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Origin – destination bridge: how does diaspora build it?

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ABSTRACT

This paper delves into the trend from cultural decaying to cultural demise across generations of Bangladeshi diasporas in North America, especially in Canada. It explores why Bangladeshi diaspora linkages, despite having the reputation of altruism and family ties, have been decaying and how the decaying trend in the linkages have impacted development in Bangladesh. While in that attempt, the paper highlights interesting practices of cultural traits among Bangladeshi diasporas in Canada. The paper also reports that unlike the countries such as China and India, Bangladeshi diasporas tend to lose their connection with roots over time and orient towards their host country more than their origin country.

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1. Introduction

About five years back, I conducted a research to look into diasporic linkage with the country of origin. That research was conducted in Canada on Bangladeshi-Canadians and Bangladeshi immigrants in Canada. After almost five years, I collected some data as a follow-up in order to validate previous findings. This paper is based on both research conducted five years back and current one. Over the last decade, there has been a growing recognition of the contribution that diaspora makes to the economic development of their country of origin. This is largely due to the fact that their contributions form a significant source of external capital for developing countries. However, the general assumption is that the diasporic community transfers less money than the economic migrants due to the fact that diaspora community got to settle in the destination countries whereas the economic migrants, in most cases, have to return to the countries of origin. But the stunning change in the diaspora linkage in China and India, in terms of the volume of investments and social links, has dispelled this long standing assumption, setting a precedent for many developing economies in the world (Ullah 2013). More than 70 million Chinese and 30 million Indian diaspora are living abroad permanently whereas about only two million Bangladeshis are living abroad permanently (Sinha, Kent, and Shomali 2007).

Garbin pinpoints the dwindling flow of investments in Bangladesh to the shifts in the financial relationships of Bangladeshi diaspora with their kin in Bangladesh (Garbin 2005). During the 1960s and 1970s, 85% of them were remitting their savings back home. However, it took a drastic drop to 20% in 1995. I argue that this erosion of the

roots of the first generation and further erosions of the second generation with the origin may explain this diminishing trend. Holding on to the roots and maintaining the linkage is largely related to holding on to origin culture (Ullah 2013).

Diaspora has become one of the critical factors in the realm of political and economic landscape since it encompasses relations between governments and their residents who live in the country or who live abroad, and at the same time it covers the mutual relations between host countries and the sending ones.

Garbin (2005, 2) argues that transnational ties are not only limited to Bangladesh but they go beyond to North America, Middle East and many other places. However, the ties they maintain with Bangladesh are connected to filial feeling, culture and altruism. Ties can also be linked to aspects like religious rituals, exchange of gifts, online communication and matrimonial links. The host country reaps benefits from economic and human resources (IOM 2004, 8). Diaspora members are connected to the host state by their physical existence and to their homeland virtually. This was made possible through the advent of new technologies.

The paper highlights that diaspora maintains a kind of development linkage which is different from that of the conventional economic and temporary migrants with their origin. With time, as diaspora members get to obtain roots in the host country they tend to lose connection with their origin. The conventional development linkage of investing at the origin holds true for countries like China and India. State policy has to be accordingly in place in order to attract direct investment from the diaspora.

This paper argues that Bangladeshi diaspora maintains weaker linkage with the origin than the Indian and Chinese diaspora. This goes on to argue that their linkage obviously is weaker than the other classes of migrants, and it gets weaker for the next and next generations (Figure 1), which impact the contribution to development.

This paper explores why Bangladeshi Diaspora linkage, despite the reputation of altruism and family ties, has been decaying and how the trend in linkage has impacted

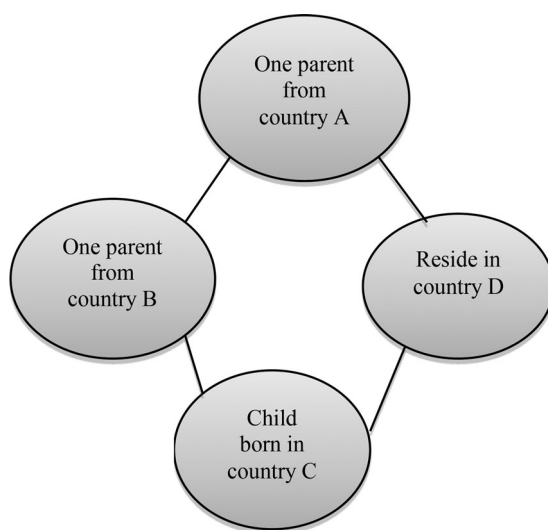


Figure 1. Ambivalent identity.

