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DIASPORA AS DEVELOPMENT ACTORS:
A SOURCE OF HUMAN AND SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR
LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN TURKEY

by

MERYEM ŐENAY ATASELİM

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Political Science in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New
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Abstract

DIASPORA AS DEVELOPMENT ACTORS: A SOURCE OF HUMAN AND SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN TURKEY

By MERYEM ŞENAY ATASELİM

Adviser: Professor Irving Leonard Markovitz

This dissertation provides an analysis of Turkish-American diaspora philanthropy – done through social and human capital transfers – and its role in impacting local development in Turkey. The study offers the consideration of a new kind of diaspora philanthropy, namely innovative philanthropy, which channels ideas, skills and experiences that have the potential to impact social change in local communities through social and human capital transfers.

The dissertation presents and analyzes two cases that have been supported by the Turkish-American diaspora. Each case study is based on interviews with donors profiled through the cases, Turkish-Americans, leaders of the initiatives in Turkey, staff, local government representatives, and other interested parties; an analysis of the initiatives' websites, their founding documents, and a review of media clippings on the projects. These analyses were also supported by interviews with the members of the Turkish-American diaspora to study and understand the identity of Turkish-Americans and the ways they engage with the homeland philanthropically. The two case studies portrayed in this study show that even though diaspora philanthropy towards Turkey is still relatively new and small in financial terms, there are members of the diaspora who make a difference in their local communities beyond what any other international actor can

develop. Study highlights the impact of these diaspora members, whose philanthropic contributions are a combination of motivation, and persistence; and uses the term “diaspora champions” to define them. These diaspora champions connect back home not just by sending money but sharing the experiences and skills they gained in the United States and tapping into their personalized networks. The study depicts the social process of these philanthropic transfers to show that diaspora philanthropy is really ‘constituted’ not ‘transferred’ in the sense that what happens during the process really can help us understand the nature and the impact of it (Iskander, 2008).

Today diaspora groups and individuals are being recognized as major actors who can use their influence and financial resources to contribute to local development in their homelands. However, their roles remain vague. This study provides a picture of diaspora philanthropy and civic activism and its dynamics. The passion, persistence and innovation of the diasporas portrayed in this study enable local communities to open up to new initiatives. These champions mobilized their personal networks, worked very closely with leaders of their local communities, and eventually built trust to implement new ideas that can help with local development. They not only transferred the skills and experiences they gained in the hostland but also created and fostered networks within local communities in Turkey to share their skills and contacts. This formed new circles among local leaders who became the ambassadors of the projects initiated by the diaspora and mobilized support for these civic initiatives. This kind of social impact was the impetus needed to initiate these local civil initiatives in Turkey.

Accordingly, the dissertation first studies diaspora philanthropy with a particular emphasis on the roles of social and human capital transfers from the diaspora. As understanding the social process means understanding the motivations of Turkish-

Americans and the ways in which diaspora communities engage with diaspora philanthropy, the study also explores the reasons Turkish-Americans give back. The study finds that diaspora champions have been instrumental in 1) the emergence of local civic leaders; 2) the launch and initiation of local social initiatives; and 3) the expansion of these social initiatives beyond local regions. Accordingly, this research suggests that philanthropy done by diaspora champions through social and human capital has an important role to play in creating a new paradigm for local development, as it offers some powerful insights.

Furthermore, the dissertation studies legal and political frameworks in Turkey to net out the effects of diaspora philanthropy from other factors. Local development through diaspora philanthropy is in itself a valid goal. However, it may become a futile exercise unless there is greater awareness about the complexities in countries such as Turkey. Accordingly, this dissertation analyses the changing legal and political frameworks in Turkey impacting local development. There is a tendency among the international donor community to present civil society as a broadly unified concept with the ability to promote development. Yet, civil society as a concept has competing definitions as to its nature and the roles it is expected to perform. Such criticisms, however, do not automatically mean that the concept of civil society has no utility. Since development is very much associated with local development in the international development arena, this dissertation questions the role civil society performs and takes into account the opportunities made available by local legal and political settings. All these do not amount to passing over the very significant debates that have occurred around the definition and conceptualization of civil society, its 'exportability' to non-Western contexts and its linkage to questions of democracy. These debates inform this study and are crucial in

setting out the terms and framework of the empirical inquiry, particularly because different understandings of civil society shape the very dynamics of the activism this dissertation examines. However, the study is primarily concerned with presenting empirical findings regarding the impact of diaspora on mobilizing civil initiatives without specifically linking to its asserted normative value and its perceived inevitable linkage to democratic development. The study finds that civil initiatives have a potential to improve local development through diaspora philanthropy's involvement if the political, social and economic environment is open to it. Recently, the Turkish government has changed its policies regarding local development and has been more open to the involvement of the local actors in the development of the local and more importantly, has been promoting it. That changing environment enabled diaspora champions to initiate projects that had an impact on local development as they were able to mobilize local leaders to lead civil initiatives.

PREFACE

I am aware that being honest about one's beliefs, values and biases affect the research process (Lather, 1990). This research was to test if and how diaspora philanthropy makes a positive impact in the homeland. And, this is a disclaimer that I have been involved in diaspora philanthropy more than eight years both as a researcher and a professional.

My involvement started when I was selected as an International fellow at the Center on Philanthropy and Civil Society to do research on the implications of diaspora philanthropy. I was interested in the giving motivations of Turkish-Americans and hoped to create a guideline for organizations that were interested in mobilizing diaspora funds. During the course of my work, I interviewed Haldun Tashman, who later along with 4 others established Turkish Philanthropy Funds. As my research interests were very much in alignment with what Haldun Tashman and the other founders had in mind, I became a part of the initial group who worked on establishing the organization. Then, I was offered to be the Chief Operating Officer. My interest on diaspora philanthropy took a new turn as I started to work professionally.

One of the case studies in this dissertation portrays Haldun Tashman who is the chairman of Turkish Philanthropy Funds, where currently I am the Chief Operating Officer. Even though I am professionally connected to Haldun Tashman, during the course of this dissertation's work, our relationship has not been any different than with my relationship with the other interviewees. He didn't have any detailed information about my dissertation or my core argument nor he did make any comments.

My involvement in the financial transaction of Haldun Tashman's gift to Bolu Bağışçılar Vakfı as the Chief Operating Officer of the organization that did the physical

transfer did not affect my objectivity in analyzing the impact. My connection to Bolu Bağışçılar Vakfı even made my field research easier since I either knew the related parties or knew someone who could connect me to them. In some cases the individuals I interviewed did not know Haldun Tashman personally. In some cases, I was aware that I was perceived as the connection to Haldun Tashman and in those cases, I tried to steer the conversation away from Haldun Tashman and concentrate on understanding the process in general.

DEDICATION

To Murat Yılmaz, my best friend and my better half.

To Hasan and Fatma Ataselim, my parents and my foundation.

To Mira, my little one and my wonder of wonders.

Words cannot express how much I love you all.

Bu tez,

En yakın arkadaşım, benim diğer yarım, Murat Yılmaz'a

Ailem ve hayat kaynağım, Hasan ve Fatma Ataselim'e

Küçüğüm, harikalar harikası Mira'ya

hitap edilmistir.

Kelimeler sizleri ne kadar sevdiğimi anlatmaya yeterli değil.

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This dissertation holds far more than the result of years of study. Without the support, patience and guidance of the following people, this study would not have been completed. It is to them that I owe my deepest gratitude.

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I would like to thank Prof. Kathleen McCarthy, who gave me direction when it was the most needed and patiently corrected my writing. Her advice throughout this process kept me focused.

I would also like to thank Prof. John Mollenkopf for his encouraging words, thoughtful criticism, and time and attention during busy semesters.

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I owe a debt of gratitude to my mentor, Ozlenen Eser Kalav who supported me all the way.

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I would also like to thank my parents, and my sisters, Şengül, Sonay and Neslihan. They were always supporting me and encouraging me with their best wishes.

Mira, my daughter, who braved many days away so I can write.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction: Opportunities and Challenges

Secretary Hilary Clinton at the Second Global Diaspora Forum¹ in Washington, DC on July 25, 2012 said that, “Diaspora communities have the potential to be the most powerful people-to-people asset we can bring to the world’s table.” She added, “By tapping into the experiences, the energy, the expertise of diaspora communities, we can reverse the so-called “brain drain” that slows progress in so many countries around the world, and instead offer the benefits of the “brain gain.” US State Department’s diaspora conference and the establishment of Diaspora Engagement Alliance (IDEA)² is a reflection of the changing perception of migrants globally. Today migrants aren’t considered as poor victims of underdevelopment anymore. The fact that diasporas can create enormous benefits for their home countries has become apparent in recent years. Diaspora³ communities have been mobilizing their financial, human and social capital to set up and implement development projects that are directed at their communities of origin. The ease of transportation and being connected to home has simplified giving back. Today, diasporas don’t necessarily have to move back to their home countries to make a contribution. Yet, the impact of their contributions has been mostly measured quantitatively as it’s easier to evaluate numbers. Assessing their influence in just economic terms is limited as their impact goes beyond that. This dissertation views the impact of contributions from diasporas not just as social financial investments but considers diasporas as agents of development. Accordingly, this study argues that the

¹ <http://diasporaalliance.org/featured/global-diaspora-forum/>

² <http://diasporaalliance.org/>

³ The term diaspora traditionally has a negative connotation to alluding the persecution of Jews and the African Slave trade (Newland, 2010). Today, the term is used to define migrant communities who reside in host countries but maintain strong links to their countries of origin (Scheffer, 1986 cited in Newland, 2010). Additionally, the study uses the term “Diaspora” as a framework for analysis and not as a fixed concept. It argues that the size and actions of the diaspora changes depending on the reaction to cultural, economic, social and political policies of both the hostland and homeland. The meaning of diaspora and how that relates to the identity of Turkish-Americans is discussed further in Chapter 6.

impact of social and human capital such as the impact of community building and knowledge transfers need to be better understood to fill the gap in analyzing the contribution of diaspora philanthropy. Thus, this dissertation considers a new type of diaspora giving – innovative diaspora philanthropy – and advocates it as a solution to a key challenge facing much of the international development sector: local development initiated and preserved by the locals. A new terminology, innovative diaspora philanthropy, is used to highlight social and human capital transfers. These contributions have been introducing innovative ideas, and utilizing resources that enable local communities to be a part of their own domestic development. The word “innovation” is used specifically to pinpoint the thesis of this dissertation that diasporas’ idea, knowledge and network transfers pioneer local civil initiatives. The dissertation shows that not all diaspora transfers impact local development, but a small fraction’s actions create transformation. The dissertation calls these actors ‘diaspora champions’ and argues that their philanthropic contributions are a combination of motivation, persistence and innovation. Their acts are strategic as they use their skills and networks to impact change in their local communities.

One of these diaspora champions is Haldun Tashman, a Turkish diaspora member living in Arizona for over forty years. With funding from him, Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (TUSEV)⁴ organized a conference in October 2006 to discuss community philanthropy and the community foundation model in Turkey. Yet, it was not just funding that Haldun Tashman brought to the table. He brought his insight on community foundations. He reached out to his network to get people engaged. More than a year of active discussions with TUSEV was needed to prepare the conference. The idea of

⁴ <http://www.tusev.org.tr/en>

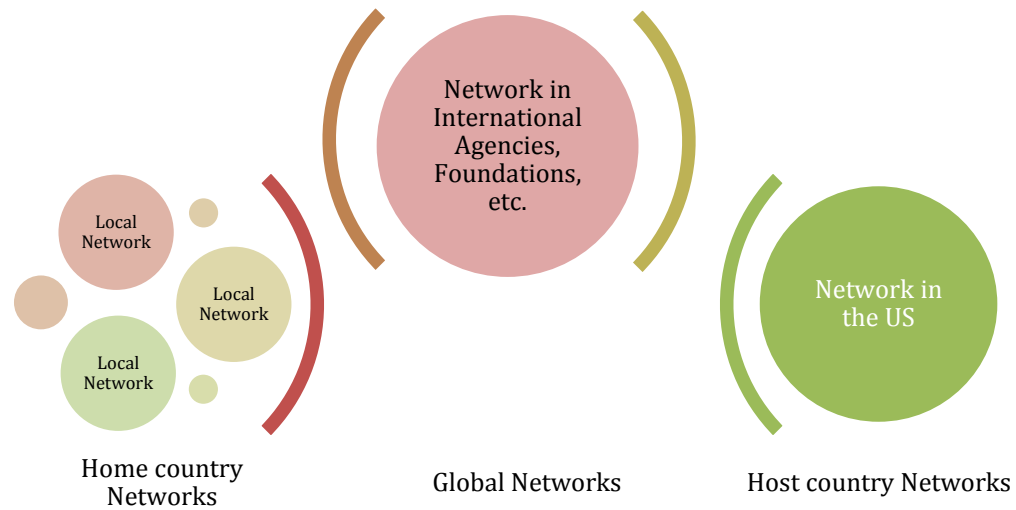
bringing the community foundation model to Turkey was not fully retained when Haldun Tashman first introduced the concept to TUSEV even though they had an ongoing program on “promoting philanthropy.” It was even criticized on the basis that it can be a vehicle for people supporting terrorist activities⁵. The dialogue at the conference – global experts on community foundations sharing their experiences and local NGO and business leaders identifying with different aspects of those experiences and sharing their own – resulted in a post-conference line of communications between leaders from Bolu, hometown of Haldun Tashman, and TUSEV. This conference and the ongoing dialogue that followed were a contributing factor to the establishment of the first community foundation in Turkey. Both leaders of Bolu Community Foundation and TUSEV have been expansive in their admiration of the contributions Haldun Tashman has made.

Another diaspora champion, Banu Onaral, incentivized by her grandfather’s philanthropic vision, has been traveling to Turkey at least once a month since early 2000s to connect her global network to her relationships in Turkey as well as to link her networks in Turkey with each other (See Figure 1). Banu’s leadership initiated the establishment of public-private partnerships such as INOVIZ, INOVIST, and INNOVANKARA. These initiatives brought together business, academic and civil society sectors to further local development with collaboration. The tangible starting point with Banu’s efforts was also a conference organized in İzmir on March 23, 2009. This time the discussion was around the potential of manufacturing in the development of İzmir, and identifying the sectors that have the capacity to create global brands. The stakeholders sitting around the table were representatives from local universities such as Ege University, Dokuz Eylül University, İzmir Institute of Technology Yaşar University,

⁵ Interview with Haldun Tashman, Chairman of Turkish Philanthropy Funds, March 10, 2012.

and Sabancı University; the local development agency of İzmir, and representatives from the private sector such as Yaşar Holding. Banu's vision has been to connect the nearly 20,000 Turkish academicians in the United States with public and private institutions in Turkey to promote innovation and Research & Development (R&D) efforts and empower academicians to guide local leaders from business, academic and civil society to collaborate for local development. At the conference, participations agreed that the medical sector would be the best fitting area to start promoting these efforts. The initiative, which took off in İzmir turned into a movement in Turkey as innovation projects were established all around the country. Banu has never given any funds to any project in Turkey besides covering her own travel expenses but shared her experience and networks with local NGOs, business leaders and academicians. Like Tashman, her ideas were not fully accepted at the beginning but her persistence and the changing social and economic ecosystem in Turkey enabled her to mobilize locals, who later took ownership of the projects she has initiated.

Figure 1 Diaspora's Connecting Power



The study profiles these two case studies - the formation of the first community foundation in Turkey, *Bolu Community Foundation*, and an initiative that brought together different sectors to promote the health industry in İzmir, *INOVIZ*⁶ - to analyze the impact of innovative philanthropy of Turkish diaspora in the United States. These are examples of projects supported by diasporans mainly through the transfer of social and human capital. In the established perspective, diaspora contributions are seen as tangible assistance and resources that have a direct economic impact. Yet, this paper shows that our understanding of the impact of diaspora giving should go beyond financial support. The dissertation demonstrates how diaspora members construct - with the support of networks, and skills and experiences gained in the hostland - projects that trigger institutional change in the home country by organizing locals and empowering them to take ownership of the initiatives. This dissertation argues that the diaspora has the

⁶ <http://grou.ps/inoviz> and <http://www.izmirforhealth.com/registration.html>

capacity to play a role in local development of home countries by mobilizing civil initiatives.

Studying Diasporas

Diaspora - as a word - has become an overly used terminology in the last decade. This overusage caused overgeneralization of the word. However, diaspora initiatives are an incredibly diverse system of transfers. Diaspora engagement is so varied that it defies generalization. The analysis of a diaspora's engagement with home should be studied with the perspective that it's not a homogenous activity because:

(1) Diasporas Think Global but Give Local.

When we talk about diasporas we talk about different nationalities, which mean different cultures, and different homelands. Despite having common motivations, when it comes to diaspora philanthropy, all homelands are not homogenous. Home countries affect diasporas' personal connection to the homeland. Historical trajectories, and the social and economic ecosystem of the country impacts how diasporas connect back home. For that reason, we need research to be done on specific cultures. Today's world operates globally and locally. Diasporas have the flexibility to be both. National governments struggle to transcend borders, and international development agencies do not always have local roots. Diaspora has both. A diaspora, at its best, is quick enough to enable new institutional forms to address local development to catch on the ever-evolving global agenda. To impact local development you have to be as local as you can. Diasporas are very effective within a localized context. Even though diasporas can bring a global perspective to the local, their impact should be analyzed at the local level. Overgeneralizing the impact of a diaspora without relating it to the local context can

never give us a real picture and will be incomplete. Their impact should be analyzed at the local level and should not be overgeneralized.

(2) Diaspora Giving Constitute of Various Capitals.

Diasporas channel various resources back home. These are mainly financial capital, human capital and social capital. Financial capital refers to the tangible money that has been transferred back home for different uses from helping family members to investing in a local business. Human capital, also called intellectual capital by some, refers to the allocation of intangible assets such as experiences and skills learned in the hostland. Social Capital signifies the resources we create for others through our already existing networks and connections.

(3) Not Every Diaspora Giving is Created Equal.

Diasporas use many different ways for their giving back home - from remittances to entrepreneurial investments. These contributions are both financial (remittances, investments and philanthropic contributions) and non-financial (ideas, technology transfer, expertise, and so on). Below is a table that shows different ways diaspora engage with homeland (Table 1). Yet, their impact is measured as if they are the same. Even though the current literature highlights leveraging diaspora resources for the benefit of home countries, there still exists a gap in our understanding of the processes involved. The impact of remittances is very different from knowledge transfers and entrepreneurial investments. Specific processes that define these transactions should be studied to understand their difference. The literature on diasporas has mostly concentrated on monetary resources and how that impacts economic development in homelands since data has been tracked on remittances so it has been easy to measure. As diaspora contributions surpassed official development assistance (Adelman, 2003; Johnson, 2007; Kharas,

2007), international development agencies and some home countries triggered interest in diasporas' involvement in the homeland. Evidently, the increased recognition is correlated with the significant recent growth in remittances. The World Bank reports that worldwide remittances⁷ grew from \$235 billion in 2006 to \$338 billion in 2008⁸ and have exceeded \$440 billion in 2010⁹. This is a growth of 87 percent in just four years. Yet, numbers alone don't tell the story. This one-sided concentration on economic development and mostly monetary transfers created an ideal and positive image of diaspora engagement. Aid agencies and global financial institutions as well as home country governments¹⁰ are encouraging philanthropic diaspora investments, and organizations have emerged to encourage and facilitate diaspora philanthropic giving as they believe the impact of diaspora giving is always positive. These actors support well-thought-out and well-targeted strategic investments that favor certain areas for development such as support of civil society as they are seen as vehicles to leverage diaspora philanthropy (Kapur 2007). However, just concentrating on the monetary aspect of diaspora involvement does not reflect the full meaning of diaspora engagement and cannot give us a comprehensive view of the impact of diaspora can have on the homeland. There are so many ways diasporans connect back home. Every medium, vehicle and platform that they use needs to be studied separately. The official numbers are just a small part of the picture. The true size, including unrecorded flows through formal and informal channels, is believed to be significantly larger. And, still by

⁷ Remittances in this context is used as transfer of money by an immigrant directly to family, friends, relatives or for the betterment of hometowns.

⁸ WorldBank Migration & Development Brief 11. Accessed online on February 13, 2010.

⁹ World Bank, 2011. *Migration and remittances factbook 2011*.

¹⁰ In April 2009, World Turkish Business Council was established to develop connections among the Turkish Diaspora and make use of Diaspora's positive impact towards Turkey: <http://www.dtik.org.tr/DTGK/Tanitim.html>

including the transfer of funds informally, we cannot cover the full picture. While most of the ‘giving back’ happens through traditional giving methods such as remittances, an unknown portion goes to what could be considered ‘social’ or ‘philanthropic’ investments through new structures and strategies. These new initiatives are specifically aimed at channeling resources to advance social change (Johnson 2005). This study analyzes the impact of those transfers.

Table 1 Diaspora Engagement back home

	Monetary Transfers	Non-monetary Transfers
Philanthropic Action (Incentives)	Contributions	Knowledge & Network (Human and Social Capital)
		Volunteer
		Political Advocacy
For Profit Action (Incentives)	Capital Investments	Knowledge Outsourcing by Technology Entrepreneurs
		Entrepreneurial Advocacy
Personal Action	Remittances	Social Remittances

Contributions to the Literature

Despite the growing significance of the expanding phenomenon of diaspora philanthropy, none of the existing studies analyze its impact on local development through the lens of supporting civil initiatives. Studies of diasporas have been intermittent, first starting in the 1980s (Brinkerhoff, 2008). The first studies mostly took a sociological and anthropological perspective by mainly analyzing group identity (Ionescu, 2006). Only recently diasporas’ impact on their homelands has been done but those studies do not bridge the discourse with other areas of inquiries. My contribution to this debate will be three-fold; 1) to add to scholarly research on diaspora philanthropy since there is a dearth of research on the motivations underlying diaspora giving and its impact on the development of the home country, especially in regions other than Asia and

Latin America; 2) to bridge the current discourses on diaspora philanthropy and civil society by documenting the dynamics of diaspora philanthropy by Turkish-Americans, and contribute to a broader understanding of the diaspora giving phenomenon by connecting it with other areas of inquiry; and 3) to catalog the Turkish-American diaspora's philanthropic activities as no studies have been done on this subject before. The case studies supply new empirical material that is both descriptive and analytic in terms of how diasporans are making their philanthropic contributions, and how they are influencing local development.

Research Goals

1. **The role diaspora philanthropy plays in international development:** Since the early 1990s, all international donors such as the World Bank and international policymakers have been giving a crucial political role to civil society in promoting democratic development through encouraging trust, choice and the virtues of democracy (Kleinberg & Clark 2002; Easterly 2006; Grugel 2000). However, this one way approach and load on civil society to advance local development neglects to pay attention to all actors that are involved in the development of a locality. The goal of this study is to understand whether diaspora philanthropy champions have the potential to be leading actors in international development and how their involvement can strengthen the role of civil society in local development. Why, and more importantly, how were diaspora involvements able to perceive the needs, and how were they able to help the emergence of local civil initiatives? What were the processes by which they were able to institutionalize these understandings

into innovative ideas? And how were these processes fueled and supported by legal and political ecosystems in the homeland?

2. **High levels of professionalism that exists among immigrants:** One in three immigrants has a college degree in the United States - that's 16 percent of the 58.8 million college-educated persons (Ji and Batalova, 2012). About 41 percent of them are non-US citizens - they have not converted their citizenships. This is a sign of their connectivity back home. Immigrants are not only educated but also have high-skilled jobs. Immigrants represent nearly 28 percent of the country's physicians, more than 31 percent of computer programmers, and over 47 percent of medical scientists (Ji and Batalova, 2012). 15 percent of foreign-born migrants hold professional or doctorate degrees, and 25 percent has a master's degree (Ji and Batalova, 2012). These statistics show a large number of skilled and professional immigrants living in the United States. The aim of this study is to understand how their professionalism impacts the value of their giving by analyzing social and human capital philanthropic transfers of Turkish-Americans.
3. **How diasporas connect with the homeland philanthropically:** I wanted to study how communities of migrants become diaspora communities in the sense that they become transformed into something more than identification with the homeland, yet not exclusively identified with the adopted country's culture. What are the implications of these hybrid identities for development influence? Understanding how and why diasporas connect with the homeland not only can guide diaspora organizations in the United States but also provide guidance to international aid organizations on new circumstances generated

by diaspora philanthropy and help seize on the opportunities that those changes might offer for local development.

Hypothesis

My initial look at diaspora philanthropy's role in local development was based on the assumption that diaspora philanthropy has the potential to be the new development tool since it is both local and international. While diasporans have the knowledge of the homeland, they also understand the international arena and are exposed to the culture and institutions of organized philanthropy in the United States (Johnson, 2005). I believed diaspora philanthropy might hold answers that other interventions of international development have failed to provide. However, as my research progresses, it became clear that the puzzle is more complicated. I found that a study on diaspora philanthropy should differentiate between the impact of non-monetary transfers such as knowledge transfers and network transfers, which in this study I refer to as human and social capital transfers, and financial transfers. Additionally, this study finds that the giving of some diasporas is more strategic and eventually is more impactful. By means of the two case studies the dissertation finds that:

1. There are three factors that influence why and how diasporans give back to homeland: 1. Their hybrid identities (which include their community identities); 2. Their skills and networks gained in the hostland and how they use them; and 3. whether they are motivated to give back;

2. Diaspora communities express their hybrid identities best through philanthropy that is not only done through the transfer of money but through the transfer of social and human capital. Diasporans use philanthropy to not only support the homeland but also to

explore and enact skills and values they have gained in the hostland. And, few of those transfers of intangible assets have more capability and ability to impact development in the homeland because they have been instrumental in: 1) the emergence of local civic leaders; 2) the launch and initiation of local social initiatives; and 3) the expansion of these social initiatives beyond the local region. These diasporans are called champions in this study.

3. International development agencies' relationship with diasporas rests on the size and financial amounts; and ignores personal connections and the social processes. Diaspora philanthropy's real impact can be understood through the analysis of the social processes that involve social and human capital transfers. International agencies and governments should find ways to integrate diasporans in development policy and planning to increase the impact of diaspora philanthropy;

4. However, the impact of any interaction from outside the home country should not be overestimated. Diaspora philanthropy can never be a substitute for the cultivation of domestic resources as it can only be a catalyzer;

5. Yet, legal and political ecosystems in the homeland impact how diasporas' contributions are perceived.

I claim that diasporans with the right skills, connections, motivation and persistence impact local development by mobilizing civil initiatives through social and human capital transfers.

The two case studies are signs that even though diaspora philanthropy happens in various forms and uses various channels, the impact is enhanced when diasporans were able to mobilize locals for development and when projects are transformed from diaspora funded initiatives to locally owned projects. Today, both the Bolu Community

Foundation and INOVIZ are being used as role models to replicate these ideas in other cities in Turkey. The leading roles of both Tashman and Onaral in the formation of these initiatives have been very visible. First, they inspired and mobilized local leaders to take ownership of the initiatives. This made the enterprises sustainable, as they do not depend on the outside support and leadership. This also increased the likelihood of their acceptance in their local communities, as most of the time diaspora supported projects aren't always welcomed without criticism. Second, they connected their networks in the hostland with their networks in the homeland. Both through official and nonofficial roles, they facilitated professional advancement by connecting professionals, government leaders, potential donors and other diaspora members. In the case of Haldun Tashman, he was a liaison to entrepreneurial social investments in Bolu. Tashman not only gave a grant to TUSEV to provide training to the leaders in Bolu but also constantly fed them with information from the field in the United States and introduced Bolu & TUSEV leaders to new contacts. Thirdly, both Onaral and Tashman combined tacit and technical knowledge they gained in the United States, with their knowledge of the culture, traditions and social issues and their relationships. They have been conveners between the hostland and the homeland. In both initiatives the explicit goal of diasporans was to promote the social and economic development of Turkey. They used institutions as channels such as TASSA (Turkish American Scientists and Associations), Turkish Philanthropy Funds and TurkTech (which is established to create a channel between the investors in the US and the tech entrepreneurs in Turkey).

Last but not least, these diaspora champions were innovative as they endured misunderstanding and created an environment where new ideas were welcomed. Amazon.com founder and CEO, Jeff Bezos says innovation requires of “willingness to be

misunderstood for long periods of time.¹¹ These transactions were innovative because the diaspora champions opened doors for experimentation and learning.

Why Understanding Diaspora Philanthropy is important?

Turkish Airlines increased its daily direct flights out of NY JFK airport to İstanbul to three in June 2012 and added a direct flight out of Houston, TX in March 2013. These were the latest additions to the airlines' expansion in the United States. The company added direct flights out of Los Angeles and Washington, DC in the summer of 2011. All these are in response to the rise in demand by Turkish-Americans. These changes speed up and increase the number of people crossing international borders. Turkish-Americans are only one of the examples. Diasporas' attachments to the homeland, advancement in technology, communications and ease of being connected back home make the diasporas all the more relevant to international development. Diasporas are increasingly apt to insert themselves into development processes concerning their homelands. The answer to why we should care about diaspora philanthropy revolves around the great potential they hold for constructive socio-economic contributions in the homeland and its potential to help us better understand international development. Diaspora philanthropy is considered a new tool that goes beyond official development assistance by deploying resources faster and more flexibly than official-aid agencies (Newland, 2010).

Worldwide remittances grew 92 percent from \$213 billion in 2006 to \$410 billion in 2013 (Migration and Development Brief, October 2013; Migration and Remittances Fact Book, 2011). What does this growing number mean for migration and development? The growth in the amount of remittances transmits to changing rates and patterns of

¹¹ <http://blogs.hbr.org/ideacast/2013/01/jeff-bezos-on-leading-for-the.html>

migration. Movement between countries has become something very common in the last century, and advances in transportation and communication enable the immigrant communities to stay connected with their country of origin (Butler, 2001; Cohen 1997). New forms of migration and the related growth of remittances have bolstered the belief that the emerging role of diasporas in their home countries' national development is crucial (Johnson 2007). As the volume of remittances increased so did research interest in the field. Various studies, research centers, networks, and publications have emerged studying the relationship between migration and development, most of which used the term "migration-development nexus"¹² to discuss the issue. These studies treated diaspora philanthropy as a uniformly positive developmental actor. The literature also calls attention to local institutional structures and practices showing how they direct the impact (Iskander, 2008). It has been argued that, if invested strategically diaspora philanthropy will increase the capacity of civil society organizations (CSOs),¹³ address the root causes of social problems, give voice to the disadvantaged, bring more democratic actors into the political sphere (Mercer 2002), and help with the economic and social development of home countries (Brinkerhoff 1999; Chen & Geither 2007; Edwards and Ureta, 2003; Haas 2003; Hugo 2003; Johnson 2005, 2007; Johnson et al 2005; Kapur 2004, 2007; Najan 2007; Newland, 2004; Sidel 2007). These studies mainly see remittances as a panacea to local problems that spur migration in the first place. The migration and development literature assumes that remittances are created elsewhere (in

¹² See for example Asis, M. M., Piper, N. and Raghuram, P. (2010), International Migration and Development in Asia: Exploring Knowledge Frameworks. *International Migration*, 48: 76–106.; Sriskandarajah, D. (2002), The Migration–Development Nexus: Sri Lanka Case Study. *International Migration*, 40: 283–307. ; Gundel, J. (2002), The Migration–Development Nexus: Somalia Case Study. *International Migration*, 40: 255–281.; and Nyberg–Sørensen, N., Hear, N. V. and Engberg–Pedersen, P. (2002), The Migration–Development Nexus Evidence and Policy Options State–of–the–Art Overview. *International Migration*, 40: 3–47.

¹³ Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are used interchangeable throughout the study.

the hostland) and transferred back to homeland; and that the remittances are the reason or just the catalyst of a local change. While it was accepted that the local institutions set the stage “for the kind of impact remittances have,” it is argued that diasporas’ resources are the cause of local change (Iskander, 2008). Since all of the studies agree that there is an impact, the field is now concerned about creating models that can assess and explain the impact; and the policy side has been concerned with finding the right projects so that the maximum effect can be made (Iskander 2008).

This approach fails to take diaspora philanthropy’s unique characteristics into consideration. Diaspora philanthropy is a personal statement embedded in diasporans’ hybrid identities. This individual connection makes it unique. Iskander (2008) argues that if we apply organizational behavioral analyses to diaspora transfers, we see that the value of a resource grows out of the way in which it is employed and that migrants add value to cross-border transfers. These transfers that share the same situated and contingent qualities of knowledge (Zelizer, 1997; Hart, 2002) are embedded in local languages, practices, routines and social relationships (Kogut and Zander, 1992, as cited in Iskander, 2008). It is also argued that diaspora philanthropy is distinctive in the sense that the host society enhances the migrants’ hybrid identities and transnational experiences, allowing diasporas to generate new ideas, habits, skills and practices in the homeland (Brinkerhoff 2008; Geithner et al. 2004; Levitt 1996). These experiences and knowledge are really part of social exchanges and they are situated in the lives of persons and the culture it is made in (Lave and Wenger, 1991, as cited in Iskander, 2008). So, diasporas expand the range of solutions, addressing social problems in the homeland through expertise and skills gained in the hostland (Geithner et al. 2004; Brinkerhoff 2008). Recipients of knowledge transfers in both China and the Philippines note these benefits as “the advantages of

diaspora-specific contributions deriving from the absence of language and cultural barriers, and more specifically, their ability to better understand and thus more effectively adapt foreign approaches and technology to the homeland context” (Westcott 2006). Both Onaral and Tashman since they were frequently connected back home saw the needs in their local communities and were able to adopt what they experienced in the United States to address these problems. Iskander (2008) further explains that knowledge goes through a transformation when it is transferred because communicating knowledge requires engaging with it in a different context than it was created in. So “the resources themselves are not what cause local change; remittances in and of themselves do not flow into a given locale to either spark or hinder economic growth. Rather, the social processes that move those resources and give them meaning are what create change; they – not remittances they move and constitute – are the link between migration and development” (Iskander, 2008). Both in the Onaral and Tashman cases, the knowledge and network transfers by themselves could not have done what these two diasporas accomplished. Having the right information or the correct connection can only take these initiatives to a certain point. Yet, diasporas’ personal involvement and first-handedly creating the platform for the initiatives are the most important aspect of their involvement and impact. Accordingly, this dissertation highlights the processes that diaspora philanthropy happens through and defines diaspora philanthropy as the following:

Diaspora philanthropy is a transnational channel of both tangible and intangible capitals by people who reside outside their homeland, maintain a sense of identity with their home country, and give back to causes or organizations in their home country for public benefit (Johnson, 2007). This dissertation mainly studies the intangible capital transfers by the diaspora named as social and human capital and further uses the term

“innovative philanthropy” to highlight the diaspora transfers that are innovative and intentionally aimed to make a change in their local communities by diaspora champions.

Diaspora Philanthropy Contributions: Social and Human Capital

While most of diaspora ‘giving back’ happens through individual remittances that are made directly to families for the betterment of their hometowns, a significant portion of monetary funds transferred goes to social development projects (Ammassari and Black 2001; Opiniano 2002b). These private philanthropic investments of the diaspora address complex, inter-connected, manifestations of underdevelopment (Opiniano 2002b). As many times remittances never reach a phase where they are used for productive activities, which would really assist with development (Brinkerhoff, 2008), analyzing the impact of diaspora philanthropy is important in understanding the impact on local development. Recent studies promote attention to a perspective larger than economic contributions, arguing that while diaspora philanthropy has a large financial aspect; the real impact of it can be understood by studying the transfers that are social and human (Levitt, 1996; Geither, et al, 2004). These are skills transfers, cultural transfers and transfer of experiences gained in the hostland. The success of diaspora investments are attributed to diaspora’s knowledge of the local that others lack (Gillespie, et al, 1999 as cited in Brinkerhoff, 2008) and the ability to use the skills, knowledge and networks they have gained in the hostland (Gillepsie et al, 2001, 1999 as cited in Brinkerhoff, 2008).

