects recognise the validity of the top-down programme behind, especially because the "direct" relationship between the organisations and the governments which characterise also resource structure provided. The institutional change aim of the Organisations is, according to the respondents, met, or it have a good chance to happen on the long run. Going beyond the interviews, the effectiveness is also determined, in the "from above" case, by the assessment of the programme made by the International Organisation. This is evident looking at the good response of the applicants to the programme, together with network and system of partnerships identified at the local level (as well as in the country of residence of the applicant). Furthermore, the MIDA strategy has been declined in several geographical contexts and fields of intervention, ensuring its sustainability over time. Also the partner organisations have the chance to benefit from accountability and effectiveness of the international organisation. In fact, for those cases is registered a difficulty in the deepen the linkages with home country civil society,

but they largely benefit from the general accountability of the International Organisation.

In the case of the transnationalism from below, those interconnections slightly change.

It has been shown the will of the interviewees of being "homogeneous" inside the home country context, together with the will of independency from a local policy and parties. Those elements are not common in the whole range of the interviews, because some of the organisations report a good level of cooperation with the local authorities.

This is evident in particular in the case of the smallest organisations (whose work much depend on external funding), and the academic support organisations, which mainly work on capacity building and research. It is common in those organisation seeking cooperation through a direct funding or partnership, which enable to overcome structural barriers, mainly related to finances and resources.

In the case of the biggest organisations, which are more structured and better financed, the *indirect* influence on the public authority is preferred. In this case, the transnational organisations act in coherence with Florina's definition of "transnational civil society", namely "*self-organised advocacy groups that undertake voluntary collective action across state borders in pursuit of what they deem the wider public interest*[234]". Those actors do not differ much from other typologies of transnational NGOs, and a good grade of success in addressing issues is assured by the existence of the gatekeeper and – in general – stakeholders which link up the transnational activities ensuring a good continuity in time.

[234] FLORINA in PRICE R., (2003), *Transnational civil society and advocay in world politics* in *Wold politics*, vol. 55

This is also confirmed by the quantitative data provided by the organisations. The existence of a large group of people involved in the home country, as well direct and indirect beneficiaries is in line with the general findings[235] of diaspora initiatives at the local level.

For those organisations, accountability within local civil society and institutions is considered as easier to obtain. This is not only for the evident collaboration with civil society actors, but also because of the nature of the issues which are brought to the public attention. The transversal and political neutrality of the issues, together with their "general" nature, ensure the reaching of a wide public, and as well guarantee the independence because those claims are representative of the community of reference.

This is clear that in those cases, when the international organisation is absent the effectiveness is guaranteed by multiple factors, which include not only funding but also the nature of the partnerships which organisations are able to build. To this aim, the presence of a specific support (the "network organisations") becomes in much cases fundamental. This is mainly because the ability to connect the parties, but also because of the specific knowledge provided. It has been stressed from the two "networks" identified in the UK context the strategic role that they have played for the empowerment of diasporas, especially in building knowledge and shaping the relationships with the authorities.

In the light of the elements discussed, it is possible to confirm the hypotheses H2 and H3 identified in the starting research project.

The last hypotheses, which concerns the role of diaspora in democratisation processes, is the most difficult to address, and also the

[235] cf. MAZZUCATO V., (2009), op.cit.

most challenging one. It is recognised that the analysis of external impact on democratisation of civil society actors has to refer to the whole range of social structures and interactions[236] which are the product of the process of change. This means that the analysis of socialisation processes has to be framed according to the analysis of social interactions, as well as the one of the main patterns of change emerging from processes as rule of low adoption of internalisation of norms. In this framework the forms through which the processes of socialisation occur are many, and differ from an high variety of factors. Among this multiplicity of elements, the *perceived legitimacy*[237] is key in the mechanism, because *"socialisation will be eased where externally driven reforms are seen as legitimate and the demand for compliance deemed by domestic constituencies to be substantively and procedurally fair*[238]".