development in Bangladesh. This study examines the trend from cultural decaying to cultural demise across generations of South Asian Diaspora in North America. While doing so, the paper presents interesting practices of cultural traits among Bangladeshi diasporas in Canada. Due to logistical inconvenience, the scope of the research has been limited to Bangladeshi-Canadians only. Both Diaspora and economic migrants have been included in this study.

2. Dynamics of cultural decay and development

Human beings move to places where they face different culture, ethnic, social, economic and political differences (Rai and Sankaran 2011, 5) and that is how diverse communities come into place. However, the community members do not lose their identities, rather they are deeply interlinked with their own identities. In this circumstance, the role of a family is critical in forming bridges between generations by being supportive of their children. Evidence shows that cross-cultural marriages or relationships are often not accepted by parents and result in violence, honour killing and forced marriages (Thomson 2007, 3).

It is a fact that some interesting and emerging dynamics of migration research escapes attention of migration scholars, and diaspora is one such aspect. Few issues arise when we talk about the host and homeland. King and Christou (2010) have refined the phenomenology of the second, third and next generations. Primarily, the questions arise when the second generation is the offspring of parents of two different immigrant national origins; second, how does one define host-country-born individuals when one parent is first generation and the other second? “Given the practice among many ethnic communities of seeking spouses for the second generation in the home country and then ‘importing’ them through ‘marriage migration’ (Ullah 2012)”, this category of offspring is becoming increasingly common and is sometimes between second and third generation (King and Christou 2010). Third, how do we describe individuals who are born in the host country but are then sent back to their ‘home’ countries for part of their schooling? How should a child be culturally lessoned when he or she is born to parents from two different countries, living in a third country where the child was born and later on settled in another, perhaps fourth country? The child obviously faces challenges in terms of identity; there is confusion regarding what language is to be spoken, what cultural mores are to be adopted and what religion is to be followed.

The deeper one is culturally engaged with the country of origin, the higher is the likelihood of maintaining linkage with the origin by ways of investing, communicating with friends and relatives. This community serves as fertile locations for the development of hybrid cultures, that is, cultures that incorporate elements from both the home and host cultures (Oh and Kilduff 1997).

Some parents make great efforts to keep their children abreast of the culture and language – ‘Wherever you live in, Bangladesh is your ancestral place, your root and origin, you cannot forget it and that should always be in your heart’. In my interview with the second generation of Bangladeshis, I noticed that they pronounced the word ‘Bangladesh’ differently (kind of ‘Bengladish’) and it sounded queer and even disrespectful. Their spoken language was peppered with English and Bengali, which sounded awkward to me.

This hierarchy may not apply to the case of those placed in the ambivalent identity (Figure 1.2). The orientation of the generation, who grew up in an ambivalent condition, is different from those who grew up in the non-ambivalent condition. Therefore, the strength of cultural ties would vary between these two groups. There have serious debates on whether the theory of assimilation and the theory of melting pot have anything to do with the linkage with the origin. Social scientists argue that melting pots are created when there are opportunities for better life in a foreign land. The notion comes from the pot in which metals are melted at great heat, melting together into new compounds, with great strength and other combined advantages. These opportunities were considered tantamount to assimilation technology. This technology would transform immigrants of different ethnic and religious groups into a single group sharing a common culture – developing common attitudes, values and lifestyles (Bisin and Verdier 2000). Lura (2000), echoes this point, stating that societies formed by immigrant cultures, religions and ethnic groups produce new hybrid social and cultural forms. During my interview, I noticed that some of the respondents from the first generations totally disagreed with the concept. They considered this idea an insult to them. In their words, they said, ‘We remain as we were. We have not changed. We do not want to change. This country will rather change to our culture’. There are arguments and counterarguments that assimilation is a racist terminology, based on the notion that each immigrant’s or family’s culture of origin is respected as independent; hence, they are not expected to melt. Some argue that melting character, in fact, results in assimilation (Lura 2000). The notion of assimilation implies the ability of new or subordinate groups to affect the values of the dominant group. Sometimes, it is referred to as amalgamation, as opposed to both, assimilation and pluralism.