As the two cases show, diasporas with just mere motivation to give back, can apply the experiences and skills they have gained in the hostland back to homeland. Both Onaral and Tashman have reached back to their close networks in Turkey to see if the models they have seen working in the United States can be applied to local communities. The significance of these two cases is that the individuals who spearheaded these

initiatives were: 1. Highly motivated to give back to Turkey; 2. Had ideas that have the potential to change cultures; 3. Approached the implementation of their ideas very strategically; and 4. Personally involved in the implementation. In the case of INOVIZ, Onaral not only was able to bring together different actors from private, social and public sectors to discuss innovation in the local community but also empowered local leaders to initiate a project in the health sector for the city of İzmir. Onaral didn't go to local leaders with the specific idea of developing the health sector. She brought the idea of technological innovation and working across sectors for local development. It was the locals that decided to invest in the health sector. In the case of Bolu Community Foundation, Tashman brought in the idea of community philanthropy and showed the local community a new way of doing philanthropy, which is not about just feeding the poor but bringing various actors together to find solutions to local problems. The locals in Bolu put all the structure and programs of the newly established community foundation together themselves. In both of these cases, diasporans who were involved cast themselves as agents of their homeland's efforts to promote social and economic development in ways that were far more profound than simply supporting community projects. In both cases they were aware that if they can be actors in change, that's more important than the money and the skills, they could transfer. They combined their knowledge of Turkish culture, language, and their connections to the locals with skills, knowledge and networks from the United States.

All of these connections back home are very personal and involve deep emotional dialogues. As they are very private, these relations create invaluable trust in their local communities, which is one of the most important assets diasporas can bring to international development. Diasporas establish and sometimes reconstruct social relations

that have been damaged. By creating opportunities diasporans can allay some of the suspicions and resentment towards civil society organizations. In expanding social networks, they invest in vital social capital for the success of new ventures. The social capital diaspora creates can have both a “bonding” and a “bridging” impact between the homeland and the hostland (Brinkerhoff, 2008; Putnam, 2003). Bonding social capital can be explained horizontally, among equals in a community (Dolfsma and Dannreuther 2003), and increases the probability of diaspora contributions as it generates trust (Coleman, 1998, 1990). Strong ties that bridge individuals between home and hostland is crucial to increase the number as well as the effectiveness of knowledge exchange. So, bonding social capital is also instrumental in cultivating and enhancing the impact of bridging social capital, which allows diaspora members to contribute their perspectives, skills and resources gained in the hostland (Brinkerhoff, 2008)

Implications to International Development

Over the past five decades, international development aid has focused on capital-resource transfers as a way to push countries into self-sustained growth (Thorbecke 2006). When it was understood that mere economic development does not necessarily bring democratic development, the international donor community embraced social inclusion. The strategy there has been to build a climate for investment and growth while empowering poor people to participate in that growth with the aid of CSOs in specifically defined areas (Kapur 2007; Johnson 2007). This approach, which is called “structural adjustment,” is rooted in liberal democratic assumptions, and is widely accepted by international development agencies such as the World Bank (Easterly 2006). Structural adjustment gives a crucial political role to civil society, in which it is expected to take over the spheres as government withdraws, and views economic liberalization, political

liberalization and democratization as mutually reinforcing processes (Kleinberg & Clark 2002). It aims to restructure societies through a plan and therefore specifies areas to be supported in advance (Easterly 2006). In the early 1990s, international policymakers and donors such as the World Bank¹⁴, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP)¹⁵ and the European Union (EU)¹⁶ all started supporting CSOs to promote development and democratization (Grugel 2000). This approach claims a central role for civil society in promoting democratic development through encouraging trust, choice and the virtues of democracy. CSOs thereby prepare people for democratic political activity and demand democratic change in all aspects of their lives (Kleinberg & Clark 2002). Academic studies that supported this idea helped to turn the notion into a major strategy accepted by foundations and international NGOs for supporting new democracies. Today, many aid agencies and foundations are providing funding to empower civil society in developing countries, claiming to increase the capacity of CSOs and reaching out to the poorest of the poor. Even though funding civil society has been offered as a panacea for development in the developing world, evaluation studies show that “democratic development through funding civil society” is not as effective as suggested, and there isn’t any systematic evaluation that has been validating the claims (Smith 1990). Studies that draw a positive correlation between development and aid fail to analyze the capacity

¹⁴ World Bank started its Social Development Civil Society Fund in 1983 to directly fund civil society organizations. The program emphasized civil society organizations as key partners in the development efforts to empower poor and marginalized groups. For more information: <http://tinyurl.com/6phpbz>. For World Bank’s evolving relationship with civil society: <http://go.worldbank.org/Y55YH23K50>

¹⁵ UNDP states that it seeks to engage with civil society to promote the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and partners with them to contribute to the effectiveness of development interventions, especially with respect to marginalized and vulnerable groups: http://www.undp.org/partners/civil_society/index.shtml

¹⁶ European Union has various programs going on with civil society of member states as well as candidate states: http://ec.europa.eu/transparency/civil_society/about_en.htm. Civil society organizations are seen as vital partners as they are best placed to know population’s needs in terms of development. Through its program, EuropeAid EU distributes funds to civil society organizations: http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/who/partners/civil-society/index_en.htm

of receiving CSOs to promote development especially on how funds are spent in the home country and by whom. CSOs are expected to push for changes in government policy or in societal conditions, serving as links between individuals and broader political processes (Salamon, et al 2000). However, CSOs' existence is not enough for democratic institutions to function.

The recognition of the limits of traditional development policies initiated the exploration of new and complementary development avenues. The increase in diaspora initiatives and the vast sums of money that flow from diaspora communities to their countries of origin made diaspora philanthropy an attractive option as a new international development tool. International development agencies' approach downplays countries' historical trajectory, relative strength and interplay of different forces in societies, and the impact of local cultures (Adleman & Morris, 1997 as cited in Fowler, 2000). Diaspora philanthropy highlights all these aspects. Diaspora philanthropy has produced a growing interest among international aid agencies as well as countries such as the United States as it's seen as a resource that is both local and international.

Major international aid donors have been interested in better understanding the nuts and bolts of diaspora philanthropy. However, their approach in utilizing diaspora philanthropy transfers has still been "one fits all." Since these institutions see diaspora philanthropy as a tool for international development, recommendations on increasing impact haven't been very different than their general strategies. This approach has shortcomings.

First, the relationship between diaspora philanthropy and development is defined so narrowly that development through diaspora philanthropy is understood as a matter of quantity without much discussion of other factors that might explain the relationship.

Questions such as how the diaspora send funds, how they interact with recipients, how much they get involved in their giving or how ‘well-targeted’ these investments are have been neither asked nor answered. This analytical focus on the number of diaspora fund transfers is built around financial contributions of diaspora and believes that their impact is always positive (Iskander 2008). This study argues that since diaspora philanthropy is a very personal statement and that while financial capital allocations are necessary and sometimes the initial step, the transfer of social and human capital has the potential for larger local impact. Diaspora philanthropy is more than giving a check or making an electronic bank transfer to an organization doing good work. It is a very personal statement, rooted in diaspora’s personal connection to their homeland. In this sense, it is unique and is different than international aid and remittances. Diaspora philanthropy initiatives are diverse and every donor’s reasoning impacts its goals and activities (Johnson 2007). It is this personal value added by each diaspora member that makes diaspora philanthropy unique. Therefore, it is the value added by each diaspora member that is important to be understood. International development agencies’ approach fails to take diaspora philanthropy’s unique characteristics into consideration.

Diaspora philanthropy is also distinctive in the sense that the host society enhances the migrants’ hybrid identities and transnational experiences, allowing diasporas to generate new ideas, habits, skills and practices in the homeland (Brinkerhoff 2008; Geithner et al. 2004; Levitt 1996). Diasporas expand the range of solutions, addressing social problems in the homeland through expertise and skills gained in the hostland (Geithner et al. 2004; Brinkerhoff 2008) as well as through their knowledge of the local culture, history and the dynamic among the forces in the society.

Third, supporting civil initiatives is not an end but the means. While supporting civil initiatives is in itself a positive tool, how it is done is the most important point. When supporting economic initiatives, it has been argued that the locals need to have the knowledge and skills on how to use the technology, otherwise investors benefit most from the investments. Boyer (1996) argues that the empirical evidence does not confirm any general trend toward economic convergence (where every poor state has an opportunity to catch up with the rich by adopting modern technology, increased levels of communication and transportation) in productivity levels and standards of living. Instead, there is a widening gap between the advanced and poor states, and that unless poor states invest in human capital, they are unlikely to catch up with the advanced states. The idea that globalization is somehow accelerating convergence is logically flawed (Boyer, 1996). In terms of price equilibrium, Boyer (1996) finds that it is usually not fulfilled because the same product can be sold for different amount of money in every national market. As far as technology is concerned, it is not a private commodity or a pure common good, so its efficient use assumes tacit knowledge or learning effects. The best way is not necessarily available to all producers, because only the leading ones who possess sufficient past experiences can benefit from the best practices. States that do not have people with skills or knowledge of how to use technology cannot and will not be able to converge (Boyer, 1996). Same goes for social investments, if the know-how cannot be transferred and trust cannot be built, then investments become one-time initiatives but not long-term projects and cannot impact sustainable development.

Studying diaspora philanthropy can bring international development actors a new perspective in understanding the dynamics involved in international development. Just as investment in civil society capacity-building is presented as the right vehicle for

development, well-thought-out and well-targeted strategic investments that favor certain areas for development have been recommended as vehicles to leverage diaspora philanthropy (Kapur 2007). Yet, these arguments define the relationship between diaspora philanthropy and development so narrowly that development through diaspora philanthropy is understood as a matter of quantity without much discussion of other factors that might explain the relationship. Questions such as how the diaspora sends funds, how they interact with the recipients, how they transfer their funds, how much they get involved in their giving or how ‘well-targeted’ these investments have neither been asked nor answered. The analytical focus on the number of diaspora fund transfers hinges on the assumption that diaspora giving consists solely of financial capital, that their impact is unchanged, and that it always bring positive change (Iskander 2008). Yet, diasporas’ impact is beyond financial as it involves various channels to connect back home.

While studying the impact of diaspora philanthropy one should also analyze the economic and social conditions in the receiving country. It’s true that diasporas recognize the macro context at the local level within which social and community development takes place (Brinkerhoff 2008; Johnson 2007). Diaspora champions can be agents of change to bring innovative projects. Yet, local communities are the real agents for impact. Political institutions and norms that shape civil society, legal and political framework of the country are important on issues of development in the broader society. The ecosystem should be open and ready for new models and accept them. While diaspora philanthropy offers a new framework for international development, getting the locals involved in these initiatives is equally and maybe more important for local development. Diaspora philanthropy offers a vehicle to do that.

Diaspora philanthropy is characterized by a wide variety of actors with different motivations, capacities and impacts. Individual actors that this dissertation concentrates on can be very appealing to official international development agencies. The development of a strong diaspora involvement can make international agencies' interventions more productive and sustainable in the long term.

Overview

In conclusion, although the issue of how diaspora contributions impact development is increasingly being discussed, this dissertation aims to make a difference in two ways. The first is through the categorization of diaspora philanthropy, illustrating the increasing importance of non-financial activities relating to institutional reform, and knowledge transfer. The second key contribution of this dissertation is the detailed analysis of philanthropic contributions of Turkish Diaspora in the United States.

The following section delves into the theoretical framework of studying diaspora philanthropy as an international development actor. Discussion on the concept of international development is followed by the significance of diaspora philanthropy in international development. The section then delves into the theory of civil society and how significant it is in local development. This section also critically examines human and social capital in the philanthropic transfers of the diaspora.

The chapter following the second one outlines the research design with specific sections on Turkish-Americans as a diaspora group in the United States, Turkish-American diaspora philanthropy as the context of study and the reasons behind the case selections. This chapter further describes the main research questions and hypotheses and the data collection process and data analysis.

Chapter 4 begins with the examination of the characteristics of the Turkish civil society. The section provides a brief background of the Turkish civil society and state relations in a historical perspective to better the current structure.

After discussing the current legal and political ecosystem framing civil society in Turkey, the next chapter is devoted to the two case studies. The chapter gives detailed information on cases and their significance in innovative diaspora philanthropy.

Chapter 6 addresses the characteristics of Turkish-Americans and discusses whether they are diaspora in the modern sense or just immigrants. This section looks at the history of Turks coming to the United States and how their ties to Turkey have impacted their identities. The chapter then talks about diaspora philanthropy as a personal giving process and the motivations and reasons of giving back to homeland.

The concluding chapter summarizes the main findings based on the two case studies in the view of the changing landscape of global philanthropy.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

“This has caused me the greatest trouble and still does always cause me the greatest trouble: to realize that *what things are called* is unspeakably more important than what they are”

The Gay Science (2001, Book II, sec. 58) Nietzsche

2.1 Framework for the Study of Diaspora Philanthropy

This dissertation responds to the need of expanding our knowledge on how diasporans connect with the homeland philanthropically, and how they impact local development in the homeland through supporting civil initiatives. I develop an analytical framework that (1) defines diaspora philanthropy and analyzes the ways in which diasporans engage with it; (2) studies philanthropic characteristics of Turkish-American diaspora and how their hybrid identities impact their behaviors; (3) evaluates diaspora philanthropy's role in international development; and lastly (4) questions the political and legal framework in Turkey to better understand institutional opportunities allowed and other causes impacting local development. I analyze two cases that have been supported by the Turkish-American diaspora to address the impact of: 1) social and human capital contributions of the diaspora, 2) diaspora's hybrid identities, and 3) supporting civil initiatives. Through interviews I identify how diaspora members' hybrid identities impact their philanthropic behaviors and how diaspora philanthropy contemplate and pursue interventions to assist home countries. Finally, I examine how international development agencies can collaborate with diaspora actors to increase impact on local development.

Terms diaspora and diaspora philanthropy are closely related to migration. As the nature of migration has changed over the years so did terms diaspora and diaspora philanthropy. Yet, both terms are conceptually stretched. So, it's important to define what they mean for this dissertation. The goal is to examine the origins of these terms as well

as analyze the evolution in their meanings. Sartori (1970) defines concepts as “data containers” that must be used for fact gathering. Concepts should capture the essential characteristics necessary for their study at a particular level of abstraction, and must be adequately distinctive categories. Using his “ladder of abstraction,” Sartori (1970) shows that the more general the level of abstraction - the more attributes and properties it has-, the less precise the conceptualization is, and vice-versa. This causes conceptual stretching. According to Sartori (1970), moving down the ladder of abstraction (high/global – middle/regional – low/individual cases) will solve the problem of conceptual stretching. Accordingly, scholars will be able to reach a medium level of abstraction with better intermediate categories, which exists in between global categories and specific cases. My goal in this dissertation is to use individual cases to reach a medium level of abstraction in defining what diaspora philanthropy is and introducing various ways diasporas connect home. A special emphasis has been given to illuminate both contemporary and academic understandings of the term.

Defining Diaspora Philanthropy: How Significant is it?

Terms remittances and diaspora philanthropy have been used interchangeably to define cross-border transfers of diaspora. Both terminologies mention the divide between social and financial transfers. Some such as Peggy Levitt (1996) uses the term remittances but mention the divide between social remittances¹⁷ and financial remittances. According to these studies, most of diaspora ‘giving back’ happens through individual remittances that are made for the consumer needs of the families of the diaspora or for the betterment of their hometowns (Ammassari and Black, 2001). Some

¹⁷ Peggy Levitt (1996) defines social remittances as the ideas, practices, identities, and social capital that are transmitted through the migration circuit.

such as Geither, et.al (2004) use the term ‘diaspora philanthropy,’ in which case again philanthropy is not only defined in monetary terms but inclusive of all activities such as transfer of talent, enterprise, skills, new attitudes, and new mind-sets that build transnational resources, and link together origin and settlement societies. While remittances are individual contributions used for the consumer needs of the families of the diaspora or for the betterment of their hometowns, diaspora philanthropy goes primarily to social development projects (Ammassari and Black 2001; Opiniano 2002b). When the term diaspora philanthropy is used, the highlight is generally on “the strategic and systematic investment of private philanthropic resources to address complex, interconnected manifestations of chronic underdevelopment” (Opiniano, 2002b). In this sense diaspora philanthropy is a ‘social good’ switching “from material giving – money or financial contributions – to intellectual or in-kind giving, such as research, advice, and teaching” (Xiao-Huang Yin 2004, *p.30*).

This dissertation uses diaspora philanthropy to define cross-border philanthropic activities, as many times remittances never reach a phase where they are used for productive activities that would really assist with development (Brinkerhoff, 2008). The word philanthropy is picked specifically even though the term has become a buzzword used to define both tangible contributions as well as intangible for the benefit of the society, and not one’s own family. For that reason, philanthropy better defines the kind of diaspora transfers portrayed in this study. The innovative philanthropy that is done through the transfer of social and human capital is more than just transfer of knowledge or skills which also can be done in a for-profit establishment such as establishing a company to introduce a new technology that can help with the development of the local

community or investment in a new business development. However, the nature of innovative philanthropy as it is portrayed in this study is its altruistic characteristic.

Diaspora philanthropy is not only the transfer of money, skills or knowledge. As it's built around one's personal connection to homeland, simply analyzing the transfer by itself, without taking into account the personal story and connections of the diasporan will be a limited approach. Accordingly, this study borrows Iskander's (2008) concept of diaspora philanthropy and argues that diaspora philanthropy is really 'constituted' not 'transferred' in the sense that what happens during the process is what can help us understand the nature and the impact of it. The personal stories of each diaspora that give back to the homeland help us better understand the motivations behind, the connections created and eventually the impact it causes. The impact of cross-border transfers is shaped by the ways in which migrant communities engage with them (Iskander, 2008). Therefore, how each diaspora member engages with homeland through her philanthropic transfer is what is important. This paper does not view diaspora philanthropy just as wiring funds to hometown or transferring a skill gained in the hostland. It claims that the main impact of diaspora philanthropy happens through nonmonetary resources that are strategic and systematic social investments.¹⁸ Thus, the study describes diaspora philanthropy as an independent variable and studies its impact on local development.

Philanthropic Activities of Turkish-American Diaspora

Over the years Turkish-American giving back to Turkey has increased as the number of Turkish-Americans grew. Traditional diaspora philanthropy studies have

¹⁸ Paula Johnson (2001) defines social investment as strategic and systematic investment of private philanthropic resources to address complex, inter-connected manifestations of chronic underdevelopment. The term will be used interchangeably with the term philanthropy in this paper even though it defines a narrower category of giving as the dissertation looks into interventions that initiated changes in present circumstances in local communities.

focused primarily on traditional immigrant communities such as Indian, Chinese, Mexican and Filipino. Those communities' general practices have been to send remittances back home to families and close relatives. This study finds that philanthropy takes different shapes among the Turkish community in the United States. It varies from sending money to hometowns to making professional introductions. However, motivations of the diaspora to give back are same for everyone: 1) obligation and 2) attachment – connection to the homeland. Turks that give back more than financial capital, are individuals that are wealthy and want to feel the connection back home while giving back. This study finds that diaspora philanthropy is one of the ways to maintain relationships back home and the transfer of human capital and the creation of social capital strengthens that connection. Therefore, the theoretical framework of this study takes into account how Turks incorporate their personal experiences coming to the United States, how they have continued to maintain their relationships with home and how those relate to the collective history of Turks living abroad. This paper is especially interested in those who have done well financially and have gained both personal and professional experiences that can be used back home. Accordingly, the study profiles the stories of two members of the diaspora: Banu Onaral and Haldun Tashman. These two individuals are labeled as “diaspora champions,” as they not only connected back to Turkey through sending money home but also bringing new ideas and new ways of socially investing and thereby contributing to local development. Both of these individuals have high personal credibility in their local communities. The stories of these two diasporans show that the number of diasporas does not need to be large to have an impact. Their deep knowledge of the local communities in Turkey, and skills and experiences they have gained in the United States combined with their credibility enabled them to impact development. A

more detailed analysis of philanthropic activities of Turkish-Americans is done on Chapter 3 and Chapter 6.

2.2 Diaspora Philanthropy's Role in International Development

What is the impact of altruistic transfers of diaspora in international development? Originally, international development that was constructed on an aid system was based on accelerating the growth of financial capital, technology and knowledge in the developing world, which would help with rapid economic growth and to catch up with the 'developed' counterparts (Fowler, 2000). This was 1950s. In the 1970s, there was still a lack of rapid economic progress in many developing countries despite international aid. When it was understood that mere economic development does not necessarily bring democratic development, the international donor community embraced social inclusion (Thorbecke, 2006). Subsequently, the aid model started promoting programs to vulnerable groups but still through government initiatives (Fowler, 2000). Later on, the sector grabbed on the idea of growth with supporting civil society organizations (CSOs) in certain areas (Kapur, 2007; Johnson, 2007). With the increase in grassroots initiatives in 1980s, civil society organizations became major development players (van Rooy, 1998 cited in Fowler, 2000). The goal was to build a climate for growth and restructure societies through aiding CSOs (Easterly, 2002; Kapur 2007; Johnson 2007). So, the sector's approach to development in the last twenty years has been through partnerships with civil society and the promotion of good governance (van Rooy, 1998). Democratization along Western lines, civic participation, transparency of public bodies, and the rule of law have been the newest concerns of aid (Fowler, 2000). This approach on international development has driven aid to support civil society organizations. It has been believed that structured changes through civil society can result in development.

The method, called structural adjustment, puts civil society in the center where economic liberalization, political liberalization and democratization are seen as mutually reinforcing processes (Kleinberg & Clark 2002). This approach believes that civil society plays a central role in democratic development as it encourages trust, choice and other virtues of democracy (Kleinberg & Clark 2002; Easterly 2006; Grugel 2000). Since 1990s the notion became a major strategy accepted by foundations and international NGOs for supporting new democracies.

The dissertation tests the extent to which diaspora philanthropy actually promotes development through the support of civil initiatives and what international development agencies can learn from analyzing diaspora philanthropy. In 1994, over 10 percent of public development aid (\$8 billion) was channeled through CSOs, surpassing the volume of the combined UN system (\$6 billion) (Weiss & Gordenker 1996). CSOs were involved in different ways in the planning of over 75 percent of World Bank projects between 2007 and 2009 - their involvement has increased to 87 percent in the development of the country assistance strategies (World Economic Forum 2013). In the past thirty years, the term civil society¹⁹ has been coined in conjunction with empowerment, participation and democratization taking attention to its “positive and progressive role in the developing world” in scholarly circles, as well as by international financial institutions (Kleinberg & Clark 2002). The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and other international financial and aid institutions explicitly treat civil society as synonymous with private-sector associations, including business organizations. Civil society is treated as equal and just or “civil” and a clear distinction is understood between civil society and

¹⁹ A detailed discussion of civil society will take place in later pages. For the purpose of this dissertation, the definition of Skocpol & Fiorina (1999) is adapted: the network of ties and groups through which people connect to one another and get drawn into community and political affairs.

the state. (Kleinberg & Clark 2002) Not only are many aid agencies and foundations are providing funding to empower civil society in developing countries, but well-targeted strategic investments that favor certain areas are seen as vehicles to leverage diaspora philanthropy as well (Kapur 2007). CSOs have become major partners in development.

However, the approach of international development programs has always been 'one measure fits all.' That's why since the 1960s advocates of different schools of thought have repeatedly questioned the value of development assistance for couple of reasons:

First, even though development aid has been increasing in real amounts, the net amount that is spent on development projects are declining due to an increase in administrative costs, etc.

Secondly, the approach used by international development agencies treats all developing societies as the same even though local specificity in selecting policies and interventions has been the most important aspect in development (Adleman & Morris, 1997 cited in Fowler, 2000). Projects are most of the time not absorbed by the locals and are seen as the initiatives of outsiders. This 'one measure fits all' approach is not feasible as a development framework as it downplays the historical trajectory, and the interplay of forces in other societies (Fowler, 2000).

Lastly, development assistance traps countries in a culture of dependency. Several authors have argued that aid acts as a brake on development (Monga 2009; Moyo 2009; Nwokeabia 2009; Tandon 2008). According to these dependence theorists, aid has contributed to entrenching a relationship of dependence of poor countries on the West. They argue that outside funding has dominant position within developing countries, which constitutes a fundamental constraint on national policy. The result is a restriction

of choice among local development options, which in return creates inequality. Cardoso and Faletto (1979) in *Dependency and Development in Latin America* argue that some countries, even though they improve production, will still remain dependent because the accumulation and expansion of capital will benefit international capital. Along the same lines, the populist school criticized devoting taxpayers' money to corrupt leaders in other countries rather than investing in national economic and social priorities. Neo-liberal critiques highlight dependency on the West as well and argue that aid distorts markets and entrepreneurs, and creates dependence among beneficiaries (Easterly, 2006). So, even though the approach of international development has shifted from economic liberalization to social inclusion through promoting civil initiatives, it has been the West who dictated the how and why the aid will be distorted. And, that's why it has been widely criticized.

While there are growing indications that the 'quality' of aid is what matters, the necessary institutional reforms required to improve quality sufficiently are not seen as attainable (Fowler, 2000). Civil society is an important factor in development. However, the important point is the capability of civil society, not just supporting a civil society organization to implement a project. To that end, the ecosystem of the country is very important. The country's political, economic and social systems should be enabling the blossoming of civil initiatives. So, this dissertation after testing the implications of the liberal approach of civil society and development, argues that the important part of promoting local development is not supporting CSOs but creating an environment where civil initiatives can flourish locally. To that end, diaspora philanthropy has the potential to be a better intermediary in terms of development because:

1) Its real impact happens not through financial contributions but through the transfer of social and human capital. Tashman's initial inclination when he wanted to support his hometown was to send money. However, as he connected back to his hometown, Bolu, he saw that his financial contribution is not what the town needed. The town needed a new way of thinking regarding community building and doing philanthropy. That's when his contribution to his hometown started to make a change in the development of the city. Turkey's first community foundation was established changing the way people of Bolu think about philanthropy.

2) Diasporas know the local. They are the eyes and ears on the ground and can watch out for opportunities on the ground. Onaral waited multiple years for the opportunity to rise so she can connect her networks in the US with the ones in Turkey and offer her experience and skills. She, not only, had connections in Turkey but also was able to speak to them with their own language, understand their concerns and environment. When the timing was right, Onaral was able to involve locals and inspired them to take ownership of the projects created.

3) They have the ability to transfer the tacit knowledge that is important for local development. Diasporans as they move between countries engage with different kinds of knowledge, and ultimately, create knowledge that is a combination of what they have learned in their homelands and in the hostland (Iskander and Lowe, 2011). Tacit knowledge, even though it's externalized into explicit forms, like documents and procedures, cannot be understood by people who do not share the same breadth of tacit knowledge (Iskander and Lowe, 2011). Diasporas can act as translators, converting the tacit knowledge from one space into the explicit language of another (Saxenian, 2006).

2.2.1. Traditional Donors & International Development

In the International Development world, traditionally there have been four kinds of players:

World Trade Organization (WTO): The World Trade Organization is the only international entity that sets rules and regulations determining the standards and limits of trade between states. The organization's work is based on the WTO agreements, a set of trade rules signed and ratified by a majority of trading countries.

International Financial Institutions (IFIs): International Financial institutions are large international banks that have social missions to help developing countries fund projects and initiatives (health, infrastructure, education. etc.) that contribute to development. The World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are the two most powerful financial institutions, also called Bretton Woods Institutions. They were both created at the 1948 Bretton Woods Conference with the mission to help reconstruct Europe after World War II. Since then their policies have developed along the lines of the 'Washington Consensus' philosophy, which emphasizes the role of the open market and minimizes government 'interventions' in social spheres. There are also a plethora of regional and national financial bodies that play roles in development such as African Development Bank,²⁰ Asian Development Bank²¹ and Inter-American Development Bank²².

United Nations (UN): Based on the former League of Nations and the UN Charter signed and ratified in 1945, the United Nations is comprised of six core organs: the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice, the Trusteeship Council,

²⁰ <http://www.afdb.org/en/>

²¹ <http://www.adb.org/>

²² <http://www.iadb.org/en/inter-american-development-bank,2837.html>

the Secretariat, the Security Council and the General Assembly. The 192 member states of the UN work to uphold human rights, formulate policies, address crises and solve conflicts within a diplomatic forum. The UN also has several different agencies, such as UNDP, UNICEF, WHO and UNIFEM.

Official Development Assistance (ODA): Official Development Assistance, also called development aid, foreign aid and international aid, is financial assistance given to developing countries (through governments or intermediaries, projects, communities...etc.) by the governments and financial institutions (IFIs) of developed countries²³. A majority of ODA is given specifically through bilateral government development agencies that play a major role in the field of international development. These include: the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) and France's Agence Francaise de Developpement (AFD) and Development Assistance Committee (DAC)²⁴.

²³ These are: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States

²⁴ <http://www.oecd.org/dac/>

Table 2 Giving by Traditional Donors: 2007-2011

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
	\$129,309	\$157,177	\$160,230	\$163,512	\$158,820
DAC Countries, Total	\$90,779	\$115,757	\$108,343	\$114,949	\$106,347
Multilateral, Total	\$38,530	\$41,420	\$49,666	\$46,712	\$51,201
<u>EU Institutions</u>	\$13,373	\$16,818	\$16,057	\$13,631	\$15,423
<u>International Development Agency (World Bank)</u>	\$12,837	\$11,405	\$14,299	\$14,610	\$16,555
<u>IMF (Concessional Trust Funds)</u>	\$502	\$1,026	\$2,498	\$1,872	\$1,455
<u>UNAIDS</u>	\$193	\$209	\$243	\$246	\$265
<u>UNDP</u>	\$460	\$504	\$643	\$613	\$494
<u>UNECE</u>	..	\$11	\$13	\$12	\$12
<u>UNFPA</u>	\$218	\$275	\$349	\$316	\$315
<u>UNICEF</u>	\$982	\$987	\$1,104	\$1,050	\$1,104
<u>UNPBF</u>	\$41	\$38	\$41	\$85	\$87
<u>UNRWA</u>	\$388	\$473	\$473	\$545	\$608
<u>WFP</u>	..	..	..	..	..
<u>WHO</u>	..	..	\$437	\$366	\$452

Source: OECD Statistics: <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?datasetcode=CRS1>

2.2.2. Changing Face of International Development

A substantial rethinking of foreign aid has taken place since the mid-1990s because of a growing sense that aid has created various forms of dependency and has not been particularly effective in promoting development. Yet, the conversation has been changing to “What kind of aid works best? (Banerjee & Duflo, 2011; Karlan & Appel, 2011). This created the term “smart aid,” which has become very popular in defining the shift in the approach to promote local ownership and lessen micromanagement by donors. While there isn’t a fully agreed definition, “smart aid” highlights the provision of know-how and best practices boost private sector investment in infrastructure. However, the international development environment is changing. Longstanding foreign aid donors are being forced to take stock and adapt to a new international development environment where they are not always at the front and center of decision-making and international influence. This changing dynamic necessitates a rethinking of international development

system. In a recent study, Sumner and Mallett (2013) argue that there should be a shift from defining aid as a resource transfer to global co-operation.²⁵ Aid should not be an external driver but an inclusive player in policy processes, co-financed global public goods, knowledge sharing/transfers and development policy coherence (Sumner & Mallett, 2013). This shift in the understanding of aid has caused the emergence of new players in the development field. These include:

Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs): They range from small and local community-based organizations to huge international organizations with large amounts of resources and a variety of missions. There are an estimated 40,000 internationally operating NGOs in the world, the largest being the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. Relatively new organizations such as The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, The Acumen Fund and The Bill Clinton Foundation have recently started changing the approach to international development (See Table 3).

²⁵ The authors used the transfer from Aid 1.0 to Aid 2.0 as the terminology to show the major change in the mentality.

TABLE 3 Top 15 Foundations in the United States by International Giving, 2010

Foundation	Foundation Type	Amount of International Grants	No of International Grants
Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation	Independent Private Foundation	\$1,646,624,977	553
Ford Foundation	Independent Private Foundation	\$ 198,452,178	821
Walton Family Foundation	Independent Private Foundation	\$ 129,977,178	19
William and Flora Hewlett Foundation	Independent Private Foundation	\$ 106,189,687	155
Susan Thompson Buffett Foundation	Independent Private Foundation	\$ 97,161,526	45
David and Lucile Packard Foundation	Independent Private Foundation	\$ 94,265,821	174
John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation	Independent Private Foundation	\$ 77,952,559	231
Rockefeller Foundation	Independent Private Foundation	\$ 75,096,381	213
Bloomberg Family Foundation	Independent Private Foundation	\$ 74,451,041	8
Howard G. Buffett Foundation	Independent Private Foundation	\$ 62,832,857	69
Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation	Independent Private Foundation	\$ 46,225,737	91
Andrew W. Mellon Foundation	Independent Private Foundation	\$ 41,519,186	129
McKnight Foundation	Independent Private Foundation	\$ 40,993,000	100
Carnegie Corporation of New York	Independent Private Foundation	\$ 39,958,100	93
Silicon Valley Community Foundation	Community Foundation	\$ 33,245,421	406

Source: The Foundation Center, International Grantmaking Update, 2012. Based on a sample of grants of \$10,000 or more from 1,330 larger foundations. The selected pool included only Private and Community Foundations and not public charities.

Emerging Donor Countries: Transition economies and middle-income countries, who have been traditionally the receiving part, now give aid as well. The new bilateral donors include small donors like Thailand, Brazil and some of the new members of the

EU, medium size donors like Korea and Turkey and large donors like China, India and Saudi Arabia. In a meeting in July 2012, Brian Atwood, the chair of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee, ahead of the OECD's Annual meeting that brings together the heads of foreign aid agencies and international development organizations, notes that "The value of international aid from emerging donors such as China, India, Brazil, Turkey and South Africa amounts to approximately \$15 billion a year" (Atwood speech, July 4 2012).

Diaspora Contributions: Diaspora philanthropy and institutions serving the diaspora also emerged as a new international development medium. Diaspora contributions have ranged from entrepreneurship and investment in capital markets to diaspora philanthropy. Diasporans have been offering more than financial contributions to their countries of origin such as their knowledge, skills, investments, and social/professional networks, which can be tremendously influential in advancing the development of their homelands (Gueron and Spevacek, 2008). The so-called co-development through diaspora philanthropy is "the utilization of expatriate individuals and groups as catalysts in the implementation of development programs in their home countries, and has become a growing trend" (Gueron and Spevacek, 2008, p. 3). While mobilizing financial resources is an important diaspora-development connection, an even more important factor is the knowledge and skills transfers that are valuable in facilitating development. Diasporans have a competitive advantage, as they know historical trajectories in their home countries, the competing forces in societies so have the ability to mobilize locals and create opportunities that involve locals; and most importantly, understand the impact of local culture. Diaspora can simultaneously value and understand two cultures, making them ideally suited to offer an alternative way of

communicating the development message (Gueron and Spevacek, 2008). Accordingly I suggest a broad-based shift from resource transfers in international development to co-operation with diaspora. Diaspora philanthropy is a potential new development vehicle because:

1. Decrease in Development Aid

In 2011, net ODA was \$134 billion, representing 0.31% of donors' combined gross national income²⁶. Looking at what lies behind the numbers is important. Official aid figures include cash, commodities, and services, but also overheads of donor bureaucracies, and their domestic campaigns to raise awareness and funding, debt forgiveness and technical assistance (Kharas, 2007). Easterly (2006) argues that the bureaucracy of aid does not provide the correct incentives for it to achieve results or for its agents to be accountable. For over 50 years, the same problems of aid's bureaucracy have persisted. These include aid coordination, capacity to handle aid, selecting who gets aid, emphasizing poverty reduction, country ownership and debt servicing. The amounts left for real development are most of the time less than 50% of the total. What was left over for financing real programs and projects on the ground in developing countries in 2005, for example, was \$38 billion - only 37 percent of the total aid (Kharas, 2007). This percent has steadily shrunk over time from 59 percent in 1975 to the current level of 37 percent (Kharas, 2007). Even though net development aid has been increasing, this lessening impacts the net numbers. The pie gets even smaller when it reaches the recipient country because of corruption and administrative costs. Kharas (2007) estimates that half of the money spent on official development aid actually reaches the poor people it targets.

²⁶ <http://www.oecd.org/dac/aidstatistics/final2011oda.htm>

2. Development has to be homegrown

Easterly argues that big plans such as the development plans of large international donors have typically failed since they are not connected to grass-root populations. Social change cannot be achieved through social engineering plans, argues Easterly. The West achieved development by "muddling through", not through grand plans. Big plans manufactured by the West are premised on three false ideas: (1) The poor are trapped in poverty, they cannot emerge without an aid financed big-push; (2) Poor economic-growth is due to the poverty-trap, but not due to bad governance; and (3) Aid can give the necessary push for a country to take-off into self-sustained growth (Easterly, 2006).

Through statistical testing Easterly shows that aid is not correlated with economic growth at all. He dismisses all excuses such as good policy, and type, length and size of the aid, as inconsequential. According to his analysis, in the whole of human history, only eight countries have moved out of poverty rapidly. These are Japan, China, Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore, Indonesia, India and Taiwan. All other developed countries moved out poverty slowly. The development of a nation is too complex for aid to address. It has to be homegrown and based on markets, which are spontaneous. These markets arise from local traditions and circumstances, and not through reforms imposed by outsiders. The rules that make a society function and develop originate from the bottom. They are based on social norms, networks and history (Easterly, 2006). Diaspora philanthropy can be the vehicle to access these networks and better understand the norms and history.

