



The Pull of ‘Home’: Understanding Diaspora Participation in Development Projects in their Country of Origin

Master Thesis

A case study of the IOM programme ‘Connecting Diaspora for Development’

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ABSTRACT

Diaspora are increasingly recognised as central to sustainable development processes. As such, it is important to understand how institutions can best engage these individuals, but little is known about diaspora's motives for engaging in development projects. Using an International Organisation for Migration (IOM) programme, Connecting Diaspora for Development (CD4D) as a case study, this thesis examines interaction between institutions and diaspora in order to illustrate diaspora's motives to participate in such a programme. Data was gathered by conducting interviews with CD4D staff and diaspora participants. The analysis of the institution-diaspora relationship found that CD4D effectively harnessed diaspora engagement through connecting them to development projects in their country of origin and supplying necessary resources but then taking a more passive stance. Granting diaspora this agency meant they were able to conduct knowledge transfer without interference and build long-lasting bonds with their host institutions after the initial project is complete. Diaspora motivations for engaging in such a sustainable development programme centred on past and ongoing ties to their country of origin. Given existing theories often discount the perspectives and agency of individual diaspora, a new theory was inductively derived that focuses on diaspora themselves in explaining sustainable development processes. As such, placing individual diaspora at the centre of these processes ensures tailored policy and maximises the potential for knowledge transfer and sustainable development.

Keywords: diaspora, motives, network broker, spheres of engagement, sustainable development, transnationalism

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	4
1.1 Literature Review	6
1.2 Gaps in the Literature	9
2. Theoretical Framework.....	10
2.1 Transnational Advocacy Networks.....	11
2.1.1 Role of Institutions as Mediators.....	12
2.1.2 Diaspora as Agents for Change	13
2.2 Diaspora and the Homeland	14
2.3 Conceptual Framework and Expectations	16
3. Research Design.....	17
3.1 Case Selection	18
3.1.1 Background: CD4D	19
3.2 Data Collection.....	20
3.3 Operationalisation Table.....	21
3.4 Sampling Strategy	23
3.5 Data Analysis.....	24
3.6 Ethical Considerations and Limitations.....	25
4. Analysis	26
4.1 The Role of CD4D	26
4.1.1 Brief Review of CD4D's Role	26
4.1.2 Recruiting Diaspora Experts.....	27
4.1.3 Diaspora to Host Institution Relationship.....	29
4.2 Patterns in Diasporas' Motivations.....	33
4.2.1 Diasporas' Relationship to their Country of Origin	33
4.2.2 Main Motivations for Diaspora Participation in CD4D.....	36
4.3 Analysis Conclusions	38
5. Discussion.....	40
5.1 Transnational Advocacy Networks Applied to CD4D	41
5.2 Knowledge Transfer from Diaspora Experts to Host Institutions	43
5.3 Spheres of Engagement and Diaspora Experts' Motives	45
5.3.1 Spheres of Diaspora Engagement.....	46

5.3.2 Diasporas' Motives for Participation	47
5.4 Transnational Affinities Theory.....	50
6. Conclusion.....	51
6.1 Conceptual Framework Revisited	52
6.2 Summary of Core Findings	53
6.2.1 Going Beyond CD4D	55
6.3 Limitations and Further Research.....	56
6.4 Policy Recommendations	57
8. References	59
9. Annexes.....	64
9.1 Annex A: List of Participants	64
9.2 Annex B: Interview Guide for Diaspora Experts.....	64
9.3 Annex C: Interview Guide for CD4D Team Members	67

List of Figures

Figure 1: Types of network brokers, source: Cheng et al. (2021)	12
Figure 2: Conceptual Framework	16
Figure 3: Inductive theory	24
Figure 4: Conceptual Framework Revisited.....	53

List of Abbreviations

BZ	Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Dutch Foreign Affairs Ministry)
CD4D	Connecting Diaspora for Development
DE	Diaspora expert
IA	International agency
IO	International organisation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
TAN	Transnational Advocacy Network
TAT	Transnational Affinities Theory
UN	United Nations

1. Introduction

The role of diaspora is becoming more relevant in an increasing globalised world. Yet migration and development continue to have a contentious relationship; scholars sway between optimism and pessimism when studying the migration-development nexus (de Haas, 2010). Pessimists lean towards arguments of brain drain and failed development, while optimists praise the benefits of globalisation and remittances (Chikanda, Crush & Walton-Roberts, 2016). Nonetheless, they agree that migration is inevitable (de Haas, 2019). As such, there has been an increased interest in those who have migrated, diaspora, and the potential they hold in the development of the global South. Diaspora are migrants who live outside their country of origin but still maintain ties and relationships there (Faist & Fauser, 2019). Diaspora therefore hold a unique position in which they have access to networks in their country of origin and in their host country, sharing cultural and linguistic knowledge from both societies (Faist & Fauser, 2019). In literature, diaspora are most associated to their countries of origin through the sending of remittances, however there are other social, cultural, and political forms of engagement which hold potential to contributing to development processes (Chikanda, et al., 2016). This form of engagement does happen; however literature remains to be largely about remittances. The goal of the research is to understand diaspora engagement beyond remittances, and how organisations can facilitate this.

The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) Netherlands recognises a potential for development through diaspora who are experts in their professions and transfer these skills to their country of origin. In 2016, IOM Netherlands launched a programme called Connecting Diaspora for Development (CD4D). CD4D, as its name suggests, encourages diaspora experts (DE) in the Netherlands to help stimulate development by connecting them to knowledge transfer projects in their countries of origin. These countries are global South countries, often described as 'sending countries' experiencing emigration and brain drain (Langley & Kuschminder, 2016).

Diaspora are valuable as they hold important cultural knowledge and linguistic skills, and CD4D recognises this potential (Langley & Kuschminder, 2016). They hold a key role in the IOM's vision for sustainable development through migration. IOM seeks out diaspora that are experts in their field to contribute to knowledge transfer projects in priority sectors. Sectors in which

CD4D is involved in are demand driven, and as such priority sectors are identified by IOM and selected institutions. These priority sectors include agricultural, justice, healthcare, communications, education, etc. CD4D started in 2016 and is now in its second phase with projects in Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria, and Somalia. Diaspora participate on a voluntary basis and receive an allowance to compensate for the costs and time invested in the project, however IOM does stress that this is not a salary (Connecting Diaspora for Development, 2022). Thus, there is little financial incentive for diaspora to participate in CD4D. Despite this, the programme has managed to arrange more than 300 diaspora-led projects since 2016 (CD4D, 2022).

CD4D is an interesting case study to observe and understand the relationship between diaspora and their countries of origin and how an organisation can facilitate this engagement through acting as a connecting mediator. The research is conducted through semi-structured interviews with DEs and CD4D team members. This will be achieved through the following research question and sub-questions:

Research question

Why and how do diaspora experts participate in sustainable development projects through CD4D?

Sub-questions

- 1) What role does CD4D play in connecting DEs to sustainable development projects?
- 2) What motives do DEs hold that drive them to engage in CD4D projects?

This research is relevant to current migration-development nexus discussions and can be divided in societal and scientific relevance. In terms of societal relevance, brain drain has been highlighted as a hinderance to development. The solution cannot be to stop migration, as migration is inevitable (de Haas, 2019). Thus, it is important to involve diaspora. Instead of blaming them for contributing to brain drain, they should be empowered and encouraged to act as agents of change (Bakewell, 2009). This paper delves deeper into the diasporas' potential role in development projects by evaluating the relationship they hold with CD4D, and the role institutions hold in fostering diaspora engagement. Furthermore, the paper also explores why diaspora are motivated to contribute to development in their countries of origin. As CD4D is a

non-salary project, it follows that participation must be largely out of passion for their countries of origin rather than financial incentive. Understanding the root of this will benefit institution's ability to harness diaspora engagement for sustainable development.

The scientific relevance which this thesis presents lies in broadening understandings of what motivates diaspora to invest their efforts into their countries of origin. Concepts which will be explained by this thesis are the personal paradigms of diaspora which drive their motivation and acknowledge their agency in the cause, the role of institutions in empowering diaspora as well as how diaspora see themselves as actors in development processes of their country of origin. These findings provide an understanding of how to better empower diaspora to continue to invest and engage with diaspora-led development strategies to encourage sustainable development. Furthermore, this knowledge will be helpful to policymakers seeking to establish good working relationships with diaspora and the global South and to engage development at a local and international level, eventually leading into beneficial migration and development governance.

This thesis is structured as follows: The remainder of this chapter reviews relevant literature. Theoretical concepts and frameworks drawn on are discussed in Chapter 2. The research design is explained in Chapter 3, including the justification for CD4D as a case study and the research methods. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the research. In Chapter 5 the findings are discussed and are reviewed in the context of the literature and introduces a new theory. The final chapter summarises the findings, discusses opportunities for further research, and introduces policy recommendations.

1.1 Literature Review

Until recently, migration and development were studied as separate topics (Chikanda et al., 2016). Increasingly, academics realise the connection between the two and migration-development literature has become a growing body. Therefore it is important to analyse the topics separately as well as conjointly. This thesis draws on literature concerning development, migration, and migration-development.

Literature on diaspora revolved largely around their transnational identities and their position between two countries. Diaspora hold a multi-faceted notion of what 'home' means to them in terms of the country they 'belong' to (Binaisa, 2015). Therefore they are in a unique position as they maintain and create networks and ties across the world, connecting their host country to their country of origin (Chikanda et al., 2016). These cross-border relationships transcend notions of belonging to a single state. Fouron and Glick-Schiller (2002) use the concept 'transnational social field' to understand the social relationships of immigrants who remain connected to their country of origin. They posit that trans-border forms of communication foster a transnational identity in which the individual sees themselves pertaining to more than one country. The transnational networks they were involved in kept them culturally, socially, and politically updated in their country of origin (Fouron & Glick-Schiller, 2002). Because of this, diaspora are uniquely adapted to fit in to both their host society and the society of their country of origin.

The literature regarding the migration-development nexus explores the complex relationship between the two subjects (Geiger & Pécoud, 2013). De Haas (2019) explains that this relationship swings between periods of optimism and pessimism. Periods of pessimism were not unjust, with arguments of migration causing underdevelopments through brain drain and discussions on how migration contribute to global power imbalances, by keeping countries locked in underdevelopment (Raghuram, 2008). Moments of optimism were found in the efficiency of remittances, an alternative from traditional top-down development approaches as financial flows went straight to migrant's families and into local economies (Preibisch, Dodd & Su, 2016). Data from the World Bank (WB) estimates US \$589 billion in remittances were sent to developing countries in 2020, which outstripped development aid and foreign direct investment (World Bank, 2021). This highlights the substantial impact diaspora hold in their countries of origin. WB economist Branko Milanovic even argued that because of remittances, "migration is probably the most powerful tool for reducing global poverty and inequality" (Preibisch et al., 2016, np). However there is much naivety in such a statement as there remain structural and institutional obstacles to sustainable development that remittances cannot reform (de Haas, 2019).

For sustainable development there must be impactful development initiatives on all levels, from an individual level to a national level. Financial investment alone is not enough to carry development. As such the United Nations have outlined three sectors that are equally important in creating sustainable development: society, environment, and economy (Ademovic, 2018). There has been increased attention on those who have migrated to contribute to sustainable development. The role of diaspora in contributing to human capital and channeling development through knowledge transfer is receiving an increasing amount of interest from migration-development scholars. Knowledge transfer is the exchange of scientific, technical, administrative, or political information (Meyer, 2011). When applied to the context of sustainable development, the logic is that knowledge transfer will lead to capacity building. Capacity building is defined by the UN as *“the process of developing and strengthening the skills, instincts, abilities, processes and resources that organisations and communities need to survive, adapt, and thrive in a fast-changing world”* (2021b). Knowledge transfer is therefore important to fostering development in a long-lasting, impactful way.

There is consensus that diaspora can be bridging actors between global South and global North countries, and key actors in creating sustainable development (Langley & Kuschminder, 2016). By allowing diaspora to lead in development projects, the result is meaningful and long-lasting development strategies generated from the ground-up (Tejada, 2016). This has been observed in Indian skilled migrants engaging in knowledge transfer with India. Tejada (2016) investigated why Indian diaspora bother with knowledge transfer to a country they have left. She found that Indian diaspora were motivated by the notion of returning to India later in life and as such would benefit from the efforts they put in (Tejada, 2016). Beyond Tejada’s (2016) study, diaspora engagement through knowledge transfer remains understudied. Moreover, her findings are not applicable for other diaspora communities, who may have established themselves in their host country and do not plan to return, or they are unable return because of the political situation (Bakewell, 2009). Nonetheless, some diaspora still chose to participate in development projects without intent to return to their country of origin, as is the case of DEs participating in CD4D, therefore this question warrants further investigation.

In the wake of transnationalism and globalisation, institutions are recognising the potential in non-state actor participation (Brinkerhof, 2016). This idea of fostering “diaspora engagement” has become a development strategy (Chikanda et al., 2016, p.4). Ireland is an example of a country to use this effectively, and now credits its national development in part to its diaspora. As such, many scholars look to it as an example for other countries to follow (Minto-Coy, 2016). Traditionally, Ireland is a country of high emigration due to poverty, conflict, and famine. Approximately 10 million people have emigrated Ireland since the 1800s (Kenny, 2019). This has resulted in a large Irish diaspora around the world. In the 1950s, the Irish government began to focus on diaspora engagement, especially from the large community in the United States (US) (Minto, 2009). It did so by forming institutions and associations abroad for diaspora to forge and maintain connections with Ireland. The Irish Development Agency was then able to attract investment from Irish diaspora in the US, through their “willingness, capital and expertise to contribute to growth” (Minto, 2009, p.9). The economy was able to grow, and the country developed into modern day Ireland.

