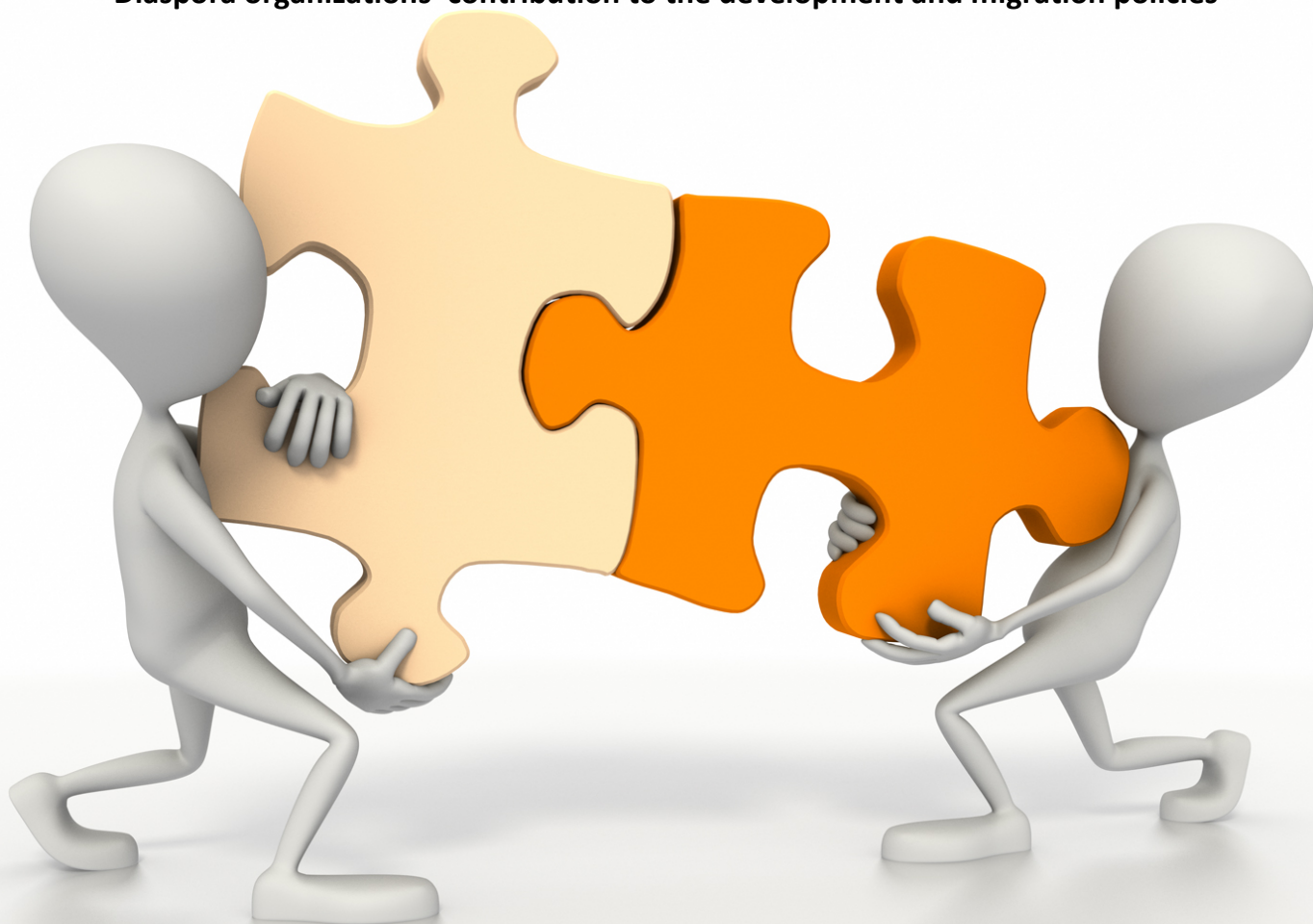


Rethinking the role of Diaspora organizations

Diaspora organizations' contribution to the development and migration policies



Lars Schopen

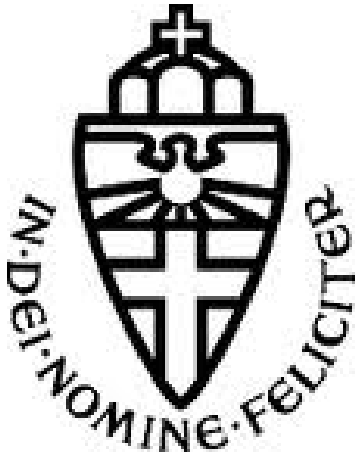
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Information for this thesis was collected during my internship at the Diaspora Forum for Development. Here I learned a lot about migrants double engagement between the Netherlands and their country of origin. Through this double engagement they are trying to contribute to both of these countries. All people interviewed, were involved in Diaspora organizations voluntarily next to a paid job. This inspired me to look for ways how I could help these people and organizations by focusing my thesis on an issue connected with and important to Diaspora organizations. The understanding I gained the last year about objectives connected to migration and development issues made me decide to use the Diaspora organization as the focus point of my graduation topic. During my internship I learned very much about Diaspora organizations and evolved an opinion about Diaspora organizations as important actors in migration and development issues. More policy involvement was one of the key goals many of these organizations pursued. The usefulness of this claim I aimed to test through this thesis. With much pleasure I worked on this thesis and I hope you will enjoy reading it too.

I want to thank all the respondents that co-operated within this research and gave me new insights. Next to that I want to thank the Diaspora Forum for Development for the pleasant time I had during my internship, especially Bruno C. Fon, Samuel Guane Ackah and Yesuf Gedefaw for their ideas, time and suggestions they had during and after my internship. Last I want to thank my supervisor Dr. Marcel Rutten for his help and feedback during the whole process.

Abstract

Diaspora organizations contributions to migration and development issues are increasingly in the picture over the last years. Much is written about the migrants double engagement with both the country of origin as with the country of residence. This transnationalism is among other operationalized through good communication and transport networks. However, it seems that involvement of these organizations with other actors is minimal or lacking altogether. This can partly be explained due to lack of knowledge about the ways Diaspora organizations can contribute to realizing development goals. In most cases the potential role of Diaspora organizations is limited to giving general recommendation or is focused upon the economic aspect of development only. Because of that this research focused upon extracting specific examples of how Diaspora organizations are active in the field of migration and development, with whom they co-operate or why co-operation with other actors can be important to improve the migration and development field. In addition, the issue whether there is a ground for co-operation is discussed, in particular how this co-operation looks like at the moment and what should be improved to make use of it in its full potential. The central goal of this research was to specify the role of Diaspora organizations in this policy field, foremost by highlighting some key issues within this debate. These were;

1. Elaborating the actual knowledge and skills that migrants and Diaspora organizations possess both focused on host and home society
2. Emphasising the importance of including these skills more within the policy debate in the Netherlands.
3. Why it is difficult to incorporate these skills into broader migration and development policies.

Because of these objectives this research deals with the following research question:

“Are Diaspora organizations due to their transnational engagement and knowledge important partners within the policy debate around migration and development focused both upon the Netherlands as on countries in the Global South?”

This research topic partly arises from experiences gained during an internship at the Diaspora Forum for Development. One of their topics was to get more involvement in the policy debate around migration and development. Because of that this research focused upon what Diaspora organizations can contribute to government and development institutions and how to established this. The case chosen to extract examples and insights are member organizations of DFD, Experts, Cordaid and Oxfam Novib. Because this research focuses on one case and specific group of Diaspora organizations only, it is not possible to generalize for all of the many and diverse Diaspora organizations present in the Netherlands. Still, the research gives a good overview about possible contributions and chances. Also barriers that have to be overcome by both Diaspora organization and Dutch institution to establish sustainable co-operation in the future are discussed.

Thus, this research is based upon the assumption that migrants hold important knowledge that can contribute significantly to the migration and development debate. During the research it became clear that Diaspora organizations are very active both in the Netherlands and in their country of origin. Within the Netherlands Diaspora organizations are active in addressing social issues evolving from a multicultural society like family problems, education and criminality. Within the Global South they are active in the field of development by addressing several topics like education, healthcare, democracy and conflict prevention.

In general it can be said that Diaspora organizations believe they can acknowledge problems and issues among migrants or within the country of origin faster due to the direct contact they maintain and their position within such a community. In that way Diaspora organizations are in a good position to anticipate upon these issues. They can also acknowledge issues that are seen as important due to gained knowledge but which are not part of the broader policies. In contrast it is believed Dutch institutions experience more problems when approaching migrants in the community or extracting information about issues in the Global South. But at the same time Dutch institutions have the more theoretical reasoning and know how to put up processes and projects. In that way both actors hold skills and knowledge that is important for the migration and development field. Combining their skills in that case could profit migration and development issues. So in principle there should be a good basis for social exchange.

Although it seems like there is a basis, the preferred co-operation at least from a migrants' point of view is not established. The co-operation at the moment is not very intensive. Co-operation or policies concerning migration and development are made in a way that there is not a co-operation in which these two actors are at the same level but that there is a degree of dependency felt by Diaspora organizations. This dependency limits their possibilities. The way co-operation is at the moment creates a certain feeling of undervaluation among Diaspora organizations concerning the skills and knowledge they have. But this does not mean that Dutch institutions do not recognize those skills. One important factor that can influence the way these two actors co-operate and which can limit their social exchange is the way these actors are positioned in this debate. This means their motivations, backgrounds and the ruling discourse. This heavily influences the way they work and thus their ability to adapt to each other.

Development and government institutions at one side and Diaspora organizations on the other are situated differently within the migration and development debate. Diaspora organizations are closer to the migrants in the Netherlands and the people in their country of origin due to shared identity, background and experience. Because of that they claim it is easier for them to approach and activate those people both in the Netherlands and in the country of origin. In that sense Diaspora organization have a strong social capital. Through this social capital Diaspora organizations are capable of developing place specific measures which can in their believe contribute to development and participation. This way of working mostly arises from a personal attachment towards certain areas. This leads to certain ambitions and ideologies and a personal discourse.

Dutch government and development institutions work in a different way. Because they are part of bigger organizations and systems they have to be able to justify their way of working to convince their adherents. This to make sure support is secured. Because of that Dutch institutions maintain a more professional discourse instead of a personal one. These organizations agree that Diaspora organizations efforts do in some cases fit their own policies and could be useful. But, the problems arise when trying to incorporate the personal discourse of the Diaspora organization with the professional discourse of Dutch institutions. Dutch institutions question if through this personal discourse, arising from ambitions and ideologies, Diaspora organizations are able to give objective knowledge and information within the migration and development debate. In the past Dutch institutions experienced that those ambitious do not always fit the purpose which could lead to less effective projects or co-operation. Because of that Dutch institutions are not sure they are dealing with an independent autonomous actor useful in broader migration and development issues.

To deal with this concern Dutch institutions nowadays are only willing to work with Diaspora organizations under the circumstances that Diaspora organizations maintain the same professional standards as the rest of the actors involved in the process. This to assure a clear overview of Diaspora organizations backgrounds, objectives, spending and ideologies. Up till now it seems that Diaspora organizations due to their voluntary character are not able to meet these standards. This makes it hard for Dutch institutions to make decisions about which organizations they can co-operate with. But it is important to have this information since Dutch institutions want to maintain a intercultural and interreligious way of working. Diaspora organizations with radical ideologies are not desired in that sense since they do not fit in the process and can even influence the process negatively. Due to this lack of clarity and past experiences Dutch institutions became more reticent before co-operating with Diaspora organization. Next to that there is a shift visible of Dutch institutions searching co-operation with actors in the wider society. Focus nowadays is not so much upon where you from but upon which skills you can deliver and how useful this skill is in the broader migration and development field. Except this focus upon specific specialized skills, nowadays, there is also put more concern upon public-private co-operation. This with the intention to find other means of finance to replace lost income caused by the cuts in the development aid sector.

Altogether there are several issues at stake which caused a shift within the migration and development field. Diaspora organizations and the way they are organized do not fit into this shift. In that sense nowadays Diaspora organizations are, by Dutch institutions, seen as less important or even unsuitable as partners within the migration and development debate. Because of that co-operation between Diaspora organizations and Dutch institutions is decreasing. It is even likely this co-operation will decrease even further in the future because other actors compared to Diaspora organizations are in a better position to meet standards set by the Dutch government and development institutions. Rethinking the role of Diaspora organizations in that sense is important. This to be able to compete with other actors active in the field of migration and development. Another way of organizing Diaspora organizations is needed.

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CHAPTER 1. Introduction

1.1 Background: the perceived and wishful role of Diaspora organizations in migration and development policies

Mainstream reasoning concerning the benefits of return-migration by both sending and receiving countries has for long claimed that the positive contributions of migration to the country of origin is linked to the return of migrants. However, it has become increasingly clear that migrants have become progressively more transnational in their orientations (De Haas, 2006, p. 2). This is caused by the increased global transport and communication networks like TV, mobile phone and internet, through which migrants can more easily stay in touch with their families and friends in the country of origin and elsewhere abroad. This process contributes to the formation of newly acquired transnational (multi-rooted) identities (Smith & Naerssen, n.d, p. 20). In that way migrants can simultaneously be involved in two or more societies at the same time (Faist, 2008, p. 22).

These improved technological opportunities allow migrants to maintain links with their societies and countries of origin. Besides sharing information through telephone, fax, television, and the internet it also allows them to remit money through the globalised banking systems or via informal channels. As a result it has become much easier for migrants to maintain double loyalties, to travel back and forth, to foster relationships, to work and to do business simultaneously in distant places (De Haas, 2006. p. 2).

Due to these global developments and connections clear-cut dichotomies of 'origin' or 'destination' and categories such as permanent, temporary and return migration becomes more difficult to sustain in a world in which the lives of migrants seem increasingly characterized by circulation and simultaneous commitment to two or more societies (Faist, 2008, p. 23). So it has to be acknowledged that migration is not just about moving from one country to the other. Migration is a transnational process that should be understood as a social process linking together countries of origin and destination. Contemporary migrants are designated "transmigrants" in as far as they develop and maintain multiple relations, familial, social, economic, political, organizational and religious, that span borders (Glick-Schiller, 1992, p. 2). It is believed that these transmigrants do not break with their country of origin, nor do they live isolated within the country of residence. The transnational approach suggests that the struggle for incorporation and adaptation in migrant destinations takes place within a framework of interests and obligations that result from migrants' simultaneous engagement in countries of origin and destination. So contemporary migrants have to be observed by studying socio-economic, political and other relations spanning sending and receiving societies (Nyberg-Sorensen, Van Hear & Engberg-Pedersen, 2002, p. 18). In that sense the reasoning of migrants contributing something at the moment they return has to be questioned. Since it is easy to stay involved and remain in contact while being distanced. But there still exists a gap in understanding these possibilities and processes. It is important to better understand the impact of contributions from migrants as transnational agents of development (Sharma, Kashyap, Montes & Ladd, 2011, p. 5).

Due to this simultaneous involvement in both the country of origin as with the country of settlement, migrants organize themselves in such a way that they can contribute to both societies. Migrants often establish their own, ethnic or locality-based networks in countries of settlement. These networks are called Diaspora organizations or migrant organizations. In this way, newcomers in a foreign and largely unknown environment can be accommodated to get along in the new country of residence. These organizations can vary greatly in age, size, formal status and key goals (Smith & Naerssen, n.d, p. 20). Through these organizations migrants come to be part of new networks, yet remain embedded in transnational networks that connect them to their countries and regions of origin. Mostly these organizations start as networks for migrants to become incorporated in the country of settlement. Over time they may develop into collective efforts in which not only migrants but also host and home country and communities play an important role. Through socially organized ties between migrants and their areas of origin, social and economic development can be achieved through organized remitting and local activities. In that way making collective contributions to development in the country of origin can become an explicit goal of a Diaspora organization (Smith & Naerssen, n.d, p. 20).

Because of the fact most migrants and Diaspora members live transnational, it is pointed out that Diaspora organizations differ from their non-Diaspora counterparts in terms of international experience, enterprise size and scope, market knowledge, strength of social networks, investment motivation and locus of organizational control (Sharma et al, 2011, p. 10). These organizations can have great developmental benefits for their home countries. But it has to be acknowledged that these benefits are very contexts and situation dependent (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 58). Mostly Diaspora initiatives are on a small scale, due to the direct support of Diaspora organization to only one particular family, region or village. Although local, these initiatives are proven to be very effective due to the knowledge migrants have about the area to which they are giving support (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 58). More and more governments are becoming aware of this role Diaspora organizations can play in local development (Smith & Naerssen, n.d, p. 20).

Within these organizations there is much knowledge about countries in the Global South. But due to their transnational approach, and thus their involvement within their host societies there is also a lot of knowledge about migrants living in communities in the Global North. Diaspora organizations can use their own history and experience to develop the skills that can lead to change. And since they are based within the community they also can be used as learning tools within the community, to improve community development (Lukes, 2009, p. 1). Diaspora organizations can in that way help to meet the basic needs of people in a way to create opportunities for them to feel part of the community (Lukes, 2009, p. 7).

In this way Diaspora organizations can be important partners for both governmental as non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Diaspora organizations can provide NGOs with knowledge about countries in which NGOs are participating (Bakker, n.d, p. 9). But also government institutions could profit from Diaspora knowledge when implementing development or community policies (Bakker, n.d, p. 8). There are ongoing initiatives, in different ways, to encourage the collaboration between Diaspora initiatives and external parties like governments, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Aid organizations (Sinatti et al., 2010, p. 31). In spite of these initiatives, a structural co-operation or partnership is not often the outcome (Sinatti et al., 2010, p. 32). Practices in a number of European

countries, for example, show that the opportunities available for the Diaspora to become partners in the development process are limited because there is no specific policy. Partnership falls in most cases under the broader policies and measures put in place in the field of migration-development (Sinatti et al., 2010, p. 31). Because of that, countries usually have no explicit policies for active engagement with Diaspora. This can limit the possibility to provide room for Diaspora initiative, propositions and creativity, but it also strongly shapes the effective opportunities that exist in practice for interaction to take place between external actors and diasporas in the field of development (Hofmeister & Breitenstein, 2008).

The absence of policies on the issue of migration-development at the level of central governmental authorities can be responsible for the total lack of homogeneity within existing approaches on how to engage Diaspora organizations (Simon Fraser University, 2011, p. 5). Diaspora engagement trajectories are often framed within 'pilot projects' developed in a total vacuum of explicit institutional guidelines and declared strategies towards Diaspora groups. Another consequence is that initiatives to mainstream migration-development thinking have been initiated largely on the political level and trickled down onto NGOs and CSOs (Sinatti et al., 2010, p. 31). Possible partners relegate Diaspora initiatives into small-scale contributions and inhibit their role as potential partners in larger development processes (Newland, 2003). An example of this, for instance is the fact that Dutch developmental NGOs place most emphasis on supporting Diaspora organizations, and less on fostering the participation of diasporas in the activities of mainstream aid institutions. As a result the involvement of the Diaspora in "mainstream" Dutch development aid remained limited (Sinatti et al., 2010, p. 32).

Both governmental and non-governmental development actors have gradually recognized the high potential of migration and migrants for the development of the countries of origin. So far, concrete steps by national ministries for development co-operation and development institutions is very limited (De Haas, 2006, p. 4). The lack of knowledge concerning the capacities of several actors within a framework of co-operation is a major hindrance. There is a need to clarify the added value of partners within an intended collaboration (Sinatti et al., 2010, p. 39). Even when policies and mandates mention a commitment to work with Diasporas, the added value is rarely explicitly identified. An example of this is the policy memorandum on migration-development adopted by the Dutch government. The Dutch government recognizes Diaspora potential, but at the same time they suggest that migrants themselves could do more to identify their own potential added value (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008).

One reason why the Dutch government fails to see the development potential of migrants is because migration and development are often treated as two separate policy fields. This can have a negative impact on the development potential of migrants. Although countries know the value that migrants have as development agents, at the same time receiving countries want to regulate migration more through immigration policies, citizenship, integration, labour market regulations and social welfare policies. This can lead to the exclusion and inclusion of certain people within the migration process and in that way can also affect the development potential of migrants (Levitt, 2004, p. 7). Migration is too often linked to the integration issue and as a consequence the potential of migrants is usually not recognized. Other identities, besides being a migrant, like, student, colleague or adviser are

mostly neglected (Massey et al, 1998). A second reason is the fact that Diaspora organizations due to their transnational view mainly are loyal and connected to one specific region or group of people within their country of origin. Because of that it can be difficult for Dutch counterparts to determine if their goals and objectives are the same as those of the Diaspora organization (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009).

Although that, concerning both the Netherlands and the Global South, migrants organized within Diaspora organizations some scholars claim are potentially valuable partners in policy formulation (IOM, 2013). They can be involved as 'experts' or 'consultants' in development projects designed by development agencies (IOM, 2013). Likewise Diaspora organizations can be good actors to represent or approach migrants within the Netherlands, or to assist the Dutch government in issues concerning migrants (Frouws, Wils & Coenen, 2010).

This possible involvement within the policy field is also clearly recognized by Diaspora organizations within the Netherlands such as the Diaspora Forum for Development (DFD), which is an umbrella organization for Diaspora organizations from Asia, Africa and Latin-America founded in the Netherlands (DFD, 2013)¹. DFD seeks to harness the capacities of migrants in the social, economic, and political sphere to initiate viable interventions to improve the quality of life of migrants, their families and their wider communities (DFD, 2013).

The goal of DFD is to engage, stimulate and empower diasporas to be actively involved in the field of migration and development both in the Netherlands and in their countries of origin. They want to strengthen the social capital which Diaspora organizations have and to use this for development. Another goal they have is to improve dialogues with policy makers, development agencies, private sectors, microfinance institutions and other stakeholders. They want to establish strategic partnerships that support them to improve the quality of life of poor, marginalized and vulnerable sectors. (DFD, 2013). They want to increase the voice of diasporas in the policy making processes at all levels (DFD, 2013). A major goal of much Diaspora organizations is to achieve more dialogue about the role Diaspora organizations can play within development processes and the influence they have in the process of elaborating development policies (Naerssen, Kusters & Schapendonk, 2006, p. 22).

Yet the actual knowledge and contribution that migrants can have within the policy debate and why up to now this is not established seems lacking. To fill this gap this research will focus on:

1. Elaborating the actual knowledge and skills that migrants and Diaspora organizations possess both focused on host and home society
2. Emphasising the importance of including these skills more within the policy debate in the Netherlands.
3. Why it is difficult to incorporate these skills into broader migration and development policies.

¹ DFD is located in The Hague. The organization is established in October 2007.

Moreover, due to the world economic crisis and financial budget deficits there will be cut backs on development aid spent in the Netherlands of some 1 bn euros (NRC, 2012). These cutbacks start in 2014 with an amount of 750mn Euro and will increase to 1.000mn Euro by 2017 (Rijksoverheid, 2012, p. 72). Due to these cutbacks, it is stated by the Dutch government, the way development aid is organized at the moment probably has to change. Development aid organizations will need to become more independent from government funding or have to find new ways of working to attract government funding. The Dutch government suggests the following options for the future; First, development aid should focus on a small scale. Secondly, aid needs to concentrate on three fields of interest, namely: "Security and justice", "water" and "food security and sexual health". Thirdly, while dealing with development, there has to be a bigger focus upon economic growth. This means that countries in the global South have to become more self-sustaining within the development process. Fourthly, the Dutch government also sees a major role in privatization of development aid. This should help to stimulate the investment in southern companies, making governments and companies in the Global South co-operate and making Dutch companies support companies and governments in the Global South (Rijksoverheid, 2013a).

There is a clear change of discourse visible within the development sector. This is a change from countries in the Global South being a receiver of aid to countries in the Global South being active actors who try to improve their own position, with the help of other countries. The government also holds the opinion that one of the possibilities to organize development aid in the future could be to increase support from the wider society (Rijksoverheid, 2013b). This changing discourse will probably also shape and influence the co-operation between Diaspora organizations and Dutch institutions and thus also has to be taken into account during this research.

The ultimate aim of the research is to make it easier for Diaspora organizations to enter the policy debate and to help Dutch government and development institutions to see the migrants' potential for formulating and/or implementing migration and development policies. Next to that it is of importance to gain knowledge about the barriers in this process which hinder co-operation at the moment.