With a specific reference to diaspora actors, the different "levels" of legitimacy identified, make their position quite unique in the scenario of external anchoring actors. In fact, the transnational identity and the modalities of interaction identified show that their impact on the process of social learning and governance building are strictly dependant. The fact that the interviewed are not returnees, but engaged in a circular migration path, make their transnationalism a point of strength, especially to give an added value to their process of engagement. Furthermore, a modality of engagement which privilege an issue-based approach for institutional strengthen is perceived from the actors as "neutral". It allows them to maintain a "transversal" position in the society, and do not risk the identification with a party or

[236] Cf. MORLINO L. (2011), op.cit.
[237] *ivi.*
[238] *Ivi.*

a clan, which is seen as damaging for their accountability within local civil society.

In this context it has been noticed that democracy (or democratisation) are perceived as "far" from the effective possibilities of diaspora, and do not constitute a driver of action.

The main reason that the interviewees have addressed for that, is that democracy (and democratisation) is basically are processes where locals have the main voice, and diasporas has to adapt and support without pretending to influencing. This position derives (especially in the Somali case) from the consciousness of the conflicts within different societal fringes, and the necessity of making democratisation start from the overcoming of those conflict. As reported by an interviewee: «they saved their lives and survived from all kinds of disasters. We have to find how they survived and build up from there».

Despite that, the central driver of engagement, human development, is perceived as a political action and, at the same time, is as a sort of intermediate step toward the building of a model of good governance, and consists in the effective interests of the sample of the research.

In this sense "diaspora agenda's" efforts focus on a change at the level of the capacity and skills of single institutions and actors, which, in this view comes before rules and norms diffusion.

Going beyond the research hypotheses, it is worthy to give account of the other element which have characterised the research, which is the methodology experimented throughout the dissertation.

As illustrated in the introduction of this work, social remittances are usually considered as a "volatile" concept, which include not only skills and capabilities, but also ideas, values, behaviours and identities. This has led to the consideration of the need of identification of a modality of study which "frames" social remittances in a smaller spectrum. To

do so, the research has switched from the classical unit of analysis: the contribution of diaspora groups/communities and organisations has been preferred to the analysis of "transmission" at the individual level. The analysis of the work of each organisation has been made according to the need of identifying a "systematic" and "intentional" transmission of social remittances. Those considerations have led to the study of "development projects" in the general fields of "knowledge transfer" and "advocacy" where institutions are considered as direct and indirect beneficiaries. Considering each organisation as a case study, which has referred to a definite project or initiative in the home country, has allowed the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data have contributed to the definition of the "width" of the phenomena, and to give a comprehensive understanding of the effective dimension of the case studies looking at the aggregate data. Those data result mainly from single organisations' impact assessment comprehensive of number of beneficiaries, partnerships, institutions involved and typology of training and/or advocacy provided.

At the same time, qualitative semi-structured interviews have provided an understanding of the principal motivations and ambitions of the actors, and making clear the data provided.

This intuition has resulted successful in regard to the study of the variables identified, despite some difficulties in aggregating the quantitative data, deriving from some differences in the assessment that each organisation carries on individually.

The interviews, which have been conducted with the project beneficiaries (in the cases "from above") and the organisations responsible or project managers (in the cases "from below") have been extremely useful in the conceptualisation of the variables discussed above. On this purpose, it has been noticed that the structure of the questionnaire, the motivations behind that and the choice of conducting

a qualitative study, have been elements of success also because allowed the building of a relationship of trust with the interviewees, which have shown a collaborative attitude and a spirit of participation. It can be interpreted as a success in addressing one of the motivation which have lead the research. As said in the introduction, the research aimed at changing a paradigm of interpretation of diaspora and development. In this sense, the methodology chosen has resulted as functional, enabling the emergence of the "diaspora perspective".