Many policymakers have thus started to look towards diaspora to contribute and sustain development projects in their countries of origin through using their position of duality (Newland & Plaza, 2013). Diaspora hold the cultural knowledge in how to navigate social interactions in their country of origin, hence they can effectively and appropriately carry out knowledge transfer from their host country to the context of their country of origin (Brinkerhof, 2016). Policymakers argue this creates a ‘win-win’ scenario (Bauböck, 2010). One such initiative is ‘co-development’. Co-development is the idea of governments and development organisations collaborating with diaspora organisations to foster cross-border, transnational development projects (Fauser, 2011). This shift towards considering migrants as agents for change reflects a movement towards a circular approach to migration and development and a more fluid notion of borders and nationality (Faist & Fauser, 2011).

1.2 Gaps in the Literature

Much of the literature identifies the potential of diaspora and how they can be used as a tool for development, a “political project” for policymakers to toy with (Bauböck, 2010, p.315). However,

this has a dehumanising effect in that it does not acknowledge diasporas' agency and instead reduces them to a piece in the development puzzle. Scholars instead credit government's resourcefulness in harnessing diaspora engagement. There remains limited literature on the research of diaspora as human beings with agency, omitting their identities, their values, and their ties to their countries of origin (Chikanda et al., 2016). These personal paradigms cannot be overlooked as they are essential in understanding diaspora and their role within development beyond a simple 'puppet' linking the core to the periphery. The literature has a gap regarding how diaspora see themselves in the development process, as it simply designates them a role and does not acknowledge their agency in the process. This thesis seeks to address this overlooked human dimension in the migration-development nexus by exploring what motivates diaspora to volunteer their time in CD4D projects to contribute to development projects in their countries of origin, as well as exploring the role institutions can play in empowering diaspora engagement. The latter is especially important, because diaspora might be motivated and possess the right knowledge for development but likely lack the resources. Institutions may offer this, yet there is a careful balance between empowering diaspora and simply using diaspora as 'puppets'.

The way in which international agencies and NGOs mobilise and engage with diaspora is understudied. More research is needed on why diaspora engage in development and what challenges they face so that programmes like CD4D can appropriately adapt to their needs and accommodate and empower them. This study aims to address the gaps through CD4D as a case study, exploring how CD4D mobilises diaspora engagement and why diaspora are motivated to participate in their development projects.

2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter clarifies the key terms, discusses the main theories and conceptualisations which support this thesis and the expectations for the findings of the study. I will begin by using existing literature and theory to explain the role CD4D plays in connecting DEs to the development projects. The subsequent section explores concepts which may explain why DEs are motivated to participate in CD4D's projects. This chapter concludes with my conceptual framework.

This paragraph briefly highlights six key terms used extensively in this thesis. The term 'diaspora' describes a transnational community; people who have migrated to a new country yet still hold ties to their country of origin. It is not limited to first generation migrants, it can also apply to subsequent generations, if they hold linkages to their country of origin (Mazzucato, 2010). 'Diaspora expert/DE' is used by CD4D to describe diaspora participating in their projects, as they are 'experts' in their respective fields. 'Country of origin' describes the country from which diaspora have emigrated (Mazzucato, 2010). 'Host country' refers to the country that diaspora now reside in (Mazzucato, 2010). This is not to be confused with the term 'host institution', which is used by CD4D for the institution hosting the DE's project. Lastly, 'sustainable development' follows this UN definition: "*development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*" (2021a).

2.1 Transnational Advocacy Networks

Institutions have become primary actors in development processes through international agencies (IAs), international organisations (IOs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Increasingly, these organisations are turning to non-state actors to help them achieve their goals. They rely on a process involving 'transnational advocacy networks' (TAN) in which they garner collective action through shared values, ideas and/or targets (Cheng, Wang, Ma & Murdie, 2021). Keck and Sikkink (1999) describe TAN as including "*actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services*" (p.89). Therefore, there is an emphasis on knowledge transfer to initiate cultural, social, political, or economic change (Betsill & Bulkeley, 2004). TAN are purposive organisations which hold a target, and participation by individuals and groups, driven by attaining said target (Kiel, 2011). Purpose-driven puts emphasis on achieving goals, rather than striving for financial or material gain. Kiel (2011) likens TAN as a "*group of groups*" (p.80). How these groups come together is often orchestrated by agencies, IOs and NGOs who act as a network broker between the relevant communities. In a world that is becoming increasingly transnational due to globalisation, IOs and NGOs will play greater roles. Hence it is important to study how they interact among transnational communities and how the newly linked communities interact transnationally. CD4D, as an IOM programme, is an example of TAN, by embracing and harnessing

transnational communities. This thesis seeks to examine TAN between CD4D, the host institutions and DEs.

2.1.1 Role of Institutions as Mediators

TAN come together through a network broker who connects actors who otherwise might not have connected (Cheng et al., 2021). A network broker acts as a link between actors in the same community or with actors from another community, tying together different groups (Gould & Fernandez, 1989). Network brokers hold a variety of resources and connections with which they can pull together relevant actors with common values and beliefs to achieve a target goal. There are four types of network brokers as visually represented by Cheng et al. (2021) in Figure 1.

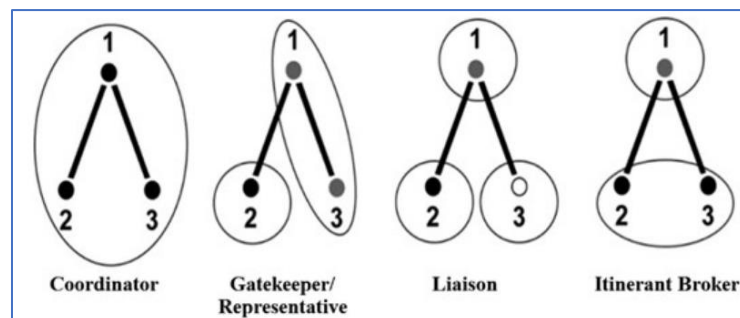


Figure 1: Types of network brokers, source: Cheng et al. (2021)

The first type of network broker is that of the ‘coordinator’. The coordinator uses its resources to connect groups that otherwise would have struggled to connect directly without them (Cheng et al, 2021). The second type of network broker is that of the ‘gatekeeper/representative broker’. This form of broker controls the flow of resources between groups, and as such hold power and a high position in the group dynamic (Cheng et al., 2021). The third type of network broker is the ‘liaison broker’. In this role, the broker connects actors from separate communities, while also being from a different community (Cheng et al., 2021). Lastly there is the ‘itinerant broker’. The itinerant broker is an outsider who after connecting members that are in the same community becomes a passive, only interjecting on a needed basis (Cheng et al. 2021). TAN are becoming more common among IAs, IOs and NGOs. As they become more mainstream, these international institutions play more prominent roles, therefore it is important to study how they act as a network broker.

2.1.2 Diaspora as Agents for Change

Outside the broker, there are other roles within TAN. Observed in Figure 1, there are at least two other actors/communities involved. The network broker is represented in Figure 1 as actor 1. Actor 2 can be described as the community which holds certain skills, while actor 3 can be described as the community in need of those skills (Cheng et al., 2021). Following this scheme and applied to the context of CD4D, DEs are the community which hold the desired skill, while the communities in need of that skill are their countries of origin and the development projects they offer.

DEs are sought after by CD4D for various reasons. Not only are they experts in their respective professional fields, but they hold a unique advantage, called the 'diaspora advantage' (Yue, 2018). Diaspora possess language skills, cultural understanding, and transnational networks, which gives them an advantage when engaging with their country of origin and their host country (Yue, 2018). Furthermore, this helps dismantle cultural and language barriers, which "more effectively adapt foreign approaches and technology to the homeland context" (Brinkerhoff, 2006, p.127). This creates an advantage for contributing to effective capacity building through knowledge transfer from what they learnt abroad back to their country of origin. TAN rely on a horizontal network structure, with little hierarchy between parties (Hudson, 2001). The structure of the network is based on "trust, cooperation, loyalty, and reciprocity" to work efficiently (Hudson, 2001, p.334). By holding the diaspora advantage, DEs are more likely to breed an environment of trust and cooperation with the institutions in their countries of origin (Kuschminder, 2013).

Capacity building and knowledge transfer have become important concepts in sustainable development. DEs can be key actors in effective knowledge transfer back to their countries of origin because of the diaspora advantage, and as such institutions from their countries of origin have started initiatives which seek diaspora for knowledge transfer and capacity building for sustainable development projects (Kuschminder, 2013). However, recruiting these DEs can be difficult. Through the connection of a network broker, like CD4D, TAN can be deployed to connect DEs to the corresponding development projects in their countries of origin.

Bakewell (2009) argues that it is important to recognise the growing relevance of transnational practices between migration and development. Migration is inevitable and therefore development organisations, migration organisations and the governments of sending and receiving countries should incorporate it into development planning strategies (de Haas, 2019). TAN can work as a path to facilitate transnational practices and normalise them in the development-migration nexus. To identify whether there is a case of TAN working effectively in the CD4D programme, this thesis will look for the relevant actors which make up TAN. Furthermore, to delve deeper into the role that CD4D plays, this study will explore what type of network broker CD4D is and therefore can better understand the relationship it holds with DEs and fostering their engagement in development projects.

2.2 Diaspora and the Homeland

As established in the previous subsection, DEs are key actors in the TAN. Their willingness to participate is crucial to CD4D's success in coupling them to the relevant development project. Therefore, their motivations are important to study so CD4D can continue to harness this willingness to participate for future projects. As there is little literature on this matter, I will take similar theories and apply them to the context of DEs participating in CD4D's projects.

As has been discussed in this paper, diaspora are in a unique position as they hold linkages to both their country of origin and their host country. Diaspora maintain these transnational linkages and mixed identities through some level of engagement with their country of origin (Binaisa, 2015). Van Hear and Cohen (2017, p.170) identify 'three spheres of diaspora engagement'. The 'household/extended family sphere' is on a personal and private level and involves relationships with friends and family in their country of origin (van Hear & Cohen, 2017). This type of engagement includes direct exchanges, for instance, sending remittances, virtual/phone contact, physical encounters/visits, etc (van Hear & Cohen, 2017). In the 'known community sphere', associational life is relevant, and it involves a more public form of engagement, through groups, associations, institutions, or organisations with other diaspora from the country origin and/or with their country of origin (van Hear & Cohen, 2017) (Grossman, 2018). Lastly, there is the 'imagined community sphere', which encompasses a notion of "long-

distance nationalism” (van Hear & Cohen, 2017, p.174). Engagement at this level is more political in nature, through the participation in politics in the country of origin and/or lobbying for them (van Hear & Cohen, 2017).

This thesis speculates that where diaspora fall in these spheres of engagement can influence their motivations for participating in development projects in their country of origin. Gustafson and Hertting (2016) hold that there are ‘three notions of participation’ in participatory governance. Although their theory revolves around political participation, it can be adjusted to fit the context of diaspora participating in CD4D. I will begin by discussing the theory then adapting it to suit the context of this thesis. Gustafson and Hertting (2016) observed a range of literature on participatory governance and collaborative governance, yet very little was known about citizens’ motives for participating. Citizens are the primary actors in participatory governance and therefore their motives for participation are important to theorists and policymakers (Gustafson & Hertting, 2016). They used an empirical study to survey citizens participating in a large-scale neighbourhood renewal programme in Stockholm, Sweden. Upon conducting the surveys, they discovered three clusters of motives for participating. The common good motive encompasses the general desire to contribute to the overall local development of the neighbourhood (Gustafson & Hertting, 2016). The self-interest motive is driven by enhancing one’s own political sway and political group’s interests (Gustafson & Hertting, 2016). Lastly, the professional competence motive is spurred by professional obligations (Gustafson & Hertting, 2016).

Gustafson and Hertting (2016) came up with their theory as they found an abundance of literature on participatory governance, but a literature gap concerning the participants in participatory governance. As my literature review has observed, there is an abundance of literature on diasporas’ impact on development, however, there remains a literature gap concerning the diaspora participants themselves and what motivates them to continue to support and be involved with their countries of origin. Therefore it is appropriate to use Gustafson and Hertting’s (2016) model for motives for participation. To fit the context of why DEs are motivated to participate in CD4D, I changed the context of Gustafson and Hertting’s three clusters of motives for voluntary participation in participatory governance projects to the context

of voluntary participation in CD4D’s development projects. To do so the common good motive encompasses the general desire to contribute to the overall local development of their country of origin; the self-interest motive is driven by enhancing one’s personal interests; and lastly, the professional competence motive is spurred by contributing one’s own professional expertise.

2.3 Conceptual Framework and Expectations

This subsection elaborates on the conceptual framework formulated through the concepts and theories discussed above. A diagram is provided for extra clarity and as a visual aid to understand how the dependent variable (DV), the independent variable (IV) and the mediator variable relate to each other.