2.3 Political and Legal Frameworks in the Homeland

Philanthropy is an expression that is associated with being a part of a community. Today, immigrants are more connected to their homeland. One of the evidences of that is

the growth of diaspora philanthropy. However, the increase in demand for philanthropy towards the homeland stems also from political trends in the receiving country. The global economic growth that generated new wealth was spurred by the spread of market economies. Back in the '70s, the United States deregulated many sectors and cut taxes. In a wave of privatizations, Margaret Thatcher also liberalized the business sector and put Britain on a long-term growth path. Furthermore, communism fell in country after country in Eastern Europe and in Russia, ending statism across a variety of countries. Elsewhere, to be competitive in an increasingly global economy, governments deregulated, allowed freer trade, and, sometimes, lowered taxes. All this, in turn, prompted states to limit spending on social services and led to a profound narrowing of the state's role in everyday matters. To answer the demands for services, nonprofit organizations collectively known as "civil society" sprang up or expanded. Civil society organizations numbers have speed after 1989. Same trends have been seen in Turkey.

Defining Civil Society and its role in local development

In June 2012 the World Economic Forum launched the project, The Future Role of Civil Society²⁷, to better understand the eco-system civil society works in and discuss different models that civil society can use to collaborate with different actors including government and international organizations. One of the outcomes of the project is a report²⁸ that was published as the World Economic Forum's annual meeting was starting in February 2013. The report is the product of interviews with 200 leaders from civil society, business, government and international organizations, and includes data from 80 expert interviews and five strategic foresight workshops.

²⁷ <http://www.weforum.org/content/global-agenda-council-role-civil-society-2012>

²⁸ <http://www.weforum.org/reports/future-role-civil-society>

The report is a reflection of the liberal theorists' approach to civil society that views it as ensuring democracy and is commonly adopted by the international donor community. The main argument of the report is that civil society has been changing in dynamic ways. Especially in the international development community, the word has been associated with the NGO community. However, today civil society represents a wider range of both organized and unorganized groups and that boundaries have been blurred as a lot of new organizational forms are being experimented. Even though the study extends the definition of civil society, the study has predominantly engaged members of organized civil society that are international and largely English-speaking. Regrettably, therefore the analysis provides a Western analysis to what civil society is and should be.

The report accepts the fact that the role of traditional actors needs to be redefined as not only geopolitical power is shifting from Europe and North America but also traditional funding models are not working. The report also admits that political pressures can curtail the viability of civil society actors in a country. Yet, the report still imposes a role, which may not always be very feasible to civil society as “an enabler and constructive challenger, creating the political and social space for collaborations that are based on the core values of trust, service and the collective good.” We need to pay more attention to the role of governments in what civil society can do. It's true that in the last twenty years at least globally both formal and informal civil society groups are involved in partnerships with government and businesses and consulted on social issues by international agencies such as G20 and the United Nations. However, this doesn't necessarily show that all governments are interested in consulting civil society initiatives in their countries or having partnerships with them to find solutions to social problems.

The report argues that as the world is becoming more hyperconnected and new sources of funding have been emerging, civil society will need to look for unusual sources for inspiration including engagement through technologies, getting younger generations and players in emerging economies involved and measuring impact. While governments are scaling back social provisions, the private sector has started to discuss and invest in social issues and that new patterns of global economic and political power are being created. Civil society with all these changes also needs to build collaborations with businesses and governments. Multiple sector models are the future of civil society. Hybrid business models will offer new solutions to old problems and will create channels to transfer knowledge, resources and values across sectors. The report (World Economic Forum, 2013) ends saying “the evolving civil society is larger, more energetic, better connected and more engaged than ever before. By uncovering and developing cross-sectorial opportunities, these energies and networks can be translated into powerful and positive outcomes for society” (p.64). However, this statement is not globally applicable. It might apply to well-funded international organizations but not to grassroots organizations. So, we need to be careful when and how we use the term since the Western model of civil society does not necessarily represent what else is out there. Civil society is an incredibly diverse system and we should be very careful not to overgeneralize.

This liberal approach to civil society found in the World Economic Forum’s most recent report, views civil society as the panacea to all ills. This dissertation critiques this approach from three points. First, it argues that civil society is really a sphere of competing interests and is not homogenous as it represents a diverse range of competing groups grounded in different circumstances (McIlwaine 1998, Mercer 2002). Secondly, the dissertation does not contend that some civil society associations and movements are

to be excluded from civil society if they pose potential threat to democracy²⁹. Thirdly, civic engagement, the main driving force of civil society according to liberal approach, is more than a function of individual participation through social capital but also a product of the contextual political and economic factors (Putnam 1993, 2000; Schlozman, Verba & Brady 1999).

Civil society as a concept is problematic. There have been different definitions throughout the history as well as among different cultures. It may be useful, therefore, to devote some time to the historical and lexical evolution of "civil society." In a recent article in *Foreign Policy*, Sarah Kendzior (2012) argues that civil society "is a buzzword long favored by international organizations, which tend to define the term so broadly that it is nearly meaningless." She further notes that the problem is that it's used as a category of analysis while it has different meanings for different cultures. In an authoritarian state acts of civil society can be seen as ignoring state objectives. An organization promoting an Islamic state can very easily fit into the definition of civil society while the purpose of these organizations is not clearly democratization. Civil society as a term is a complex set of arguments, which are not harmonious with each other. While the liberal view concentrates on the glorification of civil society, its critics have focused on ideological explanations (Armony 2004; Cohen 1999; Foley & Edwards 1997). To bypass these definitional problems I will discuss different approaches to the theoretical underpinnings of civil society, and then lay out the reasons I criticize the liberal approach.

²⁹ Larry Diamond (1999) argues that civil society groups may promote a single universal issue, such as human rights, or represent a range of issues for a limited sector of the population, such as ethnic interest associations, but they do not seek to articulate the universal range of issues or appeal to the scope of population that political parties do, nor does civil society seek to capture the state like political parties. Moreover, civil society groups typically do not utilize violence or destructive methods as do militias or racist groups.

The classic idea of civil society was primarily a realm of solidarity held together by the force of moral sentiments and natural affections (Chambers and Kylimcka 2002). The need for respect and approval rested on the praise of others. Therefore, the individual could never be totally disengaged from society, nor could reasoned self-interest be abstracted from those passions which, through the moral sentiment, rooted man in society (Chambers and Kylimcka 2002). With Hegel and Marx, the classic idea of civil society came to an end. For Hegel, civil society signified a realm of markets, competition and contracts whose divisions would be healed only when the citizen entered the most universal of all ethical realms, that of the state. In Hegelian terms, civil society is a higher realm than that of individuals and families, but definitely lower in the overall picture than the state. Later, the notion of a civil society was revived and reshaped by Antonio Gramsci, who defined it as “the totality of institutions and groups that produce and direct ideology to ensure the hegemony of the ruling class in a given society.” (Lewis, 1994).

Today, civil society arguments are divided between two views. Following Hegel and Marx, neo or post-Marxist approaches link civil society with the state and political organizations (McIlwaine 1998). According to this school, the functioning of capitalism depends on its domination of all three arenas – state, political organizations, and civil society- with the power of the state sustained through the indirect domination of civil society.

On the other side, liberal theorists see civil society in a context that signifies a sphere of associational life that is more than families and less than states. This approach, following Almond and Verba’s (1963) civic culture theories, shifted the emphasis from elites and institutions to the role of mass culture in the democratic process, putting civil society in the center. According to this view, associations serve to protect equality by

setting groups with special interests against one another and keeping any one of them from becoming dominant. Alexis de Tocqueville and neo-Tocquevilian Robert Putnam's arguments dominate this literature, which see the promotion of civil society as a conduit for political and economic democratization. Building on Tocqueville's view that only small scale civic bodies enable citizens to cultivate democratic virtues, Putnam (1993) argues that civic participation turns on community involvement, which creates bonds of trust, reciprocity, mutuality and competence. In this way, associations play a dual role in a politically egalitarian system: they not only arise from but also sustain democracy (Tocqueville 2004). In *Making Democracy Work*, Putnam (2003) attributes the superior effectiveness of northern Italy's regional governments to the dense "networks of civic engagement" fostered by "civil associations" of all kinds. Putnam finds that the propensity to form associations both embodies and reinforces civic community.

The liberal approach is bifurcated as well. The neoconservative liberal school, which is closely tied to the 1980s structural adjustment programs of international development agencies, views economic and political liberalization as intertwined, and democracy as associated with capitalism. This school perceives CSOs as the means that prevent non-democratic forces from threatening state power while promoting civic culture and ensuring democratization. CSOs are seen as the best alternatives to providing social services to governments (Thompson 1995), and as ensuring democratic governance by preventing non-democratic forces from threatening state power (McIlwaine 1998).

On the other hand, the liberal pluralist view gives greater centrality to CSOs and their importance in fostering political participation (Cohen & Rogers 1995). This approach is articulated most forcefully by Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, and their associates in formulating a strategy for resistance to Poland's communist regime in the

1980s, and is also evident in the recent literature on processes of "redemocratization" in Latin America, Central Europe and Africa. This argument lays special emphasis on civil society as a sphere of action that is independent of the state and capable of energizing resistance to a tyrannical regime. Thus, the liberal approach is based on a notion of democracy that promotes human development, while providing the means to protect shared interests. Nevertheless there are significant weaknesses in the argument.

First, the liberal approach assumes that civil society has certain roles to play and promotes only the public interest. We connect civil society with good government because we believe that civic associations affect their individual members in salutary ways (Bermeo, 2003). This view prevents us from understanding how societal interests are identified, defined and disputed (Armony 2004). This dissertation argues that wide ranges of interests are represented through civil society, and that each civic group has its own agenda and demands. Overrating the positive influence of civil society tends to overlook the consequences of capitalism, and where power relations that define the disproportionate distribution of benefits (Markovitz 1998). In other words, cleavages in the larger society are replicated in civil society, which contradicts the argument that civil society challenges the existing power relations and promotes the public interest. Groups with privileged access to decision-making can impose their own interests on the public agenda while groups with less influence cannot impact decision-making processes (Fiorina 1999, Foley & Edwards 1999). Diaspora philanthropy has the potential to provide a platform where accessing decision-making processes through civil society is not just for the privileged. Since diaspora members do not look for personal benefit most of the time, their ultimate goal is benefiting the community.

Second, the liberal view excludes civil society associations and movements that are considered potential threats to democracy. This view reduces civil society to only one of its multiple dimensions, ignoring various forms of civic engagement (Cohen 1999; Foley & Edwards 1996). In some instances (such as El Salvador and Rwanda,) civil society can undermine democracy, serving as an incubator of anti-democratic forces.³⁰ Diaspora's understanding of civil society, in the Western sense, can serve as a bumper for anti-democratic groups.

Thirdly, the liberal approach links the production of social capital exclusively to associations. This places individuals at the center, arguing that their participation will increase and strengthen democracy (Armony 2004). However, the potential of groups to create and mobilize social capital depends not only on the capacity of individual actors to access resources in a given social network but more importantly on the location of a network within the broader socioeconomic and political context (Armony 2004, Foley & Edwards 1999, Tarrow 1994). The value of social capital is not necessarily tied to prodemocratic objectives; hence it can be used to increase one's own position in society (Cohen 1999) or for intolerant and aggressive purposes (Uvin 1998, Foley & Edwards 1999). Elites will usually view attempts at public-private cooperation involving subordinate groups as threats, make the prospects for more civic engagement, and more optimal development outcomes bleak (Evans 1996, 1997). Variations in social capital result from the social, economic and political system, which works better for some than for others. It's the argument in this dissertation that for that reason, just plainly saying

³⁰ Almond and Verba (1963) helped to lay the foundation where an overly active civil society is seen as harm to democracy and must be moderated for democracy to thrive. O'Donnell (1992) emphasizes the empowerment of the civil society and its connection to ineffective policy-making and argues that excess democracy may erode a government's capacity. Rueschemeyer, Stephens and Stephens (1992) argue that civil society may serve as means for the ideologies of the dominant class. Cohen and Arato (1997) argue that mobilizing civil society can have demobilizing consequences.

diaspora philanthropy can make a difference in home countries is in itself an unaccompanied statement. The social, economic and political system in the home country should be enabling diaspora's involvement towards change. As the case studies show, the timing of diaspora's interactions with the homeland is equally important as the value of their transfers.

Socioeconomic and Political Context In Turkey

Turkey has a tradition of giving, and a very old history of foundations and of collective action. However, the establishment of the republic in 1923 after a long fought the independence war has changed how people approach these issues. The limited economic resources after the war have created a society, where government is seen and expected to be the provider of social services. In addition, over years the government for various reasons has repressed collective action movements. In countries like Turkey the government has to create that environment for collective action. As Tarrow (1994) argues the principal dilemma of collective action is to coordinate, sustain and give meaning to "collective action" in the long run. Government's creating an environment would create ways to maximize the value to people of long-term participation. The environment that the government would create is to provide "windows of opportunity" for civic organizations to succeed (Tarrow, 1994).

Turkey's modernization project, which took place right after the Republic was established, was carried out in a top-down fashion regarded masses as passive recipients, and curtailed the ordinary citizens' way to participate in politics (Heper, 2000; Aydin, 2005). Civic action has been widely curtailed – most of the time by the legitimacy of saving democracy. Civil society continued to exist but under the excessive control of the

government, where establishing, operating, and sustaining foundations and associations have been very difficult.

Since 2000, laws and legislation regarding civil society are being reformed. Combined with the rush to meet criteria to enhance Turkey's eligibility to join the EU, the political will of the government has resulted in a massive effort, among other things, to re-establish the relationship between the state and the citizen on the fundamental tenants of participatory democracy. This era of reform has given way to a newfound dynamism and growth of civil society. One of the most important applications is the creation of Regional Development Agencies (RDAs). RDAs were established in 2006 to improve the collaboration between government, private sector and civil society sector, to make use of the local resources, to ignite the local development potential, to speed up the local development, to accomplish sustainability, and to decrease the developmental gap between regions and in the region (Yilmaz, 2010). Legal and institutional frameworks, which are designed for establishing RDAs in Turkey, bring about the need for all actors of a region be it political, private or civil society to make a collaborative effort in designing, managing and achieving regional development (Kayasu, 2006). Turkey's regional development projects prior to EU accession process lacked the emphasis on local actors. They have been mostly unsuccessful due to the lack of effective institutional structures and sufficient financial resources at the local level (Kayasu, 2006). State Planning Organization (DPT), the state agency whose main task has been preparing five-year development plans on a sectorial basis has been the responsible agency at the national level. However, DPT was not operating on a regional dimension, and the institution was not very impactful. EU's institution building and governance approach

provided a platform to engage and integrate local actors into regional policy making and regional development projects (Kayasu, 2006).

Conclusion

Analyzing the impact of diaspora philanthropy needs a deep review of various actors as well as conditions. The central claim of this dissertation is that diaspora philanthropy impacts local development through the social and human capital of diaspora champions. Diaspora champions engaged with their local communities through which new relationships and new meanings were generated, which provided the basis for local change. How impactful these engagements were depended on not only how engaged and motivated the diaspora is but also on the ecosystem. Whether the social, economic and political environment was enabling for diasporas determined the creation and the development of the diaspora transfers. At first, the intentions of the diasporas were approached with intense ambiguity and were not clearly understood. In Turkey, the government recently turned regional and local development into a priority. More importantly, the government has been viewing civil initiatives as a big part of the coalitions established for local development. As Turkey's ecosystem changed the contexts highlighting the importance of local development, diasporans got the opportunity to better explain themselves and their intentions. The insights that emerged eventually created trustworthy relationships with the locals. Through these relationships, local leaders and diaspora members articulated new understandings and acted on them to build institutions. These institutions created a dynamic cycle for innovation and change. The following chapters illustrate how diaspora's connection and bonding the locals led to local development. In the next chapter, the research framework is discussed around the two case studies. Since the study argues that being a diaspora community and the hybrid

identities established in the hostland impact one's connection back home, the next chapter analyzes various ways Turkish-Americans connect to Turkey philanthropically and how, especially, social and human capital transfers make impactful change.

Chapter 3: Research Design

This dissertation builds a comparative framework to explain the ways in which the diaspora interacts with civil initiatives in Turkey to understand its impact on local development. I present and analyze two cases that lay the foundation of the two initiatives that have been supported by the Turkish-American diaspora. Both of the cases offer rich case material to explore the diaspora philanthropy process that is beyond the transfer of financial capital. In both of the cases the giving back process wasn't a smooth one-way transfer but included a wide range of challenges and two-way interactions. These challenges included being not understood by the locals, seen as an outsider and most importantly the difficulty of establishing a trustworthy relationship. These interactions created a two-way communication between the diaspora and the locals which provided new connections that enabled diasporans to participate in the cultural and economic life of their home countries, but also enabled them to envision new possibilities and even new definitions of economic and social development. I identified these two cases based on my professional experience in the field. The similarities and differences between these two case studies make comparing their process of giving back fruitful. The commonalities that the diasporans share in their backgrounds, motivations and status make the comparison between them meaningful. They make it possible to illustrate that diaspora champions' engagement with their local communities through social and human capital transfers produced local development, rather than just financial transfers by any diaspora. The difference in diasporas' involvement and the difference in the nature of the initiatives they spearheaded, show how national contexts are the most important part of the process. They highlight what factors caused diasporans to act on their ideas of giving

back. As a result, the differences bring how local development through diaspora involvement is affected by national settings. It elucidates how the deepness of the impact of local development is shaped by how the process is supported in the nation, and it reveals how and why diaspora's involvement were able to transfer the contexts in which they arose and in a way help the locals better understand the concepts and approach of local development supported with the Turkish government.

The five-step instrumental case study methodology, which allows in-depth, multi-faceted explorations of complex issues in their real-life settings, draws on work from Barzelay et al. (2003) and others. The first step for each case is developing narratives focusing on events and episodes, how they began, progressed, and ended. In the case of the two cases presented here, the episode covers roughly the last 6-7 years. The research questions try to explain factors associated with the observed outcomes. There are two types of questions that a case study can try to answer. Type A questions have a high level of generality. Examples would include: Can human capital increase the development impact of diaspora philanthropy? Can international development agencies like World Bank or Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation make better use of diasporas for local development?

Type B questions help structure thinking about a particular case. What are the size and characteristics of Turkish-American diasporas? What are the channels of diaspora philanthropy and types of knowledge exchanged? What are the key government institutions and policies, and have they changed during the period? How enabling is the local political and legal environment for civil initiatives to get involved in local development? How effective are government institutions and policies in promoting diaspora philanthropy? What are the respective roles of government and nongovernment

diaspora networks in promoting diaspora philanthropy? This dissertation provides some answers to type B questions, and helps frame type A questions for future research. In answering the type B questions, I first try to explain the factors associated with diaspora philanthropy. The next step was to understand the causal process leading to the case outcomes, and the final step was to make recommendations.

To carry out my study, I spent time both in Turkey and in the United States. In Turkey, I conducted research in Bolu and Izmir, interviewing donors, leaders of the initiatives in Turkey, staff, local government representatives, and other interested parties. In the United States, I interviewed donors and leaders of the Turkish-American organizations and attended conferences of the Turkish-American community. I also spoke with researchers, consultants, and representatives of other diaspora organizations. At all of these research sites, I used mixed qualitative methodology from open-ended interviews, oral histories, document analysis (initiatives' websites, their founding documents, review of media clippings) and participant observation (See Table 5 for summary of methods).

3.1 Turkish-Americans as a Diaspora Group

Since 1990s, more communities have started identifying themselves as diaspora. Some academicians use “transnational communities” to emphasize movement and exchange between countries (Ionescu, 2006). However, the notion of “diaspora” better explains migrants who became citizens of their host country or who are second generation (Ionescu, 2006). Immigration is a process that involves human interactions and mediation so the terms diaspora, home country and host country more accurately describe this process (Brinkerhoff, 2006). The definition has been expanded in “many dictionaries to include any body of people living outside their traditional homeland”

(Riddle, 2008, p.30). Taking their cue from the changing discourses of other three-dozen transnational communities (Sheffer, 2006); Turkish-Americans have been recently identifying themselves as diaspora as well. Studying how one transnational group identifies itself is very important in understanding its identity, however it is not enough. Therefore, in this dissertation, the study discusses whether Turkish-Americans are a diaspora community as they have been identifying themselves as rather than just an ethnic community. This question is also debated from the point of whether the discovery of diaspora as a new category captures the lives of Turks living in the United States better as a collective entity compared to immigrants as a type.

In defining Turkish-Americans, this study applies a framework that incorporates the personal experience of Turks coming to the United States, their relationship both to the homeland and the hostland, and how those relate to the collective history of Turks living abroad. Turks coming to the United States have their own experience of leaving homeland and coming to a new country. Their individual stories shape how they define themselves in the hostland. Through their lives in the United States they gain new skills and experiences, which add on to their identities. All these along with the collective history of Turks all around the globe complement how Turks define themselves.

Accordingly, I first studied the reasons of Turkish-Americans for leaving Turkey to come to the United States³¹ to analyze the impact on the formation of the diaspora. Butler (2001) argues that the historical circumstances of dispersion define “demographic composition and even the more amorphous realm of political orientation or attitude”

³¹ It must be noted that when I use Turkish Diaspora, I mean the Diaspora community in the United States. There is quiet large number of Turks living in Europe, especially in Germany. However, this study will concentrate on Turks in the United States. A study comparing the philanthropic behaviors of Turks in Germany to the ones in the United States should be the topic of another study.

(p.203). Accordingly, understanding why Turks left Turkey to come to the United States also helped to analyze the reasons behind their philanthropic attitudes and behaviors.

Second, I analyzed the relationship between Turkish-Americans and Turkey as the basis of a diasporan identity.³² Butler (2001) argues that “identity based in a shared connection to homeland thus distinguishes diasporas from such groups as nomads” (p. 204). Turks are nation-based diasporas therefore the relationship with the homeland especially defines how the diaspora is constructed. The first immigrants feel different about the hostland and remain connected to anything related to homeland. However, the real transformation to being a diaspora community happens when second and third generations feel connected not because they miss the third cousin they have rarely seen but they create a collective memory, cultivate ideologies of identity and institutionalize practices of connection to the homeland through either refurbished or fictions of shared identity stories (Tölölyan 2007). The relationship with the homeland becomes important in understanding the motivations of the diaspora in giving back.

Thirdly, the relationship with the hostland is studied. Hostlands are main constructs in the creation of diasporas. It is especially important in this study since the culture of philanthropy is deeply rooted and professionalized in the United States.

Fourth, the interrelationships between segments of a diaspora are analyzed since the emergence of these relationships is “the seminal moment in the transformation of migratory groups to diasporas” Butler (2001, p.207). A large group, which considers themselves *Atatürkçü* specifically, stays away from this group and their support of the homeland is also the representation of that identity & their desire to undermine them.

³² Butler (2001) argues that it is the connection to a place that differentiates ethnic identity from diasporic identity.

Questions such as how these relationships forge diasporans consciousness, institutions, and networks are answered. This is especially important in the Turkish-American community, which is in a way divided: The followers of the Gülen Movement (*Fethullahçılar* - Fethullahists) and the seculars. As one of the interviewees mentioned “there is two of each kind of organization in the Turkish community: Two chamber of commerces, two philanthropic organizations, two cultural organizations.”³³ The Gülen movement is defined as “a transnational civil society movement inspired by the teachings of by the philosophy of Fethullah Gülen,³⁴ by Wikipedia³⁵. Fethullah Gülen when he was being persecuted in Turkey moved to the United States and was followed by many of his supporters. The movement has a sphere of influence on the global scale. It is linked to more than 1,000 schools in 130 countries as well as think tanks, newspapers, TV and radio stations, universities - and even a bank. The network is unlike anything else as it has no formal structure, no visible organization and no official membership (Stourton, 2011). Followers of the Gülen Movement are people who are inspired The Gülen movement is the creation of a network, as they claim to base their network on the modern understanding of Islam (Turkey: Fethullah Gülen profile, 2008). The network consists of private schools, universities, media outlets and civil society groups. The movement is considered an Islamist sect by some and argued that their proponent of tolerance and dialogue is just a show-off and that they work toward purposes quite the opposite (Rachel Sharon-Krespin, 2009).

In Turkey, the Gülen movement is seen as a counterweight to ultra-nationalism (The Economist, 2008). However, in places that it’s active the movement promotes

³³ Interview with Çiğdem Acar, Founder and President of Bridges of Hope Project, March 17, 2012.

³⁴ More on him can be watched here: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00h5b4j>

³⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/G%C3%BClen_movement

Turkishness and teaches the culture and the language. The movement has been criticized of seeking to subvert the modern secular state of the Turkish Republic. That creates a division in the Turkish community not only in Turkey but also in countries like the United States, where the movement has a huge presence. As of June 2009, 23.52 percent of the total Turkish-American organizations were related to the Gülen network (Anil 2010). The Gülen Movement is especially active in education in the United States. As of September 2012, there were 135 Gülen charter schools and operating in 26 states in the United States. The Gülen movement denies the formal connection to these schools. As there isn't any formal institution, it's very difficult to tie them to the movement. There is even a website that compiles evidence that shows the schools are connected to the Gülen Movement and to warn people about the movement. The website writes: "[The] Gülen Movement is secretive. Its activities and methods are complicated, intentionally obscure, in a constant state of flux, and difficult to grasp. However, the essence of this Movement can be summed up in a single sentence, written by researcher Aydin Ozipek in his 2009 thesis. Ozipek attended Gülen schools in Turkey, and had extensive direct contact with the movement. He wrote: "...the primary objective of the Gülen Movement is to increase its share of power"³⁶ among the community in Turkey.

In 1999, Gülen migrated to the United States when he was forced to leave Turkey in 1998 on charges that he was working to overthrow the secular government, after the leaking of a video urging his followers to "move within the arteries of the system, without anyone noticing your existence, until you reach all the power centers. You must wait until such time as you have got all the state power" (Harter, Winter 2012/2013). Since then he has been living in a segregated house in Pennsylvania even though charges

³⁶ <http://turkishinvitations.weebly.com/>

against him were dropped. He does not interact with people other than his very close group of followers. His followers constantly visit him there.

Since Gülen's move to the United States the number of Turkish-Americans who identify themselves as Fethullahists have increased rapidly. The early settlers of the Turkish-American community mostly identified themselves as elite seculars and practice of religion has never been part of their engagements. However, Fethullahists identify themselves as Muslim Turks, not as elite seculars. These newcomers who were already followers of the Gülen movement in Turkey weren't welcomed at the already established Turkish organizations so they have started establishing their own organizations, known as "Fethullah Gülen organizations." These organizations replicate what has already existed in the community.

Gülen movement followers' philanthropy is not a personal statement. They all give at least 25-30 percent of their annual income to the movement without questioning³⁷. Their giving is not directly guided by their personal philanthropic goals or motivations. Additionally, the movement is not transparent about its giving. Even the organizations that are known as related to the Gülen Movement (even though they do not accept it) do not openly share how they spend their dollars. Their contributions back to Turkey are directed to their organizations and are not very transparent. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the philanthropic actions of the Gülen movement will not be counted as giving by the Turkish-American diaspora.

³⁷ Interview with Çiğdem Acar, Founder and President of Bridges of Hope Project, March 17, 2012.

3.2 Context of Study: Turkish-American Diaspora Philanthropy

The potential size of diaspora philanthropy is an increasing function of the income/wealth of a diaspora and its propensity to give. In turn, the total wealth of a diaspora is an increasing function of its size, income, and vintage. The demographics, income and education of Turkish-Americans make it attractive as a potential source of philanthropy. Nearly three fourths of people of Turkish origin in the United States were born in Turkey and their demographic structure is relatively young, which means that the links of the US-based diaspora to Turkey are strong. Yet, one of the key questions that we need to answer to understand the impact of their giving to Turkey is the extent to which they are willing to give back. Because analysis just based on numbers cannot give the real picture of the impact of diaspora philanthropy.

The Turkish-American community is a predominantly immigrant community. They are conscious of their ethnic ties. The key driving force behind Turkish diaspora giving today has been the growth in the number of migrants who are born in Turkey and who now work in the United States. Three-fourths of Turkish-Americans living in the United States have immigrated to the United States; only 25 percent are US-born (Kaya, 2003). Indeed, half of all Turkish-Americans who immigrated between 1980 and 2008 did so during or after 1990, and one in every four arrived in the last ten years, which means that they still have strong ties to their homeland (Kaya 2003). As the number of Turkish-Americans increases, the number of diaspora organizations has also been increasing. Most of the intermediary organizations whose sole mission is to channel philanthropic giving back to Turkey were established after 2000.

Philanthropy done by the diaspora towards homeland is very personal. Motivations varied from supporting a young girl's right to go to school to boosting their

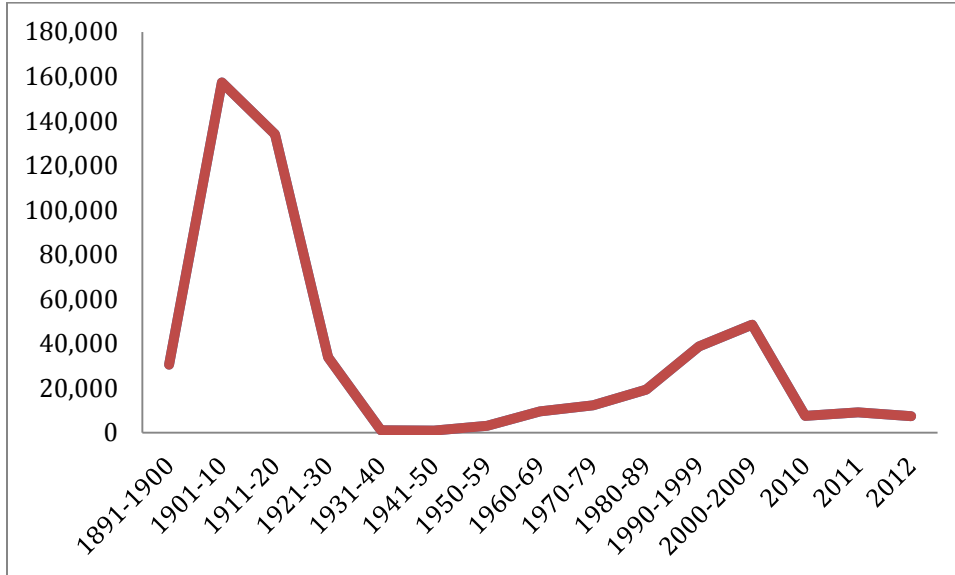
hometown's social and economic development. In contrast to traditional ways of diaspora giving, Turkish-Americans mostly do not send money back home to their families as their families back home are not in need of their financial assistance. Nor they are your usual undocumented migrants in the United States. Turkish-Americans are college educated doctors, and engineers who came to the United States in increasing numbers after the changes in the Immigration Laws in 1965 for education and training purposes (Kaya 2003) (See Table 4). For these diaspora members motivations of giving to Turkey rise from their concerns for development. It is giving beyond the household and involves giving other than their families.

Table 4 Turks Obtaining Legal Permanent Residence (1891-2012)

1891-1900	30,425
1901-10	157,369
1911-20	134,066
1921-30	33,824
1931-40	1,065
1941-50	798
1950-59	2,980
1960-69	9,464
1970-79	12,209
1980-89	19,208
1990-1999	38,687
2000-2009	48,394
2010	7,435
2011	9,040
2012	7,362

Source: 2012 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics

Chart 1 Turks Obtaining Legal Permanent Residence (1891-2012)



Source: 2012 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics

A large fraction of diaspora giving of Turkish-American happens through informal channels³⁸ and is not documented. The Turkish-American diaspora has a great mistrust of official institutions and formal organizations unless they have personal links to them. Therefore, substantial diaspora inflows are made directly to individuals and to organizations where there is some connection through family and friends. A significant portion of diaspora giving takes the form of traditional “charity” aimed at immediate needs, with limited longer-term social impact. The traditional structure of Turkish organizations was based on membership where the aim was to bring the community together. Until very recently, Turkish-Americans who wanted to give to Turkey used these local membership associations. These organizations have still been actively doing fundraisers to give back to Turkey, yet the new phenomenon is something different. New diaspora Turkish-American organizations have emerged with the sole mission of

³⁸ Both financial and social remittances.

supporting social issues in Turkey. I believe, as one of the founders of these organizations said, that the “Turkish community reached a point where we are wealthy enough to think about giving back. And, we understand that our collective efforts can make more of a difference.”³⁹ This development in the United States has inspired the organizations in Turkey to reach out to the United States to tap into these sources. Based on the fundraising patterns, giving methods, and other characteristics, we can divide Turkish-American diaspora philanthropy into the following five categories⁴⁰:

1. **Traditional Philanthropy:** These are mainly community organizations, which are based on membership and mobilize their members to give back to causes in Turkey. They also include Turkish-Americans who prefer to give to charities in Turkey through personal contacts.

Up until very recently personal relationships and connections carried more weight than formal and institutional relationships in Turkish-Americans giving, because there has been a lack of trust among the community. Turkish-Americans, especially those who occupy leadership positions, invite their circle of friends to donate to causes they are acquainted with. Some of these giving circles eventually turned into established NGOs.

This way of giving disadvantaged causes that have few or no contacts with people in the United States. Some of Turkey’s non-profit organizations were run by people who either were educated, had lived or had studied in the United States and happened to make personal connections with Turkish-American donors.

2. **Strategic Philanthropists (Diaspora Champions):** These are mainly individuals who not only give back financially but think about their philanthropy more strategically.

³⁹ Interview with Cigdem Acar, Founder and President of Bridges of Hope Project, March 17, 2012.

⁴⁰ Categories are based on classification of Yin, Xiao-Huang and Zhiyong Lan. May 2003. *Why Do They Give? Change and Continuity in Chinese American Transnational Philanthropy since the 1970s*. Harvard University.

They are mainly influenced from the global philanthropic movement and initiatives such as “The Giving Pledge⁴¹.” The main characteristics of these individuals are: (1) They give more than money; (2) They stay connected to the projects they support; (3) They act like a start-up entrepreneur towards the projects they support, overseeing every aspect; (4) They open up their own personal and professional networks to increase the impact of the initiatives; (5) They share the skills and knowledge they have gained in the hostland; and (6) They help to apply the models they have learned about in the hostland.

3. Turkish-American Transnational NGOs: These include various organizations that are established by Turkish-Americans to give back to Turkey. While some of these organizations raise money in the traditional way for immediate relief, some of them have started to address the problems underlying health and educational concerns.

4. Professional Associations: These are organizations that are established for certain professions. They very rarely raise funds but maintain contact with their counterparts in Turkey to exchange ideas and share knowledge. The largest and most known professional association is TASSA that brings together academicians.

5. Alumni Associations: These are mainly community organizations founded by immigrants to support their alma maters in Turkey, such as the Robert College Alumni Association, and the Bilkent University Alumni Association.

This dissertation highlights the impact of diaspora champions.

3.3 Case Selection

While there are many initiatives among the Turkish-American diaspora to give back to Turkey, most of them are small in scale and concentrate on financial capital

⁴¹ The Giving Pledge is a commitment by the world's wealthiest individuals and families to dedicate the majority of their wealth to philanthropy. For more information: <http://givingpledge.org/> -

transfers. Two specific initiatives will provide data for this study: The formation of the first community foundation in Turkey, *Bolu* Community Foundation, and an initiative, INOVIZ that brought together private sector, academia and civil society to address the needs of the health sector in the city of Izmir and ways to integrate technological innovation into the development of the sector. The two cases were selected to reflect a comprehensive definition of diaspora philanthropy, which encompasses giving back not just financial capital but also social and human capital. Both initiatives' aim is to be partnership builders within their communities. The first case, the establishment of Turkey's first community foundation, is based on the idea that local resources, expertise and commitment must be brought into play to develop sustainable philanthropic resources. The second case is based on a notion to create a network among local partners as well as the diaspora to establish sustainable resources for local development.

The seeds of Turkey's first and only community foundation, which was established in June 2008, were planted by the diaspora. Haldun Tashman is originally from the city of *Bolu*. Haldun became involved with the Arizona Community Foundation for his personal philanthropy in the United States and was convinced that the model of "community foundations" would be beneficial for donor communities in Turkey. Tashman's philanthropic intention was to leverage social change. The province of *Bolu* ranks 14th in terms of economic development among the 81 provinces in Turkey, and is growing rapidly with a dynamic private sector. *Bolu* also has deeply rooted philanthropic traditions, personified in İzzet Baysal, a pioneering industrialist who dedicated his life and fortune to improving the quality of life in the province. Yet, rapid economic growth goes hand-in-hand with high levels of migration, environmental challenges and an

increasing demand for social services. Many business leaders in the city are passionate about their community and have been giving informally but in a very traditional ways.