Given those reflections, it is possible to settle some general remarks on the future research needs on the topic. The dissertation has allowed to have a picture of the condition according to which diaspora's impact on institutions is positive. Those conditions, according to a "diaspora perspective", can be considered as a starting point of a wider analysis and model of interpretation of the capacities of diaspora in influencing homeland institutions.

It is clear that the last hypotheses formulated needs to be addressed deeply through a long term research, also comprehensive of the structural changes and processes which are occurring in the countries identified as case studies. In fact, this research has contemplated a short term perspective in the diaspora engagement, which for its nature has excluded policy changes in both the home and host country. To this aim, an analysis based on the long period, and multi-sited, would be most comprehensive and would give a detailed and inclusive scenario, which comprehend the perspective of the local actors, both civil society and institutions which lack in the dissertation. In this sense, the dissertation is a sort of "first brick" of of a wider research project, which need to include a wider range of units of analysis among the home countries' institutional framework and civil society actors.

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Appendix: The Questionnaires.

Re-building Institutions through diaspora engagement: the impact of high-skilled migrants on domestic change

Questionnaire Form A – International Organisations

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Introduction

I am a Ph.D. Candidate in Political Theory and Political Science at Luiss University in Rome. From January 2015, I am conducting my research at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London as Visiting Research Student.
My work focuses on transnational engagement of high- skilled diaspora in institutional rebuilding. The core idea of my research is to provide an analysis of the impact of the contribution of diasporas in home country institutions and to find out to what extent high skilled diaspora may act as an "external anchoring" actor. Object of my analysis are the initiatives in which diaspora is involved promoted by international organisations and civil society organisations.
Thank you for answering my questionnaire and participating in my research.

About you

YOUR DETAILS	
Name	
Gender	
Age	
Level of education	
Profession	
Home country	
Place of residence	
PROJECT DETAILS	
Affiliation	
Name of the project	
Region of intervention	
Main duties	

Section 1

In this section, I would ask you details about your experience of engagement in migration and development initiatives

1. **Is it the first time you are engaged in an institutional development project in your home country?**
   - Yes
   - No

If no, would you mention a previous initiative you have taken part?

……
……
……..

1.2 Have you had any experiences in development projects in your home country?

- Yes
- No

1.3. If yes, which was the nature of your last project?

- Development cooperation
- Business-finance
- Advocacy
- Professional-Technical assistance
- Humanitarian support
- Co-development

2. **Are you part of an organization?**
   - Yes
   - No

2.1. If yes, how would you describe your organization?

- Community-based organisation
- Transnational organisation - network
- Charity - philanthropic organisation
- Expert-Professional organisation
- Business-industry organisation
- Political organisation
- Other (please specify)…… ……. .

2.2. Which are the main activities of your organisation?

- Advocacy
- Development projects implementation
- Humanitarian support
- Advice and expertise service provision
- Welfare service provision (health, education)
- Politics
- Policy advice
- Business
- Cultural
- Trade union
- Other (please specify)…… ……

3.1. On a scale 1-10, (1-lower 10 higher) how would you rate your commitment in your home country?

……
……
.

In this section, I would like to have information on your personal experience in the project you are/have been engaged in

2.1. Why did you choose to engage in the project? Please rank the statements according to the following scale:

(1) strongly disagree - (2) disagree - (3) neutral - (4) agree - (5) strongly agree

	1	2	3	4	5
My country suffers from brain-drain and lack of up-to-date knowledge in many areas					
I want to bring progress and lasting change					
"if the public administration works efficiently, this creates a reliable foundation for a whole range of activities with an impact on the lives and well-being of all citizens"					
I feel Rebuilding the homeland as a responsibility					
Is an experience which contributes to my professional growth					
I want to give continuity to my previous activity in my home country					
I am planning to return in my home country					
To enhance the role of diaspora in my country					
I found the [name-of-the-project] strategy in my home country innovative and relevant					
My community {CSO} is well organised					
Is coherent to my political beliefs					
It is coherent to the objectives of my organisation					
I believe that working with [international-organisation] adds value to my work					
My government lacks of spaces of dialogue with diaspora so it represents a good opportunity to engage					

Other:……
……
……..