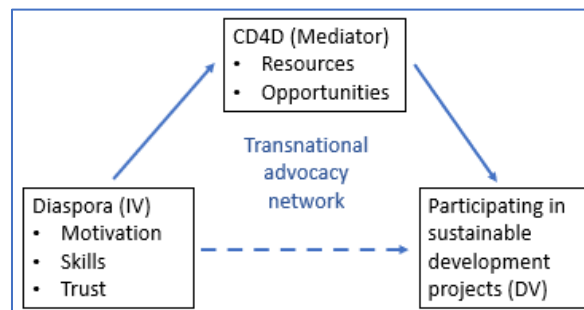


Figure 2: Conceptual Framework

Figure 2 demonstrates that diaspora, as the IV, possess the skills to undertake projects which can foster sustainable development, however despite the motivation and the skills they may possess, this can be difficult to follow through on. Nonetheless, through TAN, this could be facilitated through a network broker like CD4D, which acts as the mediator variable by providing diaspora with opportunities and resources to facilitate participation in sustainable development projects. Through establishing how diaspora are motivated to participate can help CD4D find motivated diaspora and promote further engagement and forge a relationship (represented by the broken arrow).

The conceptual framework visualised in Figure 2 is based on the literature and theories discussed in the previous paragraphs. Continuing this frame of logic, this thesis draws two expectations:

1. To identify whether there is a case of TAN, this thesis will look for the relevant actors. Keck and Sikkink (1999) description for TAN is of a network of actors working towards a common goal. This thesis expects that the IOM has employed TAN for sustainable development, through which its CD4D programme acts as a broker between diaspora, (who hold the potential for knowledge transfer) and connects them to sustainable development projects in their countries of origin. CD4D along with partnering institutions identify key sectors for development and then CD4D recruits suitable DEs to lead these projects (CD4D, 2021). Matching this description to Gould and Fernandez's (1989) network broker roles, I expect that CD4D plays the role of a liaison broker through connecting DEs to the relevant development projects.
2. Diaspora offer the skill set for the development projects. Therefore their motivations for participation are important. DEs' motives to participate (Gustafson & Hertting, 2016) will depend on which sphere of engagement (van Hear & Cohen, 2017) they pertain the most to. For instance, a DE that is more involved in the household/extended family sphere will be more likely to participate for self-interested motives, as they are more likely to have personal motivations, such as family still living there, for engaging in development. A DE more involved in the known community sphere is more driven by common good motives as they see their involvement in a frame that is oriented towards the common good. This expectation is derived from Tejada's (2016) understanding that Indian diaspora were largely personally motivated with the idea of they themselves returning to India which led them to contribute to development. Thus, the more personal links a DE holds, the more likely they are to engage in development for self-interested means.

3. Research Design

The following sections describe the case selection, the choice and reasoning for the methods of data collection, an operationalisation table to clarify relevant concepts and their indicators, the analysis and sampling strategies used and lastly the ethical considerations are discussed.

3.1 Case Selection

The research for this thesis is a qualitative, inductive, and exploratory study with the aim of understanding how diaspora engage in development processes with institutions and why diaspora contribute to fostering development with CD4D through the research question: *Why and how do diaspora experts participate in sustainable development projects through CD4D?*

CD4D is an IOM Netherlands initiative which encourages diaspora living in the Netherlands to use their expertise and knowledge to foster development in their country of origin through knowledge transfer projects (CD4D, 2022). They do not receive a salary; however they are provided with an allowance. As there is little financial incentive, this research aims to evaluate what motivates DEs to participate in such a programme. By studying diasporas' involvement in CD4D, one can analyse what linkages diaspora hold to their countries of origin and how these linkages can become a means of fostering sustainable development. This phenomenon has only recently attracted academic attention from migration and development scholars, yet discussions on diasporas' agency in engagement remains relatively understudied beyond the realm of remittances (Chikanda et al., 2016). Studying CD4D helps understand how institutions interact with actors outside their sphere and therefore provide insight into the progression away from traditional state-actors to a more decentralised method of transnational practices through non-state actors, like diaspora.

CD4D is an interesting programme to study. Firstly, it claims to encourage diaspora-led development projects by recruiting diaspora who are experienced in certain fields to partake in a development project in their country of origin. As such it is acting as a mediator between the diaspora and the host institution. For this reason it is helpful to explore Des' experiences to observe how CD4D was able to act and contribute as a mediator. Furthermore understanding why diaspora participate in these initiatives is important to continuing to empower diaspora engagement. These are important considerations when trying to achieve true diaspora-led sustainable development and how this can be replicated in other countries, as currently CD4D is only in the Netherlands. Studying CD4D will help other institutions learn and improve for future diaspora collaborations. The CD4D programme is elaborated on in the following subsection.

3.1.1 Background: CD4D

“Promote the active role of diaspora in developing the capacity of selected institutions”

– CD4D mission statement

This section will elaborate on what the CD4D programme is and give more background information. CD4D started in 2016 as the continuation of IOM’s Temporary Return of Qualified Nationals (TRQN) project (CD4D, 2022). The programme therefore builds on the lessons learnt from the TRQN project and previous diaspora engagement projects. CD4D’s purpose is to connect diaspora with Dutch residency to institutions in their countries of origins. The diaspora selected are experts/professionals in their respective fields and thus hold the potential to effectively transfer the knowledge they gained in the Netherlands to their countries of origin in the name of sustainable development (CD4D, 2022). Projects at host institutions are conducted either physically or virtually and vary in length, from one week to three months. CD4D is funded by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (BZ¹) (CD4D, 2022). Furthermore, CD4D works inline with the UN’s Sustainable Development Goals, which help in identifying priority sectors (CD4D, 2022).

The CD4D programme consists of three actors: the CD4D team, the DEs, and the host institutions. The CD4D team is a small team of IOM employees in their headquarters in the Hague and focal points in the involved target countries. Focal points are CD4D team members stationed in the relevant global South country and are the primary contact between the host institutions and IOM. Once the CD4D team in the Netherlands has worked with the BZ which countries will be targeted and the selected sectors, the focal points liaise with potential host institutions (CD4D, 2022). For instance, in the current phase of CD4D, the selected sectors for Nigeria are ICT, health and agriculture. Once projects have been launched in these sectors and demand for DEs has been identified, CD4D advertises these vacancies and works with host institutions to select a candidate for the project. CD4D then offer diaspora with pre-departure training before they arrive at their host institutions (CD4D, 2022). CD4D projects are mostly carried out through the host institutions, however they also have some projects in which professionals from the identified countries are invited to the Netherlands to take part in knowledge exchange conferences. The

¹ Dutch: Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken; BZ

first phase of CD4D ran from 2016 to 2019 and operated in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Ghana, Iraq, Morocco, Sierra Leone, and Somalia. After positive results and feedback, the programme has progressed to its second phase, this time operating in Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria, and Somalia (CD4D, 2022).

CD4D is interesting case study regarding migration governance. Considering CD4D is a branch from IOM Netherlands, it demonstrates a swing in the migration-development nexus as an immigration organisation is spearheading a development project. The purpose is not to return DEs permanently to their countries of origin but rather to create connections between their countries of origin and the Netherlands through knowledge transfer projects. The goal of CD4D is not to spark return migration, rather it is instead oriented towards generating sustainable development and building transnational bridges between communities (CD4D, 2022).

3.2 Data Collection

Data was collected through individual, semi-structured interviews (mix of face-to-face interviews and Microsoft Teams video-call). Since the research question revolves largely around DEs and their experiences, perceptions of their role within development, their experience with CD4D and their relationship with their country of origin, the responses from DEs provided the bulk of the data. Interviews with CD4D team members complimented and strengthened the data collection about how CD4D acts as a mediator between the DEs and linking them with development projects in their countries of origin. When conducting the interviews, a constructivist interpretative framework was applied. This lends a less rigid lens (Yin, 2015), as I want to study how DEs themselves interpret CD4D's programme, their individual motivations and experiences and their concept of development. The responses will be personal and context specific, hence the value of a constructivist interpretative framework (Yin, 2015).

There were two questionnaires prepared for participants, one for the DEs and one for the CD4D team. The questions were structured around the concepts highlighted in the *Operationalisation Table*, in the following section. There were five main themes: TAN, knowledge transfer, network broker, relationship to country of origin, and motives to participate. Two separate questionnaires were needed as the roles between the two groups are different and

therefore some questions might be irrelevant. See Annex B and Annex C for the interview guides used to gather the data.

3.3 Operationalisation Table

The following tables operationalise of key concepts relevant to the research as discussed in Chapter 2.

Table 1: Identifying actors in TAN

Based on the theoretical framework, these are the roles within TAN and how to identify them when conducting the interviews.

Concept	Definition	Attributes	Indicators	Sources
Transnational Advocacy Networks (TAN)	Network of actors coming together transnationally to reach a common goal or target	Common goal	- Flow of resources towards the project - Shared idea of what the ideal outcomes among all actors - Purpose driven	- Interviews diaspora and CD4D team
		International actors (network broker and communities, see as follows)	- Role/organisational membership - Transnational interactions - Transnational knowledge transfer	- Interviews diaspora and CD4D team
Network broker (Cheng et al., 2021)	A network broker acts as a link between actors. Network brokers hold a variety of resources and connections with which they can pull together relevant actors with common beliefs to achieve a target goal. There are four types of network brokers as identified by Cheng et al. (2021).	Coordinator	- Internal, broker is within the sphere of all group actors - Direct interaction between all parties	- Interviews diaspora and CD4D team
		Gatekeeper/representative broker	- Internal, the broker is within the sphere of at least one actor - Interactions dictated by broker	- Interviews diaspora and CD4D team
		Liaison broker	- External - Interaction between all parties	- Interviews diaspora and CD4D team
		Itinerant broker	- External - Bridging actor, interaction initiated by broker - Passive role, interjects on a needed basis	- Interviews diaspora and CD4D team

Communities	In TAN, the network broker connects two communities; one which holds the skill and the other which has a demand for this skill and therefore could benefit from connecting with the skilled community	Skilled community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expert in their sector (knowledge transfer) - Skilled - Motivated to contribute/support projects - Trusted to contribute to the community which needs skill 	- Interviews diaspora and CD4D team
		Community with demand for skill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deficit in certain sectors - Opportunities for development - Demand for support - Willingness/openness to accept support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews diaspora and CD4D team - CD4D diaspora vacancies on their website

To answer sub-question 1, I will explore the use of TAN and then delve deeper into which role CD4D plays as a network broker between the DE community and the sustainable development projects in their countries of origin.

Table 2: Reason for participation

Based on the theoretical framework, I have speculated that spheres of diaspora engagement will influence DEs' motivations to participate in development projects in their countries of origin.

Concept	Definition	Attributes	Indicators	Sources
Spheres of diaspora engagement (van Hear & Cohen, 2017)	Diaspora interact with their countries of origins in various spheres of engagement	Household/ extended family sphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Family/friends in country of origin - Frequent visits to country of origin - Sends remittances to family - Frequent contact with country of origin - Personal engagement with country of origin 	- Interviews diaspora
		Known community sphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Member of diaspora organisations - Previous engagement in humanitarian projects - Public engagement with country of origin 	- Interviews diaspora

		Imagined community sphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Concern for the nation as a whole - Participation in protests concerning country of origin - Political involvement 	- Interviews diaspora
Motivations to participate (Gustafson & Hertting, 2016)	Motives are defined as factors that give one a reason to do something or to act in a certain way (Gustafson & Hertting, 2016)	Common good motives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Concerned with improving the country in general - Participation based on fostering sustainable development - Bettering relationship between host and country of origin 	- Interviews diaspora
		Self-interest motives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bettering the lives of family members - Focused on development projects in their original communities - Improve one's own expert reputation - Sense of responsibility / owing 	- Interviews diaspora
		Professional competence motives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participation as part of their job - Desire to improve one's own business network - Contributing one's own knowledge and competence 	- Interviews diaspora

To answer sub-question 2, I will investigate which sphere of engagement DEs are most likely to engage in and compare that to their motivations to participate as to gauge why DEs participate in CD4D projects.

3.4 Sampling Strategy

Purposive sampling was used as there was a particular target population (Barglowski, 2018); 15 participants were interviewed; 11 DE who participated in CD4D and four CD4D team members. Stratified sampling was used to include interviews from DEs and CD4D team members. The CD4D team is small, with approximately four IOM employees in the Den Haag headquarters and one to two focal points in the target countries. Four interviews from CD4D was therefore sufficient,

while the rest of the interviews are oriented towards DEs. I have deliberately interviewed DEs from five different countries of origin (Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Somalia). Every country is different and therefore their motivations and challenges vary. By including DEs from a range of participating countries, one can evaluate whether patterns emerge in general or are specific to a country (Barglowski, 2018). Development aid often uses blanket policies; however each country has a unique context (Geiger & Pécoud, 2013). Thus, it is important to analyse countries individually and not under one label of ‘developing country’. Furthermore, CD4D team members were interviewed to observe how the institution perceives its role. IOM/CD4D connect DEs to the host institutions, therefore they are essential actors in the study. The programme coordinators mediate between the parties involved which indicates their role as the network broker, an indication of the levels of transnationalism involved.

The inclusion criteria for the selection of the participants entails 1) they are a diaspora, 2) participation in a CD4D project. Furthermore, CD4D team members must be 1) past or present IOM employee and 2) worked on the CD4D team. This way, the experiences of the diaspora can be compared with the CD4D team’s expectations and can provide an opportunity for policy learning. See Annex A for the list of participants.

3.5 Data Analysis

Data was analysed inductively through thematic analysis. I deployed an inductive process through thematic analysis to use the data to formulate my own theory to explain why and how diaspora contribute to development in their countries of origin. Thematic analysis was used to describe and interpret data to answer the sub-questions. With the refined data, I generated a theory, from the bottom-up, in an inductive manner (refer to Figure 3) (Bryman, 2016).