1.2 Research goal and relevance

Seen in the previous paragraph, there is a possibility that Diaspora organization can contribute to policies both in the Netherlands and focused upon the Global South. Despite this believe co-operation remains minimal. A reason for this can be that there still exist a lot of indistinctness about the importance and profits that Diaspora organizations' involvement can bring in addition to the migration and development debate. Because of that, this research attempts to address three issues:

1. Elaborating the actual knowledge and skills that migrants and Diaspora organizations possess both focused on host and home society
2. Emphasising the importance of including these skills more within the policy debate in the Netherlands.
3. Why it is difficult to incorporate these skills into broader migration and development policies.

The goal of this research will be to carry out a survey to establish the degree Diaspora organizations actually possess knowledge which makes them important to be involved in the policy field and why up till now real co-operation is not established. For both the Dutch institutions as for Diaspora organizations this research will be relevant. It clearly addresses the call from the Dutch institutions for more clearance about Diaspora organizations' knowledge and also the call from the Diaspora organizations to find ways to become more involved. While doing this research my goal and focus will be that from the Diaspora organizations' point of view. Eventually this research should lead to more recognition of the Diaspora organization within the migration and development sector and will open-up the debate for structural co-operation.

1.3 Research question

For reaching the goal of this thesis I have formulated the following research question:

"Are Diaspora organizations due to their transnational engagement and knowledge important partners within the policy debate around migration and development focused both upon the Netherlands as on countries in the Global South?"

To answer the main question, several sub questions have to be answered. These are:

- a. What knowledge do migrants have?
- b. Is this knowledge important in development and migration issues concerning the Global South?
- c. Is this knowledge important in development and migration issues concerning the Netherlands?
- d. How does the co-operation look like at the moment
- e. Is there need for improvement in this co-operation?

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Research strategy

It is believed Diaspora organisations could contribute through their skills and knowledge. But a more specific view about the kind of knowledge and skills they have, in which fields and under which circumstances is in general absent. This research aims to fill that gap. To inquire if Diaspora organizations actually possess knowledge which put them in a position to undertake important migration and development measurements focus will be on activities of Diaspora organizations both in the Global South as in the Global North. This with the goal to gain knowledge about the question if these activities can contribute to the broader migration and development policies of the Dutch Government and development NGOs. To answer the question why up till now real co-operation is not established there will also be a closer look upon the present co-operation between these actors.

Diaspora organizations' contribution to migration and development policies is a relative new topic. And since there is a great diversity and number of Diaspora organizations within the Netherlands it is not possible to take them all into account. To make it more workable, this research will have a more in-depth approach in which I will focus on one case. I will focus on Diaspora organizations which are members of one Umbrella organization. Since DFD has the clear view and mission that they can contribute to the policy debate my focus will be on Diaspora organizations which are members of DFD. A close look will be upon how these organizations really contribute to the Global South or to issues in the Global North and on which scale. It is expected that the outcome will help strengthen DFD's goal, to contribute to policies through their members. And to give some general recommendations under which circumstances co-operation is desirable, useful and possible.

Within the Netherlands, Diaspora contribution was discussed for the first time by the Dutch government in 2004, but only really taken into account when implementing policies in 2008 (Frouws & Grimmus, 2010). This means that there is limited information available and most of the information needs to be obtained through in-depth interviewing of the actors involved. Since I decided to focus on one particular group of Diaspora organizations organized through DFD, the best way to do this research is through a case study. The central issue to be studied is the possible contribution and involvement within the policy debate by members of DFD.

Within a case study an attempt is made to understand a certain issue better through gathering information about actors involved within this case (Cresswell, 2007, p. 245). Eventually I hope to get an insight about the way and reasons that actors are linked to each other in this processes (Doorewaard & Verschuren, 2009, p. 163). Most of the interviews will be carried out among members of Diaspora organizations. In addition, some experts on this topic and government and NGO representatives are interviewed to avoid this issue appearing too single-sided and thus more reliable. Due to limited time and the specific case chosen, results from this research cannot be generalized. Still it can give a good overview about the possible role Diaspora organizations can play or what should be improved to establish this in the future.

1.4.2 Data collection

Diaspora organizations which are involved in this research are; Burundi Women for Peace and Development (BWPD), Afroeuro, Recogin, Kenyan Diaspora Community in the Netherlands (KDCN), Children perfect hope, Empower together Kenya, African Social Development Aid (ASDA), Habagat Foundation, DFD and Pearl of Africa. The Diaspora organizations involved are all selected because they have a clear goal of gaining or improving the co-operation with government institutions and because they support the objectives of contributing to the Global South or to the Netherlands. Experts consulted during this research are; Mr. Otieno Ong'ayo who is PhD Researcher at the department of International Development Studies of the Human Geography department of Utrecht University. Amongst other as area of expertise, he undertakes research in the fields of Migration and Development, and Diaspora engagement and participation. Also consulted was Dr. Ton van Naerssen among others researcher on international migration and development topics. In addition an interview was conducted with Ms. Nelleke van de Walle, Policy Officer International Migration and Development at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands. Next to that, Mr. Joep van Zijl of Cordaid and Mr. Ismail Awil of Oxfam Novib are consulted to inquire how they see co-operation with Diaspora organizations and under which circumstances this would be possible. A more broader introduction of the respondents can be found in appendix 1.

The interviews are conducted in a semi-structured way, because my own knowledge was limited and I was searching for a very broad view. Thus, it was important the respondent gave his/her view exposing all their insights and knowledge. Subsequently these views were checked with other respondents' statements to see if there were general ideas that could be extracted. To make sure the topics I thought of importance were discussed I created an interview guide that could be used as a guideline but it was not followed too strictly (see appendices 2, 3 and 4 for details).

CHAPTER 2. Theoretical framework

To strengthen the assumption that knowledge of Diaspora organizations can be important to involve within policy making, but also as claimed in the introduction context and situation dependent, theories about social capital, social exchange and therewith connected knowledge are checked and used.

The social capital theory argues that relationships and networks which are used purposefully and employed in a good way generate short or long term benefits within a community.

The social exchange theory reasons that although sharing knowledge can improve processes, this only will take place if the potential benefit of a co-operation is clear to all involved actors.

2.1 Social capital theory

The central idea of social capital in Putnam's view is that networks and the associated norms of reciprocity have value. Especially for the people who are in them, but also for the people who profit from these networks (Putnam, n.d, p. 1). The core insight of this theory is the following: just like tools (physical capital) and training (human capital), social networks (social capital) have value. Social capital comes in many forms and networks can provide powerful effects on our ability to get things done (Putnam, 2007, p. 137). Evidence suggests that when levels of social capital are higher, people are healthier, safer, better educated, live longer, happier and democracy and economy works better (Putnam, 2007, p. 138).

It is stated that the importance of social capital lies in the fact that it can improve several sociological concepts such as social support, integration and social cohesion (Claridge, 2004). In that way social capital is charged with a range of potential beneficial effects like facilitation of higher levels of, and growth in, gross domestic product (GDP), facilitation of more efficient functioning of labor markets, lower levels of crime, and improvements in the effectiveness of government institutions. Social capital is also an important variable in education, public health and community governance, since it can increase production and effectiveness. Also emphasized is the importance of social capital within problem solving (Claridge, 2004).

Because social capital can have impact on several fields also the dimensions of which social capital it selves exist are divers. There are identified different groups of dimensions, for example Liu and Besser (2003) identified four dimensions of social capital: informal social ties, formal social ties, trust and norms of collective action (Liu & Besser 2003, in Claridge, 2004). Within all these dimensions the goal is to establishing relationships to generate intangible and tangible benefits in short or long term. These benefits could be social, psychological, emotional and economical (York University 2006).

These dimensions manifest themselves in various combinations and shape the interaction between the members of a group, organization, community, society or network (York University, 2006). Because social capital is a broad term focusing upon establishing networks for mutual benefits makes the theory useful to multiple interpretations and usage in several fields within the community. In conclusion social capital can be seen as a notion that is based on the premise that social relations have potential to facilitate economic or non-economic benefits to actors in different fields of interest (York University, 2006).

On the other hand, there also exist a more pessimistic view about the degree in which social capital can improve (social) development. This is also important to take into account in this research. Important to acknowledge is the fact that social capital theories mostly ignore questions of power, conflict, and the ruling elite that in a great way effect the way social capital is put to practice. In the view of Fine, the degree in which social capital can really be of benefit to whole societies is mostly seen as too ambitious and instead should be treated with caution since when using social capital, underlying processes are at stake which influence the way this capital is actually put to practice (Fine, 2002, p. 18). In the case of social capital, sights and ambitions are mostly raised from the level of the individual, giving form by underlying processes and raised to the level of the society (Moore, 2000). Within the concept of social capital many variables are included. From bonding to the bridging to the linking. From social values to networks and associations. The long-known but scarcely acknowledged remark which have to be made in addition to such variables is that they are fractured by divisions of class, race, ethnicity, gender and age. Because of that it is hard to measure in which degree the capital referred to as social capital really is a good representation of the society as a whole (Fine, 2002, p. 22). Social capital can be subject to differing processes and in that way it can be bad as well as good depending on circumstances in which it occurs or put into practice (Fine, 2002, p. 22).

It is important to see social capital not in isolation from, and exclusive from the society and backgrounds in which it occurs. Important is to emphasize the social construction in which social capital is given meaning. The way it is given meaning heavily influences the way it is reproduced and transformed (Bordieu in, Fine, 2002, p. 24). If this social construction is neglected there will be a shaky foundation for the evolving knowledge attached to social capital (Fine, 2002, p. 26). This means that the knowledge extracted through social capital does not have to be the most important knowledge necessary in a given situation. It can be shaped by one particular group through collective self-interest or one-sided information. If this knowledge is used in a more broader sense it can be designated as inefficient because only a particular group is able to benefit or it even can be conductive to corruption (Fafchamps, 2000).

In conclusion, social capital can be important to economic and social performance and development. But before knowledge obtained through social capital can be used in an effective and reliable way it needs to be set against an appropriate and deep understanding of underlying economic, political, cultural and historical interests from which this knowledge stems.

2.2 Social exchange theory

The second theory used within this research is the social exchange theory, the basic assumptions of the social exchange theory is that people only get involved within interaction if this can maximize their own profits. People are goal oriented in a freely competitive system. With limited information people try to make the best rational choice and calculate the best possible means to reach their goals (Crossman, n.d). Only if people can benefit from other people they will interact in the same process. To find the best means people look for information about social, economic, and psychological aspects of their current interactions that allows them to consider alternative, more profitable situations relative to their present situation (Crossman, n.d). In that way exchanges in social relationships can be seen as interaction processes between two or more individuals which believe that some parts are responding to each other, and in that way affect each other (Hallén, Johanson & Seyed-Mohamed, 1991, p. 29).

Social exchange theory argues that people form relationships because they determine that it is in their best interests to do so. In forming relationships, people exchange goods and services. People stay or engage in relationships when they believe that the exchange is beneficial. In that way the social exchange theory is rooted in the rational choice theory, since different actors look for relationships which can increase their profit the most (Mc Graw-Hill, n.d). The social exchange theory advances the idea that relationships are essential for life in society and that it is in one's interest to form relationships with others. The social exchange theory is a socio-psychological and sociological perspective that explains social change and stability as a process of negotiated exchange between parties. Of course, whether or not it is in someone's interest to form a relationship with another person or organizations is a calculation that both parties must perform (Crossman, n.d).

In that sense, social exchange is also an adaptation process. Especially when actors intend to interact for more than a short period they must continue to adapt to each other's needs (Hállen et al., 1991, p. 29). Nevertheless, social exchange theory argues that forming relationships is advantageous because of exchange. Each party to the relationship exchanges particular goods and perspectives, creating more opportunities for each other.

The social exchange theory can provide a useful theoretical framework from which to analyze different types of social exchange such as exchanges of goods, information and status (Chen & Choi, p. 2). Knowledge-based alliances, joint ventures and network-based organizations have become increasingly common in business and the importance of knowledge exchange has increased with the increasing use of information technologies such as the Internet (Chen & Choi, p.2). Social exchange is of importance to increase the possibilities of conducting a business which is in line with the customers "needs". And in that way to be informed in the right way (Hállen et al., 1991, p. 30). Four types of exchange structures can be distinguished (Chen & Choi, n.d, p.4). These are (a) negotiated exchange, exchange based on an explicit agreement or the terms of a trade; (b) reciprocal exchange, sequential giving of benefits across time; (c) generalized exchange, providing unilateral benefits to one actor or member of a network or group while receiving them from one or more other members; and (d) co-productive exchange, that is, coordinating efforts or combining resources to generate a joint good (Chen & Choi, p.4). Social exchange is a process in which two or more participants carry out activities directed toward one another and exchange valuable resources. They will keep doing

this as long as they perceive the exchange relationship as an attractive alternative (Hällén et al., 1991, p. 31).

In conclusion, this means that each individual needs total clarity about the gain from a possible co-operation. All actors want to reach their own goal and only when the other's goal is not contradictory participation in a process will take place.

2.3 Key terms

Within the field of Migration and Development studies a lot of terms are in use sometimes in multiple ways. For uniformity in understanding, the most important terms will be explained.

Migrant: people leave places for several reasons, directions and duration. People leave because of better living standards elsewhere, because of better job opportunities, due to political oppression, war, family ties etc (Castles & Miller, 2009). Why migrants migrate is of less importance within this research. Important is their country of origin and their involvement within Diaspora organizations or development aid. So within this research when talked about migrant, it is about migrants coming from countries of the Global South. The reason why they migrated is in this case not important.

Global South: This refers to countries also known as developing countries. These developing countries are mostly located in Africa, Asia and Latin America. (Ekedegwa Odeh, 2010, p.338). Although it has been acknowledged that not all countries in the Global South can be called developing countries because some of the countries in the Global South are developed also, like Australia, South Africa, and Chile (Karpilo, 2010).

Global North: The Global North is seen as the countries that are also called developed countries and which are the economically developed societies of Europe, North America, Australia, Israel, amongst others (Ekedegwa Odeh, 2010, p. 338). But just as with the Global South, the definition Global North cannot be taken as strict since not all countries in the Global North can be called "developed, like Haiti, Nepal, Afghanistan, and many of the countries in northern Africa (Karpilo, 2010). In this research the Global North is limited to the Netherlands.

Diaspora organization: Due to the fact that migrants want to contribute to their country of settlement and also to their country of origin migrants often establish their own, ethnic or locality-based networks in countries of settlement. These networks are called Diaspora or migrant organizations. Newcomers in a foreign and largely unknown environment can thus be accommodated to get along in the new country of residence. These Diaspora organizations can vary greatly in age, size, formal status and key goals (Smith & Naerssen, n.d, p. 20).

Transnationalism: Is a process whereby migrants set-up social fields that links the homeland and their nation-state of settlement. The immigrants who designed these fields, made out of multiple familial, economic, social, organizational, religious and political relations, are called transmigrants (Vertovec, 2011).

Transnational activities: Following the definition of Portes (1999, p. 464); ‘transnational activities take place on recurrent basis across national borders and that require a regular and significant commitment of time by participants. Such activities may be conducted by relatively powerful actors, such as representatives of national governments and multinational corporations, or may be initiated by more modest individuals. Such as migrants and their home country kin and relations’.

Remittances: Remittances are earnings by migrants sent back to the country of origin. Remittances have the potential to create positive outcomes for the migration source areas (Doorn, 2002, p. 48). Remittances can be used for the stimulation of production and employment. Also a large part of remittances is used for daily expenses such as food, clothing and healthcare. Remittances are also spent on housing and education (Doorn, 2002, p. 51).

Social Remittances: Another kind of remittances, is skills, attitudes and knowledge gained by migrants in their country of settlement transferred to their country of origin (Smith & Nearssen, n.d, p. 19). It is assumed that this transfer of know-how has a positive development impact in the country of origin (Goethe & Hillmann, n.d, p. 1). New gained skills and knowledge can help to develop new sectors or job opportunities within the Global South. Information and communication technologies allow highly qualified migrants to transfer the knowledge they have acquired back to their countries of origin (Raghuram, n.d, p. 9). Because of the fact that this research is focused upon the knowledge of migrants organized in Diaspora organization and how this can be used in the policy debate, social remittances in contrast to (capital) remittances will play a larger role within this research.

Dutch institutions: When talking about Dutch institutions it is referred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Dutch development NGOs like Oxfam Novib and Cordaid.

2.4 Why migrants knowledge is important and different from others peoples knowledge

Today’s migration is characterized by a higher level of skill, a higher proportion of women and a broader range of destination countries than in the past (OECD, 2012, p.4). Easier transport and new tools of communication have raised the expectations of migrants with regard to the ties they maintain with their countries of origin and the way they conceive and deliver commitments to their home communities (Ros, Gonzalez, Marin & Sow, 2007, p. 14). Migrants possess real and substantial resources. Both in financial terms, as illustrated by the level of official transfer of remittances to developing countries, which the World Bank has estimated at US\$ 372bn in 2011. The scale of remittances is considerable. When compared to the total amount of official development assistance, development countries received in 1999 US\$ 65bn in official remittances. This exceeded the US\$ 54bn of official development assistance (Doorn, 2002, p. 48). It is expected that this amount of remittances is only a small part of the total remittances because it does not include remittances sent through informal channels. For example, the money remitted through informal Hawala system in South-Asia is estimated to be as much as ten times the size of that sent through official sources (Raghuram, n.d, p. 7). Also in terms of social capital migrants contribute a lot. It has to be noted that nearly a third of the recent migrants residing in OECD countries are being university graduates. Due to that migrants are sometimes key players in linking their home and destination countries (OECD, 2012, p. 5). Diaspora members are migrants or migrants’ descendants, but they are also inhabitants, often workers, who contribute to the society in which they live. From this point of view, the

resources that they can mobilize are similar to the resources that anyone can mobilize, with the difference that migrants can be mobilized in a way that links, directly or indirectly, two or more countries. These resources, or “capitals” that they can mobilize are in human, social, economic and cultural form and often organized through Diaspora organizations (IOM, 2013, p. 2).

Social capital can be understood as the set of resources embedded in the actual or potential social networks that Diaspora communities maintain. These social networks can extend to the global scale through migrants of the same Diaspora who are scattered in several countries. Social networks are crucial to identify further opportunities to facilitate the engagement of migrants in development (IOM, 2013, p. 2). The social capital of Diaspora organizations is related to the globalization of ideas, knowledge and, to some extent, social models (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011). While establishing themselves in a country, transnational societies bring with them a rich cultural background, which, while representing the visible features of their identity, also provides them with the means for their integration and acceptance into their new society elements that allow exchanges and mutual recognition and release the potential benefits of more diverse societies (IOM, 2013, p. 3).

Most people are relatively immobile, and their entire working lives are performed within nationally bounded spaces. International migrants account for only some two per cent of the world’s population. The importance of international migration is founded in the fundamental shift in careers and working lives, so that flexibility, migration, and relocations have become practices, to strive for rather than stability of being coerced or resisted (Williams, 2005, p.1). This change in living and perception through international migration has also brought some changes to the way knowledge is created and transferred (Williams, 2005, p. 1). *“To make knowledge you have to learn to connect”* (Drucker, 1993, p. 176 in Williams, 2005, p. 1). This means that through migration people experience different situations or issues which makes it easier to compare them and develop more reality based knowledge. Migrants should be more able to connect and link different situations with each other due to their multi-layered experiences and contacts. Both in the global South as in the global North. This makes that migrants have a special position within knowledge building since they are involved and incorporated in two or more communities at the same time and in that way experience several different situation more deeply. This makes it easier to compare and share the required knowledge. In that way migrants have the potential to positively affect the relationship between the country of settlement and the country of origin. Through enhancing cultural relations as well as mutual understanding. This implies that Diaspora members (migrants) are actual or potential bridges between countries, through their multiple networks, identities, as well as their shared sense of belonging (IOM, 2013, p. 3).

The intercultural position of migrants ensures them that they are uniquely placed to adapt to, become part of and contribute to multiple communities. This, in turn, may lead to greater social cohesion and further social and economic integration so that the benefits of migration can truly be maximized (Vertovec, 2011; IOM, 2013, p. 6; Hofmeister & Breitenstein, 2008, p. 481). In contrast immobile people mainly focus on one area or situation which can lead to the fact that they only see one side of the story. Sharing and obtaining knowledge is easier when you are more mobile and involved in different networks at the same time. This is pointed out by Ostergaard (2008, p. 2).

Ostergaard points out that geographical, cognitive and social distances are important for knowledge flows between individuals. He argues that short geographical distance should increase the sharing of knowledge. Also short cognitive distance can be important in sharing knowledge. Another important factor within in the knowledge sharing process is the strength of the ties and the cohesion in the social networks. A high degree of cohesion will provide people with redundant information. At the same time involving agents that span structural holes i.e. connect two nodes that are not connected, can make it possible to receive new information (Ostergaard, 2008, p. 2). Translated to the position in which transmigrants are living, this would mean that they have shorter geographical and cognitive distances to the Global South and to migrant communities within the Netherlands than Dutch policy makers. So for these organizations sharing and generating knowledge about information on size, characteristics, and activities at stake within migrant communities should be easier (Sharma, 2011, p. 13). In that way these Diaspora organizations are possible agents that can span structural holes (Sharma, 2011, p. 13).

Although migrants are in a good position to obtain and compare knowledge and situations, it is important to recognize that there are many different forms of knowledge. The conceptualization of knowledge has moved a long way since Polanyi's (1966) recognition that knowledge can be divided into tacit and explicit forms (Williams, 2005, p. 2). Tacit knowledge can be seen as knowledge that is person and context specific. In contrast, explicit knowledge is transmittable in formal and systematic ways (Williams, 2005, p. 5). From the beginning geographers mainly focused upon the importance of spatial proximity in the transfer of tacit knowledge via face-to-face contacts. More recently, the focus has shifted to the diverse means of knowledge transfer, whether localized or 'distanced' (Williams, 2005, p. 1). In that light it is important to gain understanding about the role migration and migrants can play in knowledge creation and transfer. Since they have much knowledge gained through spatial proximity but also through more distanced sources after they migrated (Williams, 2005, p. 2). Blackler (1995), amongst others, has recognized various forms of knowledge, some of which reside, relatively autonomously, in individuals, while others are given meaning through being socially situated (Williams, 2005, p. 2). All these different types of knowledge can be carried, with differing degrees of effectiveness and exclusivity, by migrants.

A summarization of the role Diaspora organizations can fulfill becomes very clear in the following quote of the International Organization for Migration:

"By engaging diasporas as partners in discussions and action, encouraging the flow and exchange of ideas, resources and know-how between home and host countries and pursuing the objective of creating sustainable economic activities, Diaspora engagement projects promote dialogue between different partners, demonstrate the commitment of the Diaspora to effectively contribute to the development efforts of their home country as well as to socioeconomic conditions in the host country" (IOM, 2013, p. 11).

As can be seen Diaspora organizations' involvement can have developmental impact. But it is also important to get a clear view about who will profit from Diaspora organizations' involvement, since it is mentioned that this knowledge is often provided through personalized networks (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 58). Migration and development is thought to promote local, regional and national development (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 58). But despite recent efforts, there are still many gaps. A paper from the world bank found that the migration-development relationship is still unsettled and unresolved (Ellerman, 2003). Newland (2007) in turn states that the evidence base for the links between migration and development is still very weak. A reason for this doubt can be found in the fact that transnational ties are mainly maintained upon a low scale. Migrants maintaining transnational ties mostly focus upon direct links with family and friends in their country of origin or on their region of origin (Guarnizo, 2003, p. 666). This can mean that remittances, information and know-how also flows between a relative small group of people. In that case also only a small group of people can profit from these transnational ties. This can increase inequality in the country of origin between people who are in contact with migrants and those who are not. Another consequence of this can be that if Diaspora organizations maintain contacts with only one group or region within the country this does not have to be necessarily give a good overview of a country on a bigger scale. One-sided information can be the outcome (Massey et al, 1998).