2.2. Which were your main tasks and responsibilities during your work in the home country institution? Please list them in the following table and rate the success on a scale 1-5 as indicated below

1) very unsuccessful - (2) unsuccessful - (3) somewhat successful - (4) successful - (5) very successful

Activities	1	2	3	4	5

2.3. Please evaluate, on a scale 1-10 (1 lower mark -10 higher mark), the following components of your work:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Level of competence of the local staff										
Your integration in the work team										
IO support in your activity										
IO influence in your activity										
Host institution support in your activity										
Host institution influence in your activity										
Workload										
Personal freedom in the job										
Quality of feedback received from your team										
Quality of feedback received from IO										
Quality of accountability of the project in the host institution										
My qualifications have met the needs of the project										

In this section I would collect your impressions about your own perception regarding the potentialities of change in home country institutions

3.1 In your perception, which are the advantages and the limits in terms of *potentialities of change* which the actors involved in the projects may bring to the institutional development of your home country? Please list in the following table ranking on a scale 1-5 (1 lower mark – 5 higher mark)

Diaspora

Advantages	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

Limits	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

International Organisation

Advantages	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

Limits	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

Local authority

Advantages	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

Limits	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

3.2. On a scale 1-10 (1 – lower mark – 1 higher mark) how would you evaluate your interactions with the host home country institution? Please comment with reference to your personal experience

……
……
……
……
……
……
……

Section 4

In this section, I would like to collect some relevant policy advices

4.1. What would be your policy advices/priorities needed to improve the initiatives which engage diaspora in institutional development? Please rank according to their relevance

4.2. Please add any other relevant comment

……
……
……
……
……

Questionnaire submission and contact details

Thank you for your kind attention.

Please submit the questionnaire form within **10-03-2015** to the e-mail address
ccancellario@luiss.it

To further develop my research I would like contact you for an interview. If you are interested, please write here your e-mail address
……

LIBERA UNIVERSITÀ INTERNAZIONALE DEGLI STUDI SOCIALI
Department of Political Science

Re-building Institutions through diaspora engagement: the impact of high-skilled migrants on domestic change

Questionnaire Form B – Civil Society organisations

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Introduction

I am a Ph.D. Candidate in Political Theory and Political Science at Luiss University in Rome. From January 2015, I am conducting my research at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London as Visiting Research Student.
My work focuses on transnational engagement of high- skilled diaspora in institutional rebuilding. The core idea of my research is to provide an analysis of the impact of the contribution of diasporas in home country institutions and to find out to what extent high skilled diaspora may act as an "external anchoring" actor. Object of my analysis are the initiatives in which diaspora is involved promoted by international organisations and civil society organisations.
Thank you for answering my questionnaire and participating in my research.

About you

YOUR DETAILS	
Name	
Gender	
Age	
Level of education	
Profession	
Home country	
Place of residence	
PROJECT DETAILS	
Affiliation	
Name of the project	
Region of intervention	
Main duties	

0.1 How would you describe your project?

- Community-based
- Transnational
- Charity - philanthropic
- Expertise-Professional skills transfer
- Business-industry
- Political
- Other (please specify)……..

0.2 Which are the main activities of your project?

- Advocacy
- Development projects implementation
- Humanitarian support
- Advice and expertise service provision
- Welfare service provision (health, education)
- Politics
- Policy advice
- Business
- Cultural
- Trade union
- Other (please specify)……

0.3 Does your project has been developed in partnership with other organisations/local authorities/International Organisations?

- Yes
- No

0.3.1.If Yes, please specify

…….