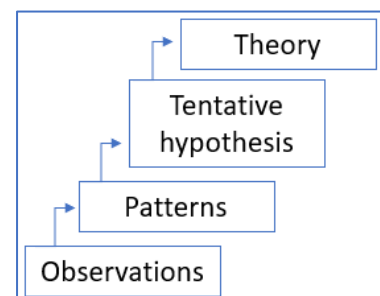


Figure 3: Inductive theory

The data was analysed in Atlas.ti to find patterns in the responses of participants. The interviews were transcribed into Atlas.ti., which facilitated the grouping of themes through a process of coding which allowed for the identifying of patterns and trends in the responses

(Fedyuk & Zentai, 2018). Codes were derived from the indicators as presented in the Operationalisation Table (see Chapter 3.3). The transcripts were coded to organise the data through three stages; the first stage was open coding in which data was broken down into codes; the second stage was axial coding in which codes were grouped together into categories, tying the codes together; and the final stage was selective coding in which all categories were connected (Bryman, 2016). This was a recursive process and therefore required several cycles until a clear theme emerged (Bryman, 2016). The final stage yielded a core category on which the central theory was then based and hence used to explain what was observed.

3.6 Ethical Considerations and Limitations

There are ethical considerations to this research, addressed in this subsection. Firstly, it is important to inform participants of the research that is being conducted and how their responses will be used. Some questions are personal; thus all participants have been given a pseudonym and there was an option to skip over any questions which they did not wish to answer. Certain ethical considerations are relevant when conducting research on migration and migrant groups (Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2020). I therefore acknowledge that I am labelling a certain population in society by categorising participants as ‘diaspora’, whose origins are from ‘developing countries’. This contributes to the perpetuation of the global North-global South imbalance (Raghuram, 2008). Furthermore, this gives into “migration-related differences which are naturalised and normalised” (Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2020, p.272) which in turn differentiates participants which may put them in a position of ostracisation. Also worth noting is that diaspora communities are not homogenous entities and there exist divisions which are important to address and acknowledge (Chikanda et al., 2016).

Limitations of the research include the fact that it does not include the perspective of the host institutions. As the third actor involved in the programme, they could lend further insight to the role which CD4D plays as a mediator, as well as lend further insight into the relationships that are built between the DEs and the host institutions and the impacts on sustainable development goals. Despite this potential, my research is oriented around the DEs themselves and their experiences, and for this reason I have opted to keep the interviews limited to the DEs and the

CD4D team members as to keep the study more concise and focused. A second limitation of the research is that IOM is a large, reputable organisation. As such, some participants may hesitate to be honest about CD4D/IOM as they may feel intimidated or wary because IOM is facilitating their projects and would not want to jeopardise their future relations with IOM. However, to overcome this I have anonymised the identities of all participants.

4. Analysis

This chapter delves into the findings derived from the interviews that were conducted with DEs and CD4D team members. The main findings are that many DEs have a natural desire to give back to their countries of origin and hence CD4D's success in harnessing diaspora engagement comes from harnessing this motivation. This chapter will follow the general structure of the sub-questions. Briefly, the analysis begins by analysing CD4D's relationship with diaspora and their role in the process of recruiting participants for priority projects, and then moving into the key motives for DEs to participate. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner, the responses are based off the interview guides found in the Annex.

4.1 The Role of CD4D

In this section, the role of CD4D is discussed as well as the relationships among the different relevant actors through the main findings of the interviews. As expected, CD4D acted as a network broker between linking DEs to development projects. Furthermore, there is strong evidence of TAN in how CD4D operates in connecting DEs to development projects.

4.1.1 Brief Review of CD4D's Role

This subsection relies largely on the interviews conducted with the CD4D team members to create an idea of how CD4D operates, its role in linking DEs and how all the communities interacted with each other throughout the project. The process begins with IOM/CD4D liaising with the BZ, who identifies which countries and priority sectors CD4D should focus on. In this current phase of the programme, Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia (including Somaliland) and Nigeria have been identified as the focus countries. The next step is for CD4D to coordinate with the focal point team members in the identified countries. The focal point team member will then get in

contact with potential host institutions which fall under the priority sectors as identified by the BZ and conduct a needs assessment to identify the areas of needs to develop a term of reference. This then gets relayed back to the CD4D team in the Netherlands who will work on recruiting diaspora applicants. The CD4D team advertises the vacancies set out by the host institutions then screen through the applicants, sending the most promising candidates through to the host institutions which complete the interview and selection process. Once a DE has been selected, the CD4D team in the Netherlands organises their pre-departure training (non-compulsory) and their flights. Upon arrival at the host institution, DEs work directly with the host institution and give monthly progress report check-ins with the local focal point team member.

“At CD4D we work at, we could say the supply side, that’s where (the Netherlands) the diaspora are based” – Aad (Former head of CD4D)

Funding for CD4D comes from the BZ, with the agreement that the Ministry decides the countries involved in the project and the priority sectors. When CD4D moved into its second phase, this meant that some countries were dropped as the Ministry identified new countries to work with. The programme went from coordinating with host institutions in six countries to only three countries in its second phase (it was originally four, however the political situation in Afghanistan has resulted in it being dropped). The programme has been scaled back because of a reduction in funding. Babah says this is unfortunate; his country of origin, Sierra Leone, has been left out this phase, likely due to the reduction. Moreover, this reflects that CD4D’s role as a network broker is limited by the funding and the direction they receive from the BZ.

4.1.2 Recruiting Diaspora Experts

CD4D provides DEs with an allowance during the project, however this is not a salary. Therefore they must rely on other incentives to make their projects appealing to DEs. Initially, CD4D struggled to find diaspora, as they were putting the project vacancies on OneWorld (a platform from Society for International Development Nederland for sharing development opportunities among civil societies, NGOs, government officials, etc.). Overtime, they discovered that they had more success posting the project opportunities on LinkedIn, connecting with well known and trusted diaspora communities (for example Nigerians In Diaspora Organisation Europe (NIDOE)

which focuses on professional Nigerians in the Netherlands) and by using the networks of previous participants (word of mouth). Conor, a CD4D team member, explains: *“we realised that these people were not in the development field, actually, they are experts in their own fields, so we stopped doing that (OneWorld.nl) and really focused more on LinkedIn”*. This was confirmed by the DEs, who said they heard about CD4D either through LinkedIn or through recommendation from colleagues. The DEs which CD4D targets are sought after for their expertise and their knowledge, rather than for holding a background in development.

The projects are designed to be one week to three months in length for a few reasons. The first is that because DEs are professionals in their respective fields, they also hold regular jobs and cannot simply leave their jobs in the Netherlands. By keeping the assignments short and flexible, diaspora can participate by taking a few weeks holiday leave, instead of permanently leaving their jobs. Furthermore, by keeping the projects short, there is an emphasis on fostering sustainable development through the efficiency of the knowledge transfer. Knowledge is transferred and the short time frame makes sure that host institutions do not become dependent on the presence of the DE and that they instead learn and continue to practice without their guidance. Despite this, some DEs did express that they found the projects too short and that their time at the host institution was too brief for lasting impact, while others were pleased that they could contribute to development in their countries of origin without having to sacrifice too much of their routine in the Netherlands. Briefly mentioned by a CD4D team member (Conor), was that CD4D also facilitates knowledge exchanges in which identified target countries send a group of professionals from the host institution to the Netherlands to attend a conference. Conor explained that these ‘knowledge exchanges’ are a way to follow up with host institutions after the project has ended.

During the projects, CD4D were able to assist DEs with technical challenges they faced. The monthly feedback from DEs and host institutions served as positive feedback, and CD4D would try to make adaptations to keep the projects effective and flexible for all involved. Ahmad recounts a time when CD4D was able to help him overcome challenges in his virtual project in Nigeria: *“there was challenges of internet connectivity and IOM was able to come in support with some financial grants in order to like make sure that there is a strong Internet connectivity with*

the attendees". However, two diaspora expressed frustration in the bureaucratic process, Abdel, originally from Somalia, expressed frustration in how his request for an extension took months to be processed, and Umid said he felt a lack of support when his project in Afghanistan fell apart (because of the political collapse) saying *"I think the facilitation could have been better with CD4D. The follow up, but also maybe a little support. It's a big organisation and you easily get lost and all the bureaucracy"*. Nonetheless, the general response from DEs was that they found the monthly feedback to be constructive and that it aided their projects and success.

4.1.3 Diaspora to Host Institution Relationship

Diasporas' relationship with the host institution with which they conduct their project is relevant to this study. CD4D offers pre-departure training for DEs prior to participating in their projects. This training has two goals, as explained by Conor from CD4D. The first is that despite being experts in their fields, the DEs might have little experience in how to effectively transfer knowledge. Knowledge transfer is the primary goal of the project and CD4D's philosophy for creating sustainable development; *"it's important that it's focused on sustainability, that is the impact. So, you should not do the work yourself, you should train the staff how to do the work"* (Aad, CD4D). The goals and terms of reference are clearly articulated and formalised to diaspora and to the host institution to facilitate initial cooperation. Nathaniel, a CD4D focal point in Nigeria, emphasised that there is no hierarchy between the DEs and their colleagues at the host institutions. This is to foster collaboration and cooperation rather than some form of top-down instruction. He says this creates a better relationship, explaining that a *"mindset that you are superior, you'll run into difficulties"*.

Despite the formalities set by CD4D, the reception of the DE in the host institution can be varied. Regardless of being of origin from that country, there remains an element of an outsider stepping in when DEs arrive at the host institution. The following quotes reflect the diversity in experiences from DEs when starting their projects. The first quote is from Babah, who reflects on his experiences as being perceived as a stranger upon returning to his country of origin, Sierra Leone:

“I'm almost spending half of my lifetime in Holland, but I am an African on the one hand. <...> sometimes people don't see me as a real Sierra Leonian. And so they will see me as a stranger sometimes... <...> People feel you go there, you make pictures, you speak to them and that you are coming to make money with our pictures here. So it takes time for that (trust) to happen. People see that the way you walk, the way you look, the way you talk, your accent is different” – Babah (Sierra Leone)

Idris, also originally from Sierra Leone, experienced a similar initial reaction of reluctance in his project as Babah had, and explains how he was able to overcome that and earn his colleagues' trust:

“You want to introduce something that you think you've learnt somewhere, and then you would have this kind of tension between you and them. But then some of them eventually I was able to overcome by just talking to them like, hey, this is how things are done there. And then I think this is what we do. And then for us, it's not for me. It's about for all of us” – Idris (Sierra Leone)

By reassuring their colleagues of their good intentions, Idris and Babah were able to overcome the scepticism of their colleagues. However for them, being from Sierra Leone did not grant them trust right away, it had to be earned. Abdel, on the other hand, had a different experience in his country of origin, Somalia. He recounted that people respected him and were quick to trust him, especially because of his gained knowledge from a Western institution:

“I really got trusted and I got respected. You know, in Africa, yeah, it's pretty different. So when someone has studied in Western, they think like he knows everything. Yeah. So they are really interested.” – Abdel (Somalia)

Despite these variations in the host institutions' initial perceptions of the DEs, trust was built-up overtime. Most diaspora who experienced doubt from their host institution were able to build trust with their coworkers by playing to their connections with their country of origin. Fisayo gives an example of a time she was working alongside a university and explained how sharing a native language helped break down barriers.

“Of course they see my name as a Yoruba², but I was able to speak a little Hausa³, you know? So, there's no cultural difference. We are the same color. We are speaking the same thing. So they feel relaxed. They feel that. In fact we both, not only them too, even me, myself. I felt that too, the trust was there.” – Fisayo (Nigeria)

Not only is it important for knowledge transfer that DEs are trusted by the host institutions, but the host institutions should likewise be open and willing to accept them for effective capacity building. As CD4D is simply acting as the recruiting platform for the host institutions, most institutions have shown the interest and initiative to accept DEs. However, some diaspora noticed that this was not accepted among all in the workplace. This stubbornness for accepting knowledge transfer is a hinderance to creating sustainable development. Sesay makes this observation:

“There were some people that were ready to come on board and there were some people that were not just ready, no matter what you do. You see? So that was that. That's why the project there were some successes and failures” – Sesay (Sierra Leone)

The DEs who took part in university and research related projects saw the most openness and commitment to the project. Abdel participated in educational institutions but knew of fellow DEs working with Somalian ministers. He said they experienced greater challenges as people in these positions of power were less open to collaborating with DEs. This observation was also made by Aad, the former head of CD4D, who was involved in the monthly feedback process between diaspora and the host institutions. He explained that many of the ministers would treat diaspora as assistants requesting them to do tasks, instead of collaborating on policy reforms. He explained that CD4D tried to overcome this by clearly laying out the terms of reference between the ministers and the DEs as to *“keep in mind the objective of the assignment”*. The openness of the institution depended largely on what type of institutions it was, in which academic institutions were more open and government institutions were more stubborn and resistant to diaspora collaboration.

² Language spoken largely in Southwestern Nigeria

³ Official language in several states in North Nigeria

From the responses gathered, the cultural knowledge DEs hold on their country of origin, be it linguistic, cultural or norm/behavioural, it helped them to relate and therefore transfer knowledge in a more meaningful and impactful manner. DEs hold the diaspora advantage, which allows them to connect to their colleagues on a more genuine level. Rahim, whose country of origin is Somaliland, explains what the diaspora advantage entails: *“it’s not only speaking the language, but it’s also understanding the culture, understanding where people are coming from, why they think in a certain way”*. To create meaningful bonds which lead to a higher likelihood of cooperation between actors, there must be deeper mutual understanding than simply speaking the same language, and this is the key that DEs hold when engaging with host institutions.