Some respondents were quick to point out the usage of French language in Canada. ‘Look, since French people are here, the Canadian government is forced to accept this French as the second language. French people are not forced to speak English’. Truly, this fact dispels the notion of melting pot theory. This implies that diaspora has influenced host country culture. Now a question may arise as to why the assimilated people have to maintain linkage with their country of origin? Though they are assimilated, it does not necessarily mean that they are totally free from discrimination and prejudices in the host country. The differences in the diaspora, with regards to skin colour and ethnic origin, from the host denizens are reasons for discrimination. In their attempt to compensate, Bangladeshi Diaspora population tends to live more lavishly than they can afford. For instance, unemployed people, who live on government social services, buy expensive cars to show off during social gatherings. This implies that they are in a way struggling in their country of destination. In this circumstance, how fair and logical it is to invest in the country of origin?

There are members of diaspora who desire to invest in the country of their ancestors primarily because they want to stay connected or get reconnected. Some want to spend their retired life in their country of origin. They find their life in the country to be too mechanical, devoid of human feelings. According to a respondent, ‘I find no taste in food; no heart among people, only fake laugh; and pretend to be happy’. The Sylheti community in the UK is an excellent example for this. Individually, the Sylheti community brought about development in this district by building and renovating houses through the remittances sent by the Sylheti diaspora in the UK. In this instance, had there been

appropriate guiding policies, Sylhet could have been an industrialized zone in Bangladesh today.

Development is defined, in a broad sense, as the sustainable economic growth, poverty reduction, social advancement, human empowerment and socio-economic equity. Individual or collective initiatives within a diasporic community can contribute to one or more of these goals. However, the sentimental attachment diaspora may harbour for their countries of birth may not automatically engender mutually beneficial outcomes. For this to occur, appropriate and timely policies need to be put in place to recognize and harness the potential contributions and the beneficial interaction with diaspora in support of development and growth in both their home and host countries.

Prior to formulating a policy, to link diaspora to the development process of origin country and engaging in activities with expatriates and/or their associations, policymakers should have a clear idea of their own development needs and gaps that need to be bridged and the potential contributions diaspora could make to achieve these goals, as well as of the diaspora's own development need. Such considerations must be accommodated within a broad context that accord due consideration to both home and host country perspectives. Seen from that perspective, diaspora development policies are at the crossroads of home and host country interests (Figure 2).

'Diasporic communities' may hold multiple homes. I coin this as 'hyphenated national', for instance, American-Indians, British-Bangladeshi, Chinese-Filipino and Canadian-Bangladeshis. This implies that this community may take a confused identity and carry a blurred tie with their origins. Nonetheless, they tend to believe the destination nations are their primary and permanent countries of residence. Therefore, they are not obligated in any way towards the development of their country of origin. This may not hold true for the first generation, who were probably not born in the destination countries, but this is very much applicable to the future generations.

Some Diaspora groups, however, have been heavily involved in investing in their home countries. For example, 70% of the total foreign direct investment in China is constituted

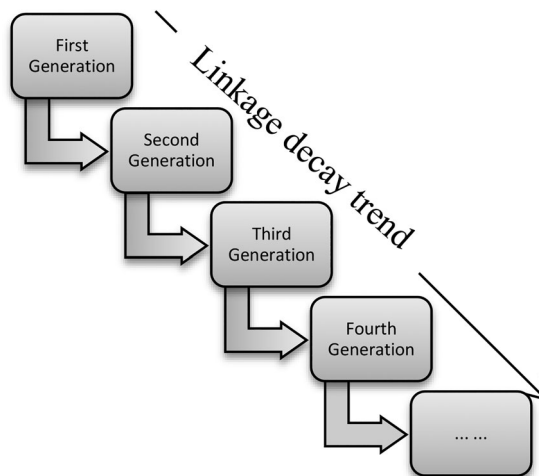


Figure 2. Generation hierarchy.

by investments from the Chinese diaspora (Sinha, Kent, and Shomali 2007). However, overseas Bangladeshis generally remit for purposes like maintaining household and family expenses for their own or extended families, neighbours and friends; to undertake social welfare activities; for charity to extend support during natural disasters. This means that there are little capital inflows contributing to the development of their home countries.