It also should be questioned if migrants and their organizations are in direct contact with the people who are the most in need. Mostly the ones who migrate are not the most poor people. Since the migration trajectory itself asks for a considerable investment from both the migrant as his/her family (Castles & Miller, 2009). So it is possible that migrants and their kin are from another background than those who need help the most. Because of that it is important to keep in mind whom migrants represent and can represent through their networks. Acknowledged has to be that local or regional development mostly is accompanied by prospects for development for particular social groups and territories. Because of that it is important to pose the question what constitutes success and development in localities and regions. Because when it comes to development, existing institutions reorganize, new institutions emerge and new relations are formed to assure themselves of developmental benefits (Pike et al, 2006, p. 3). Of course Diaspora organizations can also be influenced by these kind of processes.

In the following two paragraphs there will be sought for theoretical examples about what Diaspora organizations possibly can contribute due to their transnational position. In the chapter thereafter, there will be a closer look upon Diaspora organizations based in the Netherlands and if they due to this position and social capital really are able to make use of these possibilities.

2.5 Diaspora contributions to Dutch oriented migration and development issues

In the following several suggestions about which role Diaspora organizations could play within the Netherlands, will be presented. It is looked to these examples to get a overview about which role migrants possibly can play. Later, information if this role/contribution is actually played/made by Diaspora organizations and in which degree will be given.

2.5.1 Involvement of Diaspora organizations in local government policies

An example of the role Diaspora organizations can play is given by the Stedelijk advies orgaan interculturalisatie (Saluti), located in Utrecht. They developed an agenda called “Sterk door diversiteit” (Stronger through diversity). Within this programme Saluti is giving possibilities to increase the participation and integration of all inhabitants of Utrecht through the participation of Diaspora organizations (Saluti, 2010, p. 6). The main idea is that if individuals can identify themselves with specific groups within the society this increases the chance to become stimulated to participate (Lindo, 2011, p. 36). The expected end result is a society in which conflicts are minimized (Saluti, 2010, p. 7). This is seen as important because at the moment, not everyone can identify with the city they are living in due to cultural and language differences. As a consequence they become isolated (Hernandez, 2004). One reason for this is that there is not enough attention for diversification within community policies. In 2006 only 3% of the counsellors in Dutch municipalities was of non-Dutch origin. Knowledge about diversification within the municipality is limited, and as a result, diversification is not seen as a tool to improve the cohesion within the city (Dekker, n.d, p. 10).

The underlying idea is that a city, and especially cities which are diverse in ethical composition, can only function if this diversity also can be traced back to the institutions and organizations that manage the city (Saluti, 2010, p. 10). One of the most important challenges facing modern societies, and at the same time one of our most significant opportunities, will be the increase in ethnic and social diversity within societies. Because of that now and in the future it will become increasingly important to diversify (Putnam, 2007, p. 137).

At the moment this is not the case, different ethical groups are hardly involved within governing the city (Saluti, 2010, p. 10; Dekker, n.d). To deal with diversity, diversity and integration should be a two sided project in which reciprocity is the keyword. Both Dutch as people of other ethical backgrounds should be involved in policy making. Diaspora organization have a stimulating impact on their members and migrant communities, in that way they can reach a lot of people (Peters, 2010, p. 161). Interaction between these organizations and administrative bodies could lead to more trust among migrants towards government institutions. It is proven that the degree of integration of Diaspora organizations with other Dutch institutions is of influence upon the development and integration of migrant communities. In that way Diaspora organizations can be seen as tools to improve trust among migrant communities which influences the integration process positively (Peters, 2010, p. 161). Diaspora organizations can create new forms of social solidarity and dampen negative effects of diversity by constructing new more encompassing identities (Putnam, 2007, p. 139).

The challenge in this is to make use of these ethnic differences within a city and the qualities that are integrated within Diaspora organizations (Saluti, 2010, p. 10). Up till now there is made insufficient use of the networks successful migrants and Diaspora organizations have and which can help to diversify policies. They are mostly not recognized because migrants are too often only judged on their identity as being a migrant. Other dimensions of identity that migrants can fulfil like, student, colleague or adviser are mostly neglected (Massey et al, 1998).

Equal participation in policy making is only possible if organizations and institutions are accessible for each member of society. Diversity fosters interethnic tolerance and social solidarity. As Putnam states; *'as we have more contact with people who are unlike us we overcome our initial hesitation and ignorance and come to trust them more'* (Putnam, 2007, p. 141). Another benefit of diversity is that many studies of collective creativity believe that diversity fosters creativity and that diversity produces much better, faster problem-solving (Putnam, 2007, p. 140).

Diaspora organizations can increase the sense of feeling at home among groups with a differing ethnic background and this way stimulate participation (Saluti, 2010, p. 12). Through these organizations people learn to know and appreciate different norms and values which leads to mutual trust and a sense of reciprocity (Peters, 2010, p. 162). Diaspora organizations remain strong networks with their members and migrant communities. They are connected through shared identities (Peters, 2010, p. 165). At the same time if Diaspora organizations maintain networks with actors who differ greatly in identity, but through these networks can increase trust between differing actors they span gaps, bound new actors and link these to the migrant communities (Peters, 2010, p. 165).

It is especially important to involve Diaspora organizations on a local government level since long-run benefits of immigration and diversity are often felt at the national level whereas the short-run costs are often concentrated at the local level. So especially on the local level there will be a need to make use of each other's skills and networks since local based programs can lead to mutual learning (Putnam, 2007, p. 164).

2.5.2 Diaspora organizations' involvement in community healthcare

Community healthcare is one of the potential fields in which it is believed Diaspora organizations can become more involved in the Netherlands. This is especially in a role of linking with migrant people who experience problems with the existing Dutch healthcare due to different views about how healthcare should look like, arising from differences in culture, ethnicity and language.

It is important to take into account these factors because if social distance is great due to differences in identity, people perceive and treat other people or institutions as belonging to a different category (Putnam, 2007, p. 159). People experience it easier to trust one another and co-operate when the social distance between them is less (Putnam, 2007, p. 159). But social distance depends on identity: our sense of who we are (Putnam, 2007, p. 159). Diaspora organizations could help to decrease the social distance between migrants and healthcare institutions. The healthcare situation of migrants is in most cases worse in contrast to autochthonous Dutch people because healthcare facilities do not reach them or there is a lack of trust in these facilities to make effective care possible. (Verwey & Jonker, n.d, p. 1). It is important for the healthcare sector to seek broader embedment within the

community. This can be reached through the co-operation of the local healthcare sector and Diaspora organizations (Verwey & Jonker, n.d, p. 1).

Patient and patient organizations are becoming more involved in the decision making process within the healthcare sector. Healthcare is becoming more supply oriented and the perspective of the patient is a important contribution to health suppliers and policy makers. But patients with a migrant background are mostly absent within this process (ZONMW, 2012). In that sense it can be important to involve Diaspora organizations within the community health policies because in that way migrants themselves can make clear what the problems are they experience. These problems can be different among migrants and people from Dutch origin (GGD, 2003, p. 3). Active participation of migrants could contribute largely to a lesser social distance (ZONMW, 2012). Diaspora organizations have much expertise and knowledge about needs and problems which their members experience in the Dutch Healthcare. This knowledge should be made use of when policy focused upon community healthcare is developed (Verwey & Jonker, n.d, p. 2).

There also is gap between Dutch organizations and the migrant society due to communication and different ethics (Verwey & Jonker, n.d, p. 3). Diaspora organization could fill in this gap because they can assist people and give information in the own language about health and healthcare. Diaspora organizations also can advise institutions and individual health workers about their own shared personal experiences they have as a migrant with the Dutch healthcare sector. In that way Diaspora organizations can act as ambassadors for other migrants within Dutch communities (GGD, 2003, p. 15). Also implementation can be taken care of by Diaspora organizations. Migrants can act as health consultants or trust persons. It could be a possibility to involve migrants as community or neighbourhood advisers. These advisers should become part of the community health centres and help to improve the accessibility of these centres and increase the knowledge about healthcare for both the inhabitants as for the community workers (GGD, 2003, p. 25).

2.5.3 Diaspora organizations' involvement in municipal youth services

Migrant families compared to Dutch families make lesser use of youth services (SCP, 2013, p. 14). Mostly due to differences in culture, value, language and expectations (SCP, 2013, p. 106). It is important to reach these families because the last decennia migrant-families have increased. Within 14% of the families in the Netherlands one or two of the parents has a migrant background (SCP, 2013, p.107). Also in this field it is believed Diaspora organizations can play a role in making the threshold to actually use these services lower for migrant families (Bellaart & Pehlivan, n.d, p. 6). This is important. At the moment the centre for youth and family (Centra voor Jeugd en Gezin) and the youth care services are experiencing problems with reaching migrant families, the other way around migrants themselves hardly try to reach Dutch youth and family organizations (Forum, n.d, p. 10; Bellaart & Pehlivan, n.d, p. 6).

There exists a gap between demand by migrants and supply offered by Dutch youth organisations. There is a lack of trust which can be a big threshold to make use of these services. As a consequence, problems are not treated in time and serious situations may develop (Bellaart & Pehlivan, n.d, p. 9). This is also noted by "Forum". Migrants are mostly underrepresented in preventive services and over represented in harder involuntary necessary youth services (Forum, n.d, p. 5). Especially the poorly integrated migrants experience problems in finding help in family issues due to difference in language and habits. This makes it hard to communicate with youth-care professionals (Bellaart & Pehlivan, n.d, p. 9). To improve this, intercultural co-operation is necessary within youth services institutions (Forum, n.d, p. 6).

Local governments are increasingly getting more responsibility in putting in place youth care services. This could offer new possibilities. For example, more co-operation between Diaspora organizations and Youth service organizations could be asked for. This approach has been successful in Utrecht and Amsterdam. In these cities Diaspora organizations are involved in the youth services and within a short time period it turned out that migrants began using youth services more frequent, because of increased trust (Bellaart & Pehlivan, n.d, p. 15). The organizations Al Amal in Utrecht and Vice Versa in Amsterdam are involved in youth service provisions and also act as intermediates between migrants and Dutch organizations. They act as translator, adviser or making migrants familiar with Dutch youth services. Especially important within this co-operation is 1) making migrants familiar with the services, 2) adjusting services to migrant needs and 3) extracting experiences with the offered services (Forum, n.d, p. 9). In all these three aspects Diaspora organization could play a considerable role (Forum, n.d, p. 11).

In the following some arguments are presented why migrants should be involved in municipal youth services (Bellaart & Pehlivan, n.d, p 19):

- Reaching migrant households needs a clarification of their problems, information about the options, taking away distrust and motivating migrants to approach youth services. It seems that the present actors within youth services are not able to reach this. Diaspora organizations have a better relationship with migrant communities and would probably more able to improve youth services on these points.
- With the help of Diaspora organizations some of the most basic and most urgent questions within a migrant household about youth services can already be answered within their own community. Without interference of Dutch youth organizations or only with support of these organizations. So questions can be answered faster and it is easier for migrants to approach organizations with their problems.
- Diaspora organizations are independent actors and familiar to migrants. In that way migrants households will be less hesitant to ask for their help. They also will be less scared of child protection services getting involved.
- Diaspora organizations understand the living conditions of migrants, they speak the same language and understand their culture. In that way for Diaspora organizations it is easier to inform parents of migrant households non-committal and within their own safe environment what they can do about their problems.

2.6 Diaspora contributions to Global South oriented migration and development issues

Just as within the Dutch society, migration literature claims that Diaspora organizations can also fulfill a key role in socio-economic or other kinds of development issues in the global South (Bakker, n.d; Castles & Miller, 2009; Faist, 2008; Lukes, 2009; Sinatti, 2010; Smith & Naerssen, 2010). Diasporas are debated in several disciplines (e.g., political sciences, economics and the study of international relations). A wide range of political science literature deals with diasporas through the study of transnationalism. A transnational perspective can help to bridge the divide of treating development and integration as separate issues and lead to a more complete understanding of migrant livelihoods and to better policies (Mazzucato, 2005). A number of events at national, regional or the international level has drawn policy attention to diasporas. But only a few studies explore how diasporas facilitate social and economic development in their homelands and make the link between what is known about diasporas and the implications at policy level (Ionesco, n.d, p. 10).

Most of the Diaspora literature only mentions the contributions to the development of the home country in particular through remittances (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011, p. 2). To have access to these remittances, international aid agencies and governments are designing policies to purposefully channel these resources. This has prompted policy-makers to delve into migration matters as never before but debates about migration and development privilege the economic at the expense of the social (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011, p. 2).

Only focusing on the economic aspect can lead to promoting policies that fail to take into account key social aspects. Other diasporas mechanisms, like return migration, financial instruments, entrepreneurial investments, hometown associations, immigration and trade, culture and professional Diaspora networks are also aspects in which Diasporas contribute to their home country and should be taken into account (Ionesco, n.d; Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011). Diasporas can help institutions in the country of settlement in these spheres as well to understand the issues at stake in the Global South. As a result Diaspora organizations could assist donors as an engine for development and co-operation since migrants have much knowledge about norms, practices, identities and social capital in the Global South (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011, p.2). Subsequently migrants developed a double engagement which resulted in flows of people, goods, money and ideas, and the creation of new institutions that cross national boundaries (Grillo & Mazzucato, 2008, p. 176).

The possibilities for Diaspora organizations towards home-countries are believed to be numerous. They should be able to raise awareness of political and human rights violations, be advisors to conflicting groups, and serve as facilitators between home and host countries (Davis, 2010). Some believe they are arguably the best actor to fulfill these positions because it is presumed that they understand their home conflicts better than host country diplomats and peacekeepers do. They are also generally more accepted by actors involved both in the global North as the global South (Davis, 2010).

2.6.1 Combining skills

A way in which it is believed Diaspora organizations can be involved in development of their country of origin is through collective investments in community projects through hometown associations. Examples of projects are literacy programmes, hospitals, schools, roads, plumbing systems and internet cafés. Many migrants generally feel a strong obligation to improve the living conditions of those back home. The scope of these organizations' contributions to development varies widely from one to another, according to the size, wealth and contacts that they have (Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation & Poverty, 2009, p. 2). An obstacle can be that skills may not always be readily transferrable to Global South situation due to lack of equipment or good quality facilities in these developing regions. Because of that the promotion of conducive environments is important to maximize the impact of skills and knowledge transfers (van Hear, Pieke & Vertovec, 2004, p. 4)

It is important to have an actor who can help to set-up projects and explain how one can use these new skills in the future (Shella, 2011, p. 81). Examples of intermediate actors are development NGOs like Oxfam Novib and Cordaid. These are development NGOs which are partly funded by the Dutch government. Oxfam Novib and Cordaid have undertaken capacity building efforts with Diaspora organizations, focusing on providing them with the practical knowledge needed to set up micro-finance programs and help them to professionalize their projects (Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation & Poverty, 2009, p. 3). In return these Diaspora organizations can help NGOs by sharing their knowledge, skills and experiences (Shella, 2011, p. 82). Diaspora organizations can also accompany these NGOs when visiting countries in the Global South. Since it is believed that it can be hard for people in the Global South to collaborate with "expatriates". By combining the ideas of migrants with the expertise of NGOs or government institutions and perform together this can lead to lesser coordination problems without losing the trust of the people in the Global South (Goethe & Hillman, 2008).

2.6.2 Migrants as advisers

Because migrants due to transnationalism maintain links within their country of origin and in their country of settlement it is claimed migrants have become increasingly important, not only as a source of remittances, investments, and political contributions, but also as potential ambassadors or lobbyists in defense of national interests abroad (Nyberg-Sorensen et al., 2002, p. 18). Because of the socio-economic and political relations migrants maintain with both the country of origin and the country of settlement it is believed that for these migrants much more easier to make a decision about the most important needs of their country of origin in a neutral way. Diaspora members in that sense differ from non-diaspora counterparts in a way that they experienced both the situation in the Global North as in the Global South due to their international experiences and networks within both societies (Sharma et al., 2011, p. 10).

In that way it can be stated that if the decision about the most direct needs within a country in the Global South is made by “western” people who are working for a development NGO it is harder to address the right problems because they never experienced the situation in which these people are living. So it is hard to place yourself in that position (DFD, 2013). On the other hand, people living in the Global South might mention as their most direct needs goods that people in the Global North have. In that case there is a chance that the primary goods that really can improve their living situation are not seen because they focus on more luxurious goods. In that case it is important to select the “needs” from the “wants” (DFD, 2013).

In contrast, migrants have experienced both the situation in the Global North and in the Global South. For them it is far easier to compare these two situations and to acknowledge upon the needs that are really lacking in a country in the Global South to improve the living standard. In that way they can make changes through experience (Lukes, 2009). A Diaspora organization can be a good link between governments in the Global North or a development NGO and the people in the Global South, because they can fulfill an advising role and provide these organizations/governments with important information to make their projects more effective. Since Diaspora organizations have strong bonds they are more likely to “bridge” to these other communities (Lukes, 2009, p.7).

Within this topic it is important to take into account the specific position of the migrants and their organizations. Since migrants have the potential to be organized into strong lobbies that advocate for sending country interests. In response, sending states may endow migrants with special rights, protections, and recognitions, in the hope of ensuring their long-term support (Nyberg-Sorensen et al., 2002, p. 19). The interplay between “transnationalism from above” (by sending states) and “transnationalism from below” (by migrant groups) is evident in the practices of numerous “home-state” and “home-town” associations connecting migrants and their resources to their homelands often by promoting community development projects. It is also seen in governments offering bonds at high state-guaranteed rates of interest to undertake major national development projects by mobilizing worldwide Diaspora loyalties. So it is important to take into account in which degree Diaspora organizations function as independent advisers or as organizations somehow guided by the views and wishes the governments or their kin in their countries of origin want to achieve (Rayaprol, 1997; Sengupta, 1998 in Nyberg-Sorensen et al., 2002).

CHAPTER 3. Research results

In the following attention will be devoted to Diaspora organizations within the Netherlands. I have tried to establish to which degree these groups are co-operating with Dutch institutions. In addition, information was collected on the scale, the format and reasons underneath these collaborative efforts were implemented. The same approach was used when interviewing representatives of the Dutch government, Development NGOs and experts. This should allow for drawing some conclusions about the kind of co-operation at the moment and ways to effectively improve this co-operation. First, I start with explaining in which fields consulted Diaspora organizations are undertaking developmental initiatives both in the Netherlands as in the Global South. This to answer the question if Diaspora organizations really possess knowledge which puts them in the position to undertake migration and development measurements. After that there will be a closer look upon the question if those activities are in addition and thus of added value to Dutch institutions activities.

3.1 Diaspora organizations' contributions to the Dutch society

All the organizations consulted during this study had one and the same reason for being erected: to make integration into the Dutch society easier for new arriving migrants (A. Otieno Ong'ayo, personal communication, October 4, 2013). Overtime each Diaspora organization started to develop new objectives as they experienced new issues both within as abroad the Dutch borders. The way their objectives changed, also adapted their view about the degree in which they are able to contribute to the Dutch society. Although they all hold the opinion that their contribution can be important, the opinion about their real contribution differs among organizations. Habagat foundation, for example, experiences that their contributions to and involvement in Dutch society are mainly limited to cultural activities and not so much in governance or social issues (Habagat, personal communication, September 13, 2013). Recogin, to the contrary holds the opinion that the way Diaspora organizations can contribute and are contributing is huge and diverse. Recogin is an example of an organization which is very active in the Dutch society (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013). Another organization positive about migrants' possible role within Dutch society and one which actively participated in the past is Burundi Woman for Peace and Development (BWPD). Financial cutbacks in the aid sector have made it difficult to continue these kind of activities (BWPD, personal communication, September 20, 2013). In contrast, The pearl of Africa foundation aired a far more pessimistic opinion and saw hardly ways in which they were able to contribute, in spite of much knowledge that could benefit the Dutch society. As a result Diaspora organizations might change their objectives and no longer try to contribute to the Dutch society (Pearl of Africa, personal communication, September 18, 2013). As also can be seen from the following two quotes from Habagat foundation and The pearl of Africa.

"We stopped trying to evolve projects focused on the Netherlands, we now mostly only focus on issues within Uganda because when we tried to reach people and inform about certain things within the community, you often find road blocks on your way. So now we try to do this through DFD we give them feedback about thinks at stake among the community and try to be involved trough them. But trying to do things individually we stopped doing a few years ago. It was to frustrating (Pearl of Africa, personal communication, September 18, 2013)"

“When you see that your ideas help and they do something with it than that is a drive to go on, but mostly it is just a lot of talking and you do not have the idea that anything is really changing, the process is just too slow, and when you are in that process for many years like me, there comes a moment where you lose your temper and you start thinking I do not want to do this anymore because it can be so frustrating, you have lots of ideas but you just cannot implement them (Habagat foundation, personal communication, September 13, 2013)”.

Overall it can be said that many organizations see a wide range of ways in which they can contribute to the Dutch society but also most of them note that the ability to put these contributions in place is a trajectory with many constraints. A key reason is the fact that there is a divergent view about issues of importance between Diaspora organizations and Dutch institutions. For Diaspora organizations these objectives are part of their living and they are confronted with it every day. Moreover, much of these processes were present before they decided to migrate to the Netherlands, so they have a huge drive to be involved and change these processes, while for government employees Diaspora organizations believe this is not a deep-rooted issue (Habagat, 2013; Recogin, 2013).

In the following sub-paragraphs, some specific examples of how Diaspora organizations are or could be involved are presented. In general it can be said that most of these issues in which Diaspora organizations are involved are connected to integration and participation issues. Diaspora organizations can indeed become interlockers, bridge builders and translators between the Dutch and the migrant communities. They can inform newcomers about important issues and at the same time inform the Dutch society about migrants. Many have been here for long and claim to understand how things work both here and there. They have knowledge about both sites which is helpful in the Netherlands to smoothen integration. And if there are some needs they are more able to identify these needs much faster because they went through these processes themselves (A. Otieno Ong’ayo, personal communication, October 4, 2013; KDCN, personal communication, November 9, 2013).

When you bring a new culture to a certain place, you cannot expect from people to immediately understand how to act and adapt to the new situation. Likewise Dutch people cannot be expected to understand the migrants and receive these new people properly (Otieno Ong’ayo, 2013; Afroeuro, 2013). In other words, integration should be a two way process because you cannot contribute if you do not know what is needed. And you cannot interact with people you do not know. Integration should be a process in which the newcomers try to know the new society and the society tries to know the newcomers. Because if you reach out to someone they will be more potential to be perceptive. So it should be about human relations (A. Otieno Ong’Ayo, personal communication, October 4, 2013). Otieno Ong’Ayo gives a very illustrative examples about this:

“It is just like when you see two dogs in a park, they are curious to one another try to learn each other and then run together. You don’t see that with human beings. Many times people in the Netherlands do not know what migrants need and migrants at the same time do not know what is expected from them. So before you can “run” together, you have to learn about each other. So that is why integration has to be two ways. That has to be facilitated. Mutual respect has to be created. Diaspora organizations are one of the actors that can be involved in this facilitation (A. Otieno Ong’ayo, personal communication, October 4, 2013).”

Especially at the local level migrants could play an important role as facilitator, intermediary or translator (Afroeuro, personal communication, November 6, 2013). Local authorities are the ones dealing with migrants but are not the ones who are processing them. It is processed by the national government. Later on these policies are given to the local authorities. While local authorities are doing most of the integration job they are not part of the process of why people come here. They deal with them afterwards. Local authorities notice that there is an inflow of people with a different identity which need help to be part of the society. Mostly they only see a part of the process these people go through. They focus on housing etc. because that is written by the policy from above. But they are lacking information about things these persons else needs or to prepare the people in society to deal with these new comers and vice versa (A. Otieno Ong’ayo, personal communication, October 4, 2013).

Integration is not only about finding proper housing and being allowed to go to school or work. It is a long way which you have to go through before you can expect people to be able to integrate. Many migrants have not finished all levels of schooling for several reasons, because of lower education processing new situations can take longer (Afroeuro, personal communication, November 6, 2013). So it is hard to integrate when you have to move from A to Z immediately. In that way you need actors who help them first to B and so on. But at this moment it is expected from migrants that they go to Z immediately (A. Otieno Ong’ayo, personal communication, October 4, 2013). The steps are too big but Diaspora organizations can together with other institutions play a role to limit these steps (Otieno Ong’ayo, 2013; ASDA, 2013; KDCN, 2013). In the next section some fields will be discussed in which Diaspora organizations in the Netherlands are involved to decrease these steps and increase participation and integration.