An important element of sustainable development is the notion that the development can continue in a way that allows for future generations to support themselves and their needs (UN, 2021a). Therefore the knowledge transfer and capacity building initiated by CD4D should be able to continue to grow after the project. Many of the DEs continued to be involved with their host institutions post-CD4D, displaying sustainable development through a continued relationship, without the presence of a development organisation. Host institutions became part of DEs’ networks as they continued relationships with their colleagues and former students. Most notable were diaspora involved in educational institutions who continued to help students by mentoring them or helping them access academic resources which otherwise would not be available to them in their countries. Other diaspora continued to show support by organising exchanges, for instance inviting professionals from their countries of origin to conferences in Europe. Conor and Nathaniel from CD4D credit the voluntary nature of the programme and that it helps in creating a sustainable long-term relationship between DEs and host institutions. Nathaniel works as a focal point for CD4D in Nigeria and has overseen many projects, he made this observation: *“the beauty really with CD4D is outside the formal window, where the experts of course execute the assignments. You know they also develop relationships where, you know, things can also happen post CD4D, right? Yeah. Which is beautiful”*. Sustainable development is observed in the lasting relationship between DEs and host institutions post-CD4D.

To conclude this section, I will address sub-question 1. CD4D collaborates with host institutions in developing countries selected by the BZ and works as a channel to link DEs to

development projects in target countries. It relies on networking platforms such as LinkedIn and word of mouth from former participants to recruit applicants. In this case, CD4D acts as an itinerant broker. CD4D largely functions to facilitate the connecting of DEs to host institutions. Once CD4D has recruited diaspora candidates, they pass this along to the host institution which then completes the selection process. CD4D are more involved in the pre-departure process, as once the diaspora have started the project, the interaction is mostly between the host institutions and diaspora, CD4D only interjects on a needed basis. This is characteristic to an itinerant broker who works to connect two communities, then stepping back once the connection has been made. Furthermore, many DEs even continued the relationship with host institutions beyond the CD4D project, displaying successful connections for sustainable development. Lastly, to complete the process of knowledge transfer, diaspora must build trust with the host institution, which in turn must be open to collaboration and hence leads to an environment for sustainable development.

4.2 Patterns in Diasporas' Motivations

In this section the motivations for why DEs participate in CD4D and how their relationship to their country of origin are described. There are many interesting points to consider; firstly the diaspora participants are not paid a salary, only an allowance to cover the costs, therefore there is little financial incentive. Many of the DEs came to the Netherlands as refugees or asylum seekers at varying stages of their life. Some fled to the Netherlands at a young age while others fled later in their lives. Nonetheless, despite having fled their countries of origin, they still chose to participate in development projects there. This section will use interviews from DEs to help understand their relationship to their country of origin and delve into how this might have an influence on why they were motivated to participate in CD4D projects. This chapter will explore how DEs' relationship to their country of origin might influence why they participate in development projects in their country of origin.

4.2.1 Diasporas' Relationship to their Country of Origin

How diaspora interact with their country of origin is relevant to understanding why they participate in CD4D. When DEs were asked if they felt more connected to the Netherlands or

their country of origin, all DEs said their lives were intertwined between the two. They felt like part of Dutch society when in the Netherlands while simultaneously being connected to their country of origin. This section will continue by elaborating on their connection to their country of origin through analysing the spheres in which DEs engage in to look closer into their relationship with their country of origin. The following are the spheres of diaspora engagement: household/extended family sphere, known community sphere and the imagined community sphere (van Hear & Cohen, 2017).

CD4D present themselves to DEs with no distinction between first-generation or second-generation immigrants. However, all the DEs that I interviewed were first-generation, foreign-born. Although there were a few who immigrated to the Netherlands at a young age and consider themselves to have grown up 'Dutch'. Those who immigrated to the Netherlands at an older age, many had immediate family members in their countries of origin. This is a very direct link, as they were in frequent contact with them. Most of the diaspora interviewed would travel back to their country of origin at least once or twice a year, with some going back and forth as often as four times a year. As well as family, many DEs had an extensive network of friends. For the diaspora that arrived in the Netherlands at a young age, they were more likely to have extended family in their countries of origin rather than immediate family. This did serve as a tie to their country; however they did not travel to their country of origin again until after graduating from high school. Nonetheless, they were raised bilingual and had contact with extended family members while growing up. Therefore, it has been observed that having some form of contact with family and friends in their country of origin was a shared trait among DEs. However, the age at which they immigrated to the Netherlands did influence how closely connected diaspora were with their country of origin, with those who immigrated when they were younger to be more distantly associated with their country of origin.

Most of the DEs interviewed came to the Netherlands as asylum seekers or refugees and have since been granted Dutch residency. Many fled from life-threatening situations of war and conflict. Diaspora were open about this reality and despite showing passion toward their country, they acknowledged that life in their countries of origin is difficult. Even though they were forced

to flee and many of these countries remain unstable, there remained some sort of pull towards where they came from. Alimayu, who left Ethiopia as an adult explains the feeling:

“Africa was not kind to its people. I should say, somehow, not because people are bad, but somehow that is the way it is, and you run away from it. But still emotionally, there is a hidden chain, which always pulls you back. It's like you are a dog tied to a wood where you have a chain. Sometimes you know, the animals they forget that they have something and then it pulls them back. That is, that is somehow how life it is for us.” – Alimayu (Ethiopia)

Even those who had spent most of their life in the Netherlands, having immigrated as children, felt this desire to connect with their “roots” as Umid describes, who fled Afghanistan with his family when he was very young. After completing his undergraduate degree, he travelled to Afghanistan to search for his “roots and identity”. A few DEs have returned to live and work in their country of origin, despite the instability and despite having enjoyed the comforts and higher wages in the Netherlands. DEs all shared a sense of pull which drove them to engage with their country of origin on a personal level. These responses give an indication of generally high engagement within the household/extended family sphere among the interviewed DEs.

Diaspora organisations and communities are another way for diaspora to feel connected to their countries of origin. Of the diaspora interviewed, there were mixed responses as to whether they are/were part of any diaspora organisations while in the Netherlands. From the DEs that immigrated at a young age, none were part of diaspora organisations, presumably because they had made their social connections while in school. The DEs that had immigrated in the later stages of their lives were more likely to be a member of a diaspora organisation. This led a few DEs to have been involved in humanitarian and development projects prior to CD4D. Of all the diaspora interviewed, only one clearly stated he was involved in diaspora political party groups (Ikemba, Nigeria), which demonstrates low overall engagement in the imagined community sphere. Others did it for the sense of community and for advocating for humanitarian issues or for strengthening bonds between the Netherlands and their country of origin. The known sphere had less overall engagement among diaspora members than the household

sphere, however it had more engagement than the imagined community sphere, which was only observed once.

4.2.2 Main Motivations for Diaspora Participation in CD4D

This subsection explores DEs' motives for engaging in development projects through CD4D. As has been established previously, financial incentive is not a reason for partaking in CD4D's project. This section will explore what motivations DEs hold for investing their time and effort into development projects as well as why they chose CD4D.

The most common response from DEs when prompted with *"what were your some of your main motivations for participating in CD4D?"* revolved around improving the country in general for the sake of the inhabitants of their countries of origin. The DEs which worked alongside educational institutions expressed that they saw themselves reflected in the students and wished to help build a better future for them. Others referred to the people of their country of origin as their "cousins" (Umid, Afghanistan) or "brothers and sisters" (Abdel, Somalia), implying that there is a certain kinship which they value. This pertains to the common good motives, as does another sentiment expressed by many DEs.

Most interviewees felt that they owed it to their country of origin to return (be it temporarily) to give back by sharing the knowledge they learnt in the Netherlands with their country of origin. Umid came to the Netherlands at a young age as a refugee from Afghanistan. He thinks that many are motivated to participate in development in their countries of origin because *"we have a little survival guilt. You know, we want to do something back"*. DEs expressed gratitude for the success they have been able to achieve, and many wished to give back and share it with their country of origin. Others also said that they see themselves in their colleagues at their host institutions, so there could be an element of guilt that they were able to pursue better opportunities. Ahmad, a DE originally from Nigeria, explains why he participated in CD4D:

"The only thing I can give back is my technical knowledge and I'm happy I could do this back to my country because I owe the country a lot. So I was born here (Nigeria), of course the country made me. So whatever I can do in my capacity to extend something good back to the country" (Ahmad, Nigeria)

By doing so and feeling as they were able to contribute to their country of origin, many DEs expressed feeling of self-fulfillment and personal achievement through their contributions to development projects. These sentiments are part of the self-interest motives.

A surprising result in terms of diaspora motivations to engage in development projects, which was not initially coded for, was that many DEs disclosed their distrust in the current government of their countries of origin. Words conveying incompetence and corruption were used to describe the governments in their countries of origin. For this reason diaspora wanted to instead participate in more ground-up type of development and provide support directly to the people. Many of them came to the Netherlands as asylum seekers or refugees because of civil conflict in their countries, and this experience has resulted in ongoing distrust of the government.

“You know we are ethnically Uzbek, and the central government has been marginalizing and discriminating us and this actually is also one of my biggest motivation and incentives. I saw the social unjust and systematic discrimination”

(Umid, Afghanistan)

The quote above is part of Umid’s experience with systemic discrimination, however it also speaks to the distrust in government many DEs shared. Although not all the DEs experienced systemic discrimination, some highlighted incompetence and corruption in their country of origin’s government. The DEs that did work alongside ministers and public servants complained of stubbornness and lack of cooperation, causing more skepticism, frustration, and disillusionment. Conversely, the idea of ground-up development felt more productive to DEs. The motivation to participate in this manner because of government distrust would pertain to the common goods motives as it concerns itself with improving the country in general.

The above paragraphs outlined why DEs felt motivated to engage in development projects, but this paragraph will reflect on the specific reasons why diaspora chose to participate through CD4D rather than another organisation. For instance, the logistical side appealed to many. The flexible duration of the projects meant they could keep their work and use their vacation days to participate in CD4D, and many explained that they liked that it could fit within their work schedule. Secondly, working with a large organisation such as IOM gave DEs more

confidence in the legitimacy of the programme and its objectives. Lastly, many saw value in the knowledge transfer aspect of CD4D and found that form of project engagement to be more long-lasting and impactful.

“You can give a man a fish and he will eat for a day. Or you can teach him how to fish and he will eat for a lifetime or something like that. And so I like, the more the long-term orientation” (Rahim, Somaliland)

This pertains to the common good motives as they chose participating with CD4D because they valued knowledge transfer as a viable means towards sustainable development. In brief, the flexibility of the organisation, the knowledge transfer aspect of the CD4D projects as well as the legitimacy that an organisation such as IOM offers appealed to DEs.

To conclude this section, I will address sub-question 2. All DEs showed forms of engagement in the household/extended family sphere, most commonly through contact with family and friends that still live in the country of origin. There were some which also engaged in the known community sphere, but this was mainly from DEs who immigrated later in their adulthood. This could be because they spent more of their formative years in their country of origin and therefore seek out that type of community while those that came to the Netherlands as children did not desire that sense of community, as they had not been as exposed to it. Regarding the motivations to participate, engagement in the household/extended family was the most relevant reason. There was a split between the common good and the self-interest motives and DEs expressed sentiments in both. Motivations relevant to improving the country in general for the inhabitants was also a primary incentive and many DEs felt an internal obligation related to a sense of guilt or responsibility to their country of origin.

4.3 Analysis Conclusions

This chapter illustrated the findings regarding the varying roles within TAN, notably CD4D's role as a network broker as well as understanding why diaspora are motivated to participate in CD4D. TAN was identified between DEs, CD4D and host institutions. CD4D acted as a liaison network broker, connecting DEs (skilled community) to the host institutions (community with demand for

skill). Once CD4D initiated the connection between DEs and host institutions, factors like trust and good intentions from DEs and openness to learning from the host institutions led to successful cooperation on the development projects. These findings satisfy sub-question 1.

Considering sub-question 2 on diaspora motivation to participate in development projects in their country of origin, high engagement in the household/extended family sphere was observed among all DEs. Primary motivations for participating were split between the common good and self-interest motives. Furthermore, when evaluating the engagement with CD4D specifically, the common good motive was most present as DEs were motivated by contributing their knowledge to foster sustainable development.

Further points to reflect from the findings includes the observations among the different receptions of the host institutions. DEs reported less cooperation in projects involving ministers and policy reform, whereas DEs working with universities and research institutions experienced higher levels of cooperation. This finding shows that reform in governmental institutions is often slow and is more stubborn to change, while grassroots initiatives are often more open to change. This highlights the strength and potential in ground-up development.

Variations among the reception of host institutions were also observed in the different countries. Although not enough interviews were conducted from the different countries of origin to make general assumptions about that country, I noticed some patterns among the interviews. For instance, the DEs from Sierra Leone experienced more initial skepticism from their host institution colleagues than the DE from Somalia. The Sierra Leonian DEs said the skepticism came from them being regarded as foreign Westerners, while the Somalian DE said his Western university accreditations garnered him respect and trust from colleagues. This reflects the importance of diaspora in engaging in development to tailor the processes rather than the interjection of Western institutions which tend to use blanket policies for global South development.

Furthermore, the findings found that those who had migrated to the Netherlands at a younger age were less likely to engage in the known community sphere than DEs who came to the Netherlands in their adulthood. This could have been because they grew up in the

Netherlands and do not hold the same associations of community to their country of origin and therefore did not seek out the sense of community that a diaspora organisation might offer. Nonetheless, they still grew up in a household in which cultural practices from the country of origin was maintained and engaged transnationally with relatives in their countries of origin. This did generate some sort of pull towards their country of origin and a curiosity for their roots. As such, this study finds that the household/extended family sphere is very important to DEs' connection to their country of origin.