The idea of establishing a community foundation in his hometown was not an easy task for Tashman. He understood that more than funds, leadership, skills and networks were needed to make it happen. He also understood that the impact on his hometown might not be seen right away. After the idea started to materialize back in 2005, Tashman joined forces with TUSEV (Third Sector Foundation of Turkey) to promote the community foundation concept and establish a pilot project in Turkey. Early in 2005, TUSEV started a “promoting community philanthropy” initiative. The goal was to promote philanthropy in Turkey but they didn’t have specific projects in hand. The initiative first turned into a local movement in *Bolu* then into a national movement once Tashman got involved when he was looking for a vehicle to give back to his hometown of *Bolu*. He brought together Bolu’s civic leaders, got them interested in the idea of community philanthropy and inspired them to establish a community foundation in Bolu. Haldun made these leaders, all of whom have been active philanthropists in Bolu, think about connecting to the community, and empowering people through the community foundation model. Tashman also worked closely with TUSEV so the organization guides Bolu leaders to build an endowment, to form their guiding documents and to register as a foundation. After its establishment, the Bolu Community Foundation (BCF) management and staff participated in TUSEV’s intensive coaching program to increase their fundraising, grantmaking, communications and governance capabilities. By 2012, the organization has administered 9 small grants ranging from \$200 to \$2,000, totaling \$20,000 to various organizations. In addition, in late 2009, the foundation launched an

Early Childhood Education Program and a Scholarship Program, which is a \$1 million social investment.

Haldun Tashman didn't stop at initiating the establishment of the first community foundation. He was interested in promoting community philanthropy all around Turkey. Currently, Tashman is working with TUSEV's "promoting community philanthropy" initiative to establish community foundations in other cities. An international grantmaker, the Mott Foundation, has also become a funder of the project and has started supporting the initiative.

The story of Prof. Banu Onaral is as much impactful. Prof. Banu Onaral, once the President of Turkish American Scientists and Scholars Association (TASSA) was interested in relating the experiences she gained in the United States to Turkey. In early 2000, the Turkish government initiated, the National Innovation Movement. The goal was to promote development through innovation in different sectors. A delegation representing the group visited the United States to meet with some members of the diaspora. During their visit, they also met with Prof. Banu Onaral and inspired her to become involved. Onaral was already doing similar work in other countries such as China. The National Innovation Movement at that time didn't have any specific projects and it was just an idea. Dr. Onaral took the initiative in hand and spearheaded the creation of "INOVIZ⁴² - Saglik icin Izmir, Health for Izmir", which aims to promote the health sector in Turkey by promoting partnerships between public and private. Even though the national innovation movement, started by the government and then housed under the Sabanci University, came to a halt, the projects initiated by the diaspora have continued growing and had a life of their own. First, three major universities in Izmir, Ege

⁴² The word INOVIZ is created by putting together the word "Innovation" and "Izmir".

University, Dokuz Eylül University, and Izmir Institute of Technology, which are leaders in the field of Biomedical Technologies, were approached. Replicating what she learned in the United States, Onaral brought different sectors together to discuss if and how industrial and academic partnerships can be created. Her goal was to transfer the skills and knowledge she gained in the United States to the field to Turkey. Prof. Banu Onaral says "Izmir has the human resources, physical infrastructure and academic research capacity to lead the Biomedical Technologies Industry and Production Sector. What was missing was that even though a lot had been going on in the city, they were not aware of each other's initiatives. We introduced them to each other and created a dialogue among them." A Turkish-American philanthropist and businessman, late Kaya Tuncer, also supported the initiative by opening the facilities of ESBAS (The Aegean Free Zone Development and Operating)⁴³ to the project. From one-on-one meetings with university deans to CSO leaders, the project developed three stages:

1. INOVERSITE, a virtual creation, will provide educational activities through the support of the three universities. An international Graduate Program has been activated at Biomedical Technologies field with the support of The Scientific and Technology Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK), TASSA, qualified EU universities and the three universities in Izmir. This program is going to give postgraduate (M. Sc.), doctorate (Ph. D) and post doctorate (Post Doc) degrees in an exchange-program model. The project is being carried out with the three universities, TASSA members that are currently living in the United States, advanced degree officials of TUBITAK, and an advanced coordination committee. Their goal is to train qualified researchers and encourage

⁴³ <http://www.esbas.com.tr/english/default.aspx>

research and development operations to make the region a leader in biomedical technologies field.

2. INOVAKENT is a Research & Development Center created and operated by ESBAS, and other local and foreign stakeholders. The goal is to provide scientists at universities with devices they cannot get due to financial difficulties.

3. INOVATEK, a Science and Technology Park, will pave the way for commercializing the research results. The plan is to especially promote products to international medical firms.

After the establishment of INOVIZ, INOVIST (Innovation Istanbul) and INNOVKARA (Innovation Ankara) were also started with Prof. Onaral's involvement. Prof. Onaral has still being working with leaders in Turkey – going to Turkey once a month – to promote the idea to other cities.

3.3.1. Resemblance of Cases

In both of the initiatives diasporans led the start-up of local initiatives and mobilized local leadership towards that goal. Both were ideas that got interest nationally. The idea of “INOVIZ” was replicated in Istanbul and then in Ankara. Those following initiatives became more successful than the initial project in Izmir. Promotion of “community foundations” in other cities of Turkey has turned into a major program of TUSEV and has been also supported by a major US foundation, Mott Foundation. In both cases, diaspora members transfer the knowledge, experience and skills they have gained in the hostland. Furthermore, they not only were very highly motivated to help home but also were very involved in the projects. Another similarity is that both of diasporans were very influenced by philanthropic figures from their homeland, which led them to act. In

both cases involvement with and initiation of the projects at first created criticism but then brought trust and credibility.

3.3.2. Difference of Cases

The context of impact is different in the two cases. While in one case the projected outcome is to develop the local town by developing the philanthropy sector, in the other case the goal is to create a synergy and collaboration between sectors (private and social) to develop one specific industry, which is believed to have an impact on local economic development.

Furthermore, the cities, Izmir and Bolu, are socio-economically different from each other. While Izmir is a large metropolis in the western extremity and the third most populous city in Turkey, Bolu is a relatively smaller city with a little over 270,000 population. Izmir provides 10.5 percent of all tax revenues collected by Turkey and its exports correspond to 6 percent and its imports 4 percent of Turkey's foreign trade. The city is Turkey's third largest exporter after Istanbul and Bursa, and the fifth largest importer. Eighty-five to ninety percent of the region's exports and approximately one fifth of all Turkish exports are made through the Port. Bolu is a busy market town rather than a large city. Students from the university and soldiers based in Bolu make an important contribution to the local economy, which traditionally depended on forestry and handicrafts.

3.4 Research Questions and Hypotheses

1. *Study of Diaspora Philanthropy*: Why does diaspora philanthropy occur? What are the reasons and incentives for the diaspora to engage in philanthropic giving towards their homelands? What are the mechanisms for understanding the social and economic context in which diaspora philanthropy is produced? How do diasporas connect with the homeland philanthropically? How do communities of migrants become diaspora communities in the sense that they become transformed into something more than identification with the homeland, yet not exclusively identified with the adopted country culture?

2. *Diaspora Philanthropy's Role in International Development*: Do diaspora have the capacity to play a role in local development of home countries through supporting civil initiatives? What are the implications of the diaspora's hybrid identities for development influence? Can transfers of social and human capital impact development? How does diaspora philanthropy impact local development through supporting civil initiatives?

3. *Political and Legal Frameworks in the Homeland*: Why, and more importantly, how were diaspora involvements able to perceive the needs, and how were they able to help the emergence of local social entrepreneurs and enterprises? What were the processes by which they were able to institutionalize these understandings into innovative ideas? And how were these processes fueled and supported by legal and political structures in the homeland? To what extent political, economic and social contextual factors impact how diasporans interact in the homeland?

Financial transfers are clearly a great way to recognize the growing impact of diaspora philanthropy. But, analyzing contributions of the diaspora just in financial sense

is an incomplete analysis. As the studies in the area increased, it became clear that there is more to cross-border transfers of migrants than financial capital transfers. The efforts of one member of the diaspora not only brought the concept of community philanthropy to Turkey but also changed the civil society sector in one city and now working to change it in the rest of the country. Another diasporan revived the health sector by being the catalyst in bringing the private, the public and the civil sectors together. While scholars have agreed on the definition of human capital as the flow of ideas gained in the hostland (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988), social capital is a term that has created contrasting arguments. Social capital has come to be associated with democracy through Robert Putnam's famous works, *Making Democracy Work* (1993) and later in *Bowling Alone* (2000), which coupled James Coleman's (1988) definition of social capital as a productive asset derived from the social structure that facilitates the cooperation among people, with Alexis de Tocqueville's (2004) ideas on voluntary associations (Skocpol & Fiorina 1999). Putnam assesses the causality between a propensity to participate in associations with social, economic and institutional performances, and correlates democracy with the socialization of individuals (Putnam 1993). Yet, Putnam's (1993) approach neglects to analyze the ways in which institutions and organizations create incentives for individuals to engage in various kinds of behaviors and whether the outcome is socially optimal (Skocpol & Fiorina 1999; Li 1999⁴⁴). It is important to understand the reasons and intentions of the particular social, economic or political contexts that produce the social capital (Armony 2004) as it creates optimal results for

⁴⁴ Xiaorong Li (1999) in *Democracy and Uncivil Societies: A Critique of Civil Society Determinism* criticizes civil society determinism by using the examples of Bosnia, Algeria, Sri Lanka, Somalia, and Rwanda, where vibrant civil societies existed before violence occurred, and the examples of China, Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia, where he shows civil society flourishes even when democracy does not.

some and not for others (Foley& Edwards 1999). This dissertation defines social capital as the ways in which members of the diaspora bring together different segments of the society both in host and origin country, allowing reciprocal relationships among different networks to be established among individuals and organizations without any expectations of return. Toward this end, this dissertation has three major hypotheses:

Hypothesis #1: In addition to transferring financial capital, diaspora communities express their hybrid identities best through philanthropy that is done through social & human capital;

Hypothesis #2: The impact of diaspora philanthropy is enhanced when diasporans are able to mobilize locals for development and when projects are transformed from diaspora funded initiatives to locally owned projects.

Hypothesis #3a: Diasporas take on intermediary roles to make an impact on local development through supporting civil initiatives.

Hypothesis #3b: Diaspora philanthropy's impact on local development depends on the ecosystem in Turkey.

Variables

Dependent Variable – Diaspora Philanthropy

Independent Variables – Hybrid-identity of diasporans, legal and political frameworks of the local, local leadership and local needs and issues.

3.5 Method and Data

This study employs a comparative method where two in-depth case studies with a qualitative approach were placed in the comparative framework for analysis. I relied on an in-depth case study methodology because (1) I found it to be the most appropriate to understand a complex issue such as diaspora philanthropy and social processes

surrounding it where multiple issues impact each other (Adam Przeworski et al. 2000; Gray King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba 1994) ; and (2) since the dissertation investigates the impact of diaspora philanthropy within its real-life context, multiple sources of evidence are needed to analyze the relationship between diaspora philanthropy and civil initiatives in Turkey (Yin 2003).

As I start this study, I grappled with questions such as how diaspora philanthropy can explain development through different cases; how can the case studies I picked be used to analyze diaspora philanthropy; can I create an adequate methodology that permits powerful generalizations based on the observation of the two cases I picked. All these questions raise (1) problems of validity, and (2) the ability to generalize beyond the case of being observed, especially with small number of cases as I was going to study. Comparative methods provide answers to these questions.

Comparative method refers to the methodological issues that arise in the systematic analysis of a small number of cases. Comparative analysis has three goals: (1) Systematic examination of co-variation among cases for the purpose of causal analysis; (2) The examination of a number of cases with the goal of showing that a set of concepts usefully illuminates these cases; and (3) The examination of two or more cases to highlight how different they are, thus establishing a framework for interpreting how parallel processes of change are played out (Skocpol & Somers, 1980). This study by drawing attention to fundamental questions of concept formation argues that comparative research is not about comparing but explaining (Przeworski, Mayer, Sartori, 1994). Therefore, my goal with the study is not only creating valid casual inferences but also creation of clear concepts such as diaspora philanthropy. I argue that a better theory is the answer to generating valid knowledge in comparative method as it can make better use of

few or single observations. However, it's criticized. In the following paragraphs, I'll try to justify why I believe comparative method is appropriate for this study.

Some like King, Koehane, and Verba (1994) argue that the highest goal for social inquiry is to create valid causal inferences. On the other side David Laitin (1995) believes that political science's aim has never been valid causal inferences, and that throughout modern social theory history, the essence of social theory is seen as the creation of clear concepts. Max Weber suggested that the essence of social theory is in the creation of clear concepts and Durkheim was concerned with the identification of social facts. But, King, Koehane, and Verba (1994) highlight the making of valid causal inferences as the highest goal for social inquiry and they are weak in analyzing the role of concept formation. Laitin (1995) argues that even concepts' causal role in the political process remains obscure; they help us see the universe in a more patterned way. But, he mentions that King, Koehane, and Verba's (1994) framework guides political scientists to set clear criteria to identify concepts even though they have undervalued the crucial role of concept formation.

Comparative politics is also criticized on the basis that rigorous testing of hypotheses is difficult with small number of cases. Lijphart (1971) explains the reason behind Small-N analysis of comparative method by limited resources. Among these difficulties, that of the valid application of concepts across diverse contexts has been especially vexing. The comparative method allows systematic comparison that if appropriately utilized can contribute to adjudicating among rival explanations. Lijphart (1971) offers three solutions to the problem of too many variables and very small number of cases: 1. Increasing the number of cases 2. Focusing on comparable cases and 3. Reducing the number of variables. Lijphart (1975) explores further the trade-off between

the goal of increasing the number of cases and the goal of matching the cases as a substitute for statistical control. He opts in favor of the more careful matching of fewer cases and he goes as far as to restrict the application of the term comparative method to analyses that focus on a small number of carefully matched cases. The evolving debates on comparative politics have suggested further refinements in Lijphart's original solutions. Robert Jackman (1985) insists that comparative statistical research has had more success than is recognized. Lijphart later on in his 1991 study "The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws" moves in this direction, too and accepts that small number of cases is not problematic.

Sartori (1970) elucidates the problem of validity and thereby strengthens the justification for a small number. Sartori (1970) suggests that the application of a concept to a broader range of cases can lead to conceptual stretching, as some of the meanings associated with the concept fail to fit the new cases. The concepts that can most easily be applied to a broad range of cases are often so general that they do not bring into focus the similarities and contrasts among cases that are essential building blocks in worthwhile comparative analysis. Consequently a study focused on concepts that are carefully adapted to this "finer slicing" of a given set of cases should be extended to other cases only with great caution.

On the contrary, Przeworski & Teune (1970) and again Przeworski (1987) suggest that even with careful matching of cases, there remains a problem of over-determination in that this design fails to eliminate many rival explanations, leaving the researcher with no criteria for choosing among them as they are "most similar." Although they argue that achieving a high level of generality should be a basic goal of social science, they are concerned with the difficulties that can arise in generalizing beyond an

initial set of cases. So, instead of a “most similar” design, I prefer a “most different” systems design, based on a set of cases which are highly diverse and among which the analyst traces similar processes of change.

Along these lines the following qualitative data sources were collected between May 2010 and June 2012 to better understand the philanthropic interactions of the diaspora and their impact on the homeland. The case study methodology was combined with open-ended interviews, document analysis and participant observation (see Table 5 for summary of methods). The decision to combine case studies with other methods is to facilitate analysis beyond the particular observations collected. The methodologies I used were tailored to the context and processes that I was observing and grew out of the conceptual understandings I developed as the research progressed.

Interviews:

The focal point of this study is individuals. However, individuals are outcomes of social contexts, which are “structured by institutions, formal and informal, to provide framework for individual actions and interactions” (Dhesi, 2010, p.710). Interviews have been used to discover the thought process of individuals to receive information about their motivations and behaviors that would reveal their reality. The interviews allowed me to better understand the cases, to get a grasp of the hybrid-identities of Turkish-Americans and permitted me to do an examination of the impact of philanthropic investments in Turkey.

17 in-depth, semi-structured and recorded interviews were made in Turkey with representatives of civil society organizations, leaders of civil initiatives, university professors and local and central government representatives. 21 interviews were conducted in the United States. These in-depth, semi-structured and recorded interviews

were made with members of the Turkish-American diaspora, leaders of Turkish-American organizations. Interview subjects were contacted mostly via e-mail or phone and were selected initially through my own experience as a professional in the field. My association with Turkish-American organizations in the United States, leaders of the Turkish-American community and with civil society organizations receiving funding from the Turkish-American diaspora enabled easy access to interviewees. I used my personal contacts to reach out to the community for the first interviews. Initial interviews led to contacts for other interviews. Each interview lasted about one-hour. Second interviews were done with some of the subjects during writing process. All semi-structured interviews, except one, were conducted in Turkish. I also conducted a number of open-ended informal interviews with consultants, representatives of multilateral organizations like the World Bank, staff from the US State department, and diaspora organizations of other communities at the meetings of Diaspora Forum held by the US State Department, and in other contexts.

Participatory Observation: In addition to interviews, I engaged in participant observation. Participant observation techniques were my preliminary research method in this study. I have been a member of the Turkish-American community for 14 years and have been actively serving in many Turkish-American organizations. My place in the Turkish-American community enabled me not only to attend their events but also board meetings and leadership conferences. My intensive involvement in the Turkish-American community allowed me to gain a close and intimate familiarity with Turkish-Americans and their practices over an extended period of time.

Since I am the Chief Operating Officer of a diaspora philanthropy organization, Turkish Philanthropy Funds, I go to Turkey to visit the projects we support multiple

times a year. This enabled me to get a better understanding of the civil society sector, the players in the field as well as the needs. Additionally, I attended conferences organized for all diaspora groups in the United States. Finally, and most importantly, since I am a professional in the field, I have been in contact with many diasporans who are interested in giving back to Turkey and also with organizations in Turkey who are receiving assistance. This has given me a chance to observe people's behaviors in their natural environments. Being a part of a diaspora organization and very closely involved with major donors allowed me to gain an in-depth understanding of the Turkish-American diaspora over an extended period. All of these individuals and organizations besides the case studies I selected provided me a lot of insight on how diasporans approach philanthropic giving and how the receiving parties have been using the assistance.

However, my involvement with one of the diaspora organizations also raises concerns for the objectivity of the study, and the possibility of bias in the use of evidence. As a social scientist that tends to agree with Max Weber on the view of objectivity in social science, I believe that since our research topics and questions are shaped by our values and life experiences, objectivity is an ideal (Weber, et al 1946). The value driving my research is the aim to find ways in which diaspora philanthropy impacts development in the homeland positively. My practice of trying to reach "objectivity" is a deliberate exercise. I believe that acknowledgement of my value orientation will lead me to objective evaluation.

Document Research: I also conducted extensive document research. I drew on data in electronic media, including websites produced by the projects supported in Turkey and diaspora organizations, groups in the United States, electronic newsletters sent by diaspora organizations, Facebook and twitter pages of diaspora organizations and

twitter accounts of some of the individuals I interviewed. I also reviewed mission statements of the organizations in Turkey, their reports and also news pieces.

Table 5 Summary of Methods

Methods	Turkey	United States
Case Study	<i>Bolu</i> Community Foundation and the INOVIZ initiative	
Receiving country sites	Bolu, Izmir	
Host country sites		New York, CA, MA, Washington, DC, TX,
Semi-structured interviews	17	21
Participant observation	Project sites, Events of the initiatives	Diaspora group meetings, Meetings of organizations,
Press review	Local and national press	
Conferences	Effective Donation and Inspiring Donation Stories Conference in Istanbul, Turkey Rural Development Conference by Ozyegin Foundation in Istanbul, Turkey	Diaspora Forum in Washington, DC
Other Data Sources	Organization's websites and Facebook/twitter pages	Diaspora group websites, Twitter and Facebook accounts of organizations, twitter accounts of some diasporans

I understand that this dissertation addresses an area of inquiry that is idiosyncratic and full of definitional and analytical challenges – from the definition of civil society and diaspora to limited data, including obstacles to calculating the value of the charitable transfers flowing through non-monetary channels. However, I believe more studies need to be done to better understand the impact of diaspora philanthropy in home countries in order to better strategize and increase the effects of transnational dollars that go

especially through non-monetary transfers. The goal in this study is to better understand the concepts related through different methods.

Philanthropic participation of the Diaspora: The interviews I did helped me to study philanthropic participation of diaspora members and how/what it has changed in the local. Human and social capitals are measured through a detail analysis of the cases. The main issues such as whether financial contributions have been leveraged with social and human capital; the distribution channels of diaspora giving; the extent to which these are siphoned through formal channels; where the diaspora resources go; and how much the diaspora is involved with their giving are elicited by open-ended questioning in semi-structured interviews with donors. Staffs and trustees of the selected cases are interviewed to explain how involved diaspora donors are; for what purposes diaspora resources have been deployed and how effectively; how the diaspora's involvement has changed perceptions of the community leaders; and whether diaspora contributions provide a means of leveraging development in Turkey.

Leadership: Interviews helped me to better understand who the leaders of the cases were studied both from local and from diaspora communities and what roles they have taken on. Detail analysis of the profiles of the selected initiatives is done through document analysis. Detail document analysis helped me define who serves on the board of these organizations; who the stakeholders are; and individuals that are involved in decision-making. The organizational profile attempts to delineate the relationships and networks that exist among these institutions and to assess the organization's internal characteristics that may promote or hinder the building of social capital in a given community. The organizational profile assesses the organizations' origins and development, in terms of historical and community context, institutional capacity, in

terms of the quality of leadership, participation, organizational culture and organizational capacity.

Local Needs and Issues: Interviews helped me to study the major needs, issues and problems in the local and the way in which the local civil society have been reacting to it. Nearly half of the interviews were done with external stakeholders, such as government, private sector, media and academic representatives are also interviewed for their perception of the diaspora's impact on development in Turkey. While analyzing this data, I bring other considerations into the picture such as the international political climate, levels of socio-economic development and the political history of Turkey, and current social conditions. The rationale is to capture 'external' opinions from important stakeholders, thus giving the study a more objective perspective on the state of civil society in Turkey and the impact of diaspora giving.

Local Social and Political Structures: Interviews provided information on how local government agencies connect to civil initiatives and what their relationships have been. Furthermore, case studies helped me to understand to which extent other contextual issues such as local government, political, social and economic issues are influential in development.

Local newspapers also are reviewed during the projects' implementation period to observe whether and what kind of impact projects had in the local community, and the degree of alignment between projects and community needs and project's viability in the community in the long-run.

Hybrid-identity: To better grasp the impact of being connected to two countries has on the identity of individuals and their philanthropic behaviors, interviews were my primary resource. They assisted me to analyze the reasons, motivations and incentives of

diaspora to engage in philanthropic giving towards their homelands. The first group consists of 10 people who are staffs and trustees of Turkish-American organizations. The second group consists of 11 people and represents both individuals who have been giving back to Turkey and people who have been more connected to the causes of Turkish-Americans in the United States. Some of these individuals have been contributing to Turkey in various ways from sending money to give scholarships to connecting entrepreneurs in the United States to entrepreneurs in Turkey for possible collaborations. Others involve individuals who lobby for Turkish government or work in the United States against other pro-Turk lobbies to portray a better picture of Turks. The objective here is to establish a consensus definition of the “Turkish-American diaspora” in which the research took place.

In the next chapter, the dissertation addresses the issue of the enabling ecosystem in the homeland and how that impacts how diaspora connects back home and also how it impacts local development.

Chapter 4: Enabling Environment in the Homeland

While Turkey is developing economically, its civil society sector has also been flourishing. The acceptance of Turkey as a European Union (EU) candidate country in 1999 and the official opening of the membership talks in December 2004 have re-framed and further legitimized the role of the civil society in Turkey's future. This new era has led the government to reform laws with regards to civil society and local development, and encouraged increased action and civic engagement. In 2004, a new Associations Law⁴⁵ was enacted in Turkey, which lifted some of the limitations of civil society such as informing local government officials of the day/time/location of general assembly meetings and the requirement to invite government officials to general assembly meetings, and security forces being allowed on the premises of associations with no court orders. Additionally, in 2008, Turkey adopted a new Foundations Law, which allowed citizens to take a more active role in policy-making as establishing a foundation became easier (Bikmen 2009). Furthermore, the accession to the EU forced Turkey to change its approach to local development and involve the contribution of the local actors in the decision-making. In 2006, the law establishing Regional Development Agencies was passed, changing the landscape of local development in Turkey. All these developments in Turkey created an enabling environment for the diaspora to take part in local development. Diaspora philanthropy became a catalyst in local development as the legal system, the economic conditions, and the political environment created the enabling

⁴⁵ There are two legal forms of CSOs in Turkey: associations and foundations. Article 56 of the Civil Code defines associations as "a society formed by unity of at least seven real persons or legal entities for realization of a common object other than sharing of profit by collecting information and performing studies for such purpose." Article 101 of the Civil Code defines foundations as "charity groups in the status of a legal entity formed by real persons or legal entities dedicating their private property and rights for public use."

environment for it to flourish.

Table 6 Comparison of Associations and Foundations in Turkey

Organizational Forms	Associations	Foundations
Registration Body	Ministry of Interior, Department of Associations	The courts, with possible review made by the General Directorate of Foundations
Barriers to Entry	At least 7 founders required to establish association. Executive board of at least 5 people required. Board must have Turkish majority. Foreigners can be members of board provided they reside in Turkey.	Minimum capital of 50,000 Turkish liras (approx.35, 000 USD) is required to establish a foundation.
Barriers to Activities	Standard annual reporting forms considered cumbersome and time consuming. Required to complete standard forms before receiving or using foreign funding or opening new branch offices.	Standard annual reporting forms considered cumbersome and time consuming. Required to complete standard forms before receiving or using foreign funding or opening new branch offices.
Barriers to Speech and/or Advocacy	Prohibition against directly engaging in “political” activities.	Prohibition against directly engaging in “political” activities.
Barriers to International Contact	Required to notify Government when receiving grant from international organization.	Required to notify Government when receiving grant from international organization.
Barriers to Resources	Required to notify Government before using foreign funding.	Required to notify Government within one month of receiving foreign funding.

Source: The International Center for Non-Profit Law⁴⁶

4.1. Turkish State & Civil Society

Civil society organizations in Turkey, which are considered to be the basis of democratization, for long years have been under hard scrutiny of the Turkish state. Historically, the Turkish state has consolidated its absolute power by controlling

⁴⁶ <http://www.icnl.org/research/monitor/turkey.html>

politicians and governments and has always been suspicious of civil society's influence over democratic decision-making. Moreover, the state's explicit attempt to cut the connections between civil and political societies both through constitutional arrangements and military interventions whenever civil society gained influence aroused distaste on the part of the civil society against the state.

The Turkish Republic inherited a strong bureaucratic state from the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman state explicitly sought to prevent the formation of economically and politically powerful groups that could function "independently from the central government" (Mardin, 259). The Ottomans were convinced that the only way to maintain an ethnically, religiously and linguistically heterogeneous empire was through empowering the state apparatus. The Ottoman preoccupation with concentrating power in the hands of the ruling elite in order to maintain several distinct groups together under a single state, coupled with lack of intermediate bodies, "led to the emergence of a center-periphery cleavage along cultural lines" (Heper, 2000, p. 66). This wide gap between the center and the periphery "has obstructed communication among various groups, leading to a disparity in the outlook, attitude and values among the ruling elite, local notables and ordinary subjects" (Evin, 1984). As a consequence of the isolation of the ruling elite from the rest of the population, the elite came to see ordinary subjects as unsophisticated and to perceive themselves superior to them which, in turn, ingrained the idea of top-down modernization into Ottoman-Turkish political culture (Heper, 2000). The modernization project of the Turkish Republic has been carried out in this spirit, where the masses have been regarded as passive recipients, who could be molded according to the ideals of the elite. As Heper (2000) suggests, "the Ottoman desire for a strong state that would

regulate the polity and society from above left a particular imprint on democracy in Turkey” (p. 71).

The Turkish modernization project and the single-party period (1923-1950) were mostly guided by the state elites whose main goal was to westernize Turkey. The modernization project carried out in a top-down fashion deeply affected the evolution of civil society in Turkey where democracy was the decision of the elite. The fundamental idea behind the modernization project was to attain the standards of modern societies. They defined democratic principles in their own way and the state has positioned itself against society and treated it as an “immature mass of people” (Aydin 2005). The Turkish elites believed that the policies that emerge from a robust civil society might be “biased, wrongheaded and too long in the making” (Schmitter 1986). Therefore, they imagined an ideal democratic society where ordinary citizens do not participate in politics. (Aydin 2005). This created a mentality where the government is the only provider of services and controller of all power and activities (Zurcher, 2004 cited in Bikmen, 2006). Civic action has only been seen as the basis of ‘duty’ toward the state. (Pope N. and Pope H., 1997 cited in Bikmen, 2006). As such, a civil society continued to exist, but it was significantly less vibrant, both in terms of scope and economic size, and faced great limitations as a result of state control.

4.2 European Union’s Civil Society Initiative in Turkey

Turkey has been given grants from the EU budget and loans from the European Investment Bank (EIB) since 1963 (Baykal. 2007). During the first protocol (1964-1969), community loans worth of 175 million Euros were given to Turkey. The amount rose with the Second Protocol (1973-1976) - EIB loans for 195 million Euros - and Third Protocol (1979-1981) - Community loan for 220 million Euros and EIB loan for 90

million Euros. Neither these protocols nor several other sources of funds later on included assistance to Civil Society Organizations. The first of the funds for direct assistance to CSOs did not come until 1993, when the EU Commission allocated financial support under various budget lines to many Turkish non-governmental organizations working to promote democracy, human rights and civil society. Since 1993 NGOs in Turkey have received grants averaging 500,000 million Euros. Just between 2003 and 2005, European Union Commission has given 1.6 million Euros to social projects in Turkey under the civil society empowerment project.

Since acquiring candidacy status, Turkey has been eligible to join community programs and receive financial assistance under the pre-accession program. This both formalized and systematized assistance to Turkey. On December 17, 2001, the Council adopted regulations concerning pre-accession financial assistance for Turkey determining a certain amount of annual assistance, which was increased with the Commission's Strategy Paper of 2002. One of the most important and comprehensive programs initiated by the Commission to support the CSOs has been the "Civil Society Program." EU started the "Civil Society Dialogue" with Turkey to support the membership accession process with a strong, deep and sustained dialogue between Turkish society and the EU member states, as well as with the EU institutions (Baykal. 2007). This program was designed for two years with a total budget of 8 million Euros.⁴⁷ The general objective was to reinforce civil society in Turkey, to develop capacity for citizens' initiatives and dialogue, domestically and abroad, and to help establish a more balanced relationship between citizens and the state, thereby contributing to the maturing of democratic practice (Civil Society Dialogue, 2005). The program aims to stimulate citizen initiatives

⁴⁷ <http://www.eubusiness.com/europe/turkey/eurochambres.09-11-17>

in all parts of the country and generally enhance NGO professional and management capacity, to strengthen NGO capacity for dialogue, networking and partnership projects within Turkey and globally (Civil Society Dialogue, 2005). 119 Turkish civil society organizations received grants valued between 33,000 to 407,000 Euros between 2008 and November 2009 (See Table 7). Four sectors have been supported through this program:

1. **Towns and Municipalities:** The objective was to establish and strengthen long-term sustainable cooperation and promotion of dialogue between the municipalities in Turkey and in the EU; and to foster effective, transparent and participatory local government. Under this sector, a total of 6.2 million Euros was allocated in the implementation of 41 projects. (Compendium)⁴⁸.
2. **Professional Organizations:** The objective has been to establish and strengthen long-term sustainable cooperation and promotion of dialogue between professional organizations in Turkey and in the EU. A total of 3.3 million Euros was allocated in the implementation of 25 projects.
3. **Universities:** The goal has been to establish and strengthen long-term sustainable cooperation and partnerships between universities in Turkey and the EU to encourage exchange of knowledge and best practices on planning and implementation of EU policies. Within the scope of the program, a total of 7.7 million Euros was allocated in the implementation of 28 projects.
4. **Youth Initiatives for Dialogue:** The goal was to promote dialogue between the Turkish and EU youth organizations addressing the opportunities and challenges of enlargement. A total of 2 million Euros was allocated in the implementation of 25 projects through this program.

⁴⁸ http://www.csdproject.net/Portals/0/compendium_EN.pdf

Table 7 Civil Society Dialogue Between EU & Turkey Project 1 Grant Scheme

Towns & Municipalities	Professional Organizations	Universities	Youth Initiatives
41 projects	25 projects	28 projects	25 projects
Average duration 15 months	Average duration 14 months	Average duration 17 months	Average duration 13 months
Average budget 151,000 EUROS	Average budget 133,000 EUROS	Average budget 275,000 EUROS	Average budget 81,000 EUROS
Total 6.2 MEURO	Total 3.3 MEURO	Total 7.8 MEURO	Total 2 MEURO

Source: Civil Society Dialogue Between EU & Turkey Project 1 Compendium

There had been several calls for projects under this dialogue:

1. *“Small Projects Program: Strengthening Civil Society Dialogue.”* This umbrella project supports the broad goal of deepening and enhancing mutual understanding between civil society in Turkey and the EU member states. 17 projects are currently being carried out with partners in 13 countries. These projects cover a variety of issues, including youth, business community dialogue, minority rights, regional development and disabled persons.
2. *“Civil Society Dialogue: Europa-Bridges of Knowledge,”* which focuses on establishing networks and strengthening existing collaboration between NGOs and universities based in Turkey and the EU.⁴⁹
3. *“Culture in Action,”* aims to create an environment in which local information can flourish and cultural initiatives can be undertaken.
4. *“Strengthening Civil Society Dialogue: Participation in NGO Events in the EU,”* which aims to enhance participatory democracy through strengthening the capacity of civil initiatives / NGOs in Turkey. The program further aims to promote the development of a Civil Society Dialogue through collaboration of NGOs in Turkey with their counterparts in the EU and candidate countries by

⁴⁹ <http://www.avrupa.info.tr/DelegasyonPortal.html>

providing financial support to study visits, exchanges and attendance of NGO representatives to platforms, meetings and conferences organized on the EU level.

After having completed the program, to serve as a continuation of civil initiatives supported by the funds of European Commission, the “Civil Society Development Center (STGM)” was founded in Turkey by nine persons. The organization works to strengthen participation and democracy in Turkey through civil society. It works to enhance the capacities of civil society organizations.

Within the scope of promoting the civil society dialogue, the program then continued to be implemented as “Civil Society Dialogue II” project. This second portion of the program granted 5.3 Million Euros amongst organizations working in the area of culture-arts and agriculture-fisheries in EU and Turkey. Additionally, a micro grant program was also run along the project. With this program projects with a minimum of one European partner, were supported with a grant of up to 5,000 Euros. A total of 276,883 Euros was granted through this program. Only 37 percentage of these projects were implemented in Turkey (European Union and Turkey Civil Society Dialogue – II, Micro Grant Scheme Compendium)⁵⁰. In the first quarter of 2013 “Civil Society Dialogue III - Strengthening Civil Society Dialogue between the EU and Turkey” is launched as a continuation of previous dialogue projects.

With the EU initiative, civil society organizations in Turkey have started getting funds from the EU countries. However, this funding generally goes to large organizations that have the capacity and skills to compete for the grant. While the aim of the grants are to improve civil society organizations, since the final reach of the grant is not necessarily the organizations that are the most in need, it is not clear if they uniformly strengthen

⁵⁰ <http://test.csdproject.net/portals/0/csdmicrograntcompendium.pdf>

civil society in Turkey. The EU funding has definitely grown the civil society sector in Turkey. With the funding from the EU, organizations have started running programs and projects that can supported with the funding from the EU. While the non-profit sector has grown, the philanthropy culture hasn't caught up with these changes. Civil society organizations still cannot generate enough resources within Turkey to sustain their growth (Interview with Basak Ersen)⁵¹. This dilemma is problematic for the sector's future growth as the funding from the EU has been shrinking. Diaspora philanthropy is a potential source for these organizations. Most importantly, it's not only a source of financial capital but also human and social capital.