3.1.1 Financial issues

One of the fields in which Diaspora organizations can be involved is in preventing debts among migrants. Migrants have a higher risk to become indebted. Although a lot of migrants do not earn that much, that is not the main reason why they get into debt (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013). Mostly it is due to a lack of accessing the right information and not undertaking the necessary action to prevent debts (SVB, 2013; Recogin, 2013). Also because they just lend too much money without understanding the consequences (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013). Information about this is mostly fragmented or hard to access for migrant people. Migrants often do not know where to find information about financial issues (SVB, 2013). Diaspora organizations can play a role in this because they mostly acknowledge payment or financial problems among migrants earlier than people who are not involved with these people every day. Migrants will share their private problems faster with people from their own community than with a

person from outside speaking another language and having other habits (Afroeuro, personal communication, November 6, 2013). Diaspora organizations in comparison to Dutch institutions are easier accessible for migrants having questions about financial issues. Recogin, for example, has a consultation hour for Ghanaian people where they can get answers and information in their own language about what to do when in need of social support or how to prevent more debt (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013). So, Diaspora organizations can extract more information from migrants about financial issues and react earlier (ASDA, 2013, KDCN, 2013, Recogin, 2013). They can also distribute information more easily among migrants due to their direct contact (KDCN, personal communication, 9 November, 2013).

3.1.2 Policy involvement

An issue mentioned by almost all organizations is the role that their organizations could play both in the development as in the implementation of policies. When it comes to migration and development issues, Diaspora organizations can play a important role because what is noted by all organizations is the following:

“We know our people and our problems, so we can address them the best or we could inform others about it because we operate at a ground level (All organizations, 2013)”

In general, smaller groups within societies are the most vulnerable for policies (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013). Migrants are one of these groups. When policies are not understood by migrants, Diaspora organizations can clarify by explaining certain rules and habits (Recogin, 2013; Afroeuro, 2013; KDCN, 2013). Diaspora organizations can educate people to adapt to Dutch society and make a living (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013). There is a necessity to adjust these policies because people who experience problems with policies in several fields within society will likely experience more problems participating within this society. Because of that it is important to support these people which increases their ability to participate (ROM, 2008, p. 3).

It has to be acknowledged that Diaspora organizations have daily contact with migrants or migrant communities (Afroeuro, 2013; Recogin, 2013; ASDA, 2013). They know which issues are at stake within a community and what the main causes of these problems are. Again, as example the consultancy hour of Recogin can be used. During this consultancy hour Ghanaian migrants can come with their problems to the organization so they can look for solutions (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013). So during that consultancy hour Recogin is also gathering a lot of information about Ghanaian people living in the Dutch society. In the same way Afroeuro distributes ones in a while questionnaires among migrant people to get more insights about certain topics at stake (Afroeuro, personal communication, November 6, 2013). So when there are problems in certain migrant communities it is very likely that Diaspora organizations acknowledge them earlier and know the causes better than local or national policy makers. Burundi Women for Peace and Development experiences the same since they are often approached by migrants in need (BWPD, personal communication, September 20, 2013).

General opinion hold is the following; if there exists a possibility to share information about issues at stake with policy makers, this can benefit the policy. Since it addresses the right problems or issues (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013). To accomplish this, it is important to incorporate all stakeholders at the moment a policy about migration or development is made (T. van Naerssen, personal communication, October 10, 2013). It should not be talking about migrants but talking with migrants to extract ideas for the policy (Habagat foundation, personal communication, September 13, 2013). Or as by Pearl of Africa states (personal communication, September 18, 2013):

“Migrants have to look after their own interest because we know our interests better”

Policies are made for inhabitants of the Netherlands in general. This is understandable. Making all kinds of policies for all different identities within a multicultural society such as the Netherlands would be impossible. But, at the moment of implementation, identity puts a heavy burden upon the way these policies effect people in different ways (KNAW, 2011, p. 13). It is important to explore possibilities which make policymakers more able to match policies and differing identities in a effective way (KNAW, 2011, p. 23). On a local government level policies are adjusted by civil servants. This to assure the policies address the right people in a given situation. But to accomplish this, information about differing people within the society is a necessity. Diaspora organizations, in the case of migrant communities, have this knowledge (A. Otieno Ong’ayo, personal communication October 4, 2013).

3.1.3 Education

All Diaspora organizations involved in this research are active in the field of education. In a more specific way, education to assure migrants can actively participate within the Dutch community. By teaching and educating people Diaspora organizations try to make other migrants more socially active. All Diaspora organizations involved in this research acknowledge the importance of learning the Dutch language and to gain knowledge about the Dutch society. Diaspora organizations have translated this goal foremost through teaching about language and culture.

“In the past Pearl of Africa helped people from Uganda who come here by teaching about the country and that they get used to other habits. So that they have a softer landing here. About law, education, rules. We tried inform them through workshops (Pearl of Africa personal communication, September 18, 2013).”

Burundi Woman for Peace and Development, started with education projects as soon as they arrived in the Netherlands. Coming from a French speaking country it was hard to make themselves understandable since they did not speak Dutch or English. However, learning another language was not in the mind-set of all migrants. Many migrants were highly educated upon arrival and in their opinion school is for students and children only. Not speaking the language, however, can lead to social isolation within the Dutch community. BWPD tried to make this clear and showed the importance of learning English and Dutch to make sure migrants would become active participants (BWPD, personal communication, September 20, 2013). In case BWPD had not taken this effort, in their believe many of these people would have lived excluded from Dutch society. Like BWPD, Recogin and Afroeuro are also involved in language lessons. They organize language classes on their own initiatives to give migrants the possibility to learn Dutch. KDCN by contrast does not provide this

service themselves. They inform people before they migrate to the Netherlands through their organization in Kenya. This information is about important things people have to know about the Dutch system, where to get what, why and at which moment (KDCN, personal communication, November 9, 2013). This should make it possible to start participation from the moment these people arrive in the Netherlands because they already have a lot of information important for participation.

Another example of education through which Diaspora organizations contribute to the Dutch society is given by Recogin and Afroeuro. They mentioned that at the moment migrants arrive in the Netherlands they have to do an integration course. In many cases lessons go too fast for newly arrived migrants or migrants are not able to understand it well enough. Due to that they can lose focus and may decide not to take these lessons anymore. To prevent this Recogin and Afroeuro offer their own lessons in addition to the regular lessons, in their native language which makes it easier understandable. They are also offering extra Dutch lessons. In this way Diaspora organizations provide additional lessons to make sure more people will learn about the Netherlands and can become active participants. This as a reaction on the Dutch way of doing things which not always fit the purpose for all people (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013). Afroeuro, in turn, offers homework classes for children from elementary school to University to assure that migrant children are able to keep in pace with Dutch children in the educational program and to avoid early drop out. This issue has their attention because they acknowledged when children get behind compared to other students they lose motivation and will faster tend to drop out of school possibly to end up in unwanted situations, like acts of criminality (Afroeuro, personal communication, November 6, 2013).

Another way in which many Diaspora organizations are involved in education is through ICT lessons. Learning about ICT is very important nowadays. One has to know about ICT since many official documents have to be handed in through the computer. Although using a computer to western-people is something taken for granted, there are still many migrants from the Global South who are not used to these modern technologies. This handicap can seriously affect the ability to get along in society. As shown by a quote of Recogin:

“Nowadays everything is done by the computer, so you have to know how to use it to be able to participate. For example when you get fired you have to go to the UWV (Labor Office). But registration goes by the computer, many migrants do not have a clue how to use a computer, this with the consequence that you are not registered and will not receive any payment. And then many people will get in debt eventually. So ICT lessons are very important to make participation possible. We see that because we witness it every day. Policy makers probably overlook such small issues that can have big consequences (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013)”.

Technology nowadays is a fast ongoing process. People who are not used to work with computers need support. But there is not always time to give this support by the government. Diaspora organizations can implement an extra step to make people familiar with these new technologies and systems and in that way ease the steps that have to be made from old ways of doing things to new ways. These new ways of doing things are important to establish since this influences heavily the way you can get along in society (BWPD, personal communication, September 20, 2013).

3.1.4 Healthcare

Another area in which Diaspora organization are active and try to play a role for the Dutch society is healthcare. Several fields of healthcare are addressed by various Diaspora organizations. Fields which are taking care of are among others formerly abused au pairs, processing war traumas, youth care, diseases and informing about sexual transmittable diseases (BWPD, 2013; Habagat, 2013; Recogin, 2013; Afroeuro, 2013).

Traumas are important to address because many migrants come from former war areas. As a result people might carry a trauma which is not good for their health and can also lead to exclusion from Dutch society (Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn & Sport, 2013). Diaspora organizations are also involved in dealing with this issue. Two examples of these are Habagat foundation and Burundi Woman for Peace and Development. Habagat foundation supports and helps Pilipino au pairs who have experienced abuse (Habagat Foundations, personal communication, September 13, 2013). BWPD did a project within the Netherlands that support Burundian, Congolese and Rwandan people who experienced traumas from the conflict between Tutsi and Hutu. They gave them a place where they could talk about their experiences. This should help them to take up daily life more easily (BWPD, personal communication, September 20, 2013).

Secondly, youth care is another area in which many Diaspora organizations are active. This seems to confirm earlier used literature. For example Burundi Woman for Peace and Development did a project which focused upon how to deal with different identities at the same time. Within the Burundi community some parents have their children born in the Netherlands. Thus there could evolve a difference of identity between parent and child including differing opinions about norms and values. Parents for example can bring discourses from their country of origin in which forced marriage or a different relationship between man and wife is a common good. While at the same time children educated in the Netherlands experience a different ways to settle marriages and relationships between man and wife. This can lead to disagreement between parents and children and thus also to problems in nurturing children. In the most extreme case these children can suffer from these situations, drop out of school and lose the right track (BWPD, personal communication, September 20, 2013). This is also mentioned by Afroeuro and Recogin. They too recognized that parents had problems with reaching their own children due to differing identity. To solve this, Diaspora organizations can act as trust persons within families and try to make parents and children understand each other. This to prevent further problems (Afroeuro, personal communication, November 6, 2013).

It is important to reach these families as early as possible. Mostly at the moment that these problems become recognized by youth services big problems have already evolved. Diaspora organizations to the contrary are much closer to these families and can recognize problems in an earlier stage (Afroeuro, personal communication, November 6, 2013). In that way Diaspora organizations can inform these families earlier, or get them in contact with youth services as soon as possible. It is also very likely that these families will trust people from their own community more due to a common background instead of a youth service employee which is seen as an expatriate. This makes a better problem definition possible due to more information, which in turn could result in a more effective way of working. In that way Diaspora organizations can contribute to the decrease of problems within families, among youth and inform youth services (BWPD, 2013; Afroeuro, 2013; Recogin, 2013).

This role Diaspora organizations can possibly play within reaching youth is acknowledged very much by Afroeuro. They started a discussion and dialogue with African youth to prevent them from acts of criminality. Later on this was acknowledged by the government police of The Hague and this evolved into a co-operation between these two actors. Afroeuro is the link between police and African migrants. Due to a matter of trust they retrieve more information than policemen. This information in turn was used by the Police of The Hague to make it possible to approach these people easier and in a better way. In this example migrants and police learn from each other to build a better relationship. By working together with Diaspora organizations the work of the police became easier (Afroeuro, personal communication, November 6, 2013). Within the project “Kansrijk” the same has been done in Amsterdam, in this project Diaspora organizations co-operated with the police to be better able to approach African communities there. Diaspora organizations helped to address the problems “behind doors” which normally would have remained secret. This helped the police to address these issues before they turned into criminality (A. Otieno Ong’ayo, personal communication, October 4, 2013). Besides these topics, most Diaspora organizations involved in this research were also active in informing children about sexuality, sexual transmittable diseases and other common diseases.

In conclusion it can be said that Diaspora organizations are active in fields which are difficult to reach for Dutch institutions participating in the same fields. Mostly Diaspora organizations acknowledge this and believe something needs to be done before it leads to bigger problems. In that sense migrants have a strong potential in preventing problems to increase in a later stage. In that way it seems that Diaspora organizations are a preventing actor while Dutch institutions are more a dissolving actor.

3.2 Diaspora organizations' possible and actual contribution to the Global South

Examining the contributions Diaspora organizations make towards the Global South, all Diaspora organizations involved agreed that they should be involved more in policy making focused upon development aid. They claim that since they originate from these countries they have much knowledge about the most important needs, on which areas to focus, how this aid should look like and how to build partnership within countries in the Global South and with whom.

As advisers or as project partners, Diaspora organizations see an important role in supporting government institutions or NGOs charged with development aid issues. Important in this is the fact that they would like to see more partnership instead of support. At the moment Diaspora organizations foremost depend on government preferences for certain development topics. If they focus on fields which do not fit broader policies they risk missing support or funding. But following the broader policies, in the Diaspora organizations view, is no assurance that these are also the area's most in need (Afroeuro, 2013; ASDA, 2013; Habagat, 2013; BWPD, 2013; KDCN, 2013). This will be discussed more intensively later on.

Organizations involved in this research all appreciated the important job that the Dutch government and development NGOs are doing and noted that the Netherlands is one of the countries in Europe that is the most open towards Diaspora organizations. Although they also hold the opinion that they could help the government and NGOs to do their job even better. Two quotes from the interviews illustrate the multiple roles that Diaspora organizations claim they can play within Global South issues.

"I understand that people in the Netherlands are losing trust in development aid. Because often they do not see the result. And If you just give money and you do not look where it is going it is very likely it is going to the wrong places. And then people lose trust in development aid. But we know better where the money should go to and how to spend it in the right places since we are from there. That will make it more effective. We could advise in government to government issues. And when it comes to solving conflicts within a country we have a safer position as advisers against corrupt governance than people directly living there. They can be arrested and we cannot. So we can make these things more visible (Pearl of Africa, personal communication September 18, 2013)"

"Migrants can give good information about situation in the South. As Dutch employee of a government institution or Dutch NGO you have all the right to visit countries in the Global South and approach people to extract ideas. Maybe with the help of interpreters, but there is a chance information gets lost during translation. Or you do not get the right or all information because they are not telling everything due to a lack of trust, because you are a outsider. But migrants can do that job also. And due to shared backgrounds and language it can be easier for us to gather information which can profit policies. (ASDA, personal communication, November 1, 2013)"

These statements give a good overview about the networks and transnational relations Diaspora organizations claim to maintain. Still it is important to take in mind Ben fine's view concerning social capital and the knowledge and networks which arise from it. This means it is important that although Diaspora organizations claim to have much knowledge it is important to remain critical and try to see who really can profit from these networks migrants maintain. In Fine's view these networks are probably subject to processes which can influence migrants opinion, knowledge and interest (Fine, 2002). Diaspora organizations in that case will have specific knowledge and preferences over certain groups or areas within the country of origin. This would mean that from the knowledge Diaspora organizations claim to have only a specific group will profit in the end. So it is important to look at this later on in this research when taking into account the view of Dutch institutions.

To see in which degree Diaspora organizations knowledge is actually applicable in the field of migration and development, several fields to which Diaspora organization contribute in the Global South will be discussed in the following. It has to be noted that these projects hardly evolved in co-operation with government institutions but in most cases were conducted through own initiative or with the support of Dutch developmental NGOs.

3.2.1 Conflict prevention

Diaspora organizations, one way or the other, try to play a role in the prevention of conflicts in their country of origin. Diaspora organizations know the local circumstances, the actors involved, the main reasons and the key challenges due to their own experiences (NAP1325, 2013). In that way Diaspora organizations can be involved to create awareness about dictatorial regimes in home countries, or by helping victims of war conflicts (Habagat, 2013; Pearl of Africa, 2013; BWPD, 2013). Diaspora organizations can help to end conflicts through organizing conferences, resolutions and talking to governments and other stakeholders involved. This to create awareness. Another way is trying to help victims of armed conflicts. For example by helping former abducted child mothers, as Pearl of Africa did. These are children in the age of 11 to 12 years who were kidnapped by rivals and forced to marry. After the war, upon return their families mostly accepted them back but they were not happy with the children born from these forced marriages. Because these young mothers were not able to go to school or work, Pearl of Africa at the moment is trying to come up with a plan to make it possible for these children to go to school (Pearl of Africa, personal communication, September 18, 2013).

Another example how Diaspora organizations try to contribute to conflict solving comes from BWPD. This organization conducted a project focusing upon the ethnical conflict between Hutu and Tutsi in Burundi. Due to own experience they hold the opinion that ethnicity in daily lives is not really a problem within Burundi. This ethnicity is used by the rulers to gain power over the people. It was easy to do this because most people in Burundi are illiterate. Because of that it was easy to make these people believe things (BWPD, personal communication, September 20, 2013). With this knowledge BWPD started creating harmony among Hutu and Tutsi living in the Netherlands so they could show that it was possible for these people to live and work together. The following was claimed by BWPD.

"Here in the Netherlands we were not Hutu or Tutsi we were all refugees who needed each other (BWPD, 2013)"

After focusing on the Netherlands this project funded by Oxfam Novib called “social harmony” was brought to Burundi, more specific to the Kurundo region. There, the local community leaders were trained about conflict solving and to learn about how ethnicity is or can be misused within this conflict. This to make them understand the conflict better. After a training of four days these leaders went back to their own communities and gave the same training to local leaders. In that way more and more people learned about solving conflicts and the role ethnicity played in this conflict. It was tried to build trust among people which had to contribute to the decrease of the conflict in the region.

3.2.2 Democracy

In a small degree Diaspora organization can also help to improve democracy in countries in the Global South. Diaspora organizations can be involved in improving democracy by trying to change the political attitude and social involvement of the countries of origin. In that way they can advocate for more democratic values (Frouws & Grimmius, 2010, p. 134). An example of this is given by the Habagat foundation. This foundation helped to improve the voting system of the Philippines. For 15 years Philippine migrants organized campaigns to reach people and institutions in the Philippines to make clear the importance of a good voting system. They also helped to assure the availability of the right equipment to vote. A possibility how this could be improved by Diaspora organizations is by lobbying to borrow the voting systems of the country in which they are residing. If countries can borrow this, this will make it harder for candidates to cheat with the voting result and the real voice of the people will be heard more (Habagat Foundation, personal communication, September 13, 2013).

3.2.3 Education

One of the most important fields in which Diaspora organizations make contribution is within the field of education. Especially by initiative to decrease illiteracy, increase knowledge and making available educational equipment and infrastructure.

The Pearl of Africa foundation for example mentioned that in Uganda there is a lack of reading and educational books. Because of that at the moment Pearl of Africa is collecting educational and reading books to send to Uganda, with the aim to equip a library. They also try to establish an online library to make it possible that to a certain level all people can enter the same information and increase the learning capacity of the people of Uganda. Next to that The pearl of Africa foundation also build a centre with 20 computers where people can learn about ICT in the morning and which can be used as internet café during the rest of the day (Pearl of Africa, personal communication, September 18, 2013).

Just like Pearl of Africa, BWPD is also involved in improving educational standards by delivering better educational equipment. There was a need for this because in the region of Kurundo there where almost no books, due to this everything had to be written down which slowed the learning process very much. BWPD equipped schools with books. They also put-up a library and a library-bus which has to assure that more people can make use of books within the region (BWPD, personal communication, September 20, 2013). Diaspora organizations are also involved in improving the quality of education, for example by repairing roofs and windows which helps to improve the

learning environment (ASDA, personal communication, November 1, 2013). Also by refresher courses they try to improve quality of teaching. The educational qualities of teachers in the global South is in many cases of a low standard. This backlashes on the children who get poor education. Improving teaching qualities will also benefit the children (BWPD, 2013; ASDA, 2013). In Burundi for example it is important to improve the English level because Burundi will become part of the East African Community (EAC). The East African Community is the regional intergovernmental organization of the Republics of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, the United Republic of Tanzania and the Republic of Uganda. The vision of EAC is a prosperous, competitive, secure, stable and politically united East Africa. Their mission is to widen and deepen economic, political, social and cultural integration in order to improve the quality of life of the people of East Africa (EAC, 2014). Burundi and partly Rwanda are the only non-English speaking countries in this community. Improving English skills will improve their position in this intergovernmental organization. To improve English skills, teachers were retrained to give better education. Another aim of retraining teachers is that more students graduate and have a chance to go to university (BWPD, personal communication, September 20, 2013). Also training teachers about didactics can influence the learning capacity and is seen as an important objective. This to give children more suitable education (ASDA, personal communication, November 1, 2013). Next, Diaspora organizations also try to increase the total number of children that are able to get education. For example by funding and seeking sponsors that are willing to pay school fees (Children Perfect Hope, personal communication, November 9, 2013).

3.2.4 Finance

In the field of finance Diaspora organizations are also active. Especially in improving the system for sending home remittances migrants can play a role. This is important since much of the money send home gets lost during the process due to high transaction fees and corrupt or illegal systems which demand a share of the money remitted (Maceda, 2012). Diaspora organizations can be involved in improving this system and making it safer so lesser money that could been used for development gets lost. Habagat Foundation for example tried to improve this system by examining the possibilities to achieve their own bank in the Philippines where money could been send in a secure way. They also tried to stipulate discounts from Dutch banks if people wanted to send money back home. On top of that they organized a forum about financial literacy to teach people to spend money in a responsible and effective way (Habagat Foundation, personal communication, September 13, 2013).

Another way in which Diaspora organizations are involved is in granting micro-credits to people in the Global South (ASDA, personal communication, November 1, 2013). In combination with these micro-credits ASDA helps people by learning them about finance. Workshops are given by ASDA about how to put up a business and to maintain it. Every year people can take this workshop for free. During this workshop the Diaspora organization in co-operation with the local university makes business information understandable for lesser educated entrepreneurs. They also supported local women with small amounts of money to make it possible to put up and maintain their business (ASDA, personal communication, November 1, 2013).

3.2.5 Healthcare

Another area of importance named by Diaspora organizations is healthcare. This can be in different ways like; sending hospital equipment, toys for children, money to improve or build the hospital, medicines or sending Dutch or migrant doctors to countries in the Global South to train local doctors. But also by teaching about sexual transmittable diseases, or preventing malaria infections by sending mosquito nets.

ASDA for example collects glasses at a eye clinic in the Netherlands from people who do not need them anymore because they have their eyes corrected. Since they are of no use to them anymore ASDA requested if they could collect these glasses to send them to countries in the Global South. In that way they made them available to people who are in need of glasses but cannot afford them. This resulted in an estimated 30000 glasses that been send to countries in the Global South (ASDA, personal communication, November 1, 2013). Sending computers to make it easier to record patients was also a way of support. Next to that money was collected to make it possible to send a shoemaking machine. This machine made it possible to make proper shoes for disabled people (KDCN, personal communication, 9 November, 2013). Many Diaspora organizations maintain close contacts with local hospitals in the Global South. In that way they gather information about their needs and then look what they can contribute to this. Diaspora organizations want to give as much as possible support but they are not able to help with all needs. Because of that they prefer to help in a way that increases the possibilities of people in the Global South to become more self-sustaining (ASDA, personal communication, November 1, 2013).

3.3 Why, how and with whom to co-operate

Seen in the previous paragraph, Diaspora organizations' involvement can be in several areas. Both in the Netherlands as in the Global South. Issues in the Netherlands are mainly focused upon the local level because migrants can play a link between the local government institutions who have to implement policies and the migrant community living there. In some cases Diaspora organizations are already co-operating within communities or with institutions. Diaspora organizations are also involved in Global South issues. In contrast to issues within the Netherlands, these projects are mostly developed independently of government institutions but with help of Dutch NGOs. It needs to be acknowledged that the examples extracted from the field are very much in line with the theoretical possibilities given in chapter two. So this would mean co-operation should be a logical outcome. So now a closer look will be upon how these initiatives can be of benefit to the Dutch institutions when developing migration and development policies.

In the next two sub-paragraph possibilities about how this co-operation could look like will be elaborated. In the sub-paragraph thereafter some pre-conditions arising from Fine's view about social capital in addition to a co-operation are given.