To conclude this chapter, this paragraph will briefly address the main research question through the assumptions gathered in the sub-questions. DEs engage in development projects in their country of origin because they (still) feel an affinity towards there. This affinity is generated or maintained through transnational networks, connected by friends, family, a sense of obligation, and a desire to improve the country in general, which motivates them to contribute. These are regular people, not development specialists, however, they are professionals in their respective fields, and they wish to share this gained knowledge to their country of origin. CD4D attracts this demographic by centering their projects around knowledge transfer and having flexible project lengths to accommodate DEs' professional work.

5. Discussion

This chapter discusses the findings in the context of the theories and literature presented in the theoretical framework. I will review how TAN played a role in the process of CD4D as a network broker and outline lessons that can be drawn from its importance in this study and in a larger context. Then I will review the role of different variables in allowing for successful knowledge transfer between diaspora and host institutions to achieve sustainable development. This is followed by reviewing Gustafson and Hertting's (2016) theories on motivations to participate as applied to the responses from DEs and their spheres of engagement. Lastly, this chapter concludes with a new theory inductively developed from the data gathered.

5.1 Transnational Advocacy Networks Applied to CD4D

Part of the purpose of this study was to see what role CD4D plays in connecting DEs to development projects. TAN was identified in the literature as a way in which different communities can come together through a network broker to achieve a common goal (Cheng et al., 2021). The role of network broker could be further specified depending on its relationship to the other communities. Moreover, TAN rely on the exchange of information and services between the involved actors (Keck & Sikkink, 1999), of which knowledge transfer plays a vital role. The data yielded from the interviews showed that there were transnational actors involved and they worked together towards a common goal of sustainable development.

In this study, TAN proved to be useful in identifying how transnational actors come together to create change in practice or policy through a common goal. Cheng et al. (2021) hold that TAN is comprised of three main communities: a community which holds a specific skill, a community which has a demand for this skill and a network broker which connects the two communities. This idea proved to be present in the coming together of DEs as the skilled community, the development projects in their countries of origin as the community in need of the skill and CD4D as the network broker.

The first expectation set out in Chapter 3.3 will be addressed in this paragraph. It was expected that CD4D would act as a liaison broker, however this was not the conclusion drawn from the findings. Instead, CD4D proved to act more as an itinerant broker. The liaison broker and itinerant broker are both external actors, however they differ in that the liaison broker continues the facilitation of interaction between all actors, while the itinerant broker is more passive once actors have initially been connected. Beyond the recruiting process and connecting the diaspora candidate to the host institution, CD4D only interjected on a needed basis, which fits the description of itinerant broker. By being an itinerant broker, CD4D gives space for DEs and host institutions to interact more and create a stronger, more independent relationship accordingly. This idea is reflected in CD4D's philosophy that aims to create bonds between DEs and host institutions that go beyond CD4D and contribute to broader sustainable development, independent of the organisation. Conversely, a liaison broker would have been much more

involved throughout the process; but this may have led to emergence of dependence on the large institution, which is counter productive to sustainable development. Instead, CD4D was successful in creating space to allow for these sustainable bonds between DEs and host institutions, as the interviews illustrated that many DEs continued to be in contact with the host institutions after their projects with CD4D finished.

This proves that when big institutions, such as IOM, are involved in TAN, especially in a context of trying to connect members from different communities, it is important to not be overly involved beyond the initial connecting process, as this way new norms and connections are formed in a way that fits the communities and is not forced, awkward or artificial. That way the connections are more likely to continue and be sustained without the presence of the network broker. As such, the network broker can invest its resources into connecting other communities, expanding the communities which could benefit from a network broker to connect them. As CD4D is working with global South countries, it also gives them more agency in the projects, which, historically, development agencies have failed to do (Geiger & Pécout, 2013). This may have the beneficial future impact of leveling global hierarchies, because by focusing on collaboration between DEs and host institutions, the global South will be less dependent on the global North for development aid (Chikanda et al., 2016). TAN facilitated through an itinerant broker therefore hold high potential for sustainable development in the migration-development nexus that may exceed that of another type of network broker.

Kiel (2011) argues that the purposive rather than opportunistic nature, of TAN, is what attracts actors to participate. Since there is nothing to gain other than a sense of satisfaction and accomplishment, and the notion that all the actors are reliant on the other in a symbiotic manner, Kiel (2011) argues that that leaves little room for large power imbalances. However, this study has found this to not always be the case in TAN. Despite the involved actors' purposeful intentions towards sustainable development goals, there remained the dependence on funds from the BZ. This dependence leaves the fate of the programme vulnerable to ministerial budgetary fluctuations that could impact ongoing funding for CD4D. Furthermore, CD4D is restricted to working only with the priority countries identified by the Ministry and within the confines of the priority sectors within those identified countries. For instance, there were Sierra

Leonian DEs which were disappointed to see that Sierra Leone had been dropped when CD4D moved into its second phase. This proved that there is never an instance of true neutrality among TAN in practice as there will always be one or more actors which hold the necessary capital to accomplish established goals, and ultimately this dictates the priorities of the common goal.

The finding that the projects are dependent on the BZ is counterintuitive to the previous evidence that TAN facilitated through an itinerant broker hold high potential for sustainable development, as there is still evidence of dependence on a global North institution. It is therefore worth noting that many DEs from countries that had been discontinued in phase two of CD4D did continue to collaborate with their host institutions or found other development projects with their countries of origin to pursue. This was outside the financing of IOM. Therefore there was evidence of sustainable development and global South empowerment in the relationships already formed. However, the withdrawing of funding might have stopped new DEs from getting involved with their countries of origin and that of course represents a missed opportunity.

5.2 Knowledge Transfer from Diaspora Experts to Host Institutions

As has been established, TAN is a minimum of three parties; a community which holds a specific skill, a community which has a demand for this skill and a network broker which connects the two communities. The section above addressed CD4D as the role of the network broker. This section will elaborate on the coming together of the skilled community and the community with demand for that skill. The DEs hold the skills which host institutions have a demand for. Furthermore, DEs, by holding the diaspora advantage, hold the tools for effective and sustainable knowledge transfer that an outside actor would not.

Global South countries often suffer slower development in part due to brain drain, as many of their skilled workers migrate in search of better standard of living (Langley & Kuschminder, 2016). Therefore they hold a deficit of qualified experts in many professional fields. CD4D offers the opportunity for DEs from those sending countries to temporarily return and engage in knowledge transfer and contribute to capacity building projects which will foster sustainable development. Bakewell (2009) argues that the term brain drain is paternalistic in that it 'blames' individual migrants for contributing to underdevelopment. He counters that mobility

through migration may be more effective for development as it alleviates poverty and can open the potential for transnational networks that go between states (Bakewell, 2009). Through the interviews conducted it was clear that through the transnational practices and mobility of DEs between countries, DEs were able to contribute to capacity building and form transnational networks. CD4D oversaw knowledge transfer programmes through the temporary return of DEs and by inviting their colleagues at the host institutions to the Netherlands to attend conferences to share their knowledge with Dutch institutions as well. This notion of mobility that is not only limited to the possibility of movement from the global North to global South but also gives those from the global South agency to move should be encouraged, as Bakewell (2009) argues. This is an important notion which demonstrates that institutions should embrace to better empower diaspora engagement, just as CD4D has done.

As CD4D positions itself as an itinerant broker, DEs and host institutions cooperate primarily between each other to achieve the goals of the sustainable development projects. However, this link should not be taken for granted simply because CD4D initiated it. Rather, as Hudson (2001) argued, for the network to work efficiently between the two communities there must be trust, cooperation and reciprocity. Nonetheless, this study proved that simply being of origin of a particular country did not necessarily grant DEs the attributes listed by Hudson (2001). Trust and cooperation can not be taken for granted, rather they form over time. However, Yue (2018) does argue that the presence of a diaspora advantage assists this. This study confirms this as diaspora were able to build trust and overcome skepticism using their language skills and cultural understanding. Accordingly, they were able to forge cooperative relationships with the host institutions and collaborate on the development projects and transfer knowledge in an effective manner for sustainability. Trust was therefore an important precursor to cooperation. Furthermore, DEs came into the projects as an equal rather than as a superior. This helped encourage cooperation early in the project, as for there to be progress and successful outcomes, all actors had to collaborate closely. Hudson's (2001) third attribute for networks efficiency is reciprocity. Knowledge transfer requires someone to share knowledge and someone to receive and accept knowledge (Kuschminder, 2013). This study found that DEs that were working in host institutions alongside ministers and government officials said that often their cooperation was

not reciprocated. They said it did not come from a lack of trust, but instead from stubbornness from the ministers as well as their treating of the DEs as subordinates rather than equals.

This study can confirm that diaspora do hold an advantage by holding relevant language skills and cultural understanding and as such were able to effectively adapt to their new work environment and transfer knowledge gained in the Netherlands effectively. This study also proved that for effective networks for knowledge transfer to happen, there must be three attributes: trust, cooperation, and reciprocity (Hudson, 2001).

5.3 Spheres of Engagement and Diaspora Experts' Motives

DE are one of the key communities linked through TAN. DE participation is thus relevant and a crucial part of this study. DEs participating in CD4D are not motivated by financial incentives, as it is a voluntary programme. As such, other factors motivate them to participate in CD4D's sustainable development projects. This section will discuss the spheres of engagement (van Hear & Cohen, 2017) and then relate it to the motivations for participation (Gustafson & Hertting, 2016).

This study analysed which spheres of engagement DEs were most involved with and compared it to what motivated them to participate in the CD4D programme. The second expectation, laid out in Chapter 3.3, was that the motivations for participation (common good motive, self-interest motive or professional competence motive) would correlate the sphere of engagement with which DEs were most engaged (household/extended family sphere, known community sphere and the community sphere). For instance, high engagement in the household/extended family sphere would explain for diaspora motivations to fall under the self-interest motive, as they might be motivated to contribute to development on the grounds that their friends and family would benefit. The research found that the household/extended family sphere had the highest engagement among all diaspora participants, but that there was a split between the common goods motives and the self-interest motives.

Contrary to the original speculation, there was no direct influence on the sphere of engagement to the motivations for participation. This is because the data collected is from

subjective experiences and therefore is not tangible, as everyone had individual experiences which can lead to varying answers and therefore it is difficult to pinpoint one experience as the sole variable for a certain outcome (Bryman, 2016). Thus it can be gathered that the spheres of engagement in which diaspora are involved does not influence which motivations for participation diaspora fall under. However it can be concluded that diaspora that are motivated to participate in development projects in their countries of origin do show high levels of engagement in one or more spheres. High levels of engagement with the country of origin may therefore in itself be a catalyst for DEs to participate in development projects. The personal bonds formed in the household/extended family sphere give rise to common good and self-interest motives.

5.3.1 Spheres of Diaspora Engagement

Many scholars hold that diaspora are in a unique position as they hold linkages to their host country and their country of origin, giving rise to transnationalism. The linkages to their country of origin are strengthened through various forms of engagement. Van Hear and Cohen (2017) list three spheres of diaspora engagement: the household/extended family sphere, the known community sphere, and the imagined community sphere. As had been the case in van Hear and Cohen's (2017) study, the most frequent and popular sphere of diaspora engagement was in the household/extended family sphere. Contact with family and friends still living in the country of origin was the main driver of engagement within this sphere. As such DEs held a personal connection to their country of origin.

Binaisa (2015) asserts that transnational social ties are one of the key elements linking diaspora to their 'homeland'. This study confirms this claim as it was in the social ties with family and friends that DEs were the most engaged, over diaspora organisations or political parties. Transnational social ties are accessible through improved technology allowing for instant and more frequent communication as well as easier and more frequent travel abroad (Vertovec, 2004). DEs reported high levels of contact with their family and friends at home through social media and were able to strengthen those bonds in person through travel. As Dutch residents, they did not hold the restrictions of acquiring visas and were able to easily travel between

countries, which ultimately allowed them to have a stronger bond with the people in their country of origin. DEs who came to the Netherlands at a young age were in contact in family in their countries of origin, however, did not travel back to their country of origin until after leaving school. Once they did visit their country of origin again, they strengthened existing social ties and formed new ones. This resulted in stronger transnational social ties to their country of origin.

5.3.2 Diasporas' Motives for Participation

Gustafson and Hertting (2016) based their three motives (common good, self-interest and professional competence) for participation in participatory governance on the three arguments explained in this section. This section will evaluate whether these can fit the context of the migration-development nexus and then elaborate and discuss the findings to compare to the literature. The first argument for the necessity of participatory governance was that there existed a democratic deficit in that citizens' interests were not adequately represented in the policy process. Conversely, through participatory governance, the citizens are more involved and therefore better represented (Gustafson & Hertting, 2016). In the context of the migration-development nexus, throughout history there has been a lack of development beyond fostering economic growth, and it has always been from a global North perspective (Geiger & Pécoud, 2013). CD4D fosters sustainable development by investing in human capital through knowledge transfer, instead of in economic capital. DEs therefore can see their involvement in the process of development as well as feel as though the interests of communities are being served rather than funneling financial aid to governments and trying only to grow the economy. This study did find that DEs saw promise in knowledge transfer as a means towards creating impactful, long-lasting sustainable development within the host institutions.