3. Diaspora engagement conceptualized

I observed the emergence of three distinct groups of diaspora in Canada: (a) totally disinclined to invest; (b) indecisive but have potential and (c) those who have already invested. Totally disinclined group has got no good reason to maintain linkage with their country of origin. Although, I would not say all of their rationales for extreme reluctance about Bangladesh are fair. There are no strong counterarguments to dissipate their rationales either. Interestingly, this group constitutes of people from the first generation. They wondered why they should invest in the country that they left with resentment and discontentment. Many of them had invested in Bangladesh before they moved over to Canada but their life was marred by local hooligans who used to threaten or forcefully shut their business and also demanded ransom. Law enforcement agencies, unfortunately, were on the side of hooligans. At some point, they had to sell off their business establishments before leaving for Canada.

My brother is a businessman in Australia. I asked him for money to invest jointly and he did. I also started a business in Ashulia, Dhaka and I invested about TK 100,000,000. The company could not move forward as we had to wait for a year for gas connection. We could not take the shock of the loss.

This respondent further added that he had to sell most of his assets to pay the salary of his employees for one year and also for bribes to government officials to have the gas supply connected. He sold his factory with a loss of about 30%. He questioned, 'why should I go back there? What has it given me, except pain and more pain? We even had to pay bribes at the airport. No more, enough' some others voiced out,

we have cut off the connection totally. No more. It gives pain. Two of my brothers were killed by opposition party leaders. No one was arrested. They were at large. Law enforcement agencies knew who the killers were. Our family used to receive death threat every day from the killers. Police kept saying that they were investigating. Every moment in Bangladesh was like a hell for us.

For the group that was indecisive yet had potential, investment required specialist expertise and orientation which was lacking in them. They would consider investing if more conducive conditions are created in Bangladesh. Unfortunately, the investment climate in Bangladesh is adverse in terms of infrastructure, political instability, unpredictable inflation, uncertainty of logistic support and frequent policy changes in tandem with election of new governments. Also, this group considers themselves non-entrepreneurial. They fear the volatile political climate in the country. 'I was seriously considering putting some investment in the country. A feasibility assessment was conducted, talked to a number of friends and relatives. Frankly, I was not given any assurance. I was discouraged'.

This group constitutes of both first and second generations. It was clear that the second generation was unenthusiastic because they were not sure how to start a business in a country, which they never lived in. However, I met some who were already investors and interestingly, they started out by investing in the stock exchange market as a test case. These existing investors lost their capital in stock market investment and they clearly mentioned that the government had underhandedly manipulated the market. Some of them said that their investments have jeopardized their lives in their country. Another reason for their reluctance in investing in Bangladesh was the widespread corruption and hassle. According to one Canadian-Bangladeshi, who invested in an airline business in 2010, he was not able to start his business because of government corruption and lack of support as he refused to pay bribes. He had invested huge amounts of money buying aircrafts but had to phase out his business and leave the country. This case has received wide media coverage in late 2011 and this may have an impact on future diaspora investments.

There are binary subgroups of entrepreneurs: entrepreneurs with capital and non-entrepreneurs with capital. Other than in Bangladesh, most entrepreneurs with capital have also invested elsewhere which means that their investment linkage has nothing to do with patriotism or altruism. They do it if they have to. The other subgroup, the non-entrepreneurs with capital, lacks opportunities in their host countries so they explore avenues to invest in their home countries and uncover many competitive advantages.

Those who are already in business are disillusioned and fear for the future of their business. One respondent mentioned how he invested in a clinic, in partnership with his physician friends. He gradually lost interest as he was not making any profits and running into losses.