3.3.1 Issues within the Netherlands

Diaspora organizations in the Netherlands are involved in healthcare, youth, finance and education. These activities contribute a lot to the possibilities of migrants to integrate into the Dutch society (Frouws, Wils & Coenen, 2010, p. 30). Moreover, Diaspora organizations could help municipalities, who mostly have to deal with these new migrants, with extracting ideas, from migrant groups. This will make it easier for governments to adapt their policies to the right situations. Because Diaspora organizations are very close to the migrant communities they can create support among migrants living in the Netherlands for certain measurements. Diaspora organizations could initiate and organize activities to prevent or stimulate certain processes in the community, provide knowledge and insights to partners, approach certain groups, distribute information, identify and report issues and help develop issues based programs (Frouws, Wils & Coenen, 2010, p. 30). There are several partners Diaspora organizations could co-operate and can contribute to such as the local government, police, daycare, welfare, GGD, FNV (advocates for work and income rights) and housing associations (Frouws, Wils & Coenen, 2010, p. 8). Especially in areas where identities, empathy, knowledge of the focus group, language and culture are decisive factors, Diaspora organizations can play an important role. Because of their central role within the community these organizations can reach certain people faster and easier as regular institutions (Butter, 2011). In that situation Diaspora organizations can act as problem owners, experts, and bridge builders (de Laat & Saya, 2009, p.8).

The way in which Diaspora organizations can do this job differs from regular institutions because Diaspora organizations can help in a more informal way. In contrast to regular institutions Diaspora organizations can be more accessible for migrants. There is a possibility to talk about problems without prior appointment, in their own language and with more trust. Diaspora organizations can position themselves better in the situation since they share the same experiences (de Laat & Saya, 2009, p. 11). This makes Diaspora organizations for some people an important contact within society and places them between migrants and Dutch society (Butter, 2011).

Especially on the local level Diaspora organizations' activities can be important. The local level is where people live, participate and experience problems (Recogin, 2013; Otieno Ong'ayo, 2013). In addition, this is also the level where there will be most need for this kind of co-operation. Although migration is a national topic, the effects of migration and integration issues are mostly felt on the local level since this is the level where the Dutch society has to deal with inflows of people with different cultures and where everyone tries to fulfill their own needs (Duyvendak, 2008, p. 171; Otieno Ong'ayo, 2013). So also much problems concerning migration are felt and have to be dealt with on this level (WRR, 2001, p. 13). This will become increasingly important because a more multicultural society will bring new challenges both for migrants as for Dutch people and institutions. (Bourgeois & Kara, 2011; Afroeuro, 2013; WRR, 2001). In this multicultural society there will be a need to overcome problems arising from varying identities. Both migrants as Dutch institutions have to be involved to overcome these differences (Bourgeois & Kara, 2011). The kind of projects implemented by several Diaspora organizations show that they are focusing on topics that mostly arose out of problems linked to different identities and habits. In that sense Diaspora organizations can be good partners to deal with multiculturalism on a local level.

3.3.2 Issues focusing the Global South

The direct contribution Diaspora organizations can have upon Global South policies of Dutch institutions is less visible in contrast to policies focusing on the local level in the Netherlands. "Empower together Kenya" for example, was the only organization spoken with which was getting direct support from the Ministry to implement a water project in Kenya, named "Aqua for All" (Empower together Kenya, personal communication, November 9, 2013). During this research the contributions Diaspora organizations could make towards government institutions was limited to an advising and informing roll during consultancy days. Co-operation with Dutch development NGOs was mostly in a supporting role through subsidy. But this co-operation through subsidy is decreasing due to the cuts on government spending (Rijksoverheid, 2013b). Organizations which were getting subsidy are among others Oxfam Novib, Hivos, ICCO and Cordaid (Rijksoverheid, 2013b). In turn these organizations were giving subsidy to Diaspora organizations (Naerssen, Kusters & Schapendonk, 2006, p. 12). As the total amount of subsidy decreases this also backlashes on Diaspora organizations.

Less visibility of the contribution to government policies focusing on the Global South does not mean Diaspora organizations do not or cannot contribute to Global South issues. As seen in the previous paragraph, Diaspora organizations are implementing projects upon their own initiative, albeit mostly with the support of several donors (Naerssen, Kusters & Schapendonk, 2006, p. 13).

Projects implemented by Diaspora organizations are in the field of education, healthcare, democracy, poverty reduction/financial issues, gender issues and conflict solving. These projects are in line with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Which are the following eight; 1. Eradicate extreme poverty & hunger, 2. Achieve universal primary education, 3. Promote gender equality and empower women, 4. Reduce child mortality, 5. Improve maternal health, 6. Combat Hiv/Aids, malaria and other diseases, 7. Ensure environmental sustainability and 8. Develop a global partnership for development (United Nations, 2013).

This is not a coincidence. Most organizations who choose to focus on the Global South take the MDGs as their guide to decide on which issues to put emphasis (ASDA, 2013; Recogin, 2013; Empower together Kenya, 2013). So although on a small scale, Diaspora organizations are just like governments and development NGOs working on MDGs (Akermans-Börje, 2013). For that reason it could be useful to look for ways how to involve Diaspora organizations in a more pronounced way (N. van de Walle, personal communication, October 23, 2013).

There is a need to look at this possibility because although progression is made in these goals, it is unlikely that the goals will be met in 2015 (AIV, n.d). The progression made is unequally divided over the world. In general it can be said that the most poor countries in Asia and Africa are not making much progression (de Wolff, 2013). Different goals are met in different countries, especially the big developments which countries as China and Brazil are experiencing can give a wrong image of the real degree in which the MDGs are met for all countries (de Wolff, 2013).

The MDGs make the debate around development aid more structured and workable. They also give a good overview of issues that have to be addressed to reduce poverty and underdevelopment, but a critique given by the “Adviesraad Internationale Vraagstukken” (Counsel for international issues, AIV) is a lack of specific processes or projects to address this poverty and underdevelopment. Because of that, the AIV is very skeptic about the efficiency of the MDGs (AIV, n.d). Progress is mostly limited to certain areas or regions and it is also too much initiated by the Global North (Ruben, 2011, p. 474). The MDGs have to become more effective in a way that they focus on countries that are really in need of improving the issues mentioned in the MDGs. This by implementing place specific projects. To achieve this, a policy change is needed since Diaspora organizations are involved in place specific development (AIV, n.d). At the moment this policy framework is not adapted to take full advantage of the potential of migrants to contribute to the MDGs (Akerman-Börje, 2013). Governments should unlock the potential of migration for inclusive development because coherent development policies that fully incorporate migration as an enabling factor help to seek gainful opportunities which also bring valuable development outcomes (Akerman-Börje, 2013). In that sense involving Diaspora organizations in implementing the MDGs could be an option for co-operation at the national level. This could make these goals more place specific..

3.3.3 Pre-conditions of a co-operation

As explained in previous paragraphs there are possibilities in which Diaspora organizations' activities fit into policies and activities of government and developmental NGOs. But until now it is not possible to draw any clear conclusion whether appropriate policy measures really help to maximize benefits from the transnational role of migrants (Ammassari, 2004, p. 133). According to the literature migrants and Diaspora organizations can be perceived as agents for promoting peace and development (Päivi & Mahdi, 2009, p. 5). Observing previous initiatives of Diaspora organizations, this seems to be true. But the second and opposing conceptualization is that migrants and Diaspora organizations can also have a negative or even destructive impact upon the peace and development process (Päivi & Mahdi, 2009, p. 5). This would be in line with Ben Fine's view that only certain people profit from social capital which can increase and stimulate inequality (Fine, 2002). Taking in account the pre-conditions of social capital it is important that relationships between migration and development occurring out of social networks are considered in contextual setting (Ammassari, 2004, p. 133).

Since there is a great diversity of Diaspora organizations, also their impact on development issues will be divers. The way these organizations are positioned within the debate will greatly influence the way they act and thus also to which degree they are suitable partners for co-operation (van Zijl, personal communication, April 1, 2014). It is important to understand the historical context, interests and efforts of the Diaspora organization in question. As well as their organizational structure and their general background. Because of that it is important not only to focus on the activities of Diaspora organizations but also, for example, on the broader political structures within the country of origin and settlement, the organizational structure of Diaspora organization itself and their ideologies and backgrounds. These are issues that might also influence the engagement of Diaspora organizations (Smith, 2007, p. 8). This paragraph will give some insights about important factors which have to be taken into account when deciding with whom to co-operate.

In this research social capital arising from Diaspora organizations' networks is expected to have positive outcomes on the development of the country of origin and on migrants living in the Netherlands. But social capital used in the wrong situation can also have contradictory outcomes (Fine, 2002). An example of this is given by Karimi (Director of Oxfam Novib), Karimi visited Mogadishu in Somalia some years ago. There, between the ruins of war she saw well equipped schools and hospitals. These institutions were financed by Somalia Diaspora in the Gulf states. But these institutions were established in line with the "Wahabi style" which is a fundamentalist conservative wing of the Islam. Her concern was how this Wahabi ideology affects children who are educated in this way of thinking (Karimi, 2013, p. 3). Diaspora organizations can simulate education but at the same time also use their position to distribute and teach about certain radical ideas. Because of that it is important to have a very good view about the backgrounds of Diaspora organizations before involving them in policies. Since in all cultures and religions there are existing radical movements (van Zijl, personal communication, April 1, 2014).

To prevent an unwanted situation it is important to look under which circumstances and situations migrants social capital is applicable (Ammassari, 2004, p. 141). When choosing with which Diaspora organizations to work this can differ for each situation. Each Organization will have different networks within a certain region which might lead to different knowledge (Karimi, 2013, p. 5). This is a difficult issue since each new project or situation will need rethinking of the role of these organizations (Bercovitch, 2007).

Besides the concern if Diaspora organizations hold the right knowledge and skills within a certain situation it is also important to look to the way these migrants are able to act as an independent actor. In some cases migrants or Diaspora organizations are granted privileges by the home country government or other influential people. These actors try to assure that Diaspora organizations represent their interests while being abroad (Rayaprol, 1997; Sengupta, 1998 in Nyberg-Sorensen et al., 2002). Through these mechanisms it is possible that only certain people within a community can profit from Diaspora organizations' activities in the end. Examples are known where local regional or state governments abroad make sure they bound migrant organizations to themselves by granting them dual citizenship, voting rights or tax incentives to make sure they stay loyal to them and present their goals and issues within development co-operation (Faist, 2007, p. 26). Values of trust, reciprocity and solidarity, bounded by rights and obligations can heavily influence the positioning of migrants within the transnational debate. Rights and duties limit the boundaries of communities, which may rest on diverse mechanisms such as kinship lineage, shared knowledge and values, belief in common institutions or religious beliefs. This can decrease the usefulness of Diaspora organizations in a more broader context (Faist, 2007, p. 23). In that sense the role of the institutional context in which transnational relationships are embedded is important to take into account (van Zijl, personal communication, April 1, 2014). What has to be acknowledged is the fact that transnational ties are maintained through personal connections of migrants with people in the country of origin. In addition to that it is very likely that also their transnational activities are focused towards these people (Nyberg-Sorensen et al, 2002). This was also traceable among the Diaspora organizations conducted in this research, mostly they were personally connected to the issues at stake. This can have the outcome that not the poorest people or those which are the most in need of help profit from transnational activities of Diaspora organizations but those who assure themselves from Diaspora organizations' support (Faist, 2007, p. 12).

From the previous we may conclude that making a consideration about objectivity and subjectivity arising from underlying patterns play a large role when it comes to co-operation. Also with respect to co-operation between Diaspora organizations and government and developmental NGOs within the Netherlands these reservations have to be made. Diaspora organizations can be important actors in dissolving and supporting other migrants with their social problems. These problems can be present in very divers fields such as education, criminality, violence or problems between parents and children. But also for co-operation in the Netherlands it is important to take into account the diversity which exists among Diaspora organizations. Diaspora organizations indeed can play a role as bridging actor between different ways of living, but there exists no guarantee that all Diaspora organizations or their members can contribute to this process (van Zijl, personal communication, April 1, 2014). Also members of Diaspora organizations can still have different attitudes towards social issues like marriage and the relationship between man and woman (ACVZ, n.d).

Discourses brought from their country of origin like for example forced marriage and the man being more important than a woman can also be displayed in the Netherlands by those people. So except knowledge and skills migrants can also introduce less positive goods like intolerance and religious extremism (Karimi, 2013, p. 2). When these migrants are appointed to address social issues among migrant communities living in the Netherlands this can have preposterous effects. Instead of helping migrants to participate it could lead to more social exclusion of migrant women because they are expected to stay at home and daughters are not supported or stimulated in their education. It is also possible that instead of decreasing conflicts between parents and children they increase conflicts because of the attitude and discourse they hold or introduce within a migrant family or community about certain issues. These discourses of course are seen as in contradiction with human-rights (Walter & Ratia, 2009; Artria, 2014). Taking these differences in migrants' attitude and discourse into account it is important to decide how and where Diaspora organizations' activities can be of added value.

So although there seem to be clear possibilities for co-operation due to the divers range of activities in which Diaspora organizations are involved and which are in line with the theoretical examples, there are also a lot of pre-conditions that have to be met and acknowledged both by Diaspora organizations, government institution and Dutch development NGOs to assure that social capital within a co-operation really has the preferred outcome. To make a responsible decision about this much clarity is needed. In the following paragraph there will be a closer look upon the co-operation between these different actors at the moment. This to see how aforementioned underlying pre-conditions influence this debate and possibly can explain the lack of real co-operation.

3.4 Main issues determining the co-operation at the moment

The first goal of this research was to gain knowledge about what kind of knowledge Diaspora organizations actually possess. This by looking to the activities they undertake. After that, a closer look was upon the way these activities fit into broader migration and development activities of Dutch institutions. Comparing the activities of these actors Diaspora organizations can if certain pre-conditions are taken into account contribute to migration and development issues. The second goal of this study is to gain more knowledge why up till now real co-operation is not established. So in this paragraph we will have a closer look at why these possibilities and conditions for fruitful co-operation are not translated into real co-operation. This to find ways to improve this process.

The ministry claims that migrant organisations can be of added value for policies. This is aired in several publications and is also stated by the respondents in this research (Otieno Ong'ayo, 2013; van de Walle, 2013; van Naerssen, 2013). In 2004 already it was mentioned that Diaspora organizations possess much knowledge and experience about the field of migration and development. In the policy paper of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of 2008, Diaspora organizations and their potential were included in the Dutch government policy for the first time. One of the policy priorities was to strengthen the involvement of Diaspora organizations (Frouws & Grimmius, p. 123, 2012). In the previous paragraph it was made clear that this involvement can be both on a national and on a local scale, in the Netherlands and abroad. Although it seems these possibilities are not easily translated into real co-operation. Government institutions claim it is difficult to decide with which organizations to co-operate. Since there are so many Diaspora organizations with diverse goals and backgrounds (T. van Naerssen, personal communication, October 10, 2013). As a consequence mostly the larger and more familiar organizations are involved within the policy process because from them it is known what can be expected (N. van de Walle, personal communication, October 23, 2013).

The Dutch development NGOs Cordaid and Oxfam Novib are incorporating Diaspora organizations into their policies much longer. They started this process around 1980 (J. van Zijl, personal communication, 1 April, 2014). But they experienced the same problems, now and in the past, as the Dutch government. Cordaid and Oxfam Novib have an interreligious and intercultural approach. So for those organizations it is important to have a clear view about migrants' objectives and backgrounds. But many Diaspora organizations are not able to give enough transparency about their networks, responsibilities and spending according the Dutch NGOs (Awil, 2014; van Zijl, 2014). As a result, Cordaid but also according to van Zijl, other development NGOs like ICCO, Hivos and Oxfam Novib are becoming more and more reticent towards co-operating with Diaspora organizations (J. van Zijl, personal communication, 1 April, 2014). Checking this claim, Oxfam Novib confirmed that in the past about 30% of their subsidy was going to Diaspora organizations, but due to past experiences with this kind of co-operation this is decreasing fast. At the moment only approximately 4% of the subsidy given addresses Diaspora organizations. This percentage decreased that much because they also became more reticent when co-operating with Diaspora organizations as it is believed that due to past experiences Diaspora organizations are not always the best partners to be involved with (I. Awil, personal communication, 14 April, 2014).

The same is acknowledged by Otieno Ong'ayo who believes that before co-operation can be established a classification of different migrant organisations with their fields of interest has to be made. Since not all kind of migrant organisation play the same role also not all organizations are potential partners in the same way (Personal communication, October 4, 2013). What became clear when interviewing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Dutch NGOs is the emphasis that these possible partners of Diaspora organizations put upon a professional organizational level, the degree of qualified people within an organization and the ability of Diaspora organizations to act as independent and autonomous actors. Objectivity was a keyword in this. The way you are organized, able to work responsible and transparent greatly influences the way you can become involved in policy issues or co-operation. If you are not able to establish this, too much questions remain unclear. Making a decision about the suitability of a potential partner in that case becomes difficult (van Naerssen, 2013; Recogin, 2013; Pearl of Africa, 2013; van de Walle, 2013; van Zijl, 2014). In the following sub-paragraphs more insight will be given about this co-operation looked from a migrant and a Dutch institution's view.

3.4.1 The Diaspora organizations' view

To gain knowledge about the way the current co-operation is given shape and to create more clearance about this it is looked to how different actors are positioned in this debate. Very illustrative is the following quote when asked who mostly was the actor to seek co-operation between Dutch institutions and Diaspora organizations;

"Q: During this co-operation who seeks for co-operation? Is this a reciprocal process?"

"A: What are you saying now? No, of course we had to approach them, the ministry is not going to approach us of course!" (BWPD, personal communication, September 20, 2013).

What became clear in an early stage of this research was that from a migrants' point of view there was not so much a thing like reciprocity. When there is/was a co-operation between Diaspora organizations and Dutch institutions, initiatives had to come from the Diaspora organization. Translated into examples Recogin mentioned that when they co-operated within the city of Amsterdam, they always had to seek support and take the first step. Only in cases where their projects were in line with the policies of the city of Amsterdam, support could be forthcoming (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013). A similar experience was mentioned by Afroeuro who hold the opinion that the only option to get co-operation was following the policy of the government. But in their belief this could lead to addressing the wrong issues. Because of that, in some cases they are implementing projects on their own initiative, with their own money. This to address issues that in their believe are more at stake instead of those addressed in existing policies (Afroeuro, personal communication, November 6, 2013). Possibly we should conclude that there is not so much a degree of reciprocity but more of dependency. When Diaspora organizations want to establish any form of co-operation they have to adjust to the more broader policies of the Dutch government (BWPD, personal communication, September 20, 2013). Especially now in times of budget cuts, it is very important that developmental organizations develop their objectives in addition to the policies of Dutch institutions to raise chances of co-operation or subsidy. As a consequence other issues at stake within migrant communities do not get the necessary attention (Frouws, Wils & Coenen, 2010, p. 38). An example is extracted from Afroeuro and Burundi Woman

for Peace and Development. Those organizations in the past, have both undertaken projects focused on youth and problems within migrant families. In their opinion there still is a need to give attention to this topic. But, at the moment they cannot implement this due to a lack of support from government institutions (BWPD, personal communication, September 20, 2013). Thus Dutch institutions indirectly decide on which issues Diaspora organizations are able to focus on and which not. In the view of Frouws, Wils & Coenen and the Diaspora organizations, a better and more reciprocate way would be if municipal governments involve Diaspora organizations in a much earlier stage of the process to decide together which migration and development issues need attention. In this way more justice is done to the linking and informational role that migrants can play within a community.

Since this is not the case at the moment, Diaspora organizations experience this as a lack of reciprocity, feeling of undervaluation and as a decrease of the actual contribution they can make. A more bottom-up instead of a top-down approach would be preferred by many Diaspora organizations. This would give them the possibility to address also other matters (Recogin, 2013; Habagat, 2013). An example how Diaspora organizations would like to see their involvement and which is taken as an example by DFD is the way Forim, which is a French migrant umbrella organizations is involved with the French government. Forim is given a budget by the government. In turn Forim calls for policy proposals within the migrant communities through its members. Forim in turn reports this to the Ministry. In that way the migrant has a direct channel of co-operation with the government. Members of Forim in some cases also accompany government employers when they visit countries in the Global South. This to make engagement easier (DFD, personal communication, 2013). In the Netherlands this is not the case at the moment. Diaspora organizations mostly see themselves as a side line actor.

This idea of being a side-line actor can be illustrated with the following quotes from interviews with BWPD, Pearl of Africa and Recogin.

“When it comes to co-operation and reciprocity this is a field which makes me very sad. Because within government and development institutions there are people who call themselves experts about a certain country. For example about Congo, Rwanda and Burundi. That is a good think, we need those people because they have much technical knowhow and learned for this. But the problem is, I know these people and they know me. They know I do a lot for these countries and know a lot about these countries because I am from there. But they never approach you with questions or opinions. I could give them information about with whom to talk, where to go, what they have to know. You know, I could prepare them a little before they go with the goal that they can do their job even better when they are there. But this never happens. It’s a sad thing really (BWPD, personal communication, September 20, 2013)”.

“Well I think we are undervalued, by the host community. I mean we have many educated immigrants. But these qualifications are not valued. Even when you went to university and you got all kinds of diplomas. Then they say yeah but it is not from here. And nobody really bothers to try and see our real value and that we are just as educated as people here. An example, when I went to an “uitzendbureau” a few years ago, during the first interview the guy working there said I have a very good job for you so I was excited, and asked what it was and he said there was a butcher who needed someone to cut meat. So that was how he looked at me, as someone who could only cut meat. I felt even a little assaulted. I had papers and qualifications, but in his eyes that was the best thing that could happen to me. I think in some way this way of thinking also occurs in other institutions” (Pearl of Africa, personal communication, September 18, 2013).

“As Diaspora organization it is hard to get real involvement. Governments always think in professional skills. It must be able to trace-back skills and expertise since they must be able to justify their policies. The best way to do this is through degrees and diplomas of course. If you can prove your professionalism through diplomas it is easier to get an assignment. But knowledge does not always come from university, also from experiences and networks, and that is what we have as Diaspora organizations (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013)”.

From the migrants’ perspective it seems that Dutch institutions remain reticent getting involved with Diaspora organizations. Talking with Diaspora organizations, almost all organizations mentioned that their skills and knowledge are not taken into account (Habagat, 2013; Pearl of Africa, 2013; Recogin, 2013; Afroeuro, 2013; KDCN, 2013, ASDA, 2013; Empower together Kenya, 2013). Their opinion is; institutions look too much to where you are from, how your information is obtained and how you are organized. Although from a Dutch institutions view very understandable, this cautioned approach leads to incomprehension among members of Diaspora organizations. Many Diaspora organizations see this as bureaucracy and a process that limits their potential contribution and turns them into a sideline actor (KDCN, 2013; ASDA, 2013; Recogin, 2013; Afroeuro, 2013).

Being a sideline actor and not being able to dispose their own ideas and knowledge concerning the migration and development debate because of undervaluation is a too single sided explanation. This view has to be balanced since, as said before, the Dutch Government is involved in strengthening the Diaspora potential since 2004 (Frouws & Grimmus, 2012), and Dutch NGOs already since 1980 (J. van Zijl, personal communication April 1, 2014). Let us look into how Dutch institutions experience this co-operation. This to see if they really have a reluctant attitude for co-operation with the Diaspora and in case this is found true, what causes this attitude.

3.4.2 The Dutch institutions' view

From a Dutch institution's point of view co-operation with Diaspora organizations is a difficult process. Migrants claim to know a lot about countries in the Global South, migration processes and issues at stake in the Dutch community. Because of that they want to be more involved. At the same time for government institutions and developmental NGOs it is in many cases not clear enough what these skills Diaspora organizations are bringing actually are and with whom they are dealing (van Zijl, 2014; Awil, 2014, van de Walle, 2013).

So there arises a contradiction. Dutch institutions cannot grant this claim for involvement as long as too much remains unclear and Diaspora organizations seem to struggle to give this clarity. This clarity is claimed important by Dutch institutions because they have to be able to justify their work. This due to the bigger system they are part of. To keep their credibility government and development institutions have to take a certain degree of responsibility to convince their adherents. Since they work with money obtained through taxes or gifts. To keep support for their work and to assure the quality of it, it is important they are able to prove that they are doing their work in responsible and reasoned way (Commissie Halsema, 2013). A professional approach in that sense is important. In such an approach there is no room for exceptions and hasty decisions. Because of that they also have to make their considerations about who is suitable as partner in migration and development issues in a cautioned way. Diaspora organizations to the contrary are issue-based organizations which are mostly holding the objective of supporting their own community, family or region on a small scale. Because of that Diaspora organizations can speak and act more freely (van de Walle, 2013; van Zijl, 2014; van Naerssen, 2013).