The second argument revolved around an integrative logic, meaning that policies often serve the majority and are not interested in the voices of minority groups, but in participatory governance more interests are represented (Gustafson & Hertting, 2016). In the context of the migration-development nexus, the potential role of diaspora beyond remittance sending in development has been largely overlooked (Bakewell, 2009). Skilled workers residing outside of their countries of origin have been seen as a 'symptom of development failure' (Bakewell, 2009,

p.1341). However, this diminishes them by framing them as a 'lost cause' and neglects their voice and agency. By contrast, through participating in CD4D, DEs increase agency and use their gained experiences in the global North and knowledge transfer to apply it to the context of their country of origin. Furthermore, it has been established that DEs hold the diaspora advantage, in which they hold the skills and tools to effectively carry out knowledge transfer in a way that suits the country of origin (Brinkerhoff, 2006). As such, DEs' voices should be included in sustainable development, and CD4D provides a platform to facilitate their engagement.

The third argument is that political actors are too removed from the realities of citizens, whereas participatory governance allows for the knowledge and competence of local actors to help solve local societal problems (Gustafson & Hertting, 2016). DEs are in a unique position through their transnational lens and the ties they hold to their host country and their country of origin (Upegui-Hernandez, 2014). This gives them the diaspora advantage, on top of the advantage of them being experts in their respective fields. Therefore they have a lot to offer to sustainable development initiatives within their professional fields and especially within the context of their country of origin. CD4D acknowledges these advantages and as such DEs can lend their knowledge and competence and apply it to help solve real-world problems. The arguments hold true in the explanation for why DEs are valuable in sustainable development projects in their countries of origin.

The following paragraphs will discuss the findings of this study in the context of Gustafson and Hertting's (2016) logic. The findings make clear that there was a split between the common good and self-interest motives, and one did not exclude the other. DEs often had several motives which drove them to participate. Those who shared their motivations for reasons which pertained to the common good motives saw themselves as potential agents for change through a more bottom-up style of development in which they were contributing to improving the lives of the people. These were born through feelings of kinship as well as the notion that knowledge transfer has a greater impact on the community. The unexpected finding that many DEs felt compelled to participate in development projects because they did not have trust in the governments of their countries of origin also falls under the common good motives as they wished to improve the country overall. This motive, although not initially coded for, is

unsurprising upon further reflection. Many DEs came to the Netherlands as asylum seekers and refugees. Their governments in their country of origin either could not protect them or threatened them, and therefore they fled. Understandably, this breeds sentiments of distrust and entrenches perceptions of government incompetence, prompting DEs to take initiative through development projects in their countries of origin. Kinship and a distrust in government were therefore the primary common good motives which motivated DEs to participate in CD4D.

The self-interest motive was reflected in responses which revolved around sentiments of guilt, responsibility to their country of origin and self-fulfilment. Self-interest does not necessarily mean that the intentions are done for selfish purposes, as in the case of supporting their countries through sustainable development projects, the means justify the end (Gustafson & Hertting, 2016). Furthermore, with no financial reward to partaking in CD4D, DEs should have some level of satisfaction at the end of the project, otherwise they might feel disheartened and unlikely to continue to support development in their country of origin, hence defeating the sustainable intentions of CD4D. Therefore the self-interest motives requires attention so that DEs can feel satisfaction, spurring further motivation after the initial common good motives may have subsided.

DEs each hold personal reasons for partaking in CD4D. As the overall goal of the CD4D projects is to foster sustainable development towards a better future for the country, improving their country of origin as a motive is assumed right away. The personal paradigms however are important to recognise as diaspora actors become more relevant in the migration-development nexus. Migration governance and development governance could do more to harness engagement by appealing to these motives. Furthermore, DEs appreciated their hands on role in the projects. It is important to acknowledge this and empower diaspora to continue in these initiatives by ensuring that they are equal actors in the process, without demeaning their role. DEs are not participating in CD4D for financial gain or as part of their profession, rather they hold passion and a genuine desire to have a positive, lasting effect on development.

5.4 Transnational Affinities Theory

In this section I will introduce my theory derived inductively through the interviews and drawing from TAN and Gustafson and Hertting's (2016) theory on motivations. The core proposition of Transnational affinities theory (TAT) is that diaspora are motivated by the affinity they hold towards their country of origin, which is strengthened through transnational practices and social ties. This affinity drives diaspora to engage and become involved in transnational exchanges between themselves and their country of origin. This theory rejects conventional ideas of a single citizenship and strictly defined borders and instead focuses on the diaspora as an individual and how their interaction with their country of origin affects their engagement. Higher levels of diaspora engagement will strengthen diasporas' affinity to their country of origin, in turn sparking a motivation to become more involved in their country of origin, as is demonstrated by diaspora participation in CD4D. Given that identity is not limited to one country (Tsuda, 2012), this theory places emphasis on the transnational aspect of diaspora identity.

This theory contributes by building on current theories from a different perspective. TAN and TAT each rely on cross-border interactions between communities. TAN focuses on the relationships between actors, while TAT focuses solely on the perspective of the diaspora. Furthermore, TAT incorporates the self-interest and common good motives from Gustafson and Hertting (2016) since diasporas' feelings of affinity drive these motives but it changes their context to apply to diaspora participating in development projects. This thesis has argued that diasporas' motivations for engaging with their country of origin have been taken for granted in current migration-development literature; conversely, TAT offers a theory to explain this phenomenon. TAT is unique in that it is from the perspective of diaspora who engaging in development projects.

The theory is inductively derived from the interviews conducted with the DEs who participated in CD4D. Patterns which emerged reflected strong transnational bonds between diaspora and their countries of origin and with the Netherlands. They held professional and social networks in both countries. Diaspora were interconnected and intertwined between cultures, including their conception of individual identity. Notably, they were content with this

transnational identity. This connection generated an affinity to their country of origin and diaspora wanted to support this country. This manifested itself in different levels of intensity between individuals. For instance, a low level of support might be to cheer for one's country of origin's sports teams (Unutulmaz, 2018), whereas a more involved level of support would be to partake in CD4D's development projects. All the while, diaspora continue to be simultaneously engaged with their host country, and so they are always splitting their resources between countries.

TAT is beneficial to the current migration-development nexus because it explains why diaspora are motivated to engage in development projects in their countries of origin. The theory gauges their involvement by embracing their transnational identity and their ability to contribute to multiple communities at once. By accepting this dual identity, diaspora can thrive in a transnational environment and create natural bridges between their host country and country of origin. The DEs who participated in CD4D embraced their position of duality, hence they are able to foster sustainable development through knowledge transfer from what they gained in the Netherlands to their country of origin. They succeeded by doing it in a way that fit the local environment, which they were familiar with. This demonstrates that if host societies pressure immigrants to conform (Alba & Nee, 2003), they limit an individual's potential to contribute to both communities. TAT therefore argues that in accepting one's transnational identity they can use their passion and dual position to act as a connecting link between cross-border communities; ultimately demonstrating the power of diversity to strengthen communities through the sharing of ideas (Chikanda et al., 2016). This process of knowledge transfer is recognised as an important tool for sustainable development (Meyer, 2011) and programmes like CD4D empower diaspora to maximise their dual position in knowledge transfer projects for sustainable development; a situation effectively explained by TAT.

6. Conclusion

This chapter concludes the thesis, summarises the findings, presents the scientific contributions, the limitations and opportunities for further research, and offers policy recommendations.

The purpose of this thesis was to use CD4D as a case study to understand why and how diaspora participate in sustainable development projects. This was done first by understanding the different relationships between the relevant actors in CD4D and then by understanding how diaspora actors are motivated to participate in the programme. A qualitative approach was followed using semi-structured interviews with CD4D team members and DEs who have participated in CD4D projects. Throughout the data collection, analysis and discussion, the theoretical concepts relevant to TAN (including the role of network brokers), spheres of diaspora engagement and motivation for participation were applied. The findings confirmed the expectation of TAN, however it found that CD4D was an itinerant broker instead of the expected liaison broker. Furthermore, DEs were found to be highly engaged in the household/extended family sphere which highlighted transnational ties as resulting in a strong personal connection to the country of origin. Their motivation for participation pertained to the common good and self-interest motives, bred from feelings of kinship and responsibility.

6.1 Conceptual Framework Revisited

Upon revisiting the conceptual framework after the findings, a small change must be applied to align with the conclusions of this study. CD4D did play the role of the mediator between DEs (IV) and participating in development projects (DV), however its role was found to fit the description of itinerant broker. TAT helps explain DEs' motivation to participate because they hold both the professional and cultural skills and the diaspora advantage for trust building. This culminates in an effective way of fostering sustainable development through knowledge transfer, although the resources required to do so might be hard to mobilise. CD4D's role as the mediator hence facilitates this opportunity for DEs, by pairing them with a relevant host institution in their country of origin. As an itinerant broker, CD4D then takes a step back, creating space for DEs to forge lasting bonds with host institutions (as indicated by the broken line arrow in Figure 4).

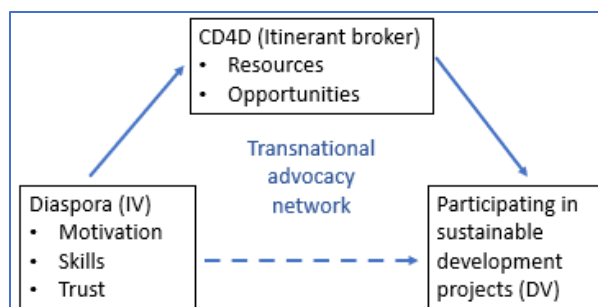


Figure 4: Conceptual Framework revisited

6.2 Summary of Core Findings

There are four core findings which can be derived from this study. Firstly, the TAN between the DE, the host institution and CD4D, demonstrates that CD4D is an itinerant broker. As such, CD4D is not involved beyond the initial recruiting process, and only contributes occasionally as needed. Hence, a natural and independent relationship was able to form between DEs and the host institutions. When the project timeline had ended, DEs continued to be involved with the host institution, forming a sustainable bond independent from CD4D. The conclusion which can be drawn from this is that large institutions can allow for sustainable bonds to grow as an itinerant broker because this gives space to the other actors to form their own relationship independent of the large institution. This allows for the second core finding, that CD4D gives space to DEs and host institutions because they recognise that it is the DE who holds the ability to efficiently transfer knowledge to the host institution, because of the diaspora advantage. The diaspora advantage allowed sceptical host institution colleagues to recognise the genuine intention of DEs and gave rise to a relationship with trust, cooperation, and reciprocity. In turn, this produced an environment for smoother knowledge transfer and created a lasting connection between communities to continue collaborating beyond CD4D. The third core finding is that DEs had high engagement in the household/extended family sphere, generated through frequent contact with family and friends in their countries of origin. This created a more personal bond with their country of origin, likely leading to the fourth and final core finding; DEs were motivated to participate in CD4D because of a mix of the common good and self-interest motives.

These findings combined to answer the research question *“why and how do DEs participate in sustainable development projects through CD4D?”*, which yielded a new theory:

Transnational Affinities theory (TAT). Diaspora hold a dual identity with their host country and their country of origin. Transnational networks in the household/extended family sphere strengthen their connection to their country of origin. This in turn creates an affinity towards their country of origin and an innate desire to show support for their country of origin. This explains *why* DEs are motivated to participate in development projects in their country of origin. The *how* is explained by CD4D acting as an itinerant broker by channeling DEs' passions and motivations and connecting them to the appropriate host institutions. At this stage, the diaspora advantage allows for DEs and host institutions to form a relationship for cohesive knowledge transfer in which diaspora deploy their position as a dual identity to transfer knowledge in a way that is conducive to their country of origin, ultimately leading to sustainable development for which CD4D is no longer required.

This thesis promotes the perspective of diaspora, an understudied, yet essential actor in the migration-development nexus. Most literature involving diaspora revolves around the outcomes of what diaspora actors offer for development, like remittances, yet pays little attention to diaspora themselves (Chikanda et al., 2016). This thesis therefore contributes to filling the gap on diaspora motivation for participating in development initiatives. Understanding diaspora identities, values and goals is important to understand why diaspora engage in development projects. By understanding how diaspora are motivated, institutions and policymakers can better empower diaspora engagement which in turn can result in long-lasting impactful relationships between countries. The findings demonstrate that high engagement through the household/extended family sphere was key to diaspora engagement. Personal connections to their country of origin therefore played a big role in sparking common good and self-interest motives for participation in development initiatives. This is an important finding as it gives policymakers an insight into how to generate increased diaspora engagement.

The inclusion and empowerment of diaspora voices is crucial in the development process. They act as bridging actors through holding knowledge of both their host country and country of origin and therefore play an important role in knowledge transfer for sustainable development. However, diaspora cannot be expected to spearhead, mobilise, fund, and execute these initiatives themselves. The second contribution this study presents is that IOs and NGOs should

not interfere excessively in the process between diaspora and host institutions. Otherwise, this can cause dependence on global North institutions as their presence and long-term interference may hinder the global South country when they leave (Geiger & Pécoud, 2013). World systems theory claims that the global South is already highly dependent on the global North, which is detrimental to their sustainable development (Kivisto, 2011). However, CD4D introduces short-term assignments that discourage reliance and foster independence. Furthermore, through having DEs lead the projects, knowledge transfer is applied in a context which is appropriate to the global South country, breeding a sense of familiarity which can be duplicated when the DE leaves. Through understanding CD4D as a case study and evaluating their role as an itinerant network broker, this study can contribute to the literature on IO/NGO interaction with the global South and how to do so in a manner that is non-intrusive and does not cause dependency.

6.2.1 Going Beyond CD4D

Despite having been derived from CD4D as a case study, the findings are relevant beyond CD4D and the Netherlands. For instance, TAT not only helps in understanding diaspora engagement in CD4D, but also elsewhere, such as in Ireland's success in harnessing diaspora engagement for its development. Ireland has historically been a country of emigration because conflict, poverty, and famine has left it with a large first, second and third generation diaspora (Kenny, 2019).