4.3 A Window of Opportunity: The Changing Face of the Civil Society and State Relations

In Turkey, where civil society must be eager to inform and influence political society, the latter must be also open to be influenced of the former. It is under this mutual relationship that civil society fulfills its role in the process of development. In the last twenty years, the EU funding has been going to capacity building of civic organizations in Turkey believing that strengthening these organizations would help address the needs of the society. In countries like Turkey development should be more than strengthening the capacity of the civic sector, which doesn't have a relatively powerful place on the table of decision-making. Government policies and procedures and the implementation of these rules should promote grassroots actions. Just supporting organizational capacity alone cannot encourage collective action. Individuals need to trust and believe that their activities will not be punished but promoted. Understanding how people can be mobilized to participate requires knowledge of what drives people to act collectively. I argue that

⁵¹ Interview with Basak Ersen, Secretary General of TUSEV, March 17, 2013.

addressing social needs in Turkey requires both grassroots organizations and facilitation by the government. In Turkey, it is essential that the government builds an environment where collective action is perceived as favorable.

Many believe that transferring public responsibilities to civic groups improves the capacity of people to understand and decide on the issues affecting their lives. Involving citizens in decision-making through grassroots organizations has more effect than promoting efficient decision-making (Abers 2000). Citizen participation empowers people by giving them the power of citizen control and the opportunity to develop themselves politically.

This idea was put in practice in the case of Mon Valley, Brazil where the economy was dependent on the investment of companies headquartered somewhere else (Gittell and Vidal 1998). There were historically very few economic development efforts and the programs and services provided by the government were ineffective. In addition, there was no interest in developing the capacity of the localities to help themselves. A community organizer hired to make recommendations for a development strategy proposed that: human and organizational capacity should be facilitated and the relations between the residents and the support community should be built.

This recommendation pointed to the need of social capital as a means to development and owed its basis to Putnam's argument that "social capital" consists of networks and norms that enable participants to act together effectively to pursue shared objectives (Putnam 1993). Putnam further argues that the more social capital is strong in a community, the more they are better off individually and collectively. He sees a healthy civil society as a way to development. The more that people experience successful outcomes from cooperative interactions, the more likely they are to develop ties of trust

and reciprocity with others. Moreover, the propensity to form associations both embodies and reinforces civic community. Putnam (1993) says Tocqueville observes that, among their participants, associations foster understanding, cooperation, solidarity, and a willingness to take part in political affairs. Increasing the number of effective organizations, especially at the local level, will increase civic participation since association members tend to exhibit more social trust, political sophistication, and civic participation than nonmembers (Putnam 1993).

Tocqueville also points to a link between civil and political associations, suggesting that there is a natural connection between the two. Tocqueville observes that the more people come together to take part in various affairs, the more adept they become at pursuing common interests together. "Civil associations," Tocqueville writes, "facilitate political association" (Tocqueville 2004). Putnam's (1993) study of Italy yet again supports Tocqueville's statements. Although Putnam (1993) does not document the direct relationship between the existence of civil associations and political ones, he does show that the regions with a comparatively large number of sports, leisure, and cultural associations also tend to be the regions that rank higher in other correlates that indicate civic community. For Putnam (1993), the density of sports clubs, for example, provides the "first clues as to which regions most closely approximate the ideal of the civic community" (p. 89).

Francis Fukuyama (2001) also views networks as social capital but not as a distinctive form of organization: "If we understand a network as a type of formal organization, but as social capital, we will have much better insight into what a network's economic function really is: By this view, a network is a moral relationship of trust: A network is a group of individual agents who share informal norms or values beyond those

necessary for ordinary market transactions. The norms and values encompassed under this definition can extend from the simple norm of reciprocity shared between two friends to the complex value systems created by organized religions (p. 199).”

However, some argue that civic organizations are already a product of the government so acting like they are independent and a requirement for good governance is not necessarily true (Tendler 1998). Margaret Levi (1996) argues that Putnam’s (1993) work is society-centered and neglects the fact that governments also may be a source of social capital. Putnam (1993) makes it clear that he advocates a positive role for government in the creation of social capital but he does not say much more than this (Levi 1996). Rebecca Abers (2000) on the other side argues that under certain conditions empowerment can come from the government. In some cases, the mobilization of the people cannot be done without the intervention of the government. Both Pluralist and Marxist schools see social change, or in other words, the participation of traditionally excluded, as a development that can only come from outside of the state since the state is seen as the representative of the dominant social forces (Abers 2000). However, some like Skocpol (1996) argued that dominant social forces do not have a direct influence over the state and the state actors, who are guided by their own interests and who do not always operate in a way that benefits dominant social groups (Abers 2000). Abers concludes, saying that “the state is potentially capable of acting against the interests of dominant social groups” (p. 22). Judith Tendler (1998), on the other hand, also argues that in dealing with development in developing countries, the government should definitely be seen as a partner. She talks about the three-way dynamic between central government, local government and the civil society. In developing countries where democracy is being learned, the history shows that in many cases the government was the

starter of civic participation initiatives. This, she argues, would create a stronger local government as well as a demanding civil society and not be looked as a control issue but as assisting in the first steps toward betterment (Tendler 1998).

Furthermore, Margaret Levi (1996) mentions that Putnam (1993) not only lacks a theory of social capital but also a model of the variation in the nature of the demands on the responses of government. Putnam (1993), she argues, does not recognize the alternative forms, uses and sources of social capital (Levi, 1996). He tends to assume that the capacity to engage in collective action is always commendable but there are instances where it is demonstrably a bad thing.

The environment that the government would create would provide “windows of opportunity” for civic organizations to succeed. Tarrow (1994) argues “social movements form when ordinary citizens, sometimes encouraged by leaders, respond to changes in opportunities that lower the costs of collective action, reveal potential allies and show where elites and authorities are vulnerable” (p. 18). In the case of Turkey, where examples of grassroots democracy suppression exist, people need to be convinced that the benefits are more than the costs.

It is true that Turkey is now in the throes of change as laws and legislation adopted in 1980 are being reformed, with a view to granting the full gamut of civic rights and liberties. Reversing a mentality that has predominated for twenty years is not an easy task, especially in as dense a bureaucratic system as the Turkish government. Yet, combined with the rush to meet criteria to enhance Turkey’s eligibility to join the EU, the political will of the government has resulted in a massive effort to, among other things; re-establish the relationship between the state and the citizen on the fundamental tenants of participatory democracy. As such, one of the most important impacts of these reforms

has been a re-vitalization of Turkish civil society, which is finally starting to be seen in a more positive light as an important actor in Turkey's democratization process and social and economic development. One of the ways to do that was decentralizing the government. This reform has given way to a newfound dynamism and growth for civil society enabling more participation. Yet, the limits of what can be done within civil society and what cannot is still defined and very much controlled by the government.

4.4 Decentralization in Turkey

Since 2004, Turkey has introduced a series of reforms to re-organize the relations between the central government and local authorities, giving the latter increased autonomy and resources (See Table 8). These changes coincided with the beginning of the negotiations on Turkey's accession to the European Union (EU) in 2005. The reforms constitute a significant change in territorial administration and management of local services in what had been, to this point, a centralized, unitary state, with practically no intermediate level between the central government and the citizens. The local governments had no political existence as they do not have an independent decision-making authority. Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan explains the reasoning behind the decentralizing reforms in a speech at the Parliament:

“Our system of public management must have a structure that is suited to contemporary management. Our government is determined to bring this about. To this end, a comprehensive reform of local government will be conducted under our government, aimed at leaving behind the cumbersome, center-weighted structure and moving towards the principles of pluralist, participatory democracy and efficient management. The fundamental principle will be local provision of

public services, taking account of both national priorities and local differences. Services that need not be provided by the central government will be transferred to local government, along with their resources. Strong emphasis will be placed on democratization at the local level; central control over local elected bodies will be limited to control over legal matters. As part of the reform of local government, the division of competencies, powers and resources between central and local government will be redefined according to our vision of a unitary State and in accordance with the principles of efficiency, productivity, and contemporary management. Provincial administrations will be restructured; the competencies and powers of the ministries in the provinces will be transferred to the governors and special provincial administrations. We will ensure that services – health, education, culture, welfare, tourism, environment, services provided to villages, farming, livestock raising, construction and communications – are provided at the level of the province, taking local preferences into account” (TBMM, 2003 cited in Bayraktar & Massicard, 2012).

Table 8 Laws Related to Decentralization in Turkey⁵²

Title of Legislation	Number	Date of Adoption by the Assembly	Decision of the Constitutional Court	Outcome
Law on Municipalities	5272	7 December 2004	Nullification for procedural reasons following the appeal of the CHP – 18 January 2005	Did not come into force
	5393	3 July 2005	Nullification of some articles, including Art.14 giving municipal authorities power to open kindergartens and granting them general powers- 24 January 2007	In force, except for nullified articles
Law on metropolitan municipalities	5216	10 July 2004		In force
Law on special administration of provinces	5302	22 February 2005	Nullification of some articles, including Art. 10-h on peaceful solution of problems with debts owed to the provinces and Art. – 18 January 20007	In force. A period of one year was granted to modify the articles nullified by the Constitutional Court.

⁵² Some of the legislations related to the decentralization were vetoed by the President. These were legislations numbered: 5197, 5227, 5215

Law on regional development agencies	5449	25 January 2006	Nullification of some minor articles but general agreement on the law – 30 November 2007	In force
Law on nullification of the municipal status of certain districts	5747	22 March 2008	Nullification of some articles and of the closure of some municipalities – 31 October 2008	In force

Source: Bayraktar and Massicard, July 2012.

The Turkish Republic currently has 81 provinces, which are the main local administrative units. The country is also divided into seven larger units known as regions (*bölge*), named in accordance with their geographical locations (Louis, 1941 cited in Bayraktar & Massicard, 2012). These units were created mainly for statistical purposes with no administrative or institutional structure (Bayraktar and Massicard, July 2012). The local provinces have two authorities: the elected provincial assembly, which included the Mayor (*belediye baskani*) and the local branch of the central government, which was headed by the governor (*vali*). The governor is appointed by the Council of Ministers to represent the State and the government in the province and exercise many central government functions (Bayraktar & Massicard, 2012). The elected provincial assembly cannot really exercise its legislative prerogatives as most of the local affairs are either supervised directly by the local branches of ministries or managed by the governor (Bayraktar and Massicard, July 2012).

Regional Development agencies are the only institutional innovations in the whole series of reforms of local government. They are inspired by the partnership

principle and promote collaboration among local stakeholders such as business people, chamber of commerce, NGOs and local government representatives (Interview with Dr. Erguder Can). Development agencies chief function is to coordinate all local stakeholders in the formulation and implementation of regional development plans (*bölgesel gelişme planı*); to which locals have started to provide input. Turkey had been following a centralized planning model since the 1960s where *Devlet Planlama Teskilatı* (State Planning Agency, DPT) made 5-year plans that were followed also by local administrations. These plans were sectorial based. For the first time in the seventh plan (1996-2000) the need to combine “sectorial development” with “spatial analysis” was mentioned (Dulupçu, 2005, cited in Bayraktar & Massicard, 2012). Following, at the request of the EU, a department was formed within the DPT to monitor and evaluate regional development programs (European Commission, 2000, 2004, cited in Bayraktar & Massicard, 2012). Then, with a 2006 legislative Regional Development Agencies were created. One of the two that were created was in Izmir. Development Agencies provide various duties. First, they select projects from public, private or civil society sectors to be supported via grants or loans. They act as an interface for international development assistance by collaborating with them on projects in their regions and distributing European structural funds. They also work to attract investment, including foreign investments, into their regions.

Turkey’s regional development projects prior to EU accession process lacked an emphasis on local actors. They have been mostly unsuccessful due to the lack of effective institutional structures and sufficient financial resources at the local level (Kayasü, 2006). The EU’s institution building and governance approach provided a platform to engage and integrate local actors into regional policy making and regional development projects

(Kayasu, 2006).

4.5 Civil Society Works if and only if Local Environment is Enabling

Starting with the late 1990s, the term civil society has started getting some attention in Turkey. It started with the accession talks with the EU. The Turkish government was asked to make changes in the regulations regarding civil society. Moreover, the EU has offered funding to build the capacity of civil society organizations. These created a movement in the sector. The second high point for civil society in Turkey is the response of the sector to the 1999 Adapazarı earthquake. When civil society organizations, especially a search and rescue organization, AKUT⁵³, responded to the victims faster than the government agencies, Turkish people have started seeing them as another vehicle of social services. The first of the funds for direct assistance from the EU to CSOs came in 1993. That is the same year TUSEV (Third Sector Foundation of Turkey)⁵⁴ was established with the goal of organizing civil society organizations under one roof as one voice to demand changes in legislation. The dialogue between civil society organizations and the government has started changing slowly. There were 23 initial founders. Since 1993, an additional 100 foundations and associations have joined the organization.

As these events changed the ecosystem of CSOs, collaboration between two sectors became more common. Yet, these collaborations were mostly done between the government and large institutions in Istanbul. The majority of CSOs in Turkey reports that the state only engages with them on a needs-only basis (68 percent) (Civil Society in Turkey, 2011). Only 3 percent reported being in a comprehensive and institutionalized

⁵³ <http://www.akut.org.tr/en>

⁵⁴ www.tusev.org.tr

relationship with the government (Civil Society in Turkey, 2011). The culture of the past twenty years has started changing slowly in large cities but at the local level in mid-size and small cities, people have been still fearful of the state control. As the leaders in Istanbul crafted the answers to social problems, organizations in other cities, which mostly have significant economic and social differences with Istanbul, are still not sitting on the decision-making table. The *taşra*⁵⁵ as it is called in Turkish was mostly underdeveloped needing financial capital as well as human and social capital. For local development, you need the decision-making to go down to the local level to empower local communities. For stronger local communities, you need financial means and individual participation. That missing component can be filled by diaspora champions.

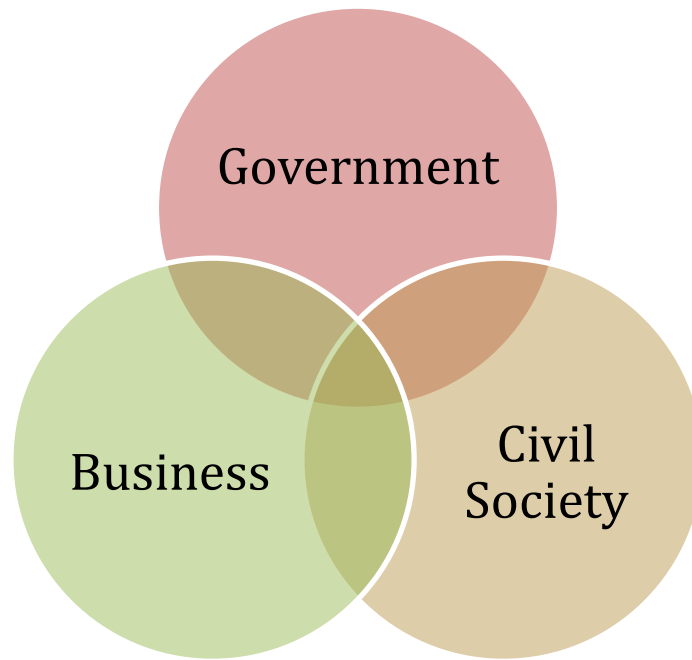
As the country's civil society sector has been reviving, the EU funding has been going to capacity building of civic organizations with the belief that strengthening these organizations would help to address the needs of the society. Efforts at rebuilding an active civil society must go beyond legislative changes and improvements in civic participation in large cities. The windows of opportunity created by the government needs to be taken advantage of the people, and diaspora philanthropy has the potential to lead the way in that.

The government with the change in its decentralization policies has opened up a door for more collaboration between civil society, businesses and the government. What is happening in Turkey is not just the revitalization of the civil society sector, the traditionally-compartmentalized divisions between stakeholder groups in Turkey are also being dissolved with the new approach of the government where locals are very openly

⁵⁵ The term refers to the part of the country outside of the big cities like Istanbul and the capital, Ankara.

invited to have a say in decision-making. Today both agenda-setting and the development of new solutions to local challenges are characterized increasingly by a matrix of representatives with overlapping roles and responsibilities. Figure 2 presents a visual interpretation of this blurring of roles and overlap of activity by business, government and civil society stakeholders. In this new environment, when diaspora introduced new ideas for local development, they were accepted openly as that was an avenue the government was also pursuing and promoting.

Figure 2 Changing paradigms for sector roles



Changing Paradigms towards Growth through Entrepreneurship and Science

In Turkey, we see new frameworks for collaboration, partnership and innovation not only resulting from increased intersections but also through the policies of the government. With the Turkish government being more open to innovation especially through technology, diasporans are also investing in technology start-ups. These home born start-ups, just like diaspora supported initiatives, don't neglect the details that the

local markets need. A technology start-up in Istanbul, Airties, creates routers with manuals and 24-hour customer support in Turkish as well as in Arabic, Bulgarian, Greek, Kazakh, Romanian, and even Russian (Bayraslı, 2012a). Providing customer support in the local language was something that the global market leaders such as Linksys, DLink and Netgear neglected (Bayraslı, 2012a). Today, AirTies⁵⁶ dominates the wireless router market in the region, boasting 50 percent of the wireless market share in Turkey alone (Bayraslı, 2012a). AirTies understands that living standards and traditions differ from country to country. Sometimes even the most competitive large international corporations fail to take those differences into account. International development agencies make the same mistake of not taking differences into account when dealing with civil society. AirTies was successful because there has been an enabling environment for start-ups like them in Turkey. As in the case of civil society, the accession to EU talks changed the landscape for private sector. The Turkish government made it easier to register businesses, to acquire licenses, to build trade, and to move capital freely in and out of the country (Bayraslı, 2012a). Elmira Bayraslı claims that there is “a real and serious entrepreneurial ecosystem in Turkey (Bayraslı, 2012b)

The Turkish government besides involving civil society to local development decision-making has also started to promote investments in small businesses at the local level. The government has a plan to increase investments in research and development by 2023, according to the OECD Technology, Science and Industry Outlook report,⁵⁷ with an additional allocation of \$217.4 million to the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey, the main body for organizing national

⁵⁶ <http://www.airties.com>

⁵⁷ <http://www.oecd.org/sti/sti-outlook-2012-highlights.pdf>

R&D activities. On October 20, 2010, the United States and Turkey signed a Science and Technology Agreement⁵⁸ providing the legal framework for increased agency-to-agency collaboration on scientific collaborations between the two countries. The goal is to foster public-private partnerships that support technology-based innovation and entrepreneurship, vital to a knowledge-based economy. On April 3-4th, 2013, the first meeting gathering delegations from both countries following this agreement took place in Ankara, Turkey. Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs, Kerri-Ann Jones in his opening speech noted the diaspora as “a tremendous resource.”⁵⁹

The Turkish Ministry of Science, Industry and Technology⁶⁰ supports technology parks and provides up to \$55,000 in seed capital for entrepreneurs through the “Techno-Entrepreneurship Grant Program.” Next year the ministry plans to establish “science and technology counselor offices in various developed countries” such as the United States, Germany and Japan. One of the goals of the Ministry of Science, Industry and Technology was to promote the local economy through the development of the private sector in each region on the local level by making the necessary financial tools such as investment capital and credit guarantee more available. The Ministry aimed to create support models for local innovative start-ups and businesses by backing the regional clustering of small and mid-size businesses and by promoting R&D and innovation at the local level.

⁵⁸ <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2010/10/149757.htm>

⁵⁹ <http://www.state.gov/e/oes/rls/remarks/2013/207638.htm>

⁶⁰ <http://www.sanayi.gov.tr/Default.aspx?lng=en>

The role of TUBITAK

The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK)⁶¹ in 2004 tasked by the government created a national science and technology strategy in collaboration with the relevant public agencies, academia, private sector and the NGOs. It was a commitment of the government to invest in science and technology. The goals are to increase the share of R&D expenditures in GDP and the number and quality of R &D personnel to find solutions to social problems and increase the competitiveness power of the country.

This objective of investing more in research and technology and increasing the number of scientists in Turkey enacted TUBITAK to reach out to diaspora to interest them returning back to Turkey. These initiatives were done more informally by the top executives visiting top universities in the US and meeting with scholars from Turkey initially. Yet, later they adapted a more formal setting. Starting with 2010, (TÜBİTAK) began organizing a series of workshops with the theme “Research Destination Turkey” to increase awareness on the researchers’ mobility funds, a 4-year support, and promote research collaborations. The tours started in December 2010 with Boston and Ann Harbor in the US. In 2012, the tour extended to include Los Angeles, San Francisco, Washington, DC, New York, Chicago, Boston and Ontario in Canada. The workshops in 2012 were organized in cooperation with North East Turkish-American Scholars (NETA Scholars), University of Southern California Turkish Student Association (USC-TURKSA), Los Angeles Turkish American Association (LATAA), Stanford Turkish Student Association and Graduate School of Business Middle East and Northern Africa Association (GSB MENA) . The goal is to attract researchers from the United State to

⁶¹ <http://www.tubitak.gov.tr/en>

Turkey as they were believed to advance to the advancement of research in Turkey through their transfer of Knowledge (Gökgöz). TUBITAK calls these interaction “brain circulation.” Successful brain circulation requires not only brains but also suitable hosting institutions to attract the top-quality researchers. Hence, almost 20 public and private Turkish hosting organizations were present at the workshops in order to reflect the research climate in Turkey to the researchers who haven’t been in Turkey for a long time. While many representatives from significant Turkish universities including Ankara University, Bahcesehir University, Bogazici University, Ege University, Izmir Institute of Technology and Koc University among others have underlined the current developing research and development capacities of Turkey; some of the largest Turkish industrial organizations and enterprises such as Arcelik, Aselsan, Turk Telekom and Ulker have informed the researchers on new R&D opportunities available in their corporations.

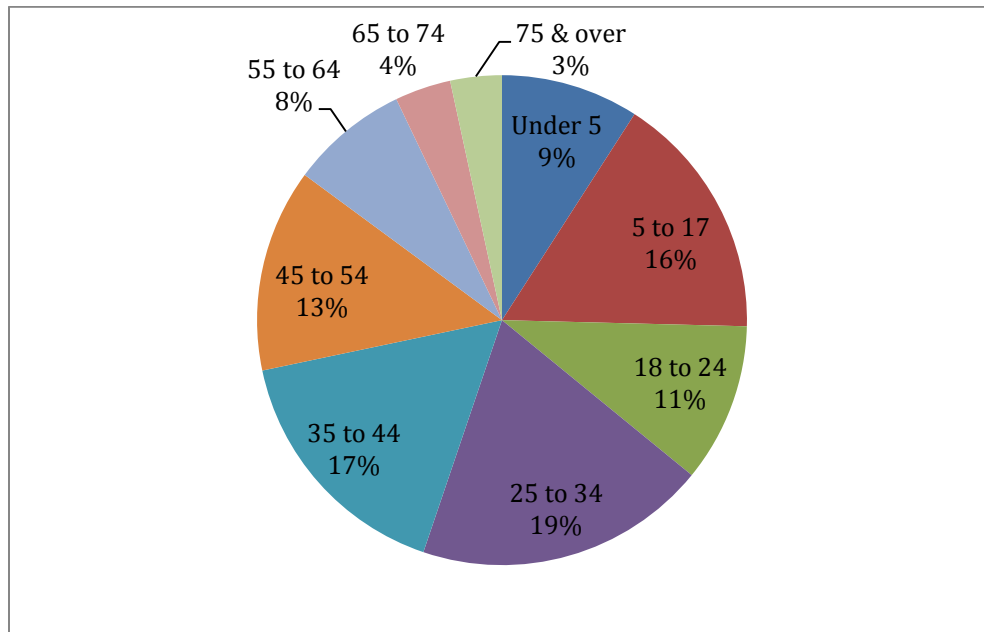
Conclusion

The landscape of civil society as well as local development has been changing in Turkey. The Republic was based on the notion that social services should be provided by the government and that ordinary citizens should not take part in decision-making. This mentality affected the culture of civil society in Turkey many years. However, the accession to EU talks has initiated many changes in the status quo of the country. Today, we are talking about a more vibrant civil society and a state that wants to hear from civil society organizations on many issues, including local development. Turkish state has been investing in local development and understands that all parties need to be involved for successful outcomes. All these changes not only enabled an environment for diaspora members to connect to their local communities and discuss civic initiatives but also established a platform for collaborations between multiple players in local development.

Chapter 5: Re-envisioning Local Development through Diaspora Philanthropy

According to US Census data, there are 199,180⁶² Turkish-Americans living in the United States. 55 percent of this population is foreign-born (See Table 9) – almost 90 percent were born in Turkey and 9 percent born in Europe. 45 percent of these foreign-born are naturalized citizens.

Chart 2 Age Demographics of Turkish-Americans



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011 American Community Survey

Table 9 Historical Breakdown of Turkish-Americans born outside of the United States

Population born outside the United States	104,148
Entered 2000 or later	54.1%
Entered 1990 to 1999	22.4%
Entered before 1990	23.5%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011 American Community Survey

⁶² This number is from 2011 American Community Survey.

Turkish-Americans are very well educated. 54.3 percent of the population has a bachelor's degree or higher compared to 28.5 percent of US average (See Table 10).

Table 10 Educational Attainment of Turkish-Americans 25 years and over

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	Turkish-Americans	US Average
Population 25 years and over	127,593	206,471,670
Less than high school diploma	10.3%	14.1%
High school graduate (includes equivalency)	17.5%	28.4%
Some college or associate's degree	18.0%	29.0%
Bachelor's degree	28.5%	17.9%
Graduate or professional degree	25.7%	10.6%
High school graduate or higher	89.7%	85.9%
Male, high school graduate or higher	92.1%	
Female, high school graduate or higher	86.6%	
Bachelor's degree or higher	54.3%	28.5%
Male, bachelor's degree or higher	59.1%	
Female, bachelor's degree or higher	48.1%	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011 American Community Survey

They are highly skilled professionals with experiences in a wide range of sectors. (See Table 11) They are mostly professionals in science, management and business.

Table 11 Occupations of Turkish-Americans

OCCUPATION	
Civilian employed population 16 years and over	95,066
Management, business, science, and arts	51.0%
Service	12.0%
Sales and office	22.4%
Natural resources, construction, and maintenance	4.3%
Production, transportation, and material moving	10.3%
INDUSTRY	
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, and mining	0.2%
Construction	3.2%
Manufacturing	8.5%
Wholesale trade	2.5%
Retail trade	13.1%
Transportation and warehousing, and utilities	5.3%
Information	2.3%
Finance & insurance, and real estate and rental and leasing	8.5%
Professional, scientific, and management, and administrative and waste management services	12.6%
Educational services, and health care and social assistance	26.0%
Arts, entertainment, and recreation, and accommodation and food services	11.0%
Other services (except public administration)	3.5%
Public administration	3.3%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2011 American Community Survey

Some of these diasporans engaged in a process with their communities in their hometowns through which they generated new meanings, constructed new identities, and forged new relationships. Those novel insights and connections were produced through the untiring efforts of the diasporans and stretched from local leaders and government representatives to civil society leaders. However, the Turkish government has never created a direct connection to them to tap into their resources until very recently. Individual efforts in giving back more than financially have never been easy for that reason. The locals didn't understand the vision of diasporans most of the time, and since there weren't any mechanisms that promote giving back of diasporans, their actions haven't been very impactful. Additionally, civil society sector in Turkey wasn't very

active until 1999. In 1999, with the start of the accession talks to EU approach to civil society started to change in a positive way. Since the beginning of the accession talks the European Union has provided some 21.5 million Euros to the Civil Society Dialogue Program in Turkey supporting municipalities, NGOs, professional organizations, universities (Bikmen, 2008). Besides financial support, the EU made requests from the Turkish government for changes in regulations. In February 2001, the EU General Affairs Council adopted the regulatory framework designed to furnish the legal basis for the Accession Partnership and regulated all EU financial assistance⁶³. Part of these regulations required that: (1) regional institutions were classified and named; (2) a legislative framework to implement an impactful regional development policy is created; (3) an institutional framework and administrative capacity with clear defined responsibilities and tasks are developed; (4) inter-ministerial co-ordination was established; and (5) programming capacity was increased. These regulations were the requirements to use the financial aid from the EU during pre-accession process. They mainly consist of framework and implementing regulations, which define the rules for implementing structural funds, which are funds contributed by members states to assist the least developed regions (Kayasu, 2006). Some of the applications of these requirements were the establishment of the monitoring and evaluation development at DPT (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı; State Planning Agency); the establishment of regional statistical offices and a draft law establishing Development Agencies in 2004. The establishment of the regional development agencies (RDAs) was one of the most important changes that impact local development in Turkey.

⁶³ <http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=111&l=2>

With its 2005 Report, the EU Commission stated the significant weakness in bridging the divide between strategic plans and operational programs. It further note that collaboration between sectorial and regional departments within DPT were not strong, which could be a vital element for defining investment strategies. The final evaluation of the report refers to the fact that the need to strengthen regional administrative capacity in order to meet the EU regional policy requirements still stands (CEC, 2005). The requirement on establishing RDAs should be underlined at this point, in the sense that RDAs are conceptualized as being those local/regional institutions that will enable the adoption of local/regional governance approaches in certain territories. RDAs are expected to play a critical role in managing regional policy, achieving regional development as well as in mobilizing support and funding for regional development projects while integrating the public and private sectors along with NGOs into regional development. All these changes in Turkey have been a sign of change in the mentality of development from ‘hardware institution development’ to ‘software development’ (Bikmen, 2008).

Over this same period, Turkish government started a new pattern of engagement with diasporans. Through various means government as well as mostly universities began reaching out to diasporans. In most cases, the initiatives were tentative, such as sporadic visits to the United States by government representatives, university presidents, and professors. During these visits they tried to engage some of the diasporans. The goal was having them, especially the highly skilled high-level executives and academicians, return to Turkey. Diasporans were finally seen as a source for development, a source that could bring new ideas and innovation to Turkey. The efforts weren’t well orchestrated and yielded limited efforts. The formal process by which the state came to see diasporans as

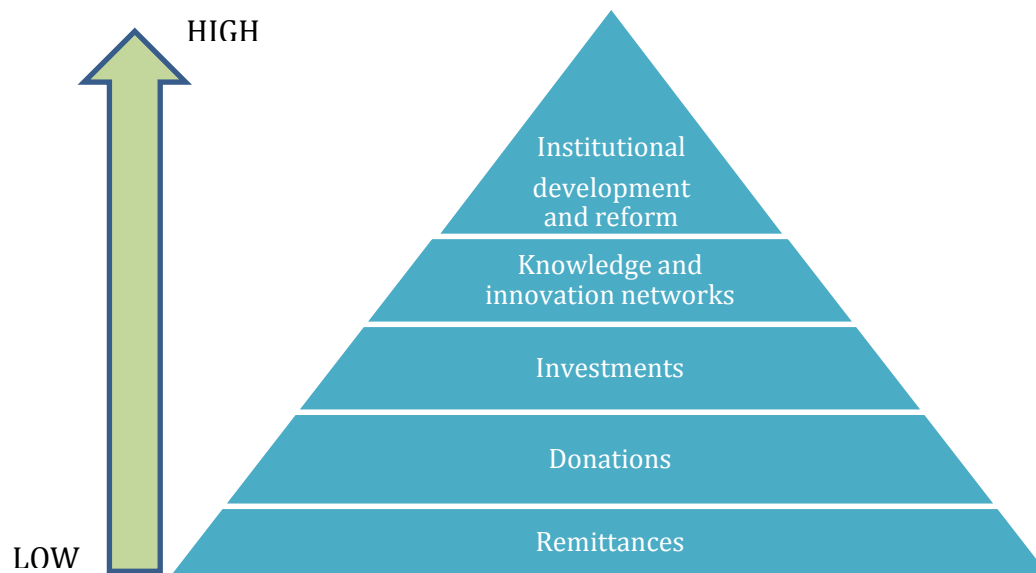
actors for community development through the creation of partnerships has emerged very recently. For example, Dünya Turk Is Konseyi (the World Turkish Business Council)⁶⁴ was established in 2012.

This dissertation points out that the increased salience of diaspora networks to development in home countries goes beyond their direct economic impact through remittances and financial transfers. Diasporas of the highly skilled can contribute to institution building through multiple, incremental changes that lead to the transformation of private and public sector institutions (See Figure 3). Large, highly skilled, manifestly prosperous and well organized Chinese and Indian diasporas have made enormous contributions to their home countries. However, these two case studies show that diasporas do not need to be large and voluminous to produce an impact. The two cases elucidate how diasporans inspire and empower local leaders with the skills and the experiences they gained in the homeland. These efforts created the basis for new institutions that would come to be regarded as major innovations because of the way they mobilized locals. In addition, these institutions created structures through which others could generate innovative local models. The locals not only took the model and replicated it but also revised the models according to their needs. This created structures through which local governments, diasporas and local communities could re-envision local development in an on-going manner and generate new and innovative models. Diasporans also lead the way to replicate these models in other parts of the country. Without their engagement, the insights they had would have been unavailable and indeed, perhaps, unimaginable to the local leaders. Those insights (through social and human capital) gave rise to institutions that in both cases were supported and established by the

⁶⁴ <http://www.dtik.org.tr/Anasayfa.html>

locals, as well as processes of generating further understandings to build new institutions. The institutions constructed to implement the insights brought by the diasporans gave the new ideas weight, and in doing some strengthened the engagement that produced them. This in turn supported further innovative conversations, which generated more knowledge to build other institutions.

Figure 3 Diaspora engagement impact pyramid



Source: Kuznetsoz, 2011.

In this chapter, I trace the evolution of two cases to show how development through diaspora philanthropy differs from the approach of international agencies to development and how diaspora contributions don't need to be large in financial terms to have an impact. The chapter tries to answer the questions: What enables the diaspora champions to connect with their homelands philanthropically in the first place? What are the implications of their hybrid identities for development influence? How do diasporans perceive needs? What were the processes by which they were able to institutionalize these understandings into innovative ideas? And how were these processes fueled and

supported by legal and political structures in the homeland? To answer these questions, I show how the engagement of the diaspora through social and human capital produced innovative projects that turned into national movements adopted by locals. In particular, I depict the process. The two cases were selected to reflect a comprehensive definition of diaspora philanthropy, which encompasses giving back social and human capital. In both cases diasporans aimed to be partnership builders within their communities by bringing their status and resources to their undertaking in home countries through a collaborative process. The first case, the establishment of Turkey's first community foundation, is based on the idea that local resources, expertise and commitment must be brought into play to develop sustainable resources. The second case is based on a notion to create a network among local partners as well as the diaspora to develop local resources. Significant in both transitions is that only a small number of diaspora members with knowledge, motivation and institutional resources are involved.

In this chapter the case studies will follow the following order. First, personal information on the diasporan will be given to depict their identity, personal skills, experiences and motivations. Then, the process of their individual philanthropy towards Turkey will be described. How these processes were fueled and supported by legal and political structures in the homeland will also be discussed during this section. The legal and political environment will be analyzed through the questions of Jennifer Brinkerhoff (2009, p.173): 1. Does the regulatory environment support economic opportunities?; 2. Can diasporans access positions of authority and respect within society, both for influence and for obtaining these positions for themselves?; 3. Can they access and influence decision makers?; 4. Can they access the information necessary or supportive

of their effectiveness for a particular agenda?; and 5. Is their cause perceived to be legitimate?

5. 1. Generating a Dialogue: The Case of Bolu Community Foundation (Bolu Bağışçılar Vakfı)

Understanding Community Foundations

Individuals can create community philanthropy organizations that work to improve the quality of life in a community by collecting, managing and distributing charitable resources. A community philanthropy organization provides a sustainable longer-term approach to meeting community needs. One of the fastest growing forms of organized community philanthropy today is community foundation.

Community foundations are not a new phenomenon; the first one was formed in the United States in Cleveland in 1913 – to help strengthen local communities. However, in recent years they have experienced tremendous growth as individuals and institutions realize that the community foundation concept, which provides for a permanent pool of charitable funds for a local area, can meet the human needs of a rapidly changing world. In the decade since the destruction of the Berlin Wall and the fall of communism, community foundations have enjoyed increasing popularity and widespread acceptance. Community foundations are being developed in all regions of the world. Even in countries where community foundations were well established prior to 1989, their numbers and assets have increased dramatically.