Thus, for Dutch institutions it is of importance to have knowledge about how different actors are positioned and obliged to the migration and development debate. It became clear during this research that Diaspora organizations are involved in issues concerning the Netherlands or the Global South due to the personal experiences they have. In that way this became a very important part of their life and they want to do as much as possible.

"The ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Netherlands is involved in the issue upon return-migration. But they do not ask us about this issue. But we want to be involved in this issue, I can help them, and tell a little about the needs and things. After all they are talking about our life. For us this has important consequences while for them it is just a job they get assigned to (Habagat Foundation, personal communication, September 13, 2013)".

"When a migrant leaves his country, this person leaves for a reason and with a goal. Although he decides himself to go, in a way it still can be forced, because of poverty, lack of jobs, bad working environments etc. People do not walk through the Sahara and then take an old boat and try to reach Europe when this would not be necessary. They feel the need to establish a better life somewhere else. Once they arrive in the Netherlands, even after many years, this "why" remains in your head. You have maybe left but you know that others still have to face these circumstances and maybe one day are going to undertake the dangerous journey through the Sahara because of that. And when you somehow have a chance to avoid this for future generations you just have to do this (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013)".

Diaspora organizations in contrast to the Dutch professional approach work more with a personal approach. In that sense a separation can be made between a more personal involvement of Diaspora organizations and a more professional involvement of Dutch institutions. Because of this professional view of Dutch institutions it is not so much a matter of not recognizing or undervaluing the migrants' potential, but the obligation to act within the boundaries of certain political and organizational obligations. This can limit potentials, even if more is wanted (N. van de Walle, personal communication, October 23, 2013). As an example the recent events in Uganda can be used. The Ugandan president signed an anti-gay law. This is against the international human rights treaty. Because of this law the Dutch government stopped a part of their aid to Uganda (Volkskrant, 2014). Of course these are events that also have to be taken into account by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs when developing further co-operation with Ugandan organizations. They are part of the Dutch government so they have to be sure that they are not co-operating with organizations/institutions which support this anti-gay law. Because this would mean that the ministry would act against policies they have to follow. The same is applicable concerning co-operation between Diaspora organizations and Dutch development NGOs. These NGOs have the objective of not making any separation between cultural and religious differences. Because of that they work in an intercultural and interreligious way. To maintain this intercultural and religious way it is important that their partners have the same approach (van Zijl, 2014; Awil, 2014). Because of that clarity about whom they are dealing with is something on which the government and development institutions put a lot of concern to make these considerations easier.

This recent call for clarity arises from previous encounters these Dutch institutions had with Diaspora organizations. Van Zijl and Awil for example mentioned that Oxfam Novib and Cordaid in the past made exceptions in the case of Diaspora organizations if they had a good proposal. In some cases they even were more flexible with the demands they had because of the fact that Diaspora organizations often lacked capacity to meet the same standards as professional organizations. They did this because it was believed Diaspora organizations due to their transnational position could fulfill a special role within migration and development processes. Nowadays, these exceptions are made less and less. They discovered that due to the way of working of these organizations projects which were implemented were not always up to the required standards or arrangements were not met. Because of that they stopped making these exceptions resulting in lesser Diaspora organizations who successfully apply for support nowadays (van Zijl, 2014; Awil, 2014). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a large degree experiences the same problems (N. van de Walle, personal communication, October 23, 2014). Because of that the general question that arises among these institutions is; are Diaspora organizations' activities in line with those of the Dutch institutions and should these activities be accommodated any longer (van Zijl, 2014; Awil, 2014). In line with this concern, Dutch development NGOs nowadays are seeking more co-operation with organizations/businesses active in the society that offer specific skills in a professional way (van Zijl, 2014; Awil, 2014). So the feeling that exists among Diaspora organizations that it is hard to become involved seems true. Since there is a clear shift visible within Dutch institutions of becoming more reticent involving Diaspora organizations and instead seek for other partners.

About the reasons behind this shift there seems to be disagreement between Diaspora organizations and Dutch institutions. Diaspora organizations see this as undervaluation of their skills while Dutch institutions see it as a lack of clarity from the Diaspora organizations side which hinders decision making, efficiency and a good co-operation. The actual reasons that caused this shift away from Diaspora organizations will be discussed in the following sub-paragraphs.

3.4.3 Objective or subjective knowledge

Because of the belief in the good intentions of Diaspora organizations Dutch institutions are to some degree still willing and trying to involve Diaspora organizations (van Zijl, 2014; van de Walle, 2013). But the problem these institutions are struggling with is the fact that these intentions mostly arise out of own experience and ambitions. Because of these ambitions they want to do as much as possible for their country or region of origin. Through that there arises a difference in expectations between Diaspora organizations and other involved actors about what can be done for a certain region (J. van Zijl, personal communication, April 1, 2014). These high expectations mostly cannot be accomplished by Diaspora organizations. And Dutch institutions are not able to support these high expectations (van de Walle, 2013; Awil, 2014; van Zijl, 2014). Dutch institutions acknowledge the transnational position Diaspora organizations are in. At the same time they question if due to this double engagement Diaspora organizations can remain independent and autonomous actors. Their opinion is that if you are part of a certain community to which you are personally connected, it is hard to remain objective (van Zijl, 2014; Awil, 2014). Dutch institutions claim that several problems arise from these personal experiences and ambitions if they would be incorporated into broader migration and development issues.

First, if these ambitions and experiences are not objective it is believed by Cordaid and Oxfam Novib, this transnational position is not naturally of added value in the migration and development debate (Van Zijl, 2014; Awil, 2014). Government and developmental institutions have the goal to co-operate with partners which are independent, autonomous and have an intercultural and religious approach (van Zijl, 2014; van de Walle, 2013; Awil, 2014). Partner organizations are allowed to be organized through a church or specific culture. But Dutch institutions do not want to co-operate with organizations who differentiate according to race, religion and cultural background when passing on the aid. The moment it is suspected that organizations are directed by certain radical ideologies and their projects are driven by those ideologies Dutch institutions remain reticent (J. Van Zijl, personal communication, April 1, 2014). Because if that is the case, Diaspora organizations instead of acting as bridging capital widen certain gaps between people (Karimi, 2013). In those situations Diaspora organizations have no added value. Looking to past experiences, Van Zijl claims that Diaspora organizations in many cases do not meet these criteria or at least were not able to prove the contrary. In case of this uncertainty Dutch institutions do not take the risk anymore and chose for the safe option which is not involving the Diaspora organization (J. van Zijl, personal communication, April 1, 2014).

Second, Dutch institutions question the objectivity of Diaspora organizations because these organizations mostly are driven from a shared collective view (Castles & Miller, 2009). Migrants who are member of a Diaspora organization maintain ties with their country of origin and they claim to have much knowledge about these countries. It is important for Dutch institutions to have a good overview about these networks. At the moment this is not the case (van Zijl, 2014; van Naerssen, 2013). It is important to have this overview because in contrast to Dutch society which is very individualized, people in the Global South often make decisions more collective within a closed society (T. van Naerssen, personal communication, October 10, 2013). This collective decision making can be both positive and negative. Collective decision making can make it easier to share information about the country of origin or within a migrant community but this collective decision making can also lead to a limited view when only focused on certain people in a region or community and leaving other important aspects or people out. In that way, by sticking to much to a certain community or locality Diaspora organizations are more acting as a solidarity actor towards certain people instead as a autonomous actor. This can increase the chance of subjectivity. In that case Diaspora organizations cannot act as a professional who can help within the broader migration and development issue (van Zijl, 2014; Awil, 2014).

Third, it is indeed important for Dutch institutions to gather information through partners. In this Diaspora organizations could play a role (van Naerssen, 2013; van de Walle, 2014). But it is also important that this information is up-to-date. If you have lived or worked in a country in the past it is hard to claim to still know the daily struggles, the system and the relationships between people of different religion or culture. Just like the Netherlands countries and places all over the world change and can become even totally different than for example 20 years ago. There is a chance migrants still have and use their old references. This of course can lead to wrong or outdated information (Stoffers, in Chowricharn, 2010). Even if migrants have networks through transnational ties with their country of origin it still remains questionable if this network can provide up-to-date information in case this network exists out of the same people as when a migrant left the country 20 years ago. Through these old networks there is a chance they remain stuck in the same ideological and friendship relations as 20 years ago. So unless you have good networks and you can prove this it is hard to be of added value in sharing knowledge through these networks. Institutions as Cordaid and Oxfam Novib in that case prefer to work with partners who are based in the country they are focusing on because they can assure them of up-to-date information (van Zijl, 2014; Awil, 2014).

A fourth issue with which Dutch institutions struggle are the many different interest among Diaspora organizations. It is hard to co-operate with a group of people who do not speak as one (van de Walle, 2013; van Naerssen, 2013). This makes it hard for Dutch institutions to decide together with Diaspora organizations which migration and development issues are important if the opinion among Diaspora organizations themselves is too divers (T. van Naerssen, personal communication, October 10, 2013). This great diversity in interest is also something with which Dutch developmental NGOs struggle. Van Zijl noted that among Diaspora organizations even if they are from one country there still can exist huge differences about the most important issues. This can influence the information they give about certain issues at stake. One Diaspora organization can see this totally different as the other. As an example he mentioned Pilipino organizations which in his view are very much divided in their ideology. The same he experienced with Turkish organizations which could be divided into for example Kurdish and non-Kurdish or proponents and opponents of Turkish president Erdogan. Also

between French speaking and English speaking, Catholic and Islamite Africans he experienced huge differences in interests which can be difficult to put aside (personal communication, April 1, 2014). This makes a decision about how and which organizations fit into the goals Dutch institutions want to accomplish very difficult. Involving the wrong organizations although from the right country or region can lead to increasing instead of decreasing problems. In that case it can be more profitable as Dutch institutions not to involve Diaspora organizations but to search for partnership with local organizations in the Global South directly involved in the issue (Van Zijl, 2014; Awil, 2014).

At last, another issue Dutch institutions struggle with and which made them decide to shift their focus more to the business community is that there is no good overview of skills Diaspora organizations actually possess (I. Awil, personal communication, April 14, 2014). It is believed that Diaspora organizations organize themselves around the issue of being a migrant from a certain region or country instead of organizing around a certain skill. From this organizational point of view they focus on a diverse range of issues concerning one locality and try to improve the social situation (J. van Zijl, personal communication, April 1, 2014). Looking at the interviews conducted this seems to be a true remark. Considering most of the Diaspora organizations focus on several topics both in the Netherlands as abroad with the focus upon one community only. But, because they focus on so much different issues it is not clear to Dutch institutions which skills are developed up to the required standards. Dutch institutions believe that Diaspora organizations mostly focus on one particular locality and in that way know the background and have the experiences about “what” should be done in that particular locality. In that sense the usefulness of the knowledge Diaspora organizations have is limited to one specific context only. But, Dutch institutions believe that the question about “what” should be done in a specific context is not an issue they struggle with. This “what” question it is believed can be answered by themselves through their local partner organizations in the focus area. Even in a more objective way (van Zijl, 2014; Awil, 2014).

Regardless if Diaspora organizations know what should be done and if this knowledge is used by Dutch institutions, the question among Dutch institutions remains if Diaspora organizations also know “how” it should be done. Since Diaspora organizations are not specialized in one specific issue it is believed real skills can be lacking. Because of that, the “how” question is an issue Dutch institutions prefer to address by searching for partnership in the broader community. Among businesses or organizations that deliver one particular skill that can be applied in several countries, communities or regions. The background of an actor in that situation is not of importance just the “good” that can be delivered. Examples of these goods which can be performed regardless the origin of an actor are bricklaying, ICT, financial advice, healthcare etc. These are skills that are not bound to a certain country and thus can be applied everywhere, in that way background is not of importance but the degree in which you master certain skills. Diaspora organizations in that sense are not in a better position as other organizations. To the contrary, development and government institutions believe that organizations that are specialized are in the advantage because they master one skill very good. Another benefit that actors specialized in one skill only have is that they can give a good overview of what they can and cannot. For Dutch institutions it is clear in which situations such actors can be involved and in which not. Being specialized around a skill instead of a locality also has the benefit that one and the same actor can be involved in several situations. Since topics as health, education, finance and construction are at stake in many localities (Awil, 2014; van Zijl, 2014; van Naerssen, 2013). When handling issues as health, education, finance and construction. The location

specific knowledge of course still remains important to take into account. It is important to be able to tackle problems arising from different cultures, languages and circumstances. Being familiar with these problems will make it easier to handle them and to implement a effective project. Since working environments in the Global South can differ much from the Netherlands, Dutch private-sector businesses not used to this can experience problems with these local circumstances. But in the believe of Cordaid and Oxfam Novib this can be handled by combining co-operation of private-sector business with their local partners in the focus area (Awil, 2014; van Zijl, 2014).

Because questions about forgoing matters of objectivity often remain unanswered by Diaspora organizations it is hard to decide what kind of Diaspora organizations are able to fulfill a role as partner. Making the wrong choice can lead to waste of tax and donor money, supporting questionable groups and as a consequence to preposterous effects on the issue focusing on. Because of that the main procedure of Dutch institutions is to keep a reticent attitude towards Diaspora organizations and only to involve them if it can be made entirely sure they have the right ideology and objectivity. It is not said Diaspora organizations are not able to deliver objective, up-to-date, representative, neutral information and the right skills. But at the moment it is hard to make decisions upon this matter because there is a lack of information, which has to be provided by Diaspora organizations. Due to that it remains difficult to decide about which issues, areas and backgrounds Diaspora organizations have objective added value. Other kind of organizations and businesses seem to be more capable according to the Dutch development institutions to meet these formal requirements (van Zijl, 2014, Awil, 2014, van Naerssen, 2013). A reason that Diaspora organizations do not manage to meet these requirements could be sought in the way of working of Diaspora organizations. This will be discussed later on. First it has to be acknowledged that another reason that can explain this shift towards businesses in the whole community also could be sought in the fact that the Dutch government wants development aid to become more self-sustaining. This will be given attention in the following sub-paragraph.

3.4.4 Public-Private co-operation

One of the reasons of the recent shift is the believe that organizations and business organized around a skill are able to give more clearance about skills and activities. This should make co-operation easier. But, there is also another important issue to acknowledge which partly explains this shift towards the business community.

This shift is in line with the call from the government to reorganize development aid (Rijksoverheid, 2013a). In the believe of the government, development aid has to become more self-sustaining and independent from funding. The believe of the Dutch government is that they see a major role in privatization of development aid in the future. This should help to stimulate the investment in southern companies. Making governments and companies in the Global South and the Netherlands co-operate. In that way development aid would become more profit driven, leading to a more self-sustaining environment (Rijksoverheid, 2013b). To strengthen this goal, development aid nowadays is the responsibility of the Minister of international trade (Rijksoverheid, 2014a).

The Dutch government believes that involvement of the private-sector can lead to more job opportunities in the Global South. In line economic growth can be stimulated and more people will become more self-sustaining. Private-sector involvement can improve the business and life environment and the accessibility of the world market. This by improving several infrastructural networks as roads, water, electricity and internet. Also by improving import and export regulations and legislation. Co-operation between government, private-sector and developmental NGOs should make this possible. Vitens for example is a Dutch waterworks company which is active in Mozambique and who together with a local partner organization is responsible for building and advising in water issues. Due to this project a quarter of a million people are getting save drinking water (Rijksoverheid, 2014b).

On the other hand it is also possible that those Dutch private-sector businesses experience problems due to the local circumstances. Although local partners can inform Dutch partners to make it possible to work within a strange environment, knowing about differing or difficult circumstances is only one thing. Really being able to adjust your way of working and emphasize with the situation so it fits the specific locality is another. Because of that there still exist a chance these initiative do not have the preferred outcome because the Dutch way of working is hard to incorporate into a situation abroad. In that sense it can be questioned if knowing the local circumstances without having experience with it is enough (SOMO, n.d).

Regardless if this way of working is effective or ineffective, it seems that organizations as Cordaid and Oxfam Novib are also influenced by this new way of approaching development aid. Due to cuts in the development aid sector, and thus decreased subsidy from the government these institutions will have to find other means to finance their projects. To establish this, co-operation is sought within the private-sector instead of non-profit organizations. This shift understandable since Diaspora organizations and other non-profit organizations are dependant from funding while business in the private-sector can invest money. These cuts also mean that Dutch development organisations have lesser budget to subsidize smaller development organizations themselves and become more cautioned before really granting subsidy. They want to be sure the money is invested into a good project. So willingly or unwillingly, their becomes a shift visible away from the public-sector towards the private-sector(Awil, 2014; van Zijl, 2014).

3.4.5 Differing ways of doing things

What makes it hard for government and development institutions is to get a clear view about foregoing matters is the fact that Diaspora organizations' objectives, projects and spending are not clear (N. van de Walle, personal communication, October 23, 2013). To make good co-operation possible it is important to have a good overview of tasks, roles and agreements (Bruijn, Heuvelhof, in 't Veld, 2002). Some objectives that are seen as important for government institutions are a clear formulation of missions, goals and strategies. Also of importance is a structured and stable way of working within the organization and a clear way of communication (Frouws & Grimmus, 2012,p. 133). Not all organizations manage to get these things right which makes it harder to establish co-operation (N. van de Walle, personal communication, October 23, 2013). A reason which makes it hard to meet these levels of professionalism is the fact that most Diaspora organizations are maintained by volunteers. Mostly Diaspora organizations hardly have any paid employees. People

working for Diaspora organizations are doing this in their own spare time. Mostly next to their paid job. Time and capacity to keep organizations as professional as needed can be lacking (Butter, 2011). Due to the voluntarily character of these organizations they also have a strong dependence of only a few people to keep the organization running (Frouws, Wils & Coenen, 2010, p. 51). In that way, it is not so much about these organizations unwilling or lacking skills to meet certain professional requirements but more about lacking the capacity due to their voluntarily character (Frouws & Grimmus, 2010). It has to be acknowledged that this does not count for all Diaspora organizations since there is a great diversity in the degree of professionalism among Diaspora organizations (Frouws, Wils & Coenen, 2010, p. 27).

What also hinders a professional collaboration is that a difference sometimes exists between Diaspora organizations and Dutch institutions in the way issues are settled, due to differing norms and values arising from different cultures (van de Walle, 2013; KDCN, 2013). Mostly Diaspora organizations work in a more informal way, while Dutch institutions prefer to work as formal as possible (N. van de Walle, personal communication, October 23, 2013). Government and other Dutch institutions, for example, want to put everything in writing while Diaspora organizations settle issues within a more informal setting (van de Walle, 2013; KDCN, 2013). Very visible is the fact that in some cultures business is settled within trust relationships and through verbal agreements (Awil, 2014; van Zijl, 2014). But when involved in a professional co-operation there is a need to maintain a certain degree of transparency which cannot be reached when working informally. Especially when subsidy is involved it must be well documented how money is used or how a project will look like. But within some cultural settings this is difficult to achieve (van Zijl, personal communication, April 1, 2014). This informal and formal way of working puts a lot of pressure upon this co-operation. When partners are not used to the way other actors are working in a project many uncertainties might arise which eventually could result in mutual frustration. In the end this could influence the process negatively and even end in a failed collaboration (Bruijn, Heuvelhof, in 't Veld, 2002; KDCN, 2013). Learning about different ways of doing things can lead to more mutual understanding and a shared vision. Although organizations as Cordaid and Oxfam Novib have in the past put a lot of effort in teaching Diaspora organizations about putting up professional organizations this never had the wished outcome (van Zijl, 2014; Awil, 2014). Because of these negative outcomes they stopped this kind of training but a clear request from Dutch institutions for more professionalism remains present. At the same time there is also a clear frustration and wonder among Diaspora organizations that despite of their efforts they are still seen as behaving unprofessional (Recogin, 2013; Pearl of Africa, 2013; Habagat, 2013; KDCN, 2013).

The importance of adapting to each other's ways of working was also aired in the interview with KDCN. KDCN experienced that co-operation between Dutch and Kenyan people did not work out well. When the project started Kenyan and Dutch people had the same objective and both parties were motivated. However, the Dutch decided to stop co-operating with the Kenyans very soon after the start. The reason for this was that the way things were settled differed too much between both parties. Due to that proper communication was not established. Also the differences in expectation about the project was a problem. The Kenyans expected many things, while the Dutch only wanted to focus one thing at a time. This led to disagreement. So, this is a good example how cultural, communication and expectation differences can break relationships (KDCN, personal communication, November 9, 2013).

Besides different way of working there also arises another problem within this co-operation. Diaspora organizations' relationships and networks are mostly build upon trust. Because of that the many shifts which take place within government institutions can also put a burden on this co-operation. Within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs policy employees only do the same job for a limited time of five years (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013). The idea is that this fast turnover of personnel to new posts will avoid compartmentalization. In earlier years government employees stayed too long in one particular function and due to that much skills, knowledge and decisive power was in the hands of a small group within the ministries. To change this and to widen knowledge a rotation system was put in place (Hoedeman, 1994). Nowadays, it is doubtful if this way of working is the best approach. Due to the limited time employees fulfill the same job, there can be a limited amount of skills and knowledge about the areas employees get deployed to (Schendelen, 2004). Of course this differs for each person since some employees try to learn about their new area, but some do not. A consequence of this is that in certain areas there are more or less motivated people active. This can also backlash on processes they are involved in (van Schendelen, 2004). This process is also visible within the migration and development debate. Due to the rotation of government employees in this area, personal connection/motivation which is seen as important by Diaspora organizations, or case specific skills can be lacking (T. van Naerssen, personal communication, October 10, 2013). This can have several effects on the process. First, when trying to start a project and build a sustainable relationship, this process can come to an end when the government employee in function is replaced after five years by someone with another point of view (Habagat Foundation, 2013; van de Walle, 2013). In that case the chance exist that the process has to start over again. Second, building trust might also have to start all over again (N. van de Walle, personal communication, October 23, 2013). Third, there is also a chance that the new employee is less motivated than the old one, which of course can affect the process too (van de Walle, 2013; Recogin, 2013; Habagat, 2013). Even when someone is having the right intentions, getting familiar with a new issue just takes time (T. van Naerssen, personal communication, October 10, 2013). In a process in which personal contact to overcome differing discourses can be important, this rotation system can influence this process in a negative way (Frouws, Wils & Coenen, 2010, p. 45).

"You have to be on the same level of understanding. When you bring people together from different backgrounds and differing views and ideas, also maybe differing motivations you first need to get in line. So you need to approach each other. Ask questions about each other and look what you can do for each other. You need to know each other to work with another person "(A. Otieno Ong'ayo, personal communication, October 4, 2013).

3.4.6 How pre-conditions influence current co-operation

How the foregoing issues influence the current co-operation becomes clear when taking the migration and development consultancy days organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as an example. Examining these consultancy days the ambitions of Diaspora organizations become visible and also the struggle of the Ministry to deal with these ambitions. This results in a difficult process.

Diaspora organizations spoken to in this research all share the same opinion that although they are invited to give their opinion about policies or to bring up ideas, they are not very satisfied with this kind of co-operation, because they are not involved in the actual process of policy making. Almost all organizations mentioned that during consultancy days the government institutions listen, but at the same time they have the feeling that nothing is done with their input. Or nothing can be done anymore because policies are already made.

“It useless to go there every time and come up with ideas and opinions, it takes a lot of time and energy and nothing really happens (Habagat Foundation, personal communication, September 13, 2013)”

“Yes, we are involved in some degree, there are consultancy days each year. But to be honest I did not go anymore this year. Because when you arrive there, policies are already made and nothing can be changed (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013)”

Not all Diaspora organizations have exactly the same experiences with consultancy days but some general conclusions can be extracted from the interviews. In their opinion, when a consultancy day is coming up, not all Diaspora organizations are invited. Mostly only the ones who are the most familiar (Habagat Foundation, personal communication, September 13, 2013). Also the size of Diaspora organizations and the size of the group of people whom you are representing is very decisive in the likeliness of getting invited. Due to this way of inviting, smaller organizations believe it is difficult to represent their own interests (Pearl of Africa, 2013; Empower Together Kenya, 2013).