Section 1

In this section, I would ask you details about your experience of engagement in migration and development initiatives

1. **Is it the first time you are engaged in an institutional development project in your home country?**
   - Yes
   - No

If yes, would you mention a previous initiative you have taken part?

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1.2 Have you had any experiences in development projects in your home country?

- Yes
- No

1.3. If yes, which was the nature of your last project?

- Development cooperation
- Business-finance
- Advocacy
- Professional-Technical assistance
- Humanitarian support
- Co-development

2. **Are you part of an organization?**
   - Yes
   - No

2.1. If yes, how would you describe your organization?

- Community-based organisation
- Transnational organisation - network
- Charity - philanthropic organisation
- Expert-Professional organisation
- Business-industry organisation
- Political organisation
- Other (please specify)…….

2.2. Which are the main activities of your organisation?

- Advocacy
- Development projects implementation
- Humanitarian support
- Advice and expertise service provision
- Welfare service provision (health, education)
- Politics
- Policy advice
- Business
- Cultural
- Trade union
- Other (please specify)…… ……

3.1. On a scale 1-10, (1-lower 10 higher) how would you rate your commitment in your home country?

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Section 2

In this section, I would like to have information on your personal experience in the [project] you are/have been engaged in

2.1. Why did you choose to engage in [*name of the activity-project-initiative*]? Please rank the statements according to the following scale:

(1) strongly disagree - (2) disagree - (3) neutral - (4) agree - (5) strongly agree

	1	2	3	4	5
My country suffers from brain-drain and lack of up-to-date knowledge in many areas					
I want to bring progress and lasting change					
I want to influence homeland political practices					
I feel rebuilding the homeland as a responsibility					
Is an experience which contributes to my professional growth					
I am part of a transnational political network					
I am planning to return in my home country					
To strenght the presence of diaspora in home country politics					
To strenght the presence of diaspora in institutions					
To increase the influence of diaspora on home country civil society					
Is coherent to my political beliefs					
It is coherent to the objectives of my organisation					
It is coherent to the action of my political party					
To enforce the political links between host and home country					

Other:……
……
……..

2.2. Which were your main tasks and responsibilities during your work in the home country institution? Please list them in the following table and rate the success on a scale 1-5 as indicated below

1) very unsuccessful - (2) unsuccessful - (3) somewhat successful - (4) successful - (5) very successful

Activities	1	2	3	4	5

2.3. Please evaluate, on a scale 1-10 (1 lower mark -10 higher mark), the following components of your activity:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Level of competence of the local partner										
Your integration in the workteam										
Your organisation support in your activity										
Your organisation influence in your activity										
Home country partner support in your activity										
Home country partner influence in your activity										
workload										
Personal feedom in the job										
Quality of feedbacks received from your work team										
Quality of feedback received from your organisation										
Quality of accountability of the project in the host institutions										
My qualification have met the needs of the project										

Section 3

In this section I would collect your impressions about your own perception regarding the potentialities of change in home country institutions

3.1 In your perception, which are the advantages and the limits in terms of *potentialities of change* which the actors involved in the project may bring to the institutional development of your home country? Please list in the following table ranking on a scale 1-5 (1 lower mark – 5 higher mark)

Diaspora

Advantages	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

Limits	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

Civil society organizations

Advantages	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Limits	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

Home country actors

Advantages	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

Limits	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

3.2. On a scale 1-10 (1 – lower mark – 1 higher mark) how would you evaluate your interactions with the host and home country institution? Please comment with reference to your personal experience

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Section 4

In this section, I would like to collect some relevant policy advices

4.1. What would be your policy advices/priorities needed to improve the initiatives which engage diaspora in institutional development? Please rank according to their relevance

4.2. Please add any other relevant comment

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Questionnaire submission and contact details

Thank you for your kind attention.

Please submit the questionnaire form within **30/04/2015** to the e-mail address
ccancellario@luiss.it

To further develop my research I would like contact you for an interview. If you are interested, please write here your e-mail address
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