A broad consensus is developing about the usefulness of the community foundation concept. The community foundation concept has proved to be flexible and adaptable instrument to meet not just immediate needs, but the changing needs of communities over time. Individuals, support organizations, funders, and in some cases,

governments have taken the lead in developing community foundations in their areas. They come to the concept from varying perspectives. Some may have been involved in civil society organizations that work to increase citizen participation in government and the voluntary sector. Others may have supported community development projects, identifying and finding ways to meet the social and economic needs of communities. Or they may have focused their efforts on community philanthropy, encouraging communities to local giving to meet local needs. What they all have discovered is that to achieve their goals, communities need to develop sustainable resources that will continue to provide support for local initiatives long after outside funders have departed. They realize that local resources, expertise, energy and commitment must be brought into play to ensure the continued vitality of local communities.

Community foundations also build common cause being natural partnership builders within their communities. These partnerships are potent because community foundations can combine the donors' charitable impulses and their energy, time and financial resources to create something that is greater than the sum of its parts. Community foundation model will be a powerful mechanism to getting resources to grassroots organizations. While national and private foundations move in and out of programs, the community foundation remains as a knowledgeable and effective force to address local issues. Sacks (2001) lists the following as their common characteristics (p.2):

- seek to improve the quality of life in a defined geographic area;
- are independent from control or influence by other organizations, governments or donors;

- are governed by a board of citizens broadly reflective of the communities they serve;
- make grants to other nonprofit groups to address a wide variety of emerging and changing needs in the community;
- seek to build, over time, a collection of endowed funds from a wide range of donors, including local citizens, other nonprofits and businesses;
- provide services tailored to the interests and giving capacity of donors;
- help donors achieve their philanthropic and charitable goals;
- engage in a range of community leadership and partnership activities, serving as catalysts, conveners, collaborators and facilitators to solve problems and develop solutions to important community issues;
- have open and transparent policies and practices concerning all aspects of their operations; and
- are accountable to the community by informing the general public about their purposes, activities, and financial status on a regular basis.

Why Haldun Tashman believed Community Foundations are the missing ingredient in Turkey?

Turkey is in the midst of restructuring its third sector. Haldun Tashman believed that the most important aspect the country needs to develop is individual philanthropy. The country has a tradition of giving and a few private foundations but that motivation needs to be turned into a more sophisticated and professional tool that can be a sustaining resource for the civil society sector. Tashman understood that the community foundation model can build and sustain local resources and create a vehicle for a giving culture where people of modest means and rich alike could respond collectively to the needs of

their neighbors. Community Foundations are “a well-respected, trusted third party in communities, with strong ties to business, nonprofit organizations, wealthy individuals, the media and government leaders and agencies.” (Feldstein and Sander 2001, p.48) From his experience in the US, he was aware of their convening power. Yet, he also knew that he cannot take an American concept, export it and replicate it exactly. It must be shaped by the local community’s values, traditions and needs. That’s when he reached out to the locals to introduce them the model and gets their support.

The Social Process

A Turkish-American planted the seeds of Turkey’s first and only community foundation, which was established in June 2008. The story of Bolu Community Foundation officially starts in Istanbul in 2006 with the “Social Investment Conference” organized by Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (TUSEV), an advocacy organization for associations and foundations. However, in reality it starts when Haldun Tashman, who was born and raised in *Bolu* and spent most of his adult life in the United States, started looking for a way to socially invest in his hometown. Tashman came to the United States as a Fulbright scholar in 1967. He was 17 years old. He lived most of his adult life in Arizona and became a very successful entrepreneur. He says he wasn’t very active philanthropically throughout his life as he was very busy growing his business but he remembers thinking, as a child, about following in the footsteps of İzzet Baysal, the most famous philanthropist in his hometown. A little after he sold his business in 2005, he became involved with the Arizona Community Foundation. This coincided with his aspiration to do something for his hometown, *Bolu*. His experience with the Arizona Community Foundation had a great influence in his thinking. He was convinced that the model of community foundations, where the whole community is involved in the

development of their villages, cities, or states would be beneficial for donor communities in Turkey.

Before he came to this understanding, Tashman reached out to his contacts in *Bolu*, who were the leaders of the *İzzet Baysal Vakfi* (Foundation), the most active philanthropic organization in the city, to convey his desire and interest socially in Bolu. They suggested that they build a passway in Bolu and name it after him. This was an approach that definitely resembled the mentality that İzzet Baysal's philanthropic contributions created: building something for the public good, naming it and giving it to the state for operating. However, it wasn't what Tashman had in mind. He asked them to come up with a proposal that would address the needs of the community and have long-lasting impact. The community failed to come up with a proposal after one-year and asked Tashman to make a proposal himself. As he explains "At first, they didn't take me seriously. They weren't very much interested in the \$3million I pledged. They didn't think it was large enough gift for them to listen to what I was going to say."⁶⁵ At that time, he was doing his own philanthropic giving in the United States through Arizona Community Foundation. More and more he started thinking how Bolu and other cities in Turkey could benefit from a similar model of philanthropy. However, he wasn't sure how to go about it. He understood that more than funds, leadership, skills and networks were needed to make it happen. He also understood that the impact on his hometown might not be seen right away. Then the President of the Arizona Community Foundation, Steven Mittenthal, mentioned the Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (TUSEV), as a resource. Tashman reached out to them for advice.

⁶⁵ Interview with Haldun Tashman (2012)

It was “perfect timing” Filiz Bikmen, then the Executive Director at TUSEV says. TUSEV was already working on a “promoting community philanthropy” initiative, which started in 2003. The goal was to promote philanthropy in Turkey. However, the TUSEV team didn’t have very specific projects in hand to tie the initiative around. As part of the project, between 2004 and 2005, TUSEV, in partnership with CIVICUS (World Alliance for Citizen Participation), coordinated a study on civil society in Turkey. STEP (Civil Society Index Project)⁶⁶ was Turkey’s first internationally comparative and most comprehensive study on civil society. Among many other outcomes, STEP analysis found that: 1. NGOs had problems raising funds locally and that most of them were covering their operational costs through their membership fees; and that 2. individuals trusted NGOs -in contrast to the widely accepted knowledge of not trusting them- but felt that they didn’t know how they could give to an NGO. (STEP Analysis, 2006) TUSEV staff wrote a recommendation paper⁶⁷ based on the STEP report and recommended that mechanisms that promote local philanthropy should be supported (Bikmen and Meydanoglu, 2006). When looking for global solutions to local philanthropy, two models came to the fore: the community foundation model and giving circles. At that time TUSEV had the research capability and knowledge of the local but when Haldun Tashman got into the picture, he became the catalyst. An executive from TUSEV says “It would have taken us years to bring the resources – social, human and financial- we needed to bring the community foundation model to life if Haldun Tashman hadn’t entered the picture.”⁶⁸ At that time TUSEV’s history in promoting philanthropy included

⁶⁶ <http://www.step.org.tr/default.asp?c=5&s=16>

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<http://www.tusev.org.tr/userfiles/image/TUSEV%20Sivil%20Toplum%20ve%20Hayirseverlik%20Arastir%20malari%202004-2006%20Arastirma%20Bulgulari%20ve%20Cozum%20Onerileri.pdf>

⁶⁸ Interview with Zeynep Meydanoglu, former program assistant at TUSEV, February 27, 2012.

working with the UK based Charities Aid Foundation to conduct studies and hold meetings. As an active participant in WINGS (Worldwide Initiatives for Grantmaker Support) and other global conferences, TUSEV had already started discussions on community philanthropy with various other international organizations and foundations including the Mott Foundation from the United States. Bikmen says “there was a collection of things there that when Haldun came into the picture it could all move ahead nicely.”⁶⁹ Haldun Tashman’s presence made a difference because: 1. He came with experience and knowledge. He himself was a donor and an active member of a community foundation in the United States. He thus had a very clear idea of how this worked and was a credible voice for the idea; 2. He came with passion. He wanted to do something for Turkey, his home country, and TUSEV wanted to help; 3. He came with connections. He knew people that could link experience and practice to Turkey. He was already establishing Turkish Philanthropy Funds⁷⁰ in New York at that time which increased his access to people on both sides of the Atlantic, who could be useful to promote the initiative in Turkey; 4. He came with funding. That was an important factor since TUSEV could not do this work without the funding. But, says then the Executive Director of TUSEV “It was by far the least important factor because without all of his other contributions, the funding would have had little impact.”

It was also the right timing because Filiz Bikmen, just a few days before she met Haldun Tashman, was accepted to a fellowship program in New York at the Center on Philanthropy and Civil Society. Her research topic was to study the application of the community foundation model in Turkey. Upon her return to Istanbul, after spending three

⁶⁹ Interview with Filiz Bikmen, former Executive Director at TUSEV, February 29, 2012

⁷⁰ www.tpfund.org

months in New York, Tashman and she started working on the initiative. About a year after Tashman's initial meeting with TUSEV, a conference to discuss community foundations was organized. When it was time to invite attendees to the conference to brainstorm about the idea of community foundations and see if there was any interest, one executive of TUSEV says "We invited the usual suspects as TUSEV – foundation representatives, NGO staff etc. Our contacts couldn't have been the champions of this model. But, we didn't have connections to business people. It was Haldun Tashman who helped us reach out to a wider audience including local leaders in different cities, who would really take on the initiative and make it their own." The attendees of the conference were brought together with Tashman's efforts. He mobilized his own network including the leaders from İzzet Baysal Foundation in Bolu, and underwrote the expenses of the conference. Haldun Tashman notes that "if I wouldn't put down my own money to organize the conference at least, no one would have listened to me. Even with my own financial support, it took a lot of efforts to have people listen to what I had to say."⁷¹ The conference in 2006 brought together leaders of community foundations all around the world and civil society representatives from Turkey. The aim of the conference was to discuss different models of community foundations and how the model can impact local development. The attendees of the conference were mostly the contacts of Haldun Tashman.

Two groups came out of the conference interested in the idea of community philanthropy and taking action. The first, which was mostly under 40 CEOs and entrepreneurs, emerged interested in not in the community foundation model but in doing philanthropy and they wanted to be guided. A giving circle was started with this group.

⁷¹ Interview with Haldun Tashman, March 10, 2012

However, the initiative didn't go anywhere. The other group that emerged was from Bolu. Ahmet Baysal and Şerafettin Erbayram, who were invited to the conference by Haldun Tashman, believed that the model could have a positive impact in Bolu. Şerafettin Erbayram notes his experience at the conference as follows: "All of the other attendees mostly knew about the community foundation model. It was a new concept to us. At the end of the conference, I understood that the model provides a more flexible structure to philanthropy than we know about. I call it "serbest vakif sistemi – independent foundation system." We liked their approach of creating solutions instead of criticizing the problems. In Bolu, unfortunately our culture is mostly around criticizing, not offering solutions. This positive connotation was very attractive to us since we believed we can change the mentality in the city." ⁷² Şerafettin Erbayram and Ahmet Baysal were very active at the İzzet Baysal Foundation in Bolu- the foundation that defines the philanthropic culture of the city. So, they were able to question their current tradition and analyze the new model in terms of what gaps it can fill. There were foundations in Bolu that were inactive. The founders of these foundations changed their initial views on issues but couldn't change their by-laws so organizations became inactive. Therefore, leaders of Bolu liked the donor-centric community model foundation and how it provides more flexibility to donors in terms of changing issues to support. However, they didn't understand the concept of grantmaking. Philanthropy in Bolu was based on the traditional model where donors establish buildings in their names or give scholarships. The concept of supporting other institutions through grants was new to them. Şerafettin Erbayram notes that "community foundation model brought the concept of connecting to civil society organizations. It was in a way, in our understanding,

⁷² Interview with Şerafettin Erbayram, Chairman, Bolu Community Foundation, February 10, 2012.

embracing local grassroots organizations. This was new to us but Ahmet Baysal and I believed that this different approach to philanthropy could have a positive impact in our community.”⁷³

After their return to Bolu, Ahmet Baysal and Şerafettin Erbayram first talked to their close networks about the idea. Six others quickly joined them. To introduce the idea to others in Bolu, these eight people held a dinner with 60 representatives from the community, including two representatives from all civil society organizations, representatives from the university and leading business people. “I call these initial 60 people the ambassadors of the initiative,” says Erbayram⁷⁴. These eight initial supporters of the initiative recommended these names. Both Baysal and Erbayram understood that the initiative had to be supported by the community to be successful and wanted others to feel the ownership. “You can very easily see the impact of being in business for over 40 years in Haldun Tashman. His approach was very entrepreneurial. He in a way wanted to gift this new approach to philanthropy to Bolu. With that attitude Haldun Tashman got the trust of all us.” A few others joined them to establish the first community foundation in Bolu after that dinner. Then, they started inviting people to join them as founding members. Haldun Tashman announced that he would match 1:4 all the funds raised to establish the foundation. That announcement sped up the process of finding new founding members. 31 people signed up as founding members and all contributed 7,000 TL (approximately \$4,000). Haldun Tashman matched all the funds raised by 1:4 and the total endowment of the foundation came to 1,200,000 TL (approximately \$700,000). “His financial contribution was a big motivator for everyone to join us but the most important

⁷³ Interview with Şerafettin Erbayram, Chairman, Bolu Community Foundation, February 10, 2012.

⁷⁴ Interview with Şerafettin Erbayram, Chairman, Bolu Community Foundation, February 10, 2012.

cause was Haldun Tashman's attitude and his visionary leadership. He didn't dictate his ideas and wanted others to follow. He put down his own money and shared his vision for others to take part in," notes Erbayram.

31 local leaders and Haldun Tashman established Bolu Community Foundation in 2008. Tashman, Şerafettin Erbayram and Ugur Tunçok led the initiative. It was widely and publicly supported by Ahmet Baysal, who is the grandson of the famous philanthropist from Bolu, İzzet Baysal. The mission of the foundation is to increase the living standard in Bolu by providing support to civil society organizations and a platform for all to get involved in the city's social, cultural and economic development.

TUSEV right after the conference gave support for the establishment of the Bolu Community Foundation. They not only helped Bolu Community Foundation with their initial governing documents such as by-laws but they also introduced them to key individuals and institutions in the government. They were also very instrumental in getting the right licenses from the central government in Ankara. "During this training we learned about how to manage a foundation. It was like a school for us but also made us to fully believe in the model of community foundations," notes Erbayram. During the process, Tashman continued to sponsor the project financially but at this point it was important that a local actor such as TUSEV took on the leadership to promote the concept and lead the project's implementation. It was the year the foundation law was changing. Current foundation laws didn't allow foundations to establish separate funds under them. Through their lobbying TUSEV convinced the current government to add a section that allowed foundations to establish component funds. Component funds, which are donor-governed funds, are the heart of community foundations. These funds allow individuals and families to establish a fund in their names and make gifts. And, if this section wasn't

included in the foundations law, Bolu Community Foundation couldn't have been established. After its establishment, the Bolu Community Foundation's management and staff received intensive coaching to increase their fundraising, grantmaking, communications and governance capabilities.

During the establishment process since an American citizen brought the idea of community foundation, it was mainly criticized in Bolu. An op-ed piece even mentioned that Haldun Tashman's grandfather was a rebel and was hanged during the revolution of 1920 and claimed that it is in his blood to fight against the current system. They claimed that Soros Foundation (whose reputation for some in Turkey is that of an American spy) has been supporting the idea of community foundations. Since the philanthropic tradition in the city was deeply impacted by the İzzet Baysal Foundation, the community questioned the incentives of people who were behind the establishment of a new foundation. Nephew of İzzet Baysal, who is a very well respected leader in Bolu, declared that he was fully supportive of the idea and completely behind Haldun Tashman. When well-respected local leaders took ownership of the project, others started supporting it. İzzet Baysal Foundation invested more than \$300 million to Bolu. However, these social investments were hardware investments. They didn't invest in civil initiatives nor had a grantmaking program to support the initiatives of grassroots organizations. The 32 founders of the Bolu Community Foundation took it upon themselves to explain this difference and educate the people of Bolu. "It's a small community with limited media outlets. You cannot have articles criticizing your incentives while trying to change a perception in the community. You need everyone – maybe almost everyone- to understand and support your project. We were able to change

the negative remarks to positive at the end.”⁷⁵ Know-how transfers are very important but you have to have the right connections and networks because you always come across problems so you need resources to solve these problems. You also need credible local leaders’ support; otherwise locals wouldn’t directly be behind a new idea no matter what that idea is. There is always resistance to new ideas. Diasporas do not just bring their ideas and skills home and implement projects. They lead, initiate and mobilize locals. And, that’s when they have an impact.

The local government agencies have also been supportive of the initiative. Erbayram says “the people who have supported the foundation as initial founders are all very respective business leaders in Bolu. Their names brought credibility to our foundation from day 0.” The founders paid visits to all government agencies including the Police Chief and the Governor to introduce the foundation and get their blessings. The Mayor attends all of the meetings of the foundation. Leaders very clearly understand the critical balance of dealing with the government so the foundation communicates with all of them frequently, getting their informal approvals. These enabled some of the government agencies to provide in-kind support to some of the foundations projects. “They all understand that we’re all involved in this initiative for Bolu and so never question our incentives,” notes Erbayram.⁷⁶

These leaders, all of whom have been active philanthropists in Bolu, have started thinking about connecting to the community, and empowering people through the community foundation model. So far, the organization has administered 9 small grants ranging from \$200 to \$2,000, totaling \$20,000 to various organizations. “*Tarimsal*

⁷⁵ Interview with Şerafettin Erbayram, Chairman, Bolu Community Foundation, February 10, 2012.

⁷⁶ Interview with Şerafettin Erbayram, Chairman, Bolu Community Foundation, February 10, 2012.

Sulama” In addition, in late 2009, the foundation launched an Early Childhood Education Program and a Scholarship Program. Their aim is to establish a method that can be applicable to other parts of the country. The project is the first time a University and the Ministry of Education to collaborate on a project. If you this project was done only with the Ministry of Education, the program needed to abide with the curriculum set by the Ministry. There’s no flexibility in that approach. It’s like a “closed box” says Erbayram. The university signed an agreement with the Ministry of Education. While the university plans the curriculum, educates the parents and has its students to intern at the Center, the Ministry runs the school. The school charges 160TL monthly, which is way low compared to rates around 2,000TL around the country. The government’s inclusion provides a low-budget option to early childhood education. This was an example of government, university and civil society partnerships and the leaders of the foundation take pride in that this is the first of its kind in all of Turkey. This program was picked because the college attending rates of Bolu youth has been below Turkey’s average. The leaders of the community foundation, after some research, learned that investment in early childhood education has the most benefits in the education of youth at later ages. Later on experts from Arizona State University on early child education went to Istanbul to guide Bolu’s Early Childhood Center. They didn’t only bring their know-how but through Tashman’s connections they met with other NGOs working in the area and professors working on the subject to have a better understanding of the Turkish context. A group from Bolu, including the University President, Vice-Dean of the University and the Director of the Early Childhood Center visited Arizona to learn about their experiences and know-how.

The foundation acts a little different than the original community foundation model. They have been implementing projects that they believe would impact social and economic development of the city. There are two reasons for that. The city does not have enough civil society organizations with the capacity to run programs on their own. That's why Bolu Community Foundation either partners with them to build their capacity or runs programs by itself. One of the collaboration examples was to run a "Gübre project," to teach the farmers how to increase the quality of their produce that received funding from the EU. Secondly, project implementation is a big part of philanthropic tradition of foundations in Turkey, including Bolu. Bolu leaders understood and accepted the fact that they were going to be implementing a new kind of philanthropy. However, the tradition of implementation still has its effects on the minds of the leaders of Bolu Community Foundation. They want to be able to directly impact results. Thirdly, the community still does not fully understand the concept of the community philanthropy so the foundation needed to develop projects to ask for funding. Erbayram notes "early on we understood that we needed to develop programs to raise funds from the community. This kind of philanthropy is still new and people still need time to understand and accept the fact that they can have their own philanthropic funds even though they are not very rich." But it truly turned into an initiative of the community as they have been receiving funding even from villagers – very small amounts- but amounts that show that they want to be a part of the community building efforts.

Bolu is "a city between Istanbul and Ankara" with a population of 271,208 according to 2010 census⁷⁷. The city's economy depends on forestry and handicrafts. The

⁷⁷ Source: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu: www.tuik.gov.tr

university⁷⁸ is one of the major focal points in Bolu. The industrialist and philanthropist, İzzet Baysal, built the university in 1992. İzzet Baysal was born in Bolu and made his fortune in Istanbul. He has given back to Bolu in great amounts, building schools, hospitals and other public buildings through his private foundation, İzzet Baysal Vakfı, established in 1987. He is called “İzzet Baba – Father” by the people of Bolu. Abant İzzet Baysal University is a unique university model in Turkey, being not a purely a state university nor a foundation university but instead “a foundation supported state university,” model İzzet Baysal championed in Bolu. His foundation built and established institutions and transferred them to the government to administer. Today, the university receives funds both from the government and the İzzet Baysal Foundation.

The province of Bolu ranks 14th in terms of economic development among the 81 provinces in Turkey, and is growing rapidly with a dynamic private sector. Yet, rapid economic growth goes hand-in-hand with high levels of migration, environmental challenges and increasing demand for social services. In contrast to Bolu’s vibrant private sector, the civil society sector remains rather underdeveloped. Although many business leaders are passionate about their community, most have been giving informally. Bolu is a town where philanthropy is a well-known notion compared to other cities of Turkey. The city has deeply rooted philanthropic traditions, personified in İzzet Baysal, a pioneering industrialist who dedicated his life and fortune to improving the quality of life in the province. İzzet Baysal is an architect in training but became one of the first millionaire industrialists of the country. His philanthropic contributions mostly involved tangible contributions such as building a hospital or school and giving it to the state to operate. Accordingly most of his contributions were educational and healthcare

⁷⁸ <http://www.ibu.edu.tr>

institutions. He made his philanthropic contributions through his own private foundation, the İzzet Baysal Foundation, to which he has passed all of his wealth. His total contributions to the city have been 320 million TL (approximately \$180 million). His philanthropic actions shaped the city's philanthropic mentality. He even built the city's university and then gave it to the state. The city residents highly respect İzzet Baysal and his philanthropic contributions. However, philanthropy has been seen only as something that rich people can do. It was along the lines of how philanthropy is approached in Turkey. All major foundations in Turkey have contributed to the "hardware of institutions" such as universities, schools, hospitals and museums (Bikmen, 2008). The community foundation model aimed to change that by refocusing philanthropy on investing in the "software" of community development. The initial projects of Bolu Community Foundation were to build, renovate buildings. But, while doing that they also got involved in creating mechanisms so that the institutions in these buildings have capacity building support (TUSEV, 2012). Additionally, they democratize giving and showed that small amounts can also make a difference. That's a big change in the mentality where it's believed that rich should give back. Erbayram notes that "they not only want to bring a new model of philanthropy to the city but also establish a mentality of positive thinking which we believe would have immense impact on the development of Bolu. A city can only develop socially and economically if it has an open-mind and have citizens that can bring solutions to problems, not just criticize them."⁷⁹

Bolu Community Foundation filled a gap left by the city's other funders. Besides the Bolu Community Foundation, there are two other grantmakers in the city, the Bolu

⁷⁹ Interview with Şerafettin Erbayram, Chairman, Bolu Community Foundation, February 10, 2012.

Kalkinma Ajansi (Bolu Development Agency) and the local government. Regional development agencies were first established in Turkey to use the EU funding and became a central part of localization (Yilmaz, 2010). They are fueled with the power to create policies for urban development (Yilmaz, 2010). The idea behind local development agencies was to promote small businesses and local entrepreneurs. There are currently 16 regional development agencies in Turkey. One of the goals of these agencies is to create an environment for local development by connecting local governments to businesses and civil society. Eventually, it is expected that local development agencies will develop local entrepreneurship, and increase the ability of the locals, the usage of technology and local investment (Ozer, 2010). The government also funded these development agencies yet they did not involve the local community in the development by giving them the opportunity of ownership. Both local government and development agencies are resources. What the community foundation brought to Bolu was to involve the local leaders in generating resources for their own community and creating a platform where they can connect to grassroots organizations and better understand the needs.

The initiative of promoting community philanthropy first turned into a local movement in Bolu then into a national movement once a diaspora member got involved when he was looking for a vehicle to give back to his hometown of Bolu. The community foundation has been replicated in different ways in different countries. Haldun Tashman's involvement turned the first community foundation into a very close replication of community foundations in the United States. In other countries such as Poland, where the idea was implemented by the government or brought in by international agencies such as World Bank, the community foundation was created as a grantmaking source, where funds were pooled mostly from outside resources. But in the case of Bolu, donors were

put in the center of the organization and community building and promoting community philanthropy were at the heart of it. Tashman didn't stop at initiating the establishment of the first community foundation. He was interested in promoting community philanthropy all around Turkey. Currently, he is working with TUSEV's "promoting community philanthropy" initiative to establish community foundations in other cities. An international grantmaker, the Mott Foundation has also become a funder to the project and has started supporting the initiative.

In December 2012, TUSEV launched its website, degisimicinbagis.org. This is an information source for donors and includes a guide to individual giving, a guide to corporate giving, and a guide to foundation grants. The main goal has been to create an information source to promote and increase funding for civil society organizations and the "community philanthropy" model. Eventually the website will be used to increase the capacity of new community foundations in Turkey. With very specific examples, it guides individuals who are planning on giving more strategically or foundations that are thinking about creating their own grantmaking programs - a very new concept in Turkey and corporations that are thinking of corporate social responsibility projects for the first time or improving their current programs. The website specifically addresses individuals or groups who are interested in promoting philanthropy at the local level. It also includes legal information on establishing foundations in Turkey, and all the regulations related to running one. TUSEV also published guides on all of these issues in Turkish, which is a first time in Turkey.

5.2. “Brain Network” as Prime Asset: Case of INOVIZ (Innovation Izmir)

Translational Research

In the US, the leading edge of the knowledge society draws on human resources worldwide. The SESTAT database of the National Science Foundation (NSF) shows that in 2010, 225,883 (28 percent) out of 805,454 people who received doctorate degrees in the United States were foreign born. 121,755 of these were naturalized citizens. As the higher the diploma the bigger the proportion of the foreign-born population is in the United States. This proportion is even much higher in some key areas such as engineering and computer sciences. Between 2000 and 2010, 3,885 individuals from Turkey received doctorates in science and engineering only in the US (See Table 10). The United States relies significantly and sometimes heavily on non-native skill holders in terms of science and technology capacity.

Table 12 Doctorate recipients in science and engineering from Turkey: 2000–10

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Science and engineering	248	274	320	348	319	321	321	410	466	446	412

Source: National Science Foundation⁸⁰

It was one of these doctorate recipients from Turkey who has decided to stay in the United States that promoted the concept of “translational research” in Turkey. A challenge for the effective development of translational medicine is the need to finance sufficiently new and developing areas of investigation. Medical equipment discovery and development is expected to support strong economic growth within the city. That requires projects and applications with potential for clinical usefulness and benefits to patients to be identified, and encouraged and prioritized. To enable this, Dr. Onaral connects locals in Turkey with global experts and Turkish-American academicians and scientists. This

⁸⁰ <http://www.nsf.gov/statistics/nsf13322/pdf/tab9.pdf>

allows the sharing of the understanding, methodologies, research protocols and resources. She is interested in building relationships and innovation partnerships. She has already done it in various places and in various institutions in China and in Israel, and she believed that it was time for Turkey as it's an emerging economy.⁸¹

Banu Onaral says, “This translation may seem like an automatic part of research and medical practice, but in reality it is a major stumbling block in science, medicine, and public health. This is partly due to the compartmentalization of research training. Basic scientists are not generally trained to think of the clinical application of their work, clinicians are often not taught to formulate research studies based on clinical observations, and public health scientists may not have a strong background in basic or clinical research (but have the knowledge of the community the other two groups may lack).”⁸² Banu further notes: “Effective translation of the new knowledge, mechanisms and techniques generated by advances in basic science research into new approaches for prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of disease is essential in improving health.”⁸³ What CSOs play in this picture is to get the business leaders to invest in the idea, to understand the notion and also make the information available to the public. Most of the time, business people won't be interested if they don't see any profits directly associated to the idea. Murat Özgören says that “Banu's presence as well as bringing global experts and leaders on the issue to introduce them to business entrepreneurs in Izmir made a difference. She was a great convener. After countless of communication with Prof. Onaral, business leaders saw that this is what the rest of the world is doing and

⁸¹ Interview with Banu Onaral, H. H. Sun Professor & Director, School of Biomedical Engineering, Science & Health Systems, Drexel University, February 9, 2012

⁸² Interview with Banu Onaral, H. H. Sun Professor & Director, School of Biomedical Engineering, Science & Health Systems, Drexel University, February 9, 2012

⁸³ Interview with Banu Onaral, H. H. Sun Professor & Director, School of Biomedical Engineering, Science & Health Systems, Drexel University, February 9, 2012

understood that this could give a competitive advantage to them in global markets. That's when they signed up.”⁸⁴

Hasan Ayaz, who works very closely with Prof. Onaral and has been a major player in the team that discovered medical equipment that detects hematoma in the brain: “Basic biomedical research is booming. We see this boom in Turkey as well. But its impact, in terms of new therapies and diagnostics, is growing far more modestly, especially in countries like Turkey. 'Translational research' is a solution to this disparity, ensuring that the bounty of discoveries is effectively 'translated' into benefits in the everyday world of medicine. We share our experiences in this area with our colleagues in Turkey to show practical implications.”⁸⁵ He adds: “I wouldn't have thought about connecting back to Turkey – or give back to Turkey in this way – if it wasn't for Prof. Onaral who has spearheaded this thinking and this way of giving.”⁸⁶

The Social Process

INOVIZ and other innovation projects initiated by Prof. Onaral are not organizations. They are institutions build to bring together the human and social capital to address potential in the health sector in Turkey, which would eventually have an impact on local development. They are trying to change the way business is done. The initial outcome is the establishment of a post-doctoral program among three universities. Fazilet Vardar Sukan says “Our goal has been to change paradigms so that biomedical investigators and clinicians automatically include translation in their day-to-day research and activities. Our goal is that the investigators and clinicians of the future always keep

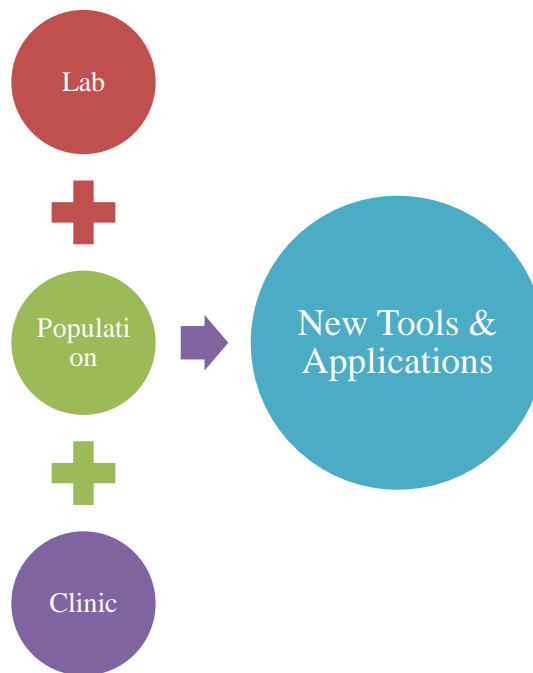
⁸⁴ Interview with Murat Özgören, Former INOVIZ Dokuz Eylül University Coordinator, Vice-Rector Dokuz Eylül University, May 25, 2012.

⁸⁵ Interview with Hasan Ayaz, Assistant Research Professor of Biomedical Engineering, Drexel University and Vice-President, Turkish American Scientists and Scholars Association, February 17, 2012.

⁸⁶ Interview with Hasan Ayaz, Assistant Research Professor of Biomedical Engineering, Drexel University and Vice-President, Turkish American Scientists and Scholars Association, February 17, 2012.

in mind this as a goal: to improve our health through research and its application. Towards that end, the graduate degree has been established in Izmir.”⁸⁷ This wasn’t an easy job. However, INOVIZ brought together all parties that can benefit from this degree and have them agreed on it. Now, the government is behind it. Local development agencies are behind it. And, most importantly private sector is supporting the initiative. The primary mission of INOVIZ is to support education, healthcare, and community service as bridging efforts and resources.

Figure 4 Translational Research



Prof. Banu Onaral, then the President of Turkish American Scientists and Scholars Association (TASSA) has always been interested in relating the experiences she gained in the United States to Turkey. In early 2000, the seeds of an initiative, National Innovation Movement, were planted in Turkey. The goal was to promote development

⁸⁷ Interview with Fazilet Vardar Sukan, INOVIZ Lead, Head of Bioengineering Department, Ege University, May 18, 2012.

through innovation and to consolidate and promote cooperation among private sector, university and non-governmental organizations for developing and implementing innovation policies in Turkey. The leadership included presidents of universities, CEOs from major companies, representatives of nongovernmental organizations, and executives from TUSIAD - Sabanci University Competitiveness Forum.⁸⁸ The project was housed under TUSIAD - Sabanci University Competitiveness Forum research center, which was formed jointly by the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD) and Sabanci University. A delegation representing the group visited the United States to meet with members of the diaspora in early 2000s. The goal of the visit was to initiate ideas for a strategy for the National Innovation Movement and to connect with scholars from Turkey. Dr. Onaral was one of the academicians they met during their visit. Dr. Onaral's translational research efforts for rapid commercialization of biomedical technologies have resulted in the creation of the Translational Research in Biomedical Technologies program at the Drexel University. This initiative brings together academic technology developers with entrepreneurs, regional economic development agencies, as well as local non-profit, business, and investment communities. She had already applied her experience in the field of translational research to China. She got very excited about making use of her skills and experiences for Turkey. She was already connected to Turkey through various projects, including sitting on the strategic planning team charged

⁸⁸ TUSIAD-Sabanci University Competitiveness Forum is a research center formed to improve the competitiveness of the Turkish private sector in international markets by conducting and supporting research on competitiveness, innovation and technology management, and benchmarking. The center does research and disseminate results to form collaborations. They work closely with NGOs to draw their attention to the importance of competitiveness for local development. More information: <http://ref.sabanciuniv.edu/>

with the creation of Sabanci University⁸⁹, which was established in 1996, in Istanbul; and serving as the President of the Turkish American Scientists and Scholars Association (TASSA) in 2006. Dr. Onaral took the initiative in hand and spearheaded the creation of “INOVIZ⁹⁰ - Saglik icin Izmir, Health for Izmir”, which aims to promote the health sector in Turkey by promoting partnerships between public and private.⁹¹

The effort became a self-organized endeavor in Izmir. Onaral’s purpose was to take the lead in turning academic information into technology and then to produce that so it has direct implications for patients. Her role was and still is to connect leaders who can take lead in these initiatives and to open her networks to others. Turkey’s health sector is very much dependent on outside support. The effort needs to be very carefully connected to every party, from business CEOs, entrepreneurs, government reps, and ministries, to local civil society organizations. Here is how Dr. Onaral works on this. She first identifies a social issue for a local community – it was health for Izmir in this case. Then, she identifies the information centers such as universities. She says that “the asset really is in the grassroots and coordinating the people in the grassroots and galvanizing the people.” Then she connects universities to the business world. Then this transforms the culture of the universities from within. If a couple of universities can do it, then the way business is done is changed in that community. She adds “The community needs to be ready. You have to have an audience that understands what you’re telling them and react. If not, all efforts will be useless.” This network did not have a blueprint, yet it did have a

⁸⁹ Sabanci University began its first academic year on October 20, 1999. It was established with the financial backing of Sabanci Holding, the largest industrial and financial *conglomerate* in Turkey. The university has a unique structure among universities in Turkey. The university does not traditional departments and bases its academic programs and institutional structure on an interdisciplinary approach.

⁹⁰ The word INOVIZ is created by putting together the word "Innovation" and "Izmir".

⁹¹ <http://grou.ps/inoviz> and <http://www.izmirforhealth.com/registration.html>

role model that Dr. Onaral introduced and a clear idea of ‘what to do next’. By defining each subsequent step along the road, the network became wider.

Banu Onaral is currently a professor of Biomedical Engineering and Electrical Engineering at Drexel University. She came to the United States in 1974 right after she got her masters in Electrical Engineering from Bogazici University in Istanbul. Her translational research efforts for the rapid commercialization of biomedical technologies facilitates the translation of findings from basic science to practical applications to enhance human well-being, have resulted in the creation of the translational research in Biomedical Technologies program in Drexel University. This initiative brings together academic technology developers with entrepreneurs, regional economic development agencies, and local legal, business investment and social sector communities.