On the other hand, Van de Walle from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs mentioned that when a consultancy day is coming up, as many as possible different Diaspora organizations are invited to attend these days (N. van de Walle, personal communication, October 23, 2013). It has to be acknowledged that it is just not possible to invite representatives of all migrants living in the Netherlands. The government is not familiar with all organizations and there are simply too much organizations. Within the Netherlands there are, for example, already over 400 Diaspora organizations from Africa alone (T. van Naerssen, personal communication, October 10, 2013). This makes that the Netherlands is the country with the most Diaspora organizations in Europe (A. Otieno Ong'ayo, personal communication, October 4, 2013). In that sense making a selection is unavoidable (T. van Naerssen, personal communication, October 10, 2013). There is a need from the Ministry to represent these groups in a more general way, otherwise the process just takes too long and clarity is lacking. For that reason inviting big or umbrella organizations is a common way to act (N. van de Walle, personal communication, October 23, 2013). What becomes clear is that the Ministry struggles with the consideration about with whom they are dealing and how this group can be involved in a representative way. Also, the Ministry sees consultancy days as a way to collect broader information about migration and development issues while Diaspora organizations see consultancy

days as a way to put in front their own specific interests. So there is a different way of involvement from the start. The Ministry is acting in line with certain policies while Diaspora organizations are driven by their personal interests. The advantage of inviting umbrella organizations is that it forces their members to discuss specific issues beforehand and sort out their personal objectives. This saves a lot of discussions during consultancy days due to all different interests among different Diaspora organizations (van Naerssen, 2013; van de Walle, 2013).

Barring who is invited and which interest are represented, the differing way of involvement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Diaspora organizations also influences the way these consultancy days are given shape. In general a differentiation can be made between two ways of co-operation. First, the government wants to get ideas to make their own policies; after Diaspora organizations have given their ideas and opinions their involvement is over and the policies are made by government employees. Although the Ministry does listen, several Diaspora organizations have mentioned that in this way the contribution to policies is not very huge since real implementation of their ideas is mostly lacking, or it is not visible to them (BWPD, 2013; Habagat, 2013). According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in this way views and information given by Diaspora organizations are definitely tried to incorporate within new policies. At the same time these views can be very divers. This makes it hard to make any clear decisions with this sometimes even conflicting knowledge (N. van de Walle, personal communication, October 23, 2013).

Because of this diversity of views there is also another way of giving shape to these consultancy days. The moment a consultancy day is coming up, issues are already chosen and the policy is written. The thing left to do for Diaspora organizations is to read it and give their opinion and information. This is seen as very unsatisfying by Diaspora organizations. Diaspora organizations claim there is little room for changes left while many times they do not agree with what has been written. Often they experience other issues which they see as more important. Changing the policy is not possible anymore and Diaspora organizations have a sense the wrong issues are addressed (Recogin, 2013; Afroeuro, 2013; DFD, 2013). Most Diaspora organizations agreed that in this way consultancy is useless and that they are involved in the policy process too late. This statement underlines the strong focus that Diaspora organizations have to represent their interest. Precisely this focus of each Diaspora organization wanting to represent their own interest within the policy is why the government chooses this way of doing things. From the governments viewing point it is more useful to make the policy first. This makes it is easier to talk about the issues with Diaspora organizations. Otherwise they have to deal with too much differing opinions and interests. In the end this can have the effect that the actual points in which the government is interested and want to collect information about are not discussed at all (van Naerssen, 2013; van de Walle, 2013).

What becomes clear in this example is that the before mentioned issues of clarity and objectivity indeed play a role in the present co-operation. During the whole process of a consultancy day, from sending invitations to the consultancy day itself the Ministry struggles with the often divers and unclear character of Diaspora organizations. This resulted in a process that is seen as unsatisfying by Diaspora organizations and inefficient by the Ministry. Thus to change this process addressing these pre-conditions is of importance. This will be discussed in the next chapter when linking these matters to the social capital and social exchange theory.

CHAPTER 4. A theoretical perspective

The previous chapter explained what Diaspora organizations try to contribute to migration and development issues, how this is translated into co-operation in development issues and policymaking with Dutch institutions and the barriers that are present in this co-operation. Now with the help of the aforementioned theories there will be a closer look upon the question if Diaspora organizations indeed are important actors to involve in the migration and development debate and thus if more co-operation, taken in mind the present circumstances and conditions, can be expected. Or if this is not the case, which improvements are necessary. First there will be a closer look upon the social capital Diaspora organizations possess.

4.1 Social capital of Diaspora organizations

As mentioned earlier, the central idea of social capital in Putnam's view is one in which networks and the associated norms of reciprocity have value. Especially for the people inside these networks, but also for the people who profit from these networks (Putnam, n.d, p. 1). The core insight of this theory is that just like tools (physical capital) and training (human capital), social networks (Social capital) have value. Social capital comes in many forms and networks can provide powerful effects on our ability to get things done (Putnam, 2007, p. 137). It is suggested that when levels of social capital are higher, people are healthier, safer, better educated, live longer, happier and democracy and economy work better (Putnam, 2007, p. 138). Translating this to Diaspora organizations a large deal of social capital can be seen. As we saw Diaspora organizations are maintaining close contact with people both in the Netherlands and in the country of origin. Because of that they hold the opinion that they know "their" people very well and are in good position to help them.

Diaspora organizations hold this opinion because they are all in one way or the other in a good position to reach people both within the Dutch community and in the Global South in a very fast and effective way. As a result many ideas about needs can be collected and people can also be informed about important issues at stake among communities in developing countries and among migrants in the Netherlands. Habagat, for example, benefits much from the use of Facebook and migrants who travel to the Philippines for a short time and while residing there collect ideas about needs in the Philippines. Very interesting is also the long shipping tradition the Philippines has. Although in recent years the competition from Asian countries such as China increased, an estimated amount of 20% of the sailors in the world is from Philippine origin (Rooijackers, 2005). Habagat managed to use this situation to their benefit. Habagat interacts with these people while residing in the harbor of Rotterdam to get ideas and knowledge about the country of origin (Habagat Foundation, personal communication, September 13, 2013). ASDA in turn has an office both in the Netherlands as in Ghana which makes it possible to extract firsthand information about needs on which their projects should be focused (ASDA, personal communication, November 1, 2013). Next, the members of the Diaspora organization themselves also hold much knowledge that benefits projects. Since they also bring a lot of personal experiences and maintain contact with relatives and friends. Also information is easily extracted through internet and telephone (BWPD, 2013; Pearl of Africa, 2013; KDCN, 2013).

What becomes clear of these examples is the fact that Diaspora organizations indeed have networks and ways to reach people in the Global South. There exists a social capital among Diaspora organizations that spans borders. This social capital has put them in a situation through which they are able to contribute to migration and development issues. This is translated in all the projects implemented by the Diaspora organizations involved in this research. In that way Diaspora organizations through their networks are able to, although on a small scale, make people in the Global South healthier, safer, better educated, live longer, happier and to make democracy and economy work better. So the social capital is very much present.

But, when looked to these networks and keeping in mind Ben Fine's view and his idea that only certain people can profit from these networks because social capital evolves between and within certain groups (Fine, 2002) this also seems traceable in the social capital of Diaspora organizations. Looked to the projects in which Diaspora organizations are involved they mostly speak about aid and an obligations to the people they left behind. Family, regions, villages had mainly their focus. Due to their local focus it is unlikely that bigger regions will profit from their initiatives or that they can give a representative advice about a whole region or even country (T. van Naerssen, personal communication, 10 October, 2014). This remark is also made by Dutch development organizations. Because of this specific focus on only one village or region they question in which degree this social capital is objective or useful in a broader context. Dutch institutions claim that by only focusing on their own area of origin Diaspora organizations make themselves very exclusive which makes them and their social capital hard to incorporate in broader policies (van Naerssen, 2013; van Zijl, 2014).

Analyzing how these Diaspora organizations' networks are given shape suggests that their networks are not always directed to the people who are the most in need. By maintaining contact with Pilipino sailors it is of course possible to extract first hand information about issues in the country of origin. But, these shippers probably do not belong to the poorest people in the Philippines which makes it important to have knowledge about in what degree they are able to represent and give information about the poorest people in society. It also should be questioned if these sailors, often lacking (higher levels of) formal education, are able to extract trustworthy information (I. Awil, personal communication, April 14, 2014). The same can be said about contacts through internet and phone. Being able to afford a computer, internet and phone indicates that these people might not be part of the poorest segments of society. In that sense questions have to be raised and answered towards the extent these migrant groups are in touch with the poorest people and how they are able to make representations of the situation of this group (J. van Zijl, personal communication, April 1, 2014). It is not said that these networks are not important, to the contrary, through these solidarity networks Diaspora organizations are undertaking important efforts. The point made is the need to have clarity about how their network represents a broad view. At the moment it seems this social capital is very specific focused upon certain people and places. This makes this social capital useful and important for Diaspora organizations own small scale activities but hard to use in broader policies (J. van Zijl, personal communication, April 1, 2014).

Migrant communities are also able to inform and consult migrants within the Netherlands about problems or issues at stake, due to the central role these organizations have within migrant communities. Recogin, for example, has its office in Amsterdam Zuid-Oost within a neighborhood where many Ghanaian people are living. This makes it possible to maintain direct contact and to build upon a trust relationship (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013). To inform and activate Ghanaian people within the community Recogin has a radio station through which it can reach many Ghanaian people (Recogin, personal communication, September 14, 2013). BWPD also has a trust relationship with migrant people based in the Netherlands. In a more informal way migrants visit the organization with issues at stake and enquire if the organization can do something about it. They choose to approach these organizations instead of Dutch institutions because they know the organization has helped them before and they speak with a common background (BWPD, personal communication, September 20, 2013). Another example of the contacts and networks migrants maintain within the community is extracted from Afroeuro (2013). This organization mentioned that when there are certain issues at stake within the community they do a survey among African people living in the Hague to gain more knowledge about these issues. They try to activate people through radio broadcasting Dutch language lessons and informing both African and Dutch people through a magazine they publish. Next to that, almost all organizations visit migrants at home, which gives them a good and timely knowledge of problems and issues at stake in these communities. This trust relationship and close contacts also makes it possible to collect information which would not be shared easily otherwise (Afroeuro, 2013; BWPD, 2013; Recogin, 2013; KDCN, 2013). So also within the Netherlands Diaspora organizations have strong networks and a lot of social capital to get things done, but mostly focused upon one group of people or a specific locality only.

As stated by Claridge (2013), social capital through networks can improve social support, integration and social cohesion. This is also visible in the projects migrants are able to implement due to the networks they are in. Through their networks they improve participation and integration in the Netherlands and development in the Global South. In that way the social capital of migrants is charged with a range of beneficial effects in education, public health, social issues and community governance. Also the four dimensions of social capital as identified by Liua and Besser (in Claridge, 2004) are applicable towards the Diaspora organizations' activities. These dimensions are establishing informal social ties, formal social ties, trust, and norms of collective action (Liua & Besser 2003, in Claridge, 2004). In conclusion it can be said that due to their networks migrants developed a strong social capital which put them in a good position to activate people. So Putnam's view of social capital as a binding and bridging factor is very much applicable upon Diaspora organizations. But only when applied in a specific context.

Because of this specific context, the question arose who exactly can and will profit from this social capital. In that sense Fine's claim that social capital should be handled with caution because it can be very context specific and when used in a different context it can have contradictory or even negative outcomes also seems true. Dutch institutions are also aware of this risk and this makes them reticent when making use of this social capital. So while migrants see their social capital as a strong tool, Dutch institutions see this social capital as a factor which scales down the usefulness of knowledge arising from it due to its very specific character. This decreases objectivity of this social capital when taken out of its context. This makes social exchange of this knowledge undesirable in broader migration and development issues. In that sense it could be said that Diaspora organizations exclude themselves by only focusing on one locality.

4.2 Social exchange between Diaspora organization and Dutch institutions

The second theory used within this research is the social exchange theory, the basic assumptions of the social exchange theory is that people only interact if this can maximize their profits. Only if people can benefit from other people they will interact in the same process. This explains why people look for information about social, economic, and psychological aspects of their current interactions that allows them to consider alternative, more profitable situations relative to their present situation (Crossman, n.d). Exchanges in social relationships can be seen as an interaction process between two or more individuals who believe that some parts are responding to each other, and in that way affect each other (Hallén, Johanson & Seyed-Mohamed, 1991, p. 29).

With reference to the Diaspora organizations and Dutch institutions it would mean that before co-operation can be established information about the benefits must become clear. In principle there may be a basis for social exchange between Diaspora organizations and Dutch institutions. Four types of social exchange structures are distinguished by Chen and Choi (n.d, p. 4) negotiated exchange, reciprocal exchange, generalized exchange and co-productive exchange. As shown in the previous chapter if co-operation between Diaspora organizations and government institutions would be established this could lead to co-productive exchange. Each party to the relationship exchanging particular goods and perspectives, creating more opportunities for each other (Hállen et al, 1991, p. 29). But, at the moment Dutch institutions are not sure that the "goods" that Diaspora organizations have to offer are useful to them due to the way they are organized. Because of that the profits of this social exchange and in which situations remains too vague for Dutch institutions. It seems they are not sure which parts are responding to each other. The question from their side remains about whom Diaspora organizations are representing, how they are organized and what their objectives are. These are questions that have to be clear from a Dutch institution's view before a consideration can be made in which situation co-operation is possible and actually can improve the process. Taking in mind the reduced efforts by Cordaid and Oxfam Novib to incorporate Diaspora organizations into their projects it can be stated that instead of looking to ways of increasing social exchange, Dutch institutions are decreasing social exchange with Diaspora organizations. So the uncertainty among Dutch institutions and which Diaspora organizations are not able to dissolve is next to a call for more professionalism also translated into a search towards other means and partners to accomplish the Dutch institutions' goals. More and more Dutch institutions are seeking support of organizations that can deliver certain skills and professionalism. Dutch institutions are searching for partnership in the whole community both in the Netherlands and abroad. Knowledge about certain themes is seen as

more important instead of background and ideologies. Cordaid and Oxfam Novib, for example, to a large degree seek for co-operation in the private-sector. Organizations active within the private-sector are often specialized in one specific “good” and have their skills and experience organized very well. This makes it easier to co-operate with them and adapt to each other (van Zijl, 2014; Awil, 2014). When for example there is a healthcare issue, Dutch institutions tend to involve an actor who is specialised in this issue and experienced in, for example, managing or cleaning hospitals. Migrants are no longer involved simply because they are a migrant and know the circumstances within a hospital in the Global South. The search is for specific knowledge which might be available in the broader Dutch or host country community (van Zijl, 2014; Awil, 2014). In that way instead of co-operating with a Diaspora organization they, for example, co-operate with an experienced manager or specialised cleaning company. Diaspora organizations seem not to be able to express this added value enough and lack particular skills or specializations. This explains why at the moment Dutch institutions do not see further co-operation as advantageous for the process (Hällén et al, 1991, p. 29).

So this social-exchange does not take place because it is hard to meet the second condition of the social exchange theory, which is being able to adapt to each other (Chen & Choi, p. 2). Due to differing discourses and ways of doing things it is hard for Dutch institutions to involve Diaspora organizations in their policies. Because of that, if a sustainable co-operation wants to be established, Diaspora organizations should focus more on meeting this second condition of the social exchange theory. This is probably the main reason of the limited co-operation since this causes the lack of clarity about Diaspora organizations social capital, resulting in indistinctness and uncertainties. This outweighs the benefits Diaspora organizations can have for migration and development policies. In that sense it would be helpful for Diaspora organizations to analyse the way they are involved and organized and see how Dutch institutions approach migration and development issues at the moment. Since Dutch institutions tend towards specific skills this could mean that Diaspora organizations need to rethink their own role and objectives in case they want to become part of a professional network.

Another issue which explains the decrease in social-exchange between Diaspora organizations and Dutch development institutions is the current shift present in the development and migration field. This is a shift in which the Dutch government is decreasing their subsidy and it is expected that Dutch development institutions find other means to finance their activities. Diaspora organizations instead of bringing money are in the need of money. The private-sector to the contrary can invest money. Because of that social-exchange with businesses active in the private-sector is seen as more useful or even necessary. Since this social exchange can maximize profits because it can fill in the gap left behind by the decline of government subsidy. Diaspora organizations and other non-profit organizations are not in the position to fill in this gap. This has the consequence that there is lesser co-operation with organizations who are dependant from subsidy and more with organizations from the private-sector. This also has the consequence that nowadays only if non-profit organizations are very well organized and specialised it is likely they can expect support or co-operation from organizations as Oxfam Novib and Cordaid. In that sense Diaspora organizations also have to rethink their own role because they have to make sure they can distinguish themselves from all the other organizations who apply for co-operation or support.

CHAPTER 5. Conclusion

In the foregoing an overview was presented of the added value Diaspora organizations can provide within the migration and development debate in co-operation with Dutch institutions. In particular it has been a search to answer the question why real co-operation between these two potential partners has not been established fully. The main research question was the following:

“Are Diaspora organizations due to their transnational engagement and knowledge important partners within the policy debate around migration and development focused both upon the Netherlands as on countries in the Global South?”

The goal of this research was to carry out a survey to establish the degree in which Diaspora organizations have knowledge that makes them important to be involved in the policy debate. To achieve this the kind of knowledge Diaspora organizations possess and which could make them important to involve in the migration and development policy field is explained. The study also addressed the question why this co-operation until now is not established. This research aimed to act as a platform for Diaspora organizations within the development sector and raise arguments about the importance to open-up/improve the debate for structural co-operation between Dutch institutions and Diaspora organizations. Let us now turn to a more detailed discussion of the sub-questions posed to the actors involved.

5.1 Answering the sub-questions

a. What knowledge do migrants have?

Looking at the knowledge Diaspora organizations possess, it seems that this knowledge can be important both within the Netherlands as abroad. Information Diaspora organizations have about these two localities is much in line with contextual questions the Dutch government and development institutions face locally, nationally and internationally. Migrants involved in these kind of organizations are already in the Netherlands for a longer period, still they attach much value to their own culture and habits. Although they maintain their own culture, all organizations spoken to during this research were at the same time very much integrated and active in the Dutch society. All respondents were very much aware of the importance to become familiar with the Dutch culture to make their integration successful. Partly maintaining one's own culture and at the same time integrating into the Dutch culture has put these people, depending on the context, in a strong position. Having another cultural background had the consequence that they themselves experienced how important it is to embrace the Dutch culture if you want to get along in society. In that way the double engagement of Diaspora organizations and how they make use of it became very clear.

This double engagement had the outcome that a strong social capital evolved within this group which differs from Dutch institutions. They differentiate themselves because through this social capital they can play a very activating role for other migrants in the Dutch community but also reach people in their country of origin. By embracing two cultures, languages and habits their broad network allows them to bridge, link and act between different situations. Their own culture helps them to build trust relationships with migrants and their community of origin based on a common

background and experiences. In this way Diaspora organizations can reach people in and outside the Netherlands and extract new knowledge about different areas in a way that is less accessible for Dutch institutions. But important to take into account before making use of this knowledge is through which and under which circumstances this Diaspora organizations knowledge and skills evolved. When working with social capital this happened to be a very crucial factor that can influence the way it will be used and the degree in which people actually can profit from it. Social capital evolves through personal networks and mostly also the people who are in or connected to these networks are the ones who can profit from it. In many cases Diaspora organizations are involved in migration and development issues through a personal attachment. Because of that it remains important to put a lot of concern upon which people are actually represented in these personal networks before this knowledge becomes useable. If this is not done, this can influence the migration and development process negatively. In that case the Dutch government and developmental NGOs see the knowledge Diaspora organizations possess not as a tool that can benefit the migration and development debate and will remain unwilling or at least reticent to incorporate it into their policies.

b. Is this knowledge important in development and migration issues concerning the Global South?

Due to their social capital arising from networks spanning borders, migrants can extract information about needs in the Global South very fast and place specific. Migrants have their contacts on the ground which puts them in a position to understand the daily struggles of local people. Detailed information can be collected while visiting their country of origin or by contacts through telephone, internet and offices put in place in the country of origin. While doing this they speak in a common language and with the same background. This makes it possible to extract more information. Looked to all the different kinds of projects implemented in several fields by the organizations involved in this research these direct links Diaspora organizations have put them in a good position to develop their own place specific aid projects.

Because their projects are in many cases in line with Dutch aid programs and the MDGs Diaspora organizations they claim they also can contribute to projects of Dutch institutions. But, while Diaspora organizations see this place specific knowledge as an important tool, the Dutch institutions doubt if this makes Diaspora organizations useful in broader migration and development issues. Dutch institutions believe that this place specific focus has to consequence that one's this knowledge is taken out of it context it is not useful anymore or that due to the personal attachment this knowledge is too subjective. Next to that, in a co-operation Dutch institutions nowadays are searching for partners that can be deployed in several localities and who deliver specific skills which are context independent. In contrast Diaspora organizations' activities are locality dependant. Mostly they focus on several topics without specializing in one skill particular. Altogether Dutch institutions believe this makes them unsuitable to act as advisor or implementing actor in broader migration and development issues.

c. Is this knowledge important in development and migration issues concerning the Netherlands?

Looked to the Netherlands from a local level an important issue which has to be dealt with is the multicultural character of the Netherlands. This will not change in the future but will likely increase and become even more important to take into account. Working together in that case with people, organizations or institutions with differing backgrounds is important to get as much as possible place and identity specific information. In that sense Diaspora organizations, in case they have proven to have the right motivation and objectives, can have a special and important position within the Dutch community.

Migrants experience difficulties in approaching Dutch institutions dealing with social issues. The other way around Dutch organizations often experience troubles to reach migrant families. As a result social problems might be acknowledged only at a rather late stage when the problem has left "the front door" and has become a problem of wider society. Solving problems is the only option left. Diaspora organizations, however, are better able to visit migrants at home, which puts them in a position where possible problems can be acknowledged in an earlier stage. So instead of solving a problem, they can come up with preventing measurements assuring that these social issues can be handled in an early stage. But again, before Diaspora organizations really can be applied in this area it is still important that there exists a good overview about objectives and backgrounds of such an organization. This to avoid unwanted outcomes.

d. How does the co-operation look like at the moment?

Looking at the current co-operation, Diaspora organizations are, often through their own initiative, active in a wide variety of migration and development fields within the Netherlands and abroad. It should be mentioned that looked to the objectives on which both kind of actors focus there are similarities which would mean that co-operation in principle could be of added value. But because of the different way these actors approach and are positioned relative to the migration and development policy debate, social-exchange is not optimal. It even can be said that in the current way it is very likely that social-exchange will decrease further in the future. This because within the migration and development debate there currently is a shift visible in which Diaspora organizations do not fit. Nowadays much concern is put upon private-public co-operation, which skills organizations can deliver and if they are applicable in several localities.

Diaspora organizations are involved through a more personal discourse while Dutch institutions are involved through a more professional discourse. The main problem is how this co-operation should be given shape without doing any harm to each other's main objectives and incentives. At the moment these incentives are too far apart to make social exchange of social capital possible. Diaspora organizations claim to have important skills and knowledge arising from their personal attachment, collective decision making and solidarity with particular groups or regions. They see this as their strength. But what is seen as a strength by Diaspora organizations, is questioned by Dutch institutions. They claim that this personal attachment, collective decision making and acting out of solidarity too much effects the objectivity of Diaspora organizations and that they become too much focused upon one group or locality only. In that sense, Dutch institutions believe that the way Diaspora organizations are organized, makes them very place and context specific. This makes co-operation in broader policies difficult.

e. Is there need for improvement in this co-operation?

Dutch institutions do not deny the knowledge Diaspora organizations have, but the way it evolved within a specific group is questioned. Because of that Dutch institutions posed the question if they should support Diaspora organizations activities any longer. Dutch institutions also start making lesser exceptions when it comes to rules and obligations towards Diaspora organizations. Everyone has to meet the same professional standards nowadays. Dutch institutions have lesser subsidy to provide so the subsidy which is given is provided under strict rules. Due to the way Diaspora organizations are organized it is difficult to meet these rules. Having the consequence that fewer Diaspora organizations apply successfully for support. Instead, Dutch institutions seek support or co-operation in the broader social or business society. It can be concluded that under the present circumstances Diaspora organizations are seen as not that important anymore to incorporate intensively in the migration and development debate.