The Irish government saw the potential in harnessing diaspora engagement to help it develop (Hickman, 2020). It was successful through the establishment of diaspora institutions to connect with their diaspora and encourage them to invest in Ireland. Irish diaspora are highly accredited in the contribution of Ireland's economic rise (Kenny, 2019). While the Irish government's resourcefulness in using diaspora overseas has been acknowledged extensively, there is less understanding of diasporas' agency in their engagement with Ireland and its efforts at economic reform. I argue that TAT is useful because gaining an understanding from the perspective of diaspora provides a fuller picture of Ireland's development. The Irish government was able to harness diaspora engagement because of the affinity they still held for their country of origin motivated them to contributing to Ireland's development. By creating these diaspora institutions, the Irish government was able to increase their connection to Ireland, strengthening

their affinity for their country of origin and generating increased engagement. Applying TAT to a very different case such as Ireland highlights the potential that lies in a diaspora focused theory. It shows the importance of the unique affinity they hold for their country of origin, which is also displayed in CD4D.

6.3 Limitations and Further Research

This section will address the limitations of the study and opportunities for further research. Limitations are important to address in research because it can account for data that may be skewed toward some perspectives rather than others (Bryman, 2016). The research in this study revolved largely around DEs who had participated in CD4D. As such, the perspectives are limited only to diaspora that *do* participate and omits those that *do not* participate. This other perspective further clarifies diasporas' relationship to and interaction with their countries of origin. It could help understand obstacles to participating in such development projects, identify development initiatives in which they do have the capacity to participate, and therefore make programmes such as CD4D more accessible.

Another limitation to this study, as well as an opportunity for further research, is that there were very few female DEs in the interviews; of the 11 DEs interviewed, only one was female. Moreover, the statistics in *CD4D2 Midterm Report* showed that 80 percent of the diaspora participants were male (Mueller, Youssef & Kuschminder, 2021, p.9). Further research should be conducted into this large deficit in female diaspora participation in CD4D. This could be done by focusing on interviewing the female DEs that have participated in CD4D, as well as interview a sample of DE women that did not participate in CD4D. There are potential explanations as to why there might be such a large deficit in female diaspora participants and further research could test these ideas. It could be that female professionals might perceive more barriers to engaging in development programs in their countries of origin. Similarly, because the final diaspora candidate is chosen by the host institution, paternalistic, prejudicial views toward women professionals may mean men are more likely to be selected. It could also be that women are less likely to leave their families behind to pursue such a project abroad (Bakewell, 2009). The research answers yielded from such a study would contribute by identifying what obstacles

female diaspora face in their host countries and their countries of origin and how organisations can help empower them to successfully contribute to development projects.

6.4 Policy Recommendations

The findings of this study give rise to policy recommendations aimed at ameliorating diaspora engagement in sustainable development initiatives. The societal relevance of this thesis lies in the potential of diaspora in fostering sustainable development in their countries of origin and therefore the challenge is for policymakers to empower them in a way that will be sustainable without creating dependence. The following recommendations suggest how this can be pursued.

Firstly, the interviews with DEs highlighted their satisfaction with development through knowledge transfer and capacity building. This form of bottom-up and collaborative development seemed most productive to them and felt as if they were really contributing to a movement of sustainable development. However, the interviews also illustrated that those working along ministerial host institutions were not as satisfied. The following recommendation is for the BZ, who chose the priority sectors for CD4D. It is advised that CD4D should focus on projects with other forms of host institution, and less on projects directly with ministers. In keeping DEs' experiences positive, it will increase the likelihood of long-lasting relationships with diaspora and their host institutions extending beyond CD4D's involvement. Furthermore, DEs will be incentivised to return to CD4D for more projects and recommend it to their diaspora colleagues and professional and personal network in the Netherlands.

Secondly, those interviewed were enthusiastic about the CD4D programme and felt as if they were really achieving something, from small local gains to larger national improvements. Nonetheless, there were disappointed DEs when their countries were not selected for the second phase of CD4D and concerned CD4D team members that the BZ might cut funding. It is therefore important that funding allows the programme to continue. Currently, the programme is funded by the BZ, and they require CD4D to choose candidates with Dutch residency. This presents two issues; CD4D's budget is left to the mercy of the BZ, and they have a reduced pool of diaspora to engage. To counter this, it is recommended to the IOM that CD4D and the BZ collaborate with other foreign affairs ministries to expand the programme beyond the Netherlands and therefore

expand its budget as well as its pool of DEs. CD4D thrives off its transnational networks, thus it can only stand to benefit by expanding to other IOM offices and countries around the world.

Thirdly, this thesis highlighted the passion and commitment of diaspora engaging in development projects in their countries of origin. TAT highlights that the affinity and the motivation is there, and institutions and policymakers should not underestimate its potential but look to harness and empower it. This recommendation is for policymakers in general, but especially for those in foreign affairs. For instance, bilateral agreements between the host country and the country of origin would allow for formal channels of engagement for diaspora experts to travel between countries and participate in development projects. This acceptance of diversity and embracing of the transnationality of diaspora, would increase harmony and reduce prejudice that may come from demanding conformity to the host society. In turn, bilateral relationships are strengthened, and diasporas' transnational identities can flourish, ultimately contributing to sustainable development.

The diaspora advantage is called an advantage for a reason; diaspora are key actors in fostering sustainable development, and therefore it is crucial to understand their motivations in participating in development initiatives. Transnational affinity theory is helpful to understanding the link between diasporas' relationship to their country of origin and how this effects their dual engagement between the host country and the country of origin. This is relevant to migration-development governance as development through diaspora gains increasing attention from policymakers and migration and development scholars but often remains poorly understood. However, by embracing the transnational identity of diaspora and empowering the affinities they hold towards their countries of origin, organisations and diaspora can collaborate towards tailored sustainable development. This is the key insight of this thesis that will help organisations form better bonds with diaspora and connect to development projects more effectively.

8. References

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9. Annexes

This chapter holds a table with the list of thesis participants, the interview guide for interviews with DEs and the interview guide for interviews with the CD4D team members.

9.1 Annex A: List of Participants

Below is the list of participants interviewed for the research purposes of this thesis. All names have been changed to keep participants anonymous.

Interview number	Name	Country of origin	Participant type	Area of expertise
1	Abdel	Somalia	Diaspora Expert	Water management
2	Babah	Sierra Leone	Diaspora Expert	Entrepreneurship
3	Fisayo	Nigeria	Diaspora Expert	Technologist/Food Quality and Design (PhD)
4	Idris	Sierra Leone	Diaspora Expert	Law consultancy
5	Umid	Afghanistan	Diaspora Expert	Engineering
6	Aad	The Netherlands	CD4D Team Member – Former head of CD4D (2016-2020)	N/A
7	Sesay	Sierra Leone	Diaspora Expert	Entrepreneurship
8	Conor	United Kingdom	CD4D Team Member – Project Assistant Nigeria	N/A
9	Sandra	The Netherlands	CD4D Team Member – Intern & communications	N/A
10	Alimayu	Ethiopia	Diaspora Expert	Information Technology
11	Ahmad	Nigeria	Diaspora Expert	Greenhouse management
12	Rahim	Somaliland	Diaspora Expert	Economics & Marketing
13	Haile	Ethiopia	Diaspora Expert	Water management
14	Nathaniel	Nigeria	CD4D Team Member – Focal point in Nigeria	N/A
15	Ikemba	Nigeria	Diaspora Expert	Agroeconomics

9.2 Annex B: Interview Guide for Diaspora Experts

This section gives an overview of the type of interview questions which were asked to DEs. As it was a semi-structured interview, the interviews did not necessarily follow these questions verbatim.

A. Introduction:

Welcome and thank you for meeting with me today, I really appreciate you taking the time to meet with me. I will give you a quick introduction on what my master thesis is about. In brief, my masters is in governance of migration and diversity and I'm doing my thesis on IOM's programme, Connecting Diaspora for Development as a case study because I would like to study why diaspora are in involved in development projects and how organisations like CD4D can empower and facilitate diaspora engagement in these sorts of projects. I am interested to hear about your experiences with CD4D, on being a diaspora and participating in these development projects.

B. Questions relevant to *TAN*:

1. Can you please tell me what was your sustainable development project(s)?
 - Physical or virtual, why, or why not
2. Who else was involved in your project? (Institutions, other DEs, etc)
3. What was the goal of your project?
4. Did you feel like that was a goal shared among everyone involved?
5. What was your role in the CD4D project?
6. How were resources allocated towards achieving the project?
7. What stage is your project at now?
8. How was your project funded?

C. Questions relevant to *Knowledge Transfer*:

1. Why do you think sharing knowledge is an important step towards creating sustainable development?
2. What is your idea of sustainable development?
3. What are your reasons for working in your field?
4. Was your project how did your project convey knowledge? (ie write a manual, train staff, educate students) / What knowledge do you feel you transferred to staff?
 - a. How effective do you think this in creating a long-term impact?
 - b. Why did you choose to engage in this form of knowledge transfer?
5. What language did you work in?

- a. (If native language) How do you think this helped the knowledge transfer process?
6. How related was the project to what you do for a living?
7. How closely were you involved in the project?
 - a. Was it in-person or online? Why?
 - b. How long was the project? Do you wish it was longer? Why or why not?
8. Did you make new connections during the project?
 - a. Did you use any previous connections during the project?
 - b. Are you still in contact with some of your colleagues?
9. What were your experiences going from a Dutch professional environment back to your country of origin's professional environment?
 - a. Did you experience differences?
10. How do you generally feel about the interaction with your colleagues at the host institution during the assignment?
11. Did you feel that your colleagues trusted you?
 - a. How did you create and build trust?
 - b. Can you give some examples?

D. Questions relevant to *Network Broker*:

1. How did you learn about CD4D?
 - a. Did they contact you?
 - b. Were you recommended by another DE?
2. Why did CD4D choose you do you think?
3. How direct was your line of contact with CD4D?
4. How involved was CD4D with you once the project was underway?
5. How did CD4D support you during your project?
6. Were the goals and target clear from the beginning of the project?
7. How did CD4D make you feel (or not feel) like part of a greater community?

E. Questions relevant to *Relationship to Country of Origin/Identity*:

1. Could you tell me what you are doing in the Netherlands and how you got there?
 - a. How long have you lived outside of your country of origin?
 - b. Where did you study?
2. What languages do you speak?
 - a. Which is your mother-tongue?
3. Who do you stay in touch with, in your country of origin?
 - a. How close are your relations?
 - i. Family – immediate or extended
 - ii. Friends
 - iii. Coworkers
4. How connected do you feel socially with your country of origin?
 - a. How often do you travel there?
 - b. Call there?
5. What are your long-term plans regarding where you see yourself living in a few years?
6. Do you personally identify more with the Netherlands or with your country of origin?
7. Are you part of any diaspora groups in the Netherlands?
8. What are important cultural features that have helped you in your project?

F. Questions relevant to *Motives to Participate*:

1. What were your initial thoughts/feelings when this opportunity with CD4D was presented to you?
2. What are your main motivations for participating in CD4D?
3. Would you participate in such a programme again? Why or why not?
4. How satisfied are you with the project?
5. Do you plan to keep in contact with the host institution?

9.3 Annex C: Interview Guide for CD4D Team Members

This section gives an overview of the type of interview questions which were asked to CD4D team members. As it was a semi-structured interview, the interviews did not necessarily follow these questions verbatim.

A. Introduction:

Welcome and thank you for meeting with me today, I really appreciate you taking the time to meet with me. I will give you a quick introduction on what my master thesis is about. In brief, my masters is in governance of migration and diversity and I'm doing my thesis on IOM's programme, Connecting Diaspora for Development as a case study because I would like to study why diaspora are involved in development projects and how organisations like CD4D can empower and facilitate diaspora engagement in these sorts of projects. I am interested to hear about your experiences with CD4D, on working with diaspora and host institutions and the value of DEs in participating in development projects.

B. Questions relevant to *TAN*:

1. What was/is your role in the CD4D programme?
2. How involved are you in individual projects?
 - a. Who decides who fills which positions?
 - b. How is this decided?
3. What do you believe is valuable in transnational networks?

C. Questions relevant to *Network Broker*:

1. How do you perceive CD4D's role in the process of sustainable development and connecting DEs to the relevant projects?
2. Do you reach out to DEs, or do they come to you? Of the two which is more frequent?
3. What is the process of finding a priority sector for development projects?
4. How closely do you work with diaspora once they are engaged in their project?
5. How do you monitor progress?
6. Were the goals and target clear from the beginning of the project?
7. How does CD4D make involved actors feel (or not feel) like part of a greater community?

D. Questions relevant to *Knowledge Transfer*:

1. Why do you think knowledge transfer is an important step towards creating sustainable development?
2. What is your idea of sustainable development?
3. Do you think one form of knowledge transfer is more effective than the other? Why or why not?
4. What are the benefits of a diaspora actor relaying this information?
5. How do you think diaspora are at an advantage because of their position of transnationalism?

E. Questions relevant to *Relationship to Country of Origin/Identity*:

1. How big of a role do you think identity plays in participating sustainable development projects in diasporas' countries of origin?
2. Which part of identity and why? (ie. heritage, family, cultural)
3. Are most participants already involved in diasporic organisations in the Netherlands?

F. Questions relevant to *Motives to Participate*:

1. Why do you think diaspora participate in CD4D projects, as it is on a volunteer basis?
2. Why does CD4D use volunteers rather than pay the participants compensation?
3. Do you see returning participants (to CD4D)? Why or why not?