Her grandfather, Nuri Demirağ, who was a great industrialist and philanthropist, inspired her. His vision was very much similar to today’s Warren Buffet. Like her grandfather, Onaral doesn’t believe in just financial giving but giving through various ways because she says “you cannot make a difference only with money.” During our interview she said “If you believe in a mission you need to make it happen.” Her grandfather was the pioneer of the aviation industry in Turkey. In 1930s Turkey was a new and a poor republic. The global economic downturn also impacted the country. The total budget of the government was about 200 million Turkish Liras at the time (About \$7.7 million). The government reached out to the country’s wealthiest to help buy airplanes, since neither the country nor a private company owned a plane factory in Turkey. Nuri Demirağ instead of contributing financially said the country needed a plane factory and took on the initiative. He not only built a factory that started producing airplanes but also started a pilot school in two different cities educating pilots on full

scholarships. Later Demirağ donated his aircraft to his flying school (Gök Okulu) in Yeşilköy, created to interest young Turks in aviation. The land upon which the school was built was later nationalized by the Turkish government and is now the Atatürk International Airport, Istanbul's major airport. His life philosophy was summarized by his belief that "one has to look for the liberation and advancement solely in his personality. Your mind and spirit should be idealist, and guide you as you lean on yourself, sacrifice your personal interest for the nation and think about how to leverage the treasuries of your nation."⁹² He got into the cigarette paper business, which was under the monopoly of foreign companies, and produced the first cigarette paper of Turkey. His industrialist spirit was based on contributing to empowering and developing the nation. His investments were very selectively chosen. He founded the first airplane atelier in Turkey. He was one of the first to talk about the necessity of providing aviation education in cooperation with industry. Onaral says "like aviation, bioengineering is also an impulsive force for an entrepreneurial university because in order for the invention to reach patients fast, doctors, entrepreneurs, investors, and businessmen must work in cooperation. In my opinion, these concepts were the major guiding principles of my grandfather's entrepreneurial and philanthropic spirit."

Dr. Onaral is one of the rare people who live a double life. She travels to Turkey every six weeks. In 1992, Banu and her team brought a team of experts to Turkey and arrange a conference to discuss innovation around biotechnology. She says "Turkey wasn't ready at that time." Then in 2002, she tried another attempt and organized the annual conference of Engineering Medical Scientists, of which she was the President

⁹² <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LaTk280sr1U>

at the time. She continues, “They weren’t ready then, either.”⁹³ Now, the locals took ownership and that’s what’s making the difference. They have started discussing these issues themselves internally with local and domestic conferences and gatherings. There came a time when they were able to digest the information we provide them and go ahead and implement it. After that you just provide continued support. The initial objectives of Dr. Onaral were modest and specific: to apply her professional knowledge to create innovation ecosystems in Turkey. When the constraints of the home country’s institutional environment became apparent, she engaged in advocacy to remedy some of the constraints. Dr. Murat Özgören says “Dr. Onaral brought in delegations from all around the world which helped us convince the business world and the local government to give support to the idea.”⁹⁴ Currently, in Izmir the biomedical industry has only the capacity of producing 30 percent of the demand since there’s not enough qualified and skilled human resource. The idea of creating an ecosystem where marketing of the products will be supported got the business world interested in the idea. The successful creation of institutions promoting collaboration for innovation in various sectors and the creation of an appropriate institutional environment became two sides of the same collaborative process. Banu Onaral calls this “innovation philanthropy,” since it combines innovation in academia, education, and the business world with institutional and policy entrepreneurship.

The national innovation movement that initially inspired Dr. Onaral eventually stalled, but the projects initiated by Dr. Onaral continued growing and have taken on a life of their own. First, three major universities in Izmir, Ege University, Dokuz Eylül

⁹³ Interview with Banu Onaral, H. H. Sun Professor & Director, School of Biomedical Engineering, Science & Health Systems, Drexel University, February 9, 2012

⁹⁴ Interview with Murat Özgören, Former INOVIZ Dokuz Eylül University Coordinator, Vice-Rector Dokuz Eylül University, May 25, 2012.

University, and Izmir Institute of Technology, which are leaders in the field of Biomedical Technologies, were approached. Replicating what they learned at the universities in the United States, they brought different sectors together to discuss if and how industrial and academic partnerships can be created. Their goal was to transfer their skills and knowledge in the field to Turkey. Prof. Banu Onaral says "Izmir has the human resources, physical infrastructure and academic research capacity to lead the biomedical technologies industry and production sector. What was missing was that even though a lot had been going on in the city, they were not aware of each other's initiatives. We introduced them to each other and created a dialogue among them." A Turkish-American philanthropist and businessman, Kaya Tuncer, also supported the initiative by opening the facilities of ESBAS (The Aegean Free Zone Development and Operating)⁹⁵ to the project. From one-on-one meetings with university deans to CSO leaders, the project developed three stages:

1. INOVERSITE is an online university that is implemented by three universities in Izmir with the goal of encouraging research and development training and making the region a leader in the biomedical technologies field. The program is an international Graduate Program that gives post graduate (M. Sc.), doctorate (Ph. D) and post doctorate (Post Doc) degrees in an exchange-program model. The program has been supported by three universities Izmir, Ege University, Dokuz Eylül University, and Izmir Institute of Technology, YOK (The Council of Higher Education), TASSA members from the US, TUBITAK senior leader, and an advanced coordination committee. Training and educational activities will be carried out with support of the physical and human resources

⁹⁵ <http://www.esbas.com.tr/english/default.aspx>

infrastructure of all three universities, as per the “Good Will Agreement” signed on June 29, 2009.

2. INOVAKENT is a research and development center created and operated by ESBAS, and other local and foreign stakeholders. The goal is to provide scientists at universities with devices they cannot get due to financial difficulties, and support their research efforts.

3. INOVATEK, a science and technology park, will pave the way for commercializing the research results. The park helps businesses and organizations housed in the park with product advancement and innovation. The park offers a number of shared resources, such as incubators, programs and collaboration activities, which provide considerable advantages to hosted companies. The goal is to bring in industry with which universities can collaborate. Techno Parks have become very popular channels for new businesses in Turkey as they support university-industry and government collaboration with the intent of creating high technology economic development and advancing knowledge. Along the same lines, the plan is to especially promote products to international medical firms.

After the establishment of INOVIZ, INOVIST (Innovation Istanbul) and INNOVKARA (Innovation Ankara) were also started with Prof. Onaral’s involvement. Prof. Onaral is still working with leaders in Turkey – going to Turkey once a month – to promote the idea to other cities. She states that there are a very large number of young

Turkish-Americans who are very interested in innovation, entrepreneurship and philanthropy and they just need to be showed how to be connected.⁹⁶

Conclusion

As these two diaspora champions show it's generally a small fraction of the overall number of the diaspora that makes a difference in large scale in local communities. Both Tashman and Onural brought in new ideas and new ways of socially investing in their local communities and thereby contributed to local development. They both played critical roles in building the initiatives they spearheaded. As these two cases show, diasporas do not need to be large in numbers to have an impact. The Turkish-American diaspora is about half-million in the United States. Some might argue that that's not a large enough number. However, the important point is identifying these diaspora champions that have personal credibility and influence. In the next chapter, I discuss the mobilization of the Turkish diaspora and how the Turkish government has recently started to look for ways to connect to them.

⁹⁶ Interview with Banu Onural, H. H. Sun Professor & Director, School of Biomedical Engineering, Science & Health Systems, Drexel University, February 9, 2012

Chapter 6: Turkish-American Diaspora's Mobilization

6.1 Turkish-American's Identity: Diaspora or Immigrants?

A diaspora refers to the “ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin—their homelands” (Sheffer, 1986, p. 3). As opposed to the term immigrant, which focuses on locality, diaspora emphasizes a person's dual identity (Radhakrishnan, 2003) and a longing to return home (Skeldon, 2003). One of the interviewees referred to it as “living a double life.”⁹⁷

The traditional meaning of diaspora⁹⁸ is the dispersal of a people from its original homeland (Connor 1986; Butler 2001; Tölölyan 2007). Traditionally, diaspora is used to describe how displaced people maintain cultural, political and social ties to their place of origin, usually across national borders. Major features this original definition lays out are: (1) conscious cultivation & preservation of culture of the homeland; (2) an idea of returning back; and (3) solidarity through institutions (Tölölyan 1996). However, the literature shows that since 1980s the meaning of the word needs reassessment since the movement between countries has become something very common, and the advances in transportation and communication enable the immigrant communities to stay connected with their country of origin far more easily than before (Butler, 2001; Cohen 1997; Riddle 2008).

Terminologies that have been used such as immigrant, exilic or nomadic are not enough to reflect the changing nature of the transnational practices. Ninan Glick Schiller argues, “there are many forms of transnational processes beyond migration” (as cited in

⁹⁷ Interview with Güler Köknar, Executive Director, Turkish Cultural Foundation, February 29, 2012.

⁹⁸ The Greek word Diaspora was first used by Jews of Alexandria around 250 BCE to signify their dispersion (Tölölyan 2007).

Sheffer, 2006, p.125). Migration, as its forms have been changing rapidly, cannot be stretched anymore to explain the encounters of the new movements (Lie 1995). People who migrate from one place to another can easily stay connected to their homeland today. Because they can stay connected to their homeland and get involved in the affairs of the homeland, today's transnational communities are not fully integrating to their host societies or being assimilated (Sheffer, 2006). As diaspora as a term is not solely about exile anymore, it better captures the emerging realities of today's moving communities than migration or assimilation (Lie 1995). Associating oneself with a diaspora also creates a strong collective identity (Cohen, 1996, 1997). Awareness of identity and connection to homeland is intensive among today's transnational communities. They preserve language and religious, social and cultural practices (Sheffer 2006; Tölölyan 2007). Communal solidarity and connection to homeland become more visible through philanthropic transfers to the homeland.

The discourse has been changing as well. As James Clifford notes "Jewish (and Greek and Armenian) diasporas may be taken as non-normative starting points for a discourse that is traveling or hybridizing in new global conditions" (as cited in Anand, 2003, p.214). The word diaspora lost its meaning in the sense that it is all about exile (Clo and Fiore, 2001). Today, more and more groups that moved to another country are being called diaspora (Huntington 2004; Anand, 2003). Communities that scholars had once called immigrant, exilic or nomadic have started to be called diasporas (Butler, 2001; Sheffer 2006). This is a new trend that is becoming popular among diasporas such as Turks. The common usage of the term is also due to the change in the prestige of the word – it is associated with more power now (Tölölyan 1996; 2007). Clifford argues that being a member of Diaspora has become associated with empowerment that opens doors

to getting international support and influencing both the homeland and hostland (as cited in Butler, 2001, p. 190).

Many scholars have defined the term diaspora differently.⁹⁹ ‘Defining themselves with the homeland’ and ‘shared connection to [the] homeland’ are characters that are commonly attributed to diaspora (Sheffer 1986; Riggs 2004; Anand 2003; Butler 2001; Tölölyan 2007). In 2010, together with USAID and the Migration Policy Institute¹⁰⁰ the US State Department has started a new initiative in 2010 called Diasporas & Development policy project. This project also emphasizes ties to the homeland in its definition of diaspora. This project is part of MPI’s Migrants, Migration and Development program that initially started in 2004 to research the contributions of migrant communities to sustainable development of their countries of origin. The research on the diaspora is the program’s second strand of work where focus has been on diaspora engagement in countries of origin. The program produced a couple of papers based on research and roundtable discussions with representatives of diaspora organizations. The initiative defines diasporas broadly as “migrants and their descendants who maintain ties with their countries of origin” (Terrazas, 2010). While this study

⁹⁹ Two studies, one by Vertovec (1997) and the other by Anand (1997) summarizes the different usage of the word. Vertovec (1997) compares three meanings of diaspora. The first and most common connotation of diaspora is by its social form, with an emphasis on a group’s intra-relationships despite dispersal, whether for voluntary reasons or by forced migration. These social relationships are cemented by ties to history and geography, and play out in political orientations and economic strategies. A second meaning rests in the conception of a diasporic consciousness, a particular kind of awareness said to be generated among contemporary transnational communities. The diasporic consciousness is aware of its multi-locality, constituted by negative experiences of discrimination and exclusion, and positive experiences through identification with one’s heritage. A third understanding of diaspora is through its mode of cultural production, aligned with scholarship in hybridity and new ethnicities. In addressing the three approaches, the expression and practice of religious identity receives attention. Vertovec concludes that diasporic phenomena need to be approached with a dual consideration toward historical conditions, or structure, and the meanings held by and practices of social actors, or agency. Anand (1997) discusses the three usage of the word Diaspora. One as a word for the segment of people living outside their homeland. The second one defines Diaspora to incorporate experiences of dispersed people. A third group describes it as a hybrid identity.

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/>

accepts that a shared connection to homeland is what defines the size and actions of the Diaspora, and used it as a starting point in studying Turkish-American identity, it also argues that there are different segments in one ethnic community and the boundaries as Tölölyan (2007) argues are not fixed but porous and fluid. Along the same lines, a community does not necessarily have to be defined just as a diaspora community. The size and actions of the diaspora change depending on the reaction to cultural, economic, social and political policies of the hostland and homeland.

Turks in the last ten years have started to get organized to develop an agenda for self-representation in the political and cultural realm in the United States. They have come to the realization that they need to act collectively to respond to issues related to Turkey and Turks to strengthen their social standing in the United States.¹⁰¹ When the famous TV-series of ABC, 24, in the first episode of Season 4 depicted a Turkish-American family, in which parents and their teenage son actively engage in a plot to kill Americans,¹⁰² Turkish-Americans bombarded the TV channel with emails and phone calls. The TV series ended up not showing the terrorist as Turkish. There is a consciousness that underpins those actions. Today as the term diaspora is more widely used and doesn't have that negative connotation anymore; Turkish-Americans have started using the word "diaspora" more often.¹⁰³ The word also empowers communities that define themselves as diaspora so for the Turkish-American community, using the

¹⁰¹ Interview with Ergun Kırlikovalı, Former President of Assembly of Turkish-American Associations, February 7, 2012.

¹⁰² http://comm.tulumba.com/topicitem.asp?topic_id=856

¹⁰³ Interview with Ergun Kırlikovalı, Former President of Assembly of Turkish-American Associations, February 7, 2012.

term is a concise decision.¹⁰⁴ “Immigrant” as a word has only a connection to the hostland. But, when you use “diaspora” you emphasize your connection both to the homeland and the hostland.

6.2 Turks in the United States

The literature lists three waves of immigration from Turkey to the United States: the first one came in mid-to-late 1800s. These were mostly ethnic minorities in the Ottoman Empire. The second wave of immigrants came in 1950s and 1960s. This group consisted of highly skilled professionals such as doctors, engineers and academicians. The third wave came after 1970s. The numbers increased especially after 1985 with the acceptance of the dual citizenship in Turkey and the wide distribution of greencards by the United States. With the third wave, a group of students that came here to study ended up staying. The philanthropic characteristics of these Turkish-Americans reflect more of the 2nd wave of immigrants instead of the third wave of immigrants. Many researchers overlook this group since they are scattered all around the United States, having professional jobs and not necessarily being connected to the Turkish community or enclaves.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Guler Koknar, Executive Director of Turkish Cultural Foundation, February 29, 2012.

Table 13 Turkish-American Population

TOTAL NUMBER OF RACES REPORTED	Turkish Ancestry	Margin of Error (+/-)
Total population	199,180	+/-14,223
One race	93.9%	+/-1.4
Two races	6.0%	+/-1.4
Three races	0.1%	+/-0.2
Four or more races	0.0%	+/-0.1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2007-2009 American Community Survey

Turkish-Americans are recent immigrants to American society. Turks came to the United States mainly after the Second World War, increasing in numbers after 1965 with the change of the Immigration Law.¹⁰⁵ The history of Turkish American immigration to the United States is not well documented and is generally unknown. The motivation of many Turks for coming to the United States was for economic or educational opportunities as well as for political reasons for some minorities (Ipek and Caglayan, 2006). The migration to the United States from Turkey (then Ottoman Empire) started in 1820s. Even after the Republic of Turkey was established in 1923, official US records used “Turkey in Asia” and “Turkey in Europe” for immigrants from the Ottoman Empire (Karpat, 2006a).

Precise statistics on Turkish American immigration are difficult to obtain. According to U.S. government statistics, the number of immigrants from the Ottoman Empire was very small from 1820 through 1860, averaging less than 20 per year. The total number of immigrants from Ottoman Turkey who came between 1820 and 1950 is

¹⁰⁵ The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (Hart-Celler Act) abolished the national origins quota system that was American immigration policy since the 1920s, replacing it with a preference system that focused on immigrants' skills and family relationships with citizens or U.S. residents.

stated to be between 178,000 and 415,000¹⁰⁶. Only an estimated 5 percent, about 15,000-65,000, is believed to be of Turkish origin (Ipek and Caglayan, 2006; Karpat, 2006a). The majority of arrivals were from the numerous ethnic minorities in the Ottoman Empire, primarily Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Syrians. It was also argued that since most Turks concealed their identity and acted as Christians claiming escape from the Ottoman oppression to ease the entry process, it is difficult to know the exact numbers of ethnic Turks who migrated to the United States (Ipek and Caglayan, 2006). At the same time, there wasn't a clear cut national identity to define themselves with; they mostly identified themselves as Muslims but kept a distance from other Muslims as they practiced their version of Islam (Karpat, 2006b). Only 30.74 percent of the immigrants in 1911 came with their families and almost one-third went back (Ipek and Caglayan, 2006a). Interestingly, the highest rate of return among Ottoman immigrants was from Turks (Ipek and Caglayan, 2006). Turks main goal has been always to save money and to go back so they have always stay connected and raised funds for issues like the national resistance movement and the care of orphans in Turkey (Ipek and Caglayan, 2006; Karpat, 2006a).

In 1850s the US missionary schools in Anatolia encouraged their students to go to the United States for higher education (Ipek and Caglayan, 2006). This tradition has continued throughout history. Most of those who came to the United States were graduates of American schools in Turkey. These schools were as follows: Robert College of Istanbul (1863); the American College for Girls in Istanbul (1871) ,Talas American College in Talas, Kayseri (1871); Central Turkey College in Gaziantep (1874); Üsküdar American Academy in Istanbul (1876) (former the American College for Girls);

¹⁰⁶ Different articles provide different numbers.

Euphrates College in Harput (1852); American Collegiate Institute, Izmir (1878); Anatolia College in Merzifon, Amasya (1886); Tarsus American College, Mersin (1888)(former St. Paul's College in Tarsus); International College in Izmir (1891). Two of the most famous ones are Robert College of Istanbul and American College for Girls, which were products of American philanthropy and the Protestant missionary movement. The first was Robert College, a school for boys founded in 1863 by the missionary Cyrus Hamlin, a native of Maine. The college was named for Christopher Rhineland Robert, a wealthy merchant and philanthropist from New York, who provided most of the funds for the school in its early years. Robert College was the first education institution founded by Americans in a foreign land. The Woman's Board of Missions of the Congregational Church established the American College for Girls, originally known as the Home School, in 1871. Two years later the school moved to Üsküdar. The Girls College remained in Üsküdar until 1914, when it moved to a new campus on the European shore of the Bosphorus at Arnavutköy, four kilometers down the strait from Robert College. The two schools were combined in 1971 under the name of Robert College, a coeducational lycee using the buildings and grounds of the former Girls College in Arnavutköy¹⁰⁷ (Freely, 2009). During the early years of Robert College and the Girls College their students were almost all from the Christian minorities of the Ottoman Empire, primarily Armenians, Bulgarians and Greeks. The first Muslim Turks graduated from the two schools in the early 1900s, and by the middle of the twentieth century the student body was predominantly Turkish (Freely, 2009). Most of the second wave immigrants were the graduates of these American schools in Turkey.

¹⁰⁷ The buildings and grounds of the old Robert College were then taken over by a new Turkish university called Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, founded in 1971. Boğaziçi Üniversitesi and the new Robert College both began their first academic year in September 1971.

Some historians believe that a large percentage of early Turkish Americans were illiterate but in general their literacy rate was much higher than that of the Ottoman Empire. According to historian Talat Sait Halman, most of the well-educated immigrants in this group eventually returned to Turkey but the less educated remained in the United States. One of the interviewees whose parents weren't educated has said of their decision to stay in the United States: "they never thought about returning back to Turkey not because they have assimilated but because they didn't believe they can build the same kind of life in Turkey. They were able to build a pretty good life and became a member of the upper middle class. But, they couldn't establish that if they would ever go back." However, the educated group knew they had sometimes better opportunities in Turkey. These remaining Turks, some studies indicate, retained their Turkish customs throughout the 1940s and 1950s without assimilating into the lifestyle of their newly adopted country.

The second wave of immigrants came in 1950s and 1960s and defined themselves as ethnic Turks (Karpat, 2006a). In contrast to the first arrivals, most of these immigrants were Muslims and were mainly doctors and engineers as they came for advanced training and then stayed to fill the vacancies caused by the World War II (Karpat, 2006b). This group was the first wave of migration coming from the new Republic of Turkey. With the new Republic's nationalistic and secularist education system, they primarily identified themselves as Turks not as Muslims and take pride in their Turkishness (Karpat, 2006b). Since their numbers were very small and they were scattered all around the United States, even though they established associations, they could not truly form communities identified with Turkishness (Karpat, 2006b).

The third wave came after 1970s (Karpas, 2006a). Through his personal observation and research, Karpas (2006b) argues that this is “a new and unique chapter in the long history of Turkish migration” (p.173). Karpas (2006a) notes that this group kept their Turkishness in the sense that “it was shaped by society’s own historical and cultural experiences – and not by the official commandments of the government – with the social and economic realities of the United States” (p.2). This third wave called themselves Modern Muslim Turks. Karpas (2006b) describes this change in the identity of Turkish-Americans:

“The “revival of Islam” in Turkey after the 1970s was actually a search for some spiritual nourishment amidst the materialism and social alienation promoted by secularism. There also was a yearning to reclaim the society’s real identity, well expressed by the slogan “*özüne donmek*” (to return to one’s real self). In other words, the regime’s harsh efforts to produce a truly “modern new Turk” created longing for “lost” values that helped rehabilitate the traditional culture and historical identity. At the same time, profound economic changes and village-to-city migration were producing a high degree of social mobility and cultural homogenization in Turkey. The result was indeed a “new” Turk, who corresponded neither to the early Republic’s ideal neither of politically defined Turkishness nor to the religious extremists’ dream of recreating the *asr-I saadet* (century of happiness) of Islam’s first decades.” (p.174)

Since the 1970s, the number of Turkish immigrants has risen to more than 2,000 per year. Members of this most recent immigrant group vary widely. Many opened small businesses in the United States and created Turkish American organizations, thus developing Turkish enclaves, particularly in New York City. Still others came for educational purposes. Newcomers are grounded in a natural identity. This new group sees

their future in the United States but keep their religious and cultural dimensions of their identities (Karpat, 2006b). The dominant culture, social values and language of communication are Turkish. The community became more important for these new immigrants since they need to compete with other immigrant groups for low-paying jobs and solidarity in the community means job opportunities.

After 1985 when Turkish laws allowed Turkish citizens to have dual citizenship the number of immigrants coming to the United States increased significantly (Kaya, 2003). In addition, the government's approach to globalization and promoting education out of Turkey increased the number of students going to the US for graduate studies. The number of Turkish students enrolled in US institutions reached 15,000 in 2003 and Turkey ranked the ninth in terms of the number of international student enrolments in American educational institutions (Kaya, 2003). In addition, this time represents a time where unskilled or semiskilled workers with no college education came to the United States. As Karpat (1995) suggests, "as the European labor markets proved unable to absorb the Turkish labor surplus, mainly after 1990, the United States became the chief target for legal and, especially, illegal emigration." These immigrants were mostly upper, middle and lower class urbanities seeking high rewards according to their skills. According to the US Census data, in 2011, there were 199,180 Turkish-Americans, 45 percent of which were immigrated after 1990.

After the second wave of immigrants, Turkish American community organizations started being created in response to the need to promote a sense of a community in the United States (Kaya, 2003). The American Turkish Society was founded in 1949, while umbrella organizations such as the Federation of Turkish American Associations was founded, in 1956 and the Assembly of Turkish American

Associations in 1979. After 1990, the number of Turkish-American organizations increased. All the organizations that give back to Turkey are very recently established. This shows that there is a tendency in the community to give back. There are only five diaspora organizations in the United States that are solely established to raise money for social projects in Turkey: Turkish Educational Fund, Bridge to Turkiye Fund, Turkish Philanthropy Funds, Friends of Anatolia (not active) and Bridges of Hope Project. All of these organizations but one is established after 2003.

Estimates of the total population of Turkish Americans vary widely, ranging from 180,000 to 400,000. Turkish-Americans have been doing well financially in the United States. In 1990, their average family income was \$51,712 (Marvasti and McKinney, 2005). Turkish-American's poverty rate is 7.4 percent, lower than the average American rate, which is 10 percent (Marvasti and McKinney, 2005). Sixty-seven percent of the population was employed according to US Census data of 1990. 36.5 percent of the employed Turkish-Americans hold managerial/professional positions, making it the largest category for the Turkish-American population (See Figure 1). Turkish-Americans have high rates of self-employment; 16.1 percent, as well as high educational levels; 28.5 percent of the population has bachelor's degree, while 54.3 percent has a bachelor's degree or higher according to 2011 US Census (See Table 10 and 11).

6.3 Giving Channels, Patterns and Motivations: A Personal Statement in Giving Back

Philanthropy among Turks who migrated to the United States is not new. The amount of money that was sent back to Ottoman Empire was around 300,000 pounds per year in the 1880s. The number went up to 2,200,000 pounds per year in the 1910-1913 period (Ipek and Caglayan 2006). However, since 2000s there is a rise in the number of

Turkish diaspora organizations raising money for organizations and projects in Turkey. Many individuals have not only used various channels to send money home but also shared their skills, experiences and networks to give back home. Some of them established non-profit organizations to mobilize the community to send philanthropic dollars back to Turkey. These individuals have all realized the potential of diaspora philanthropy. As one of the interviewees notes, this is the result of Turkish community's becoming a critical mass in the United States and understanding that they can benefit Turkey without returning back home.

Four types of factors inform diasporas' philanthropic actions towards the homeland¹⁰⁸: identity; personal and interpersonal skills and experience; opportunity structures available for diasporans to mobilize for particular agendas; and motivations concerning the quality of life and policies in their homeland. The impact of identity has been discussed in the earlier section.

Motivations in Philanthropy

Giving is a sensitive issue in the Turkish community. The interviews show that Turkish people give back both their time and money to their immediate surroundings where they can see and follow the outcome and "feel good" about giving back. One of the interviewees says "I generally look for a personal connection in my decisions of giving. It might be the person who asks the organization that I give to or the cause." Their giving is very personal and they try to make a connection between themselves and the issues they support. All of the interviewees who have not been giving back to Turkey but would like to give mentioned that they do not know of a channel in the United States to

¹⁰⁸ I added a fourth factor to Esman (1996)'s three factors of diasporans ability, motivation and the enabling environment.

send money back home. They underlined the fact that it is very difficult to find the right organization and to trust and follow-up the outcome. One of the interviewees said that she has been supporting a girl for her education in Africa but would like to do the same thing in Turkey but does not know how. She mentioned “I know that there is a greater need in Turkey for charitable contributions and the charitable organizations are more effective today but I don’t know the channels to send the money back home. It should be as easy as sending it online with one click.”

Turkish culture is not an individualistic culture. As a tradition you are expected to take care of the elderly and the needy. Helping the needy in the community is a part of living in a community. For many, mobilization becomes an expression of a hybrid identity (Brinkerhoff, 2009). The concept of hybridity emphasizes that individuals are in constant negotiation with the national and cultural structures of both host and native countries and being challenged by both (Bhabbha, 1997). Today, with the change in the meaning of community the Turkish diaspora considers itself a part of the community in Turkey even though they physically live in the United States. This feeling leaves many members of the Turkish diaspora with a sense of responsibility towards the people in need in Turkey. The feeling that you are the lucky one who has the chance to move to the United States reinforces this feeling. Psychological empowerment, which is related to positive emotions and one’s sense of meaning and purpose of life, reinforces motivation (Brinkershoof, 2009). Psychologically empowered individuals “contribute to feelings of sociability, self-confidence, energy, engaged activity, altruism and creativity.” (Brinkerhoff, 2009, p. 175). Donors interviewed for this study see their contributions as investments into the country’s future. They were interested in not just making more than a change in one person’s life but in the whole country’s future. In the two cases studied

their purpose in life of helping others gave them the confidence, the capacity to aspire, energy and persistence. They were aware of the changes they can make in the community and see their role beyond “doing their duties as a part of community” but also doing it in a strategic way so they can really make an impact in their local communities. In the interviews, when asked what they consider as their responsibility back home, one of the interviewee mentions, “It is more than sympathy.” Their logic on thinking beyond their self-interest and giving back to Turkey when living in the United States is wanting the endurance and rising of their home country. The dynamics of life in a community – physical or not - enables individuals to view their interest not merely as individuals but as a community even when living beyond that community (Veit, 1997).

Additionally, a community identity that creates a sense of solidarity is also an important aspect that mobilized diasporans to act (Brinkerhoff, 2006). Citing Coleman (1988, 1990) and Ostrom (1990), Brinkerhoff (2006) argues that bonding social capital that can generate a shared identity is required for collective action. Bridging social capital also enables diasporas to reach beyond their own capacities and act as bridges between various resources and information (Brinkerhoff, 2006). Major philanthropists interviewed for the study believe that part of their philanthropic endeavor is educating others to be philanthropically conscious and even sometimes push others to contribute to the communities they live in. One of the interviewees said “I see my responsibility as more than helping needy, but realizing the needs of the community and answering those needs and make a change happen.”¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Çiğdem Acar, Founder and President of Bridges of Hope Project, March 17, 2012.

The two diasporans portrayed in this study stand out from the rest of the Turkish-Americans even from the ones who were giving back. The characteristics that made them stand out were:

1. They were both influenced by philanthropic figures who guided their life philosophy of giving. The philanthropists that inspired these two diasporans were two of the major philanthropists of Turkey and their giving philosophy was based on the duty of giving back to one's own nation.

2. Both wanted to have a long-lasting social impact. Their giving was calculated and strategized. They were not interested in just supporting their local communities but they wanted to initiate a change that can have change how things are in those communities. In that regard, they think very much like an entrepreneur.

3. They were also both involved in the projects they support. They not only give incredible amounts of time.

For these reasons, these diasporans are called diaspora champions.

Skills and Experiences

Diaspora communities express their hybrid identities best through philanthropy that is not only done through financial capital but also through social & human capital. Additionally, diasporans use philanthropy to not only support the homeland but also to explore and enact skills and values they have gained in the hostland and their ability to mobilize (e.g., the existence of social capital or networks that link diaspora members to each other through formal or informal associations).

Diasporans' specific skills and capabilities shape the nature and impact of their contributions to the homeland (Wescott and Brinkerhoff 2006). The receiving country provides the experience necessary to enhance the migrants' skills and develop their

knowledge (Brinkerhoff, 2007). In this regard, one of the interviewees argues that it is the opportunities in the United States that made them who they are. He says “I am who am I am and I became successful not because I am smarter or not because of my Ivy League education but because the system in the United States allowed me to be more flexible and creative.”¹¹⁰ Therefore, knowledge transfers don’t make sense unless the same culture and norms are in the home country, which he believes is not going to happen in the near future in Turkey. Meyer and Brown (1999) elaborates on this and argue that “the process of knowledge creation, transmission, and application requires not only social and institutional communities, but also socio-cognitive ones, which are rarely replicable as they rely upon local conditions and collective tacit knowledge built through daily group practice.” (as cited in Brinkerhoff, 2007). Knowledge transfers are possible if the receiving party is open to them.

6.4 Diaspora Philanthropy Institutions of Turkish-Americans

Turkish diaspora philanthropy organizations¹¹¹ in the United States are all incorporated as public charities and provide tax incentives to their donors. They are designed to give back to the homeland society for the country’s social and economic development. The issues vary from education to art and culture. Major characteristics shared by them include:

Fundraising Expertise: Up until recently, most Turkish-American diaspora organizations have had very small budgets and limited fundraising expertise. Most of

¹¹⁰ Interview with Dr. Mehmet Toner, Helen Andrus Benedict Professor of Surgery (Bioengineering) at Massachusetts General Hospital, Harvard Medical School and the Director of the BioMicroElectroMechanical Systems Resource Center (BMRC) at Massachusetts General Hospital, February 15, 2012.

¹¹¹ Diaspora philanthropy organizations are the organizations whose sole mission has been sending money back home or creating a platform for Turkish-Americans to connect back to Turkey in any philanthropic way.

them collected money from their own community, in many cases just from their board of directors or the friends of the board of directors. Their fundraising techniques have been very similar and simple. They raised money either by a fundraising event or through email solicitation letters. One of the organizations professionalized its efforts by involving foundation grants as a means of support. In two years' time, this organization raised its budget to \$150,000 and has employed two-paid staff. However, due to lack of funding, after two-years it closed its doors. However, in the last five years, Turkish-American diaspora organizations have become more professionalized with the establishment and growth of organizations with paid staff. These organizations have created an easier platform to connect back home.

Non-profit management Experience: All of these are grassroots efforts with very little non-profit management experience. Philanthropically active Turkish-Americans lead most of them. The volunteers and board members are the driving source behind these organizations. They not only deal with the daily operations of these organizations but also reach out to their immediate surroundings for fundraising efforts. However, as mentioned above, some organizations are professionalizing themselves as the community has been growing and the needs from a diaspora philanthropy organization are growing.

Partnership with other nonprofit organizations: There is a tendency to collaborate with other nonprofit organizations both Turkish and non-Turkish. However, this is in the process of developing since all of these organizations are very newly developed. One of the founders mentioned that they are aware of their limits and always welcome the collaborations in the aim of assisting Turkey more. All of these organizations contribute to each other's fundraising efforts to show their support.

Programs to educate potential donors about the work that Non-profits are doing in Turkey: To some extent Turkish diaspora organizations are providing information about the organizations and projects they support through emails and organization websites. In this sense, they are great ways for the Turkish community in the United States to gain knowledge of the third sector in Turkey. In addition, they also hold educational seminars to inform Turkish-Americans about the social issues and the organizations doing work on the ground in Turkey.

Education as the number one supported area: There is a commonality of interests among the Turkish diaspora organizations in addressing educational problems in Turkey. With the a few exceptions, they all raise money for educational projects from building libraries in village schools to repairing them. One of the executive directors explains this issue by saying “Education is considered as charity as well as investment into the country’s future.” In Turkish culture, education is seen as the way to enlightenment and many times at conversations about the country’s problems, the need for better education is cited as a solution. Even though these organizations raise money for other issues as well they have either been established to fund educational projects in Turkey or their first project was an educational project. One of the interviewee’s observations was that since the first generation of Turkish immigrants in particular want to give back out of loyalty, generally their initial contributions are to their own local schools¹¹². Another one believes that education is the most important way that one can help young Turks learn about philanthropy and giving back to the community.¹¹³

¹¹² Interview with Aslı Özgüz, Development Professional, February 15, 2012.

¹¹³ Interview with Çiğdem Acar, Founder and President of Bridges of Hope Project, March 17, 2012.

The Turkish diaspora has realized its effects with the millions of dollars raised for the earthquake victims of 1999. However, the community has still been giving to build a school or a clinic in their hometowns. The diaspora organizations that have been created very recently understand this trend in the community and have not been pushing hard to transform people's giving behavior, believing that it is already difficult to raise money. However, there is a change in the sense that individuals start to give via these organizations instead of giving directly to people in need. The important points that were consistently mentioned by the interviewees were:

- Members of Turkish diaspora are interested in donating both time and money to Turkey.
- The credibility and accountability of the recipient non-profit is very important.
- The person who asks is very important.
- Trusting the organization in the United States is very important.
- There is an overwhelming desire to help Turkey.
- The community believes that there is still a trust issue in the Turkish third sector but it is improving and they would like to be a part of that development.
- Getting the right people involved is important.

The Era of Transnationalism

Turkish-American organizations and individuals receive many emails everyday asking for support for non-profit organizations in Turkey or for book donations to rural schools. Many times, such requests are forwarded via email between friends, underlining the need. Globalization is increasingly used to describe the acceleration of transnational flows of information. Ironically, countries of origin have been the most active in trying to include those living abroad in their polity. This effort is directly related to an awareness

of the economic role played by the money sent home by immigrants that in many cases make up a critical component of the recipient country's gross national product. In addition, the ease of using the Internet to find organizations and the effectiveness of email to reach out to many people with no cost enables the community in the United States enables diasporans to be acquainted with the needs in the home country. Besides, technology has made it easier to be exposed to the home country's written and spoken media outlets. The Turkish government has not very actively pursued to be connected to the diaspora in the United States until very recently. However, the Turkish community has all the means to be able to stay connected back home. Turks in the United States can read the newspapers online every day and have Turkish TV channels at their home through satellite. These also create a sense of ongoing connection with the home country. Through mass media, members of the Turkish diaspora learn, hear and think about Turkey every day. The space for multiple affiliations and associations that has been opened up outside and beyond the nation-state has also allowed a diaspora allegiance to become both more open and more acceptable (Cohen, 517). In addition, technology allows constant contact with the home country and an instant response while the speed of air travel enables people to be involved in the life of two or more countries simultaneously (Djuric, 125). As a result, Turks have been able to maintain ties back home more easily and define themselves as a diaspora group.