I started garment business in Bangladesh almost 10 years ago. My primary intention was to be a part of the business development. This is a profit oriented business but today I am tired of it ... I want to phase it out. The Chittagong port is a hub of crimes and bribes and the shipment is taking longer to arrive. In most cases, my company fails to meet the deadlines from the buyers. I am just tired.

Diaspora and development are intensely connected. This correlation has many approaches such as remittances, expertise, entrepreneurship and investment by diaspora themselves or investors at the host country. However, the role of the government in homeland is crucial since its policies and procedures have a critical role in facilitating this development. A crucial external source for developing countries is remittances which come from diaspora who send them to their social ties such as families or national projects (Ullah 2017a). These remittances in many cases can be more than what is received by the origin country in the form of fund or aid. The trend of getting benefit from diaspora for economic development is relatively new. In the past, Diaspora was seen as 'embodying the brain drain' which reflects on the skills of the country. Even for the remittances they send, they were seen as a means of 'conspicuous consumption rather than investment'. There was also a fear of political influence of Diaspora as they were seen to be contributing to conflict and corruption (Bakewell 2009, 1). There are opinions that say departure of highly skilled people is a massive cost on people who remain at home. This cost depends very much on the nature of local labour markets such as 'the prevalence of

unemployment among the emigrating category' (Lucas 2001, 2). Investment and development should be reciprocal among the diaspora and the destination country. One-sided effort is not a viable option. Despite serious risks [or losses] of investing in Bangladesh, many diaspora members still continue to invest. It must be noted that if there is war or civil conflict in a country, only the diaspora group has the courage to invest in such risky environment (Newland and Tanaka 2010, 2).

The most prevalent scheme could be how to benefit from diaspora and how they can effectively add to their home of origin. While persons living in Diaspora are one group, they represent a variety of traits such as language, culture and ethnicity. However, one goal that unites all Diaspora is to support their homeland, yet, they sometimes fail to achieve that goal because of governmental barriers, (Gueron and Spevacek 2008, 3) inter-group ego and conflict.

With time, the ties and bonds get weaker among generations. The weaker the tie, the lesser is the development linkage. Some countries like China and India perceived this fact. In order to tap the development potential of the diaspora community, these countries made some policies that made an environment conducive to investment. Investment in fact has more development impact on the origin economy than the periodic remittances sent by economic migrants. The investment has multiplier effect on the economy by the fact that most diaspora investment goes to setting up industries. This creates jobs, attracts more investment and creates more spending power among the people in the respective area. There is a sharp difference in the periodic remittances from economic migrants and remittances from diaspora. Periodic remittances are generally need-based while diaspora remittances are demand oriented and investment-based. The impact of periodic remittance is slow and short term while diaspora remittances have long term, fast and multiplier impact (Ullah 2017b). The noticeable role diaspora play in the development of their homeland is in the professionalism, experience and knowledge. They are a prosperous source of skills and expertise when they return either temporarily or permanently (Gueron and Spevacek 2008, 3).

Remittances play a greater role in sustaining the Bangladesh economy, far more than either foreign aid or foreign investments. While most of this remittance is directed at the household level, a very small portion is transferred as charity or community development (Lucas 2001; Ullah 2010). Diaspora associations are formed around many principles, the most common ones being shared geographical, ethnic, and professional characteristics at the initial stage, these groups respond to the needs and the priorities of their members for social networking, the observation of cultural traditions, and so forth. Though philanthropy is not usually the focus, it can also be an important activity.

Cultural and development linkage are inextricable in furthering engagement in development role. In addition to their share in the investment, diaspora is an encouraging tool and 'a powerful force that can mobilize tangible foreign assistance efforts – a force that cannot be ignored by mainstream development actors' (Gueron and Spevacek 2008, 4). They could be the best mediator in any matter related to their homelands such as culture and ethnic issues. Also, they have a good and credible access at homeland through their families and friends. Thus, they can influence capital flows for their homeland by convincing other partners in host countries or home countries to enter into commercial investments (Lucas 2001, 3).