So wanting to stay or become involved there is a need that Diaspora organizations follow the recent shift and rethink their own organizational structure or objectives. This to fit the professional network they want to become part of. A broader and different focus would likely increase the usefulness of Diaspora organizations. A broader view would have the consequence that the personal attachment, collective decision making and acting out of solidarity becomes less. In that sense Diaspora organizations should focus on developing specific skills that can be used within different contexts. Dutch institutions believe that this could improve objectivity and increase credibility. Maintaining this broader approach Diaspora organizations would become useful in more areas instead of only in one specific situation. Applying successfully for subsidy would also become more likely. Diaspora organizations focusing on migration and development issues from that angle would increase the chance of being involved in the migration and development debate.

5.2 Recommendations

So there is a need to rethink the role Diaspora organizations can play in the field of migration and development co-operation in their home and host country. They can still maintain their solidarity projects on their own initiatives as an organization. But when involved in a professional collaboration it would be helpful if they remain more distanced from their personal attached projects or issues and focus on broader issues. Concern should be placed upon how Dutch institutions and Diaspora organizations can work together more effectively in the future in a way that does justice to each other's skills. To establish this, some recommendations can be given.

1. Because of the fact that there is a great diversity of Diaspora organizations and each migration and development issue is area and context specific it is not possible to make any recommendations about which kind of organizations are preferable to co-operate with since this can differ for each situation. Each organization can have different networks within one region or community which also can lead to different knowledge. The best way to conceive the role of Diaspora organizations would be to think of the various phases or stages in different migration and development processes and then to evaluate the possible role Diaspora organizations may play in each phase. This is a difficult question since each new project or situation will need rethinking of the role of these organizations. Diaspora

organizations in that sense have the responsibility to make clear and underpin their area of expertise. This will make decision making by Dutch institutions easier.

2. Creating clarity about skills and activities is very important. Diaspora organizations and government institutions are involved in the same process but with differing backgrounds and motivations. Overcoming these different discourses should be the main concern. Empathy should be placed upon how various actors see these issues, what are their goals, how do they want to reach this and what are their motivations. When there is more knowledge about how other actors are positioned in a certain debate and the underlying causes of this position there will be more understanding about each other's possibilities and limitations. Disagreements will be handled with more understanding. More knowledge about each other will probably also make the adaptation process easier and make it more likely that social exchange can evolve. In this case it would mean that if Diaspora organizations want to become more involved and in a different way they should put a lot of effort in making clear their networks, how do they obtain their knowledge who is their focus group and how it is assured they can give a representative overview when claiming to have much knowledge.
3. Looked to Diaspora organizations activities within the Netherlands it is important to look to ways how these activities can be incorporated into policies focused upon social issues arising from multiculturalism. In that way as much as possible knowledge about social issues can be taken into account when developing policies. This could lead to a shift in the way social problems are handled. At the moment co-operation is in a supporting construction. Making Diaspora organizations very dependant from government institutions and policies put in place. Policies are fixed which limits the possibilities for Diaspora organizations to respond to new signals they get from migrant living in the Dutch society. To improve this it is necessary to develop policies more together with Diaspora organizations in which information obtained on a ground level can be taken into account. In this way the social capital of Diaspora organizations can be used more and put to purpose. Especially in a multicultural society as the Netherlands this can be important to prevent bigger social problems in the future. The benefit of this is that problems arising from differing backgrounds and cultures are recognized in a earlier stage. When doing this the focus will shift from solving problems within the society to preventing problems. This by addressing the causes instead of the consequences.
4. Dutch institutions question the objectivity of Diaspora organizations, this is translated into a call for more professionalism from Diaspora organizations. If migrants want to be involved in a professional network they have to meet the same standards as all partners involved. Since the recent shift deployed by the Dutch government in the migration and development field there is no room for exceptions anymore. This does not mean that there is no room for Diaspora organizations, but to proof their added value Diaspora organizations might rethink their own position. Diaspora organizations lack capacity and it is hard for them to realize a fully professional organization. Because of that it is useful to look to other means to become involved instead through the organization. Migrants can try to become involved through a more individualized approach in which they become part of a Dutch development NGOs or government institutions as a specialist, researcher or expert. In that way a more integrated

and individualized approach is necessary instead of a approach in which Diaspora organizations, as a collective, want a place in the migration and development debate. Through this integrated approach a migrant can still use his knowledge and own experience but at the same time because he is involved as an expert or researcher and deployed in several areas he will maintain a more neutral and objective view and is less vulnerable to solidarity or collective claims.

5. Another possibility, and which fits into the shift visible among Dutch institutions, would be that Diaspora organizations instead of focusing upon a village, region or country focus on delivering “goods”. This would mean that they should not focus upon improving several social issues in one region, but upon developing one skill that could help to improve a certain issue in several regions. When they, for example, only focus upon educational didactics they are not bound to one specific region but can act as specialist upon education didactics who can be deployed in several countries in the Global South. Except being able to work in different countries, focusing on one topic only will also make it easier to professionalize. This will make it easier to create transparency about what a organization has to offer. This in turn eases the decision-making process for Dutch institutions about the added value of this organization and in which areas. Because education is an issue which is important in almost all countries in the Global South this would mean this organization is broadly employable. The same can be said about issues concerning, water, health or conflict solving. Also within the Netherlands Diaspora organization can instead of focusing on several areas make a decision to focus on for example education, health or criminality etc. Focusing on one issue only would put them in a stronger position and they could evolve into specialist about this topic. To accomplish this Diaspora organizations have to rethink their own ideologies. This would mean that Diaspora organizations should not focus upon organizing around the topic of being a migrant and their origin but to organize and develop a certain skill that is widely employable. Their own background in that sense to some extent still can help them to understand the process better and to develop and adjust that one particular “good” so it is useful in Global South or migrant community. In that way they would also be in the advantage compared to Dutch organizations/businesses offering the same skills. This would also give them a stronger position when competing with other non-profit organizations when applying for subsidy.

Due to the present shift among Dutch institutions, in which there is a demand for specific skills which are widely deployable, this rethinking of the way Diaspora organizations are organized seems important to become more professionalized. This is needed to increase their involvement in the migration and development debate. Otherwise the trend of lesser and lesser Diaspora organizations successfully applying for support or involvement will probably continue. Considering all the fields in which Diaspora organizations could be of added value if organized well this would be a pity. So concluded has to be that due to the present circumstances in the development aid sector Diaspora organizations have to find new means to underline their importance again. Forgoing recommendations can be good guidelines to establish this.

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Appendix 1

Diaspora organizations

African Social Development Aid: A social movement that aims at impacting thinking on African development assistance, the organization tries to achieve high-level leadership within the European and African civil societies. A.S.D.A's think-tank board of directors comprise of experienced and still active citizens in their careers within the private and public sectors. ASDA is committed to sustainable development in Africa. Their values are supporting people in Africa to carve out their own future. They try to uplift lives of many by providing them with the rightful tools for grass-root economic creation.

Afroeuro: As an organization their *mission* is to create a forum for inter-cultural exchange between people of African origin and their host nations in the spirit of promoting the identity of African – Europeans. Their primary goal is to encourage and promote black students, youths, black professionals, artists, politicians among many others, to be involved in the community where they live in, and to be responsible citizens in taking vital but also challenging roles in all areas of life, be it business, economic or even politics. They also want to create a common platform for dialogue and understanding between peoples of African origin and their new nations here in Europe and the vital need to integrate in their new community and thereby better obtain opportunities for their own development and self-improvement.

Burundi Women for Peace and Development: BWPD has the vision that women must play an active role in changes. To make this possible the education and training of women has to be improved. It is vital that they learn to communicate well amongst themselves and to share their experiences with one another. When women learn to use their knowledge of their community and its problems they can effectively avoid new conflicts. Also integration is important in their vision. Integration is a necessary part of participation in Dutch society for the Burundians living in the Netherlands. The BWPD wants to play a constructive role in this process as well. The goals that the Dutch Burundian women have set for themselves are strengthening the role of the Burundian women, integration into Dutch society, taking part in the peace process in their homeland, helping the international community solve the chaos in Burundi and being available to help in the reconstruction of Burundi.

Children Perfect Hope: Their main goal is to provide education and basic needs for orphaned and destitute children in Third World countries. They want to provide access to sustainable education through building schools equipped with both formal and technical educational facilities. The foundation wants to establish a school with permanent facilities for orphans and destitute children from the age of 0 until 18 years old. They are to be given protection, healthcare and education so that they will become a fully-abled individual who can contribute to society. The children should leave school obtaining a diploma. The foundation choose to help Life Mercy Orphanage in Kampala City, the capital of Uganda, because of their commitment to the children and illustrated a well-structured plan for developing the futures of these children

Diaspora Forum for Development: An umbrella organization for Diaspora organizations from Asia, Africa and Latin-America founded in the Netherlands. DFD seeks to harness the capacities of migrants in the social, economic, and political sphere to initiate viable interventions to improve the quality of life of migrants, their families and their wider communities. The goal of DFD is to engage, stimulate and empower diasporas to be actively involved in the field of migration and development both in the Netherlands and in their countries of origin. They want to strengthen the social capital which Diaspora organizations have and to use this for development.

Empower together Kenya: Wants to tighten the gap between poor and rich within rural areas of Kenya. They want to accomplish this by co-operating with local organizations. They try to offer water, healthcare and educational facilities. Their goal is to help people to become more self-sustaining and be able to provide their own development.

Habagat Foundation: upholds and promotes the interests of the peoples of the South; and in the Philippines, it seeks support for the issues and concerns of the southern islands of Visayas and Mindanao. Habagat believes in the potentials of the migrants as agents of change, that they can be valuable in the political and economic development of their countries of origin. Habagat recognizes the many-sided contributions of migrants to their host countries, when they are able to integrate and participate in the social processes. Habagat puts forward the migrant as a key link in the establishment of solidarity relationships between peoples of the North and South.

Kenyan Diaspora Community in the Netherlands: KDCN envisions a vibrant Kenyan Diaspora Community and friends of Kenya in Netherlands that pursues the well-being and interests of both group and individual interests in the Dutch society. KDCN's mission is to bring together members (individual and collective) of the Kenya community residing (permanently or temporarily) in the Netherlands and friends of Kenya to work together in strengthening networks among themselves, other diaspora communities, governments, civil society groups, public and private entities to realize the stated objectives

Pearl of Africa: Hopes through its activities to provide a platform to share experiences, support and advise Ugandans on integration into Dutch society, offer Dutch society a glimpse of what Uganda has to offer in terms of tourism, trade and investment, provide information through brochures, website and magazine, provide any other service that is beneficial to Ugandans and friends of Uganda, build capacity in Uganda and promote socio-economic development in Uganda. Pearl of Africa tries to promote human rights, democracy and gender justice in Uganda and encourage Ugandan immigrants to integrate into society within the framework of the Dutch government policy and to work towards the promotion and development of Uganda.

Recogin: Is the Representative Council of Ghanaian Organizations in the Netherlands. Recogin is an umbrella organization embracing about 36 Ghanaian Self-Organizations and churches. Recogin makes significant progress in the fields of empowerment, capacity building, representation and network forming with relevant sub-groups. Recogin also tries to contribute to the development of Ghana. Recogin organizes periodical workshops, symposia and conferences, to inform the general population of Ghanaians in the Netherlands through the associations and through the various committees of

Recogin. These activities inform and educate Ghanaians about significant developments in the Netherlands and also to discuss issues related to migrants in the Netherlands.

Experts

Dr. Ton van Naerssen: Among others researcher on international migration and development topics.

PhD Otieno Ong'ayo: Researcher at the department of International Development Studies of the Human Geography department of Utrecht University. Amongst other area of expertise, he undertakes research in the fields of Migration and Development, and Diaspora engagement and participation.

Government institution

Ms. Nelleke van de Walle: Policy Officer International Migration and Development at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands

Dutch development NGOs

Cordaid (Joep van Zijl): The vision of Cordaid is a just and sustainable global society in which every person counts. Global Goods have to be shared, diversity is important and they want to co-operate with everyone who shares their values and goals. Cordaid is a NGO for development and co-operation who wants to improve communities within fragile states and conflict areas. People all over the world have to share values, interest and knowledge to create better and safer places. This to make sure people have opportunities for self-development and to make their voice heard.

Oxfam Novib (Ismail Awil): The Vision of Oxfam Novib is to co-operate and involve people and organizations to join their strength and together tackle poverty. Oxfam Novib is determined to decrease poverty through co-operation. Oxfam Novib always tries to work with local partners and the most vulnerable groups.

Appendix 2

Interview guide Diaspora organizations

I am doing a research upon migrant knowledge and skills, and how this knowledge can be of benefit for other institutions as the government to include into their policies. Because of that I am doing an inquiry to make clear what migrants can contribute to migration and development issues within the Netherlands and in the Global South and why it is important to include this knowledge within policies. Because although it is generally known that migrants poses much knowledge about migration and development because they are connected to two or more societies at the same time, real clarity about what they really can contribute to policies and communities is mostly lacking. So with this research it is tried to get clarity about the benefits migrants have within the policy debate so it becomes clear to other institutions that these Diaspora organizations have a lot to offer and can be good partners. It this way, this should open de the way to policy involvement for these Diaspora organizations.

For reaching the goal of this thesis I have formulated the following main question:

“Are Diaspora organizations due to their transnational engagement and knowledge important partners within the policy debate around migration and development focused both upon the Netherlands as on countries in the Global South?”

Introducing the organizations

1. Can you briefly explain what your organization is doing and what your own position is within the organization?
2. What are the grassroots of the organization? So when is it developed and with what proposes.
3. Has the organization changed, between now and when it started? In goals and vision?
4. Is the organization mainly focused on issues within the Netherlands, on home country issues or both?
5. What kind of projects is the organization working on at the moment?
6. Does your organization co-operate with Dutch organizations or institutions within these projects?
7. Is there also involvement of Dutch government institutions?

Migrants Knowledge

8. How important is the knowledge and skills of migrants within these projects? Examples
9. Do you think this knowledge and skills differs from knowledge that non-migrant actors involved in these projects have?

Policy Making

10. In which degree is the organization involved within policy making of the Dutch government, for example as advisers?
11. What can migrant contribute to policies which other actors cannot?
12. At which moment in the policy is the organization involved?
13. Is this degree of participation satisfying, What could be improved within participation?
14. In what other ways could Diaspora organizations contribute to government institutions?
15. Do you feel migrants skills and knowledge are valued acknowledged on a government level?
16. What are the most important barriers when establishing co-operation?

Co-operation between Diaspora organizations and Dutch organizations

17. When there is a co-operation, who is mostly the actor to seek co-operation?
18. In which degree is the level of professionalism a important factor in establishing co-operation?

Migrants involvement within the Netherlands

19. Is the organizations also involved in the migrant communities within the Netherlands?
20. How are they involved?
21. Is there much knowledge about issues at stake among migrants living in the Netherlands?
22. Is the organization also involved in the community in a way that they function as a bridge between Dutch institutions and migrants? So to help migrants to get used to different institution within the Netherlands or to inform Dutch institutions about issues at stake among migrants?
23. Are there other ways in which you think your organization could been involved in the Netherlands but of which is not made use of at the moment?

Appendix 3

Interview guide experts

I am doing a research upon migrant knowledge and skills, and how this knowledge can be of benefit for other institutions as the government to include into their policies. Because of that I am doing an inquiry to make clear what migrants can contribute to migration and development issues within the Netherlands and in the Global South and why it is important to include this knowledge within policies. Because although it is generally known that migrants poses much knowledge about migration and development because they are connected to two or more societies at the same time, real clarity about what they really can contribute to policies and communities is mostly lacking. So with this research it is tried to get clarity about the benefits migrants have within the policy debate.

For reaching the goal of this thesis I have formulated the following main question:

“Are Diaspora organizations due to their transnational engagement and knowledge important partners within the policy debate around migration and development focused both upon the Netherlands as on countries in the Global South?”

Introducing the organizations

1. Can you briefly explain your field of experience and involvement with Diaspora organizations?
2. Are you mainly focused on migrant contributions in the Netherlands, on home country issues or both? Why?

Migrants Knowledge

3. How important is the knowledge of migrants within development and migration issues?
Examples
4. Do you think this knowledge differs from knowledge that non-migrants have involved in these projects?
5. How did these skills and knowledge that migrants have evolve?
6. In which degree is this knowledge acknowledged and made use of by other institutions?

Migrants involvement within the Netherlands

7. Are Diaspora organizations important to be involved in the migrant communities within the Netherlands?
8. Is there much knowledge about issues at stake among migrants living in the Netherlands?

9. Are Diaspora organizations also involved in the community in a way that they function as a bridge between Dutch institutions and migrants? So to help migrants to get used to different institution within the Netherlands
10. Are there other ways in which you think your organization could/should been involved in the Netherlands but of which is not made use of at the moment?

Co-operation between Diaspora organizations and Dutch organizations

11. Do you think co-operation between Diaspora organizations and Dutch organizations is important?
12. Is there already much co-operation between Diaspora organizations and Dutch organizations or institutions within projects?
13. How is this co-operation organized?
14. Why is this co-operation in this way?
15. When there is a co-operation, who is mostly the actor to seek co-operation?
16. Do you believe this co-operation is in a good way or should there be improvement?
17. Why is this co-operation important?

Policy Making

18. In which degree are Diaspora organizations involved within policy making of the Dutch government, for example as advisers?
19. At which moment in the policy process are they involved?
20. Why are they involved in this stage?
21. Do you think this way of participation is a good way?
22. What could migrant contribute to policies, what other actors can't?

Last questions

23. What has to be changed if migrants really want to become recognized as partners within the policy debate? Both within Diaspora organizations as within other institutions
24. Do you think more co-operation of migrants within the policy debate can improve policies focused on both the Dutch Society as on the Global South?
25. Do you have some recommendations of people I could/should take with for this research?

Appendix 4

Interview guide Ministry of Foreign Affairs

I am doing a research upon migrant knowledge and skills, and how this knowledge can be of benefit for other institutions as the government and development NGOs to include into their policies. Because of that I am doing an inquiry to make clear what migrants can contribute to migration and development issues within the Netherlands and in the Global South and why it is important to include this knowledge within policies. Because although it is generally known that migrants poses much knowledge about migration and development because they are connected to two or more societies at the same time, real clarity about what they really can contribute to policies and communities is mostly lacking. So with this research it is tried to get clarity about the benefits migrants have within the policy debate.

In my research I look to the added value of Diaspora organizations when they become more incorporated in the Dutch migration and development debate. This is a clear goal DFD has. To get a overview about what they possibly could contribute I looked to what activities Diaspora organizations are undertaking both in the Netherlands as in their country of origin and if these activities are in line with the policies of the Dutch government and Dutch development NGOs. To get a clear view about this I spoke with Diaspora organizations who are member of DFD. They claimed that they could be of added value to these Dutch institutions/organizations and they liked to see more co-operation.

They all have a positive opinion about this co-operation but also claimed that they could do more when co-operation was more intensified. The story of the Diaspora organizations and their claim of being important within the migration and development debate is clear to me now. To make my research more trustworthy I also want to hear the other side of the story.

Subjects I am interested in are among others: Is there a basis for co-operation, is this preferred, on which areas and scale, how is made a decision about which Diaspora organizations are suitable for co-operation, what is the added value of Diaspora organizations, are there barriers that hinder co-operation, what should be improved to increase co-operation, examples of projects in which there was a co-operation and the positive and negative factors of this co-operation.

For reaching the goal of this thesis I have formulated the following main question:

“Are Diaspora organizations due to their transnational engagement and knowledge important partners within the policy debate around migration and development focused both upon the Netherlands as on countries in the Global South?”

Introduction

1. Can you briefly explain your position within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?
2. How are you involved with DFD?
3. Why is it chosen to co-operate with DFD?

4. How does this co-operation look like?

Diaspora organizations

5. Is the Ministry also co-operating with other Diaspora organizations?
6. Why is it chosen to work with Diaspora organizations?
7. What is the added value of Diaspora organizations?
8. In which areas is co-operation established?

Consultancy and co-operation

9. How does a consultancy day look like?
10. How is it decided which actors can attend these consultancy days?
11. On which moment in a process are these organizations involved?
12. What happens after a consultancy days? Is there given feedback to involve actors?
13. Are there other ways of co-operation accept consultancy days?
14. Are there other ways in which the Ministry sees added value in co-operation with Diaspora organizations?
15. Are you satisfied with this co-operation?
16. Are there issues which need improvement in this co-operation?
17. Who is the actor to seek co-operation?

Functioning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

18. Could you tell me something about the rotation system within the ministry?
19. Do you think this system influences the co-operation with Diaspora organizations?
20. In which degree is there a differing discourse between the government and Diaspora organizations?
21. Does this affect the co-operation?

22. Does the Ministry have to ability to intensify their co-operation with Diaspora organizations if they want to?
23. On which level will the involvement of Diaspora organizations be bigger, on a local or national scale?
24. Do you have some final comments?

Appendix 5

Interview Guide Dutch development NGOs

I am doing a research upon migrant knowledge and skills, and how this knowledge can be of benefit for other institutions as the government and development NGOs to include into their policies. Because of that I am doing an inquiry to make clear what migrants can contribute to migration and development issues within the Netherlands and in the Global South and why it is important to include this knowledge within policies. Because although it is generally known that migrants poses much knowledge about migration and development because they are connected to two or more societies at the same time, real clarity about what they really can contribute to policies and communities is mostly lacking. So with this research it is tried to get clarity about the benefits migrants have within the policy debate.

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They all have a positive opinion about this co-operation but also claimed that they could do more when co-operation was more intensified. The story of the Diaspora organizations and their claim of being important within the migration and development debate is clear to me now. To make my research more trustworthy I also want to hear the other side of the story.

Subjects I am interested in are among others: Is there a basis for co-operation, is this preferred, on which areas and scale, how is made a decision about which Diaspora organizations are suitable for co-operation, what is the added value of Diaspora organizations, are there barriers that hinder co-operation, what should be improved to increase co-operation, examples of projects in which there was a co-operation and the positive and negative factors of this co-operation.

For reaching the goal of this thesis I have formulated the following main question:

“Are Diaspora organizations due to their transnational engagement and knowledge important partners within the policy debate around migration and development focused both upon the Netherlands as on countries in the Global South?”

Introductie

1. Can you briefly explain your position within Cordaid?
2. What are the main purposes of Cordaid?
3. Why is chosen for these purposes?
4. Did these purposes change the last years? Why and how?
5. Which knowledge resources are used to meet these purposes

6. Are Diaspora organizations a part of these purposes?

Diaspora organizations

7. When is decided to co-operate with Diaspora organizations?
8. Why is decided to co-operate with Diaspora organizations?
9. On which areas is there co-operation with Diaspora organizations?
10. Why these areas?
11. What is the added value Diaspora organizations, what can they add which other actors cannot.
12. How is decided which organization is suitable for co-operation?
13. Do you experience problems within this co-operation due to the way Diaspora organizations settle things?
14. In which degree do ties which migrants maintain with specific groups in their country of origin influence the co-operation?
15. How does Cordaid determine that co-operation is established with organizations that represent the right group of people in a country?

Projects

16. Can you give some examples of successful and less successful projects in which there was co-operation with Diaspora organizations?
17. Which where the positive aspects of this co-operation?
18. Which where the negative aspects of this co-operation?
19. In general, do you think there is a need of improvement within this co-operation?
20. How can this be established?

Concluding

21. Do you think Diaspora organizations can contribute more compared to the present situation?
22. Can more co-operation be a answer to the present cuts in the developmental sector?
23. Do you have any last remarks which have not been discussed yet?

Statements

Next to the questions I also posed some statements made by Diaspora organizations about there roll in this debate and tried to find out the opinion about this by Dutch NGO's. This were the following statements:

We know our people better

We can easier access the direct needs of people

We can maintain faster and easier contact with people in the country of origin

We are never approached within projects to give information about a country to organizations before they go there

We are in a better position to collect more information due to a matter of trust