6.5. Turkish Government and its Relationship to the Diaspora

In December of 2007 DEIK (Foreign Economic Relations Board) board decided to establish a council to gather Turkish entrepreneurs from all around the world. The establishment was approved by TOBB (Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges) in January 2008 and the World Turkish Business Council was established. DEIK is the

major coordinating institution of the Turkish private sector's foreign economic relations. The Chairman of TOBB is also the Chairman of DEİK. DEİK mainly operates through Bilateral Business Councils. DEİK's Bilateral Business Councils are established by a cooperation agreement signed with foreign counterparts with the purpose of promoting business relations. These Business Councils ensure an effective follow-up mechanism and a continuous flow of information to member companies on trade and industrial cooperation possibilities. Business Councils consist of two sides, one is the Turkish side and the other one is a counterpart institution in the relevant country, which is usually a representative body of the country's private sector. The Councils meet regularly each year. As of February 2011, there are 97 business councils operating under DEİK. Each business council has its own General Assembly and each General Assembly elects its own Executive Committee. The Executive Committee of each business council elects its own Chairman for two years. The World Turkish Business Council (DTİK) is a newly established Business Council of DEİK. Initially the aim was to bring business people together as the name suggests. Yet, as the initiative flourished the forum decided to enlarge itself to include professionals, academicians and most recently philanthropists. The website notes that the council has no political goals but only aims to bring "together the whole Turkish business community, business associations, foundations and other similar Turkish organizations from five continents under the same roof."¹¹⁴ DTİK is composed of Turkish companies operating outside Turkey, business associations established by Turkish businessmen in foreign countries, senior executives of Turkish origin in leading multinational corporations and other international institutions. In April 2009, DTİK organized its first Convention of World Turkish Entrepreneurs. The

¹¹⁴ <http://www.turkey-now.org/Default.aspx?pgID=1618&langid=1>

convention was put together again in October 2011.

In June 2012 DTIK issued a statement highlighting changing status of Turks living abroad from workers to business leaders and entrepreneurs. This speech highlights the change in the way that Turks living abroad have been perceived in Turkey. Migrants, mostly due to the migrants to Germany, were perceived as workers with low skills. Yet, as the number of 2nd and 3rd generations has been growing, they have started taking leadership positions and being more visible in the global arena. Coca-Cola CEO, Muhtar Kent has a huge impact on this changing perspective. It wasn't a coincidence that he is the Chair of Advisory Board of DTIK. He is believed to be a great role model and inspiration for many. The government before 2009 did not use diaspora as a term to describe Turkish citizens living out of the country. Yet, Turkish government and business leaders have also decided to make use of the changing meaning of the word and the positive connotation that comes with it now. Finally, the Turks living abroad are being seen as potential partners in development and growth in Turkey by people living in Turkey and more importantly by the government.

Even though they claim to be apolitical, the messages they give, the events they hold have a large government presence. Ministers and even the Prime Minister were almost always present at the meetings. The highlight has been on the entrepreneurship, which is very much in line with the current government policies of promoting entrepreneurship and especially innovation. TUBITAK, the research agency of the government has recently started an initiative to reverse the brain drain. The goal with this program is to not only attract academicians to return back to Turkey but also use their knowledge and expertise on innovation technology. TUBITAK has been giving out grants as well as loans to start-ups. Along these lines the government has promoted the

establishment of TechnoParks. TUBITAK also owns one. Investments in innovative technology have many government subsidiaries and incentives.

In 2013, the council is still trying to create a strategy for itself as it organized a conference “*Ortak Akil Platformu* (Common Thinking Platform)” in January of 11-14, 2013 bringing together 100 members of the diaspora all around the world. The aim was to brainstorm ideas to provide solutions to the needs of the diaspora and create a strategy for the council. The conference was organized by the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities. The word diaspora is still not much an accepted term even though the decision was made at the very beginning to define Turks living outside of Turkey as diaspora. Especially since different groups in different countries have various experiences with the word, finding a common ground wasn’t easy. However, the Turkish government as well as the business world took it upon from the others who were using the word’s positive impact and changing perception in the globe.

Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities

In 2010, Turkey established an agency called, Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities to organize its relationship with its citizens living abroad. This was a continuation of what was being done by TDIK. Rıfat Hisarcıklıođlu, the President of TOBB and DTİK, says that it was the request of DTİK members from the President of TDIK and notes that “the diaspora issue has become a national policy as a result of the DTİK’s work.” (Hurriyet Daily News, 2012)¹¹⁵. It was an addition to what has been tried to do by TDIK by “promoting Turkish culture, language and Muslim religion and

¹¹⁵ <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/council-mobilizing-the-turkish-diaspora.aspx?pageID=238&nID=30022&NewsCatID=464>

creating that connection to have the diaspora stay connected to Turkey.”¹¹⁶ The Presidency is comprised of a Legal Advisory Office and eight departments, each functioning in the respective areas of Overseas Citizens, Cultural and Social Relations, Institutional Relations and Communications, International Students, Human Resources and Education, Support Services, Strategy Development and Information Technology. Also three advisory boards were established to provide advice and guidance to the agency. These boards are the Overseas Citizens Advisory Board, the Evaluation Board for the Coordination of Cultural and Social Relations, and the International Students Evaluation Board.¹¹⁷

All these efforts of reaching out to the diaspora and getting them interested in returning to Turkey had some positive results. In the last five years, many Turks have returned to accept leadership positions at major global institutions such as CEO. Paypal’s Country Head, AIG’s CEO, Groupon’s CEO, Managing Director of Endeavor Turkey have all been educated, sometimes born and educated in the United States and have gone back to Turkey. There continues to be a search in the profit sector for Turks educated and who have started their careers in the United States. Additionally, we see more entrepreneurs in Turkey who were educated in the United States and returned. Founders of AirTies, Yemeksepeti.com, and all newly established businesses were contributions of the diaspora back home.

Conclusion

Diaspora philanthropy is a very personal statement. Although a lot of people may fall into the diaspora as a category, not all of them resonate with being a member of the

¹¹⁶ Interview with Celal Seçilmiş, President of Turkish-American Chamber of Commerce, January 29, 2013.

¹¹⁷ http://sam.gov.tr/tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/SAM_paper_ing_03.pdf

diaspora, let alone contributing back home. Motivations of a diaspora member are the most important fabric that makes a diaspora champion. The Turkish government has very recently started programs to connect to its diaspora in the United States. These programs are still not aware of the scope of the diaspora or the skills and experiences they can bring back home. They have been trying to build a platform that can create a sense of belonging and connection, which they hope would eventually turn into more successful diaspora initiatives.

Chapter 7: Conclusion: Changing Landscape of Global Philanthropy

Until recently, immigration has been seen as a negative phenomenon where people who cannot find opportunities or worry about oppression in their home countries, fled to other countries for new chances and better living conditions. This emigration from developing countries to developed countries has been seen as ‘brain drain’. The impact of these lost resources was perceived as a deficit for home countries. Later on, an increasing number of developing countries have started to consider their citizens living abroad as potential assets for national development. This has started the discussion of turning brain drain into brain grain. Many countries created policies to ensure the return of their citizens as it has been argued that education and training in the host countries benefit home countries immensely when skilled migrants return back (Wescott and Brinkerhoff 2006). As the role of diasporas in global development has been recognized more widely, a new trend of mobilizing diasporas abroad for development has recently emerged. This dissertation uses two case studies to argue that immigrant communities do not need to return to their home countries to have an impact on local development. Diasporas can be connected back home through various ways. The gains made from these diaspora communities’ connections to their homelands can be more than the benefits they would have created if they had returned home permanently since they continue to be connected to both countries, and transfer resources from the host country to the home country continuously. Additionally, their numbers in the hostland don’t need to be very large. As the two case studies show, diasporans with specific skills and motivations can make very impactful contributions – impact that is larger than the impact of the accumulation of

financial resources of a large diaspora community. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's recognition of the crucial role of diaspora communities in global development efforts, and their potential to turn brain drain into brain gain has been a testament to what has been happening globally.

The international development sector has defined diaspora philanthropy too narrowly reducing the impact of diasporas to their potential for financial contributions. Rather, the philanthropic actions of diasporas grew mostly out of social and human capital transfers. Though varied in form, these transfers and interactions create trust among locals, and mobilize them to initiate social enterprises that promote local development. Diasporans stands for credibility and trust in their local communities. Haldun Tashman when he introduced a new model of doing philanthropy in Bolu was only able to get the support of the local leaders because of his long-held relationships with them over the years. Banu Onaral created trust among local business leaders and convinced them to invest in this new model of business because she was able to bring experts from all around the world. And, they listened to her in the first place because she has been cultivating those relationships for many years. While diasporans can be very active in motivating locals towards specific causes, diaspora philanthropy cannot substitute for the cultivation of domestic resources. The governments of home countries, through their national and local policies, need to create an enabling environment. This dissertation suggests the need to create institutionalized networks to support exchanges between diasporas, international development agencies, the state and local social actors. It is not possible to rely on the bottom-up creativity of diaspora members and their networks alone to have an impact on local development. If we really want to impact change on the communities of home countries through diaspora giving, we need to scale

up and institutionalize the numerous ways diaspora champions have connected back home.

Establishment of a formal dialogue where communication and information about the other can exist and flow freely, and whereby each has the opportunity to better realize their mutually beneficial goals should be facilitated. Institutionalized networks can match diaspora members and institutions in home countries to generate and support joint projects and can concentrate on human and social capital transfers, support for public policies on innovation, and social project (civil initiatives) development. Most of the time, home countries have initiated the establishment of these networks. Today, many countries that have large numbers of their citizens living in other countries have been creating government institutions to engage diasporas on a formal basis already. These institutions do not have one-size-fits-all model and they occupy different levels of government and exhibit diverse priorities and degrees of organization. India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka established ministries to engage their diasporas (Agunias 2013). China and the Philippines have offices for their citizens overseas that are directly under the Office of the President. The Philippines government also institutionalized diaspora engagement at the sub-ministry level by creating three special offices under the departments of labor and employment and foreign affairs (Agunias 2013). Some states have local diaspora engagement offices such as Kosovo, where the diaspora is the third most important factor in the country's economic development, after the private sector and government spending¹¹⁸. The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology and the Government of Kosovo¹¹⁹ launched a national "brain-gain" campaign aimed at persuading members of

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http://www.eciks.org/english/lajme.php?action=total_news&main_id=1299#.URYSTqiyUA.twitter

¹¹⁹ <https://www.rks-gov.net/en-US/Qtytaret/Mergata/Pages/KthimiTrurit.aspx>

the Diaspora, and professionals from other countries, to take part in the country's development. The Ministry of Overseas Pakistanis has drafted the first ever National Policy for Overseas Pakistanis with a focus on maximizing welfare and empowerment of Pakistani diaspora working in different countries across the globe¹²⁰. The goal is to engage overseas Pakistanis in the development of the country. There are also programs such as ChileGlobal, which was initiated by the international organizations such as the World Bank. ChileGlobal is an initiative promoted by the World Bank Institute's Knowledge for Development program and works to promote the participation of diaspora in their countries of origin (Pollack 2011). FDL Development, a global international development company specializing in monitoring and evaluation, field research and governance programming is currently working on several pilot projects to establish "Facilitated Diaspora Networks" that will not only allow remitters to more easily send money home, but also contribute to the development of their home towns and regions. Models such as this one can be a starting point for future research on the area. Agunias (2013) recommends a very detailed preparatory period at understanding diasporas' needs, wants, and potential for governments and involving diasporas in the planning stages, mainly to build trust.

However, any proposal for what those networks or government initiatives should look like, and the qualities they should display, must begin with a review of common assumptions about the context in which diaspora philanthropy occurs, especially assumptions about the changing landscape of global philanthropy, its impact on international development, and the role of diaspora actors.

¹²⁰ <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=197062>

Changing Landscape of Global Philanthropy

Today, there are multiple players in the field of global philanthropy. It is not just about giving and receiving anymore. In 2001, Global Philanthropy Forum (GPF),¹²¹ an organization that embodies the changing landscape of global philanthropy as it aims to inform, enable, and enhance strategic global social investing, was formed. This was the outcome of the emergence of a new generation of philanthropic organizations that were forcing longstanding foreign aid donors to take stock. The formation of the Global Philanthropy Forum in 2001 was a testament to the fact that aid assistance is not the main player in the field of International Development anymore. Organizations such as The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Accion International¹²², The Acumen Fund¹²³ and The Echoing Green ¹²⁴ spurred by the entrepreneurial drive of a new generation, have combined business models and philanthropy to outdo for-profit investments with donations. This year, Global Philanthropy Forum, in its annual conference in Silicon Valley, further acknowledged the changing landscape of global philanthropy by recognizing contributions flowing out of transition economies and middle-income countries in the "South," and these bilateral donors from the emerging countries as new key players in international development.

Yet, there is also a third player in this changing dynamic of global philanthropy: diaspora contributions. Diaspora organizations have been a part of the discussion at the Global Philanthropy Forum conferences as some of them were among the attendees, but the rising impact of diaspora communities in global philanthropy has not been a major discussion topic. There is a continual growth in diaspora communities. The total number

¹²¹ <http://philanthropyforum.org/>

¹²² <http://www.accion.org/>

¹²³ <http://www.acumenfund.org/>

¹²⁴ <http://www.echoinggreen.org/>

of international migrants has increased over the last 10 years from an estimated 150 million in 2000 to 214 million persons today (World Migration Report, 2010). Migrants would constitute the fifth most populous country in the world (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2009). These groups have business and social connections in both their host and home countries, and move constantly without being connected to only one country. This enables them to be connected back home more than ever. Immigrants don't have to move back to their home countries to make a contribution to their hometowns anymore. Kingsley Aikins in Global Diaspora Strategies Toolkit (2010) says "the tyranny of distance and geography is finally broken."

We haven't fully analyzed the increasing impact of diaspora communities back home because we have concentrated too much on evaluating the impact through numbers. It's true that the growing numbers of remittances are remarkable. Remittances have increased exponentially: up from \$132 billion in 2000 to an estimated \$406 billion in 2012 (Migration and Development Briefing, 2012). These flows are expected to rise 8 percent in 2013 and 10 percent in 2014 to reach \$534 billion in 2015. Yet, the real impact of diaspora contributions happens through the transfer of human and social capital. Local development requires local ownership and involvement. Diaspora philanthropy done through human and social capital has the potential of mobilizing locals to own new models of local development. The missing piece from the way financial markets measure value can be filled by understanding the impact of social and human capital such as the impact of community building and knowledge transfers.

Today, understandably we talk more about the impact of international interventions to justify the funds spent. Measuring impact has been mostly done

quantitatively as it has been easier to measure and report. The changing landscape of global philanthropy leaves us with the question of what if we cannot measure social change with the tools of the business world, or with numbers. Impact assessment is finding out about the changes that social interventions have made in people's lives. Evaluating the impact of programs aimed at social change demands innovative and culturally appropriate approaches. Measuring and accounting for everything in numbers fatally compromises sensible and effective actions on the ground.

Andrew Natsios (2010), who once headed USAID, argues that good development practice in the field is now so tilted toward regulatory compliance and measuring accordingly that the U.S. global aid system is becoming ever more dysfunctional. As such, we see more international funding going to healthcare related projects, where it is rather easier to report the decreasing polio numbers than the changing local culture towards civil initiatives. Since 2001 US foundations' international giving benefited the area of health the most. In 2010, close to 41 percent of international support funded health - primarily medical research and public health (International Grantmaking Update, 2012). The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, which accounts for two out of five international grant dollars, dominated support for health, providing just over three-quarters of money invested in health (International Grantmaking Update, 2012).

Our concentration on measuring impact in numbers - because we need to report back - curtails our goals and turns the means into an end. And, the new generation of philanthropists' emphasis on investing in social issues with a business approach triggers the focus on quantitative measurement because it's easier to evaluate numbers. New philanthropists treat their giving exactly as they treat their businesses and

investments: their talk is about: "rigorous due diligence", "scalability", "return on capital", and "leveraging the investment."

“Story telling” is emerging as a new evaluation vehicle. While there isn’t a streamlined approach to compare the outcomes of these reporting, stories give a better idea of the impact of the funds going to these communities. CA Endowment Fund defines storytelling as accommodating “diverse voices and perspectives, while making the most of the particular resources and ways of learning readily available in your program.”¹²⁵ Using this approach requires a slightly different mindset. Instead of looking for ways to "prove" x or y has happened, it offers a means to create a continual feedback loop where information is flowing in to help adjust delivery of programs as time goes on. Jacqueline Novogratz in her recent letter to Acumen Fund’s (now Acumen) investors notes as she talks about the new path of Acumen: “We've seen that as a world, we need to do better at measuring what we cherish, not only what we can count” (Acumen Fund Newsletter, April 22, 2013).

GlobalGiving is one of the first organizations that started testing to measure impact through storytelling. The challenge GlobalGiving faces is the fact that they have hundreds of projects that address various issues in different countries with different budgets. So, measuring the impact of these projects has been an impossible task. Currently, the project is an experiment in “collecting community feedback.” They are using Sensemaker, ¹²⁶ which is an online tool that adds layers of meaning to a story and provides quantitative data, which can always be linked back to the original material, to

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[http://www.calendow.org/uploadedFiles/Publications/Evaluation/General/StorytellingApproachestoProgramEvaluation_Final\(1\).pdf](http://www.calendow.org/uploadedFiles/Publications/Evaluation/General/StorytellingApproachestoProgramEvaluation_Final(1).pdf)

¹²⁶ <http://www.sensemaker-suite.com/smsite/index.gsp>

turn these stories into data. . Human Rights Watch¹²⁷ also reports back through stories besides numbers, as the organization understands that reporting on some of the issues cannot only be done with quantitative measures.

What an analysis of diaspora contributions makes apparent is that numbers do not always tell the story of the full impact of our international interventions. We need to dig deeper to hear the real story and to better understand the process to fully measure impact. We need to start assessing success in a different way. And, we need to make sure our means don't become our ends because it's easier to measure with specific methods.

Therefore, this study took a quantitative approach to study the impact of diaspora philanthropy in Turkey. The study also took a step further and studied the impact of diaspora transfers beyond financial, namely social and human capital transfers. It argues that when we go beyond numbers and highlight the importance of the processes, the picture we see differentiates. Then we can see that there are other players such as diaspora champions whose impact are immense in the field of global philanthropy. Accordingly, this dissertation argues that international development agencies should revise the way they measure impact.

The Role of Diaspora Actors: Diaspora Champions

The high level of education, higher than the United States average, characterizes Turkish immigrants in the United States. 25.7 percent of Turkish-Americans have graduate or professional degree, compared to 10.6 percent of the United States average while 28.5 percent has bachelor's degree compared to 17.9 percent of the national average (See Table 9) Consequently, there is a Turkish-American talent elite composed of people who have studied in the United States, who belong to professional and alumni

¹²⁷ <http://www.hrw.org/>

networks of prestigious universities, and who have developed a broad net of contacts with well-placed individuals around the world. These elite members usually move in the national and international circles of academia and business. In the business sector, this group is composed of executives and professionals of multinational corporations and international organizations such as Muhtar Kent, CEO of Coca-Cola and Hikmet Ersek, CEO of Western Union.

Diaspora members profiled in this study: 1. Undertook ventures in Turkey despite obstacles such as being questioned for their real motives and used by locals for proliferation; 2. Had long planning horizons; and 3. Have above-average capabilities that allow them to innovate and facilitate institutional change. It wasn't an easy task to identify institutions and people that are interested and capable of developing joint projects with diasporans. Therefore, this study looked beyond the amount of financial transfers or amount of transactions. The impact of these people cannot be measured in financial terms since they created structures for institutional change and gave an opportunity to international development agencies to re-envision local development. The diasporas discussed in this study are champions who went above and beyond themselves to impact change. They have been the conveners by bringing people together across industries and sectors to work on shared issues (See Figure 5). Both Onaral and Tashman were familiar with local circumstances, had credibility and trust of local actors and yet were not part of the established interests in Turkey. Onaral not only brought experts in the field of bioengineering to Turkey to introduce them to academicians and business people but also made connections between different sectors in Turkey, who are not used communicating with each other. Tashman mobilized the leaders in Bolu to come to an international conference on community foundations in Istanbul. Even the topic was not at

all familiar to these leaders; they were convinced to go because they believed in Haldun Tashman. That one trip challenged their thinking about philanthropy and was the beginning of a new approach to philanthropy for the people of Bolu.

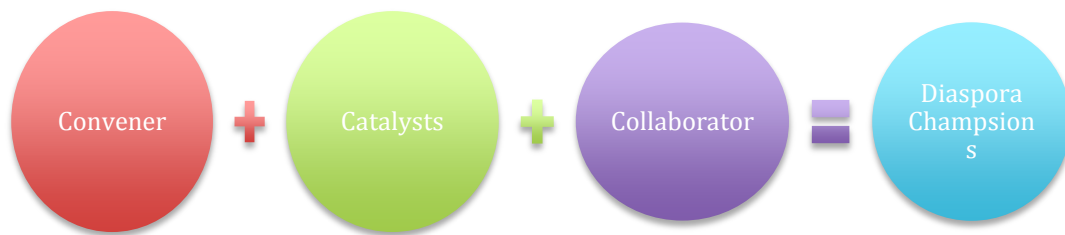
Both Onaral and Tashman have been the catalysts as they kick-started new solutions through collective action and innovation. They did not only bring expertise – Tashman, his insight on community foundations and Onaral, her expertise on developing partnerships for local development – they also made the case for establishing new institutions even with open resistance from some. It wasn't easy for Onaral to communicate her ideas on how transnational research can change the medical sector in İzmir and help with the social and economic development. She mobilized people who could be the leaders of the initiative one by one. It took a while for the initiative to turn into a collective action yet Onaral's persistence changed the view of many on how to do business or how to grow economically and socially. Tashman on the other side offered a new solution to the city of Bolu whose leaders have been complaining about slow social and economic growth. His approach of promoting community philanthropy in the city was very innovative for small city like Bolu. Yet, that initiative also turned into a collective action as leaders of the city took ownership, and trust was built.

They have also been the collaborators as they worked closely to plan, implement and realize best practices. Both Onaral's and Tashman's initiatives weren't just bringing a new idea to their hometowns as solutions to problems. Both of the diasporans personally involved in planning, implementing and realizing the ideas. It was their direct involvement that made these cases success stories.

These two cases show a rare combination of credibility, motivation and expertise. Their motivations were personal. However crucial their involvement was, it was a set of

programs that changed the ecosystem of local development that made the difference. The Turkish government recently has made local development a priority and has promoted the involvement of the local actors such as civil society organizations and small businesses. Diasporas provided a missing agent of local development by bringing their expertise, their local connections through building trust and capable institutions.

Figure 5 Diaspora Champions



Recommendation

This paper recommends that international development partners further mobilize themselves with diaspora groups to build upon the wealth of existing Diaspora initiatives. International development industry has been criticized for clinging to an inadequate development model that concentrates too much on self-interest. Fowler (2000) foresees international development aid eventually disappearing as open trade and foreign direct investment for individual gain are taking over as the preferred mode for allocating development capital. I don't believe that international development is going to disappear but since the line between recipients and givers is getting more blurred and more actors are getting involved in international development, I argue that the way we talk about and make international aid is going to change. I see diaspora philanthropy as a potential tool

that can act as a great medium among the new actors including their home countries.

Diaspora philanthropy creates something different in the way citizens understand and solve a social problem. It is in a way “civic innovation.”¹²⁸ Civic innovation leads the way to find and back individuals and organizations that through civic mobilization and action are capable of providing systemic solutions to social problems that reach far beyond the one case or location (Fowler, 2000). The concept focuses on how citizens understand and finance initiatives to address their problems and not, for example, on how best to deliver social services (Fowler, 2000).

Diaspora philanthropy is characterized by a relational life that people know and trust in the local, and takes this forward in new ways to deal with new problems and the dynamic context in which people live. Diaspora philanthropy identifies social and economic innovations that are in harmony with local capabilities. It draws on obtaining legitimacy and validation of innovation through local support, not the legitimacy inferred from recognition of being suitable to be supported externally. Diasporans' example is built on the ethics and values of voluntary collective engagement associated with the economics of sustained social action. They find and affirm the importance of locals' solutions to social problems. They emphasize the organic growth of social relations -not simply copying models that have evolved from a different time and place. They moderate expectations concerning what people have and can build on, not what they can say or do to gain funding from outside. In this sense, diasporans are 'entrepreneurial' in their behavior and are also concerned about economic viability. However, they seek solutions

¹²⁸ Fowler (2000) recommends that NGOs should take on a role as civic innovators instead of relying on the traditional aid redistribution paradigm that hasn't been working. That my queue on that I argue that diaspora philanthropy actions in itself are innovative civic actions and can lead other international development agencies in their strategies.

in the community at large, not in the market.

The United States government has always tried to engage strategically with the diaspora in its pursuit of foreign policy goals including development. However, most of those were ad hoc efforts. Recently, that has started to change. The United States State Department Global Partnership Initiative (GPI) and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)¹²⁹ have organized a Diaspora Forum in May 2011 for the first time. The forum brought together diaspora members and diaspora organizations from different communities. The second form took place in July 2012 with the theme of “Moving Forward by Giving Back.” The goal of these forums was to better understand diasporas’ interactions with the homeland through philanthropy, volunteerism, social entrepreneurship, and innovation. USAID has devised a framework to integrate diaspora issues into its programs called the Diaspora Network Alliance (DNA). This framework has turned into an initiative called the International Diaspora Engagement Alliance (IDEA).¹³⁰ This partnership platform brings together over 1,500 diaspora communities’ groups, the private sector, and public institutions in a collaborative process to enhance diplomacy and development outcomes around the globe. There are so many initiatives that are engaging diasporas by international development agents. Some of the notable ones are as follows:

*GlobalGiving IDEA Partnership*¹³¹: At the 2012 Global Diaspora Forum, IDEA launched a partnership with GlobalGiving to promote philanthropy among diaspora communities. Diaspora-led initiatives are profiled at GlobalGiving website aiming to connect projects from the homeland with the diaspora in the United States. GlobalGiving

¹²⁹ www.diasporaalliance.org/global-diaspora-forum/#2012

¹³⁰ <http://diasporaalliance.org>

¹³¹ <http://www.globalgiving.org/IDEA/>

is an online fundraising platform that connects organizations all around the world with donors in the United States and in the UK. The organization was established in 2002 by two former World Bank executives, Mari Kuraishi and Dennis Whittle. Since 2002, GlobalGiving has raised \$78,312,122 from 309,079 donors who have supported 7,223 projects.

*MentorCloud IDEA Partnership*¹³²: In July 2012 at the 2nd Global Diaspora Forum, another partnership emerged. This one with MentorCloud provides diaspora members with a mentoring platform to exchange ideas and expertise. The program connects mentors in the United States with youth around the world, and provides a volunteer matching service to help place U.S.-based diasporans in volunteer opportunities in their home countries.

African Diaspora Marketplace¹³³: USAID partners with Western Union to support diaspora leaders, who have a great idea to start a business, but need the resources to get it off the ground. The program runs a competition. Since 2009, the African Diaspora Marketplace has run two competitions and has provided grants to 31 companies, totaling more than \$2.2 million.

*Diasporas Development Initiative*¹³⁴: This is a public private partnership launched by IDEA with Accenture and Cuso International to recruit highly-skilled diaspora professionals to do volunteer assignments in their countries of origin. The initial countries selected were Kenya, the Philippines, Peru, Ethiopia and Jamaica.

¹³² <http://www.mentorcloud.com/>

¹³³ <http://www.diasporamarketplace.org>

¹³⁴ <http://cusointernational.org/diasporas-for-development>

*Accelerating Market-Driven Partnerships Initiative*¹³⁵ : This program was launched at the Secretary's Global Impact Economy Forum in April 2012. The founding partners are the Tides Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, The World Bank and The Secretary's Global Partnership Initiative. The initiative's goal is "to provide a carefully designed innovation framework for partners to identify shared commercial challenges and co-invest to solve challenges. The organization will lead partners through a three-phase innovation process to identify market challenges and understand interest areas, source and capitalize breakthrough solutions, and showcase solutions on a global stage." The initiative launched a pilot project in Brazil which aims to provide sustainable housing in cities and market new solutions in waste recycling, e-waste and bio-degradable packaging.

*Fund for Inner City Sustainable Transformation (FIST)*¹³⁶: In 2007, USAID began a partnership with Jamaica's Diaspora community to launch a microfinance loan fund for Jamaicans living in the United States. The Agency's role is limited to facilitating the development of FIST, which has yet to be formally established. The structuring and management of the fund will be the responsibility of the Diaspora community.

Diaspora Knowledge Networks (DKN): UNESCO's program on International Migration seeks to strengthen the capacity, sustainability and effectiveness of Diaspora networks as a means of promoting "brain gain." As part of this, UNESCO established the DKN project in 2005 to assist in the development of diasporas' home countries. Through its web site DKN offers an information infrastructure that enables individuals and diaspora groups to interact with each other and with their countries of origin. "Offer and

¹³⁵ <http://ampglobal.org/>

¹³⁶ <http://www.microcapital.org/microcapital-story-jamaican-diaspora-and-usaid-team-up-to-launch-microfinance-fund-for-inner-city-residents/>

demand” space is reserved for people/groups who want to cooperate in projects and/or offer services (Meyer and Wattiaux, 2006).

*Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN)*¹³⁷: TOKTEN was initiated by UNDP in 1977 to counter the effects of brain drain. This project makes it possible for professionals from developing countries living abroad to return to their home countries in order to provide technical short-term assistance. In Lebanon,¹³⁸ for instance, TOKTEN provides opportunities for linkages between the large number of highly skilled Lebanese professionals that migrated and settled abroad and home country professional who need advanced skills and high level capabilities.

Mobilizing the African Diaspora for Development Initiative:¹³⁹ This World Bank initiative is in response to the African Union (AU) Executive Council directive (May 2003) to actively engage the African diaspora in the development efforts of the continent. A High Level Seminar on the African Diaspora was held in February 2008 under the auspices of the Joint African Institute (JAI) of the African Development Bank (AfDB), World Bank and the IMF. The goal was to promote diaspora-led investments as viable sources of financing for enhanced growth and development in Africa. As well, in November 2007, WB officials, members of Washington’s diplomatic community and representatives from African diaspora organizations in the United States and Canada, and African American and Caribbean organizations, gathered to discuss increased efforts by the World Bank Group to engage the African Diaspora in aiding development in Sub-Saharan Africa in concert with the AU’s strategy.

¹³⁷ <http://www.unv.org/en/how-to-volunteer/unv-volunteers/expatriateprofessionals>.

¹³⁸ <http://www.tokenlebanon.org> // www.tokenlebanon.org

¹³⁹ <http://go.worldbank.org/HT1YT23NS0>

Diaspora philanthropy offers a more risk-strewn framework for the future of development beyond aid. This dissertation shows that pure human and social capital can be a better policy instrument than lending programs, aid donations, business deals, and diplomatic summits. More work needs to be done to explore the potential as a basis for development to take over from the current model of international development that is based on grantmaking. In other words, we must do more research on a strategy to feed diaspora philanthropy's potential.

Conclusion

Accordingly, in this thesis, I have traced the processes through which diaspora philanthropy impacted development with the transfer of social and human capital. I have demonstrated that the diaspora's strength in impacting local development lies in its relationship to the locality via personal connections, and on the insights gained in the hostland. Diaspora philanthropy is simply a desire to connect back home and carries with it the most emotional attachments. For some of the diaspora this aspiration to bond with their home unites with the wish to make a long-term impact in their local communities. These diaspora members, whom this dissertation calls champions, take lead in creating mediums for discussing innovative projects for local development. These platforms have not only become places for locals to connect to each other, but also to global experts on the issues for which they work, other funders, national business leaders, and national and local government representatives. These dialogues initiated new relationships and enabled the diaspora champions featured in this dissertation to change the way business (or social business) is done. They opened up new avenues for discussion. They created new relationships. Most importantly, they empowered local leaders to take ownership of new civil initiatives. The two case studies portrayed in this dissertation show the growing

impact of diaspora philanthropy in the homeland and make a strong argument for diaspora philanthropy as a major development partner for the following reasons:

1. It's social and human capital transfers. Diaspora communities express their hybrid identities best through philanthropy that is done through social & human capital. Knowledge and innovation have played a crucial role in development since the beginnings of human history (World Bank Institute 2007). With globalization, knowledge has clearly become the key driver of competitiveness and development (World Bank Institute 2007). Both Onaral and Tashman built on the knowledge and innovative ideas they have gained in the United States and later transferred those to Turkey. They used philanthropy to not only support Turkey but also to explore and implement skills and values they have gained in the United States. The Turkish Diaspora has been steadily building expertise and networks to deliver solutions. This is truer than was the case a generation ago for Turkish-Americans. Today, many Turkish-Americans with their higher-education and professional experience, such as Onaral and Tashman can often be a problem solver, not just a problem identifier. This is important since social and human capital have greater value than the money diaspora communities contribute to development. The highlight of both Onaral and Tashman's philanthropic connections to Turkey is their social and human capital transfers. This personal connection created trust among locals who embraced the innovative solutions both Onaral and Tashman offered.

2. It's the quality, not the quantity. International development agencies' relationship with diasporas rest on the size and financial amounts, ignoring personal connections and the social processes. Diaspora philanthropy's real impact can only be understood by studying the social process that involves social and human capital transfers. Both Onaral and Tashman were diaspora champions in that sense. They are the

representatives of a relatively small group of diaspora in the United States yet their impact on the homeland was leveraged by their personal involvement and connections.

3. *It's the cultivation of domestic resources.* The impact of any interaction from outside the home country should not be overestimated. The goals of diaspora engagement cannot be set in a vacuum. Diasporas can bring important financial, intellectual, and social capital to the development process, but they cannot substitute for the cultivation of domestic resources — although they can contribute to this cultivation. They can only be catalyzers. The cultivation of domestic resources is important since the local community must take ownership of any reliable path to sustainable development. Otherwise, if locals do not take ownership of local developments, they only stay as one-time issues. Once development agencies get out of the country, or city or stop giving money, these initiatives die because there is no local leadership to sustain it. Onaral and Tashman's personal involvement in the projects they spearheaded and mobilizing the local communities to take ownership changed the path of these initiatives. Diaspora's involvement made these initiatives sustainable.

4. *It's the ecosystem in the homeland.* A satisfactory analysis of diaspora philanthropy's impact should take legal and political frameworks in the homeland into account. Diaspora efforts cannot succeed when the basic elements of good governance are not integrated into development planning. The past success of governments such as the Republic of Korea and Taiwan Province of China in bringing diaspora talent and treasure to the table were in large part possible because both governments had sound development strategies in place to invest in education, promote science and technology, build infrastructure, and foster entrepreneurship (Agunia and Newland). Onaral and

Tashman's initiatives came to life because the current social and economic ecosystem in Turkey was more open to involving local actors in local development.

Lastword

Today, both governments and international development agencies look for "best practices" to capitalize on the opportunities that diasporas can offer. The two cases studied in this paper that link diaspora philanthropy to development offer an alternative to the practice of international development agencies. They illustrate how a diaspora's social and human capital transfers can enable local communities to generate their own approaches to development -- approaches that are innovative and enable communities to determine how they can be a part of their own domestic development. These two cases also show that a diaspora's connections with the homeland through philanthropy eventually yields new practices and new knowledge - resources that are emerging as more valuable to development than factors of production. The two diasporans portrayed in this study created ecosystems, which wouldn't be available if it wasn't for their passion, persistence and philanthropy.

This study recommends ways that international agencies can integrate diasporans in development policy and planning. I argue that the growing impact of diaspora philanthropy is a testament to how and why international agencies should change their view of civil society and its impact on development. The Western model of civil society does not necessarily represent the models in other countries. Civil society is an incredibly diverse a system and we should be very careful not to overgeneralize. International institutions that are interested in making progress on social issues of fundamental importance should recognize the unique assets of members of the diaspora and should involve them in conversations on the future of civil society and international development

going forward.

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