4. Culture and development correlates

The interplay between expansion diffusion, spatial diffusion and relocation diffusion in terms of culture have occupied significant space in the contemporary diaspora discourse. More than 200 million diaspora have significant command on value system across the world. Obviously, cultural ecology, environmental determinism and possibilism are powerful forces in shaping individuals' cultural traits and development. Culture is passed on to generation to generation through imitation, instruction and paradigms. However, the culture passed on from first generation to the future ones experience a natural diminishing trend. Though the first generation intends to hold on to their original culture as long as they can, somehow the grip is lost over the next generations' intention to hold on to it. The hyphenations, of course, carry a dichotomous and confusing state of cultural values and belief. Some of them chose not to carry confusing identity.

The level of cultural erosion categorized into three groups in diaspora: (a) totally disinclined, (b) failed yet potential and (c) those who are strictly maintaining their culture are examined to demonstrate the differences in level of intention to uphold their cultural roots. The first group, the totally disinclined group, finds no good reason to maintain cultural attachment to the origin, except for development engagement. The potential group has strong feelings for their culture but almost failed to uphold it, and the last group, has been trying to uphold their ancestral culture and transmitting it to their next generations. To the cultural bafflement, diaspora community and their generations are at the cross-roads to choose to live in a mixed culture or accept a 'leave one and take one' situation. The emancipation from the struggle between uprooting of the ancestral value and belief system and taking on the host value and belief systems is not easy. The challenge for policy makers is to address a nation with multicultural identities where liberal approaches are recognized as standards, in order to provide them with a flexible cultural environment for the diaspora.

Some were found to be very critical about the adage 'ghorer o na, ghatar o na' – meaning [metaphorically] you neither belong here [origin] nor there [destination], and some were found to hold on to this. Living in one culture and practicing the other may put generations into an ambivalent situation. Some believe that there is no meaning to hold on to the destination culture. 'It is not ours. Our culture is the best. We have brought our culture with us. We will continue with this'. Some believe that they moved to another country with a belief that they would remain there. 'We can stay here, we can accept their services, we can accept their education system, what's wrong if we accept their culture? If we cannot then we should go back'. This demonstrates the level of acceptance and tolerance, however, at the cost of their own culture. Some say that the cost and benefit analysis are an affair of their own (Figure 3).

There exists different kinds of associations of Bangladeshi diaspora in Canada. Associations of business persons, academics, students, people from certain districts, alumni from certain universities (Dhaka University Association of Toronto, for instance) and Bangladesh Engineers' Association in Canada. These associations offer opportunities for the diaspora community to get to know each other through gatherings at various occasions. It is interesting to observe that the gatherings are often used as platforms to 'show off'. I refer 'show off' to mean the hegemon that some members of diaspora community tend to establish that they are on the upper rung of the social hierarchy.

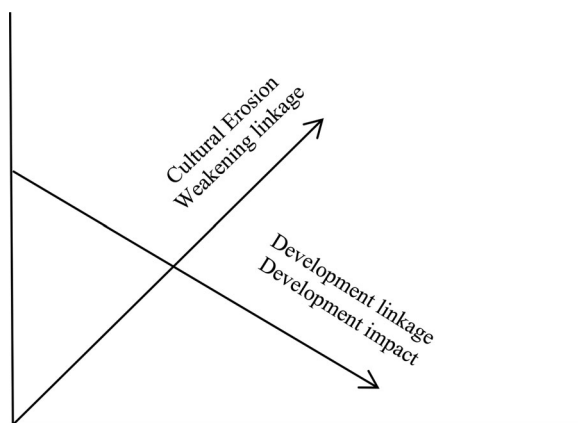


Figure 3. Culture-development linkages.

The study revealed a number of ways in which the community shows off their wealth, status and social standing at these gatherings. Generally, someone will start the conversation. The topics that dominate the conversation, in most cases, are the model of the car and its price; location of the home and the price; whether the house was bought on credit or with full payment; the level of their English and their accent; number of credit cards in possession and the limit of the amount; who are/were their relatives back home; what profession the person had while in Bangladesh, and if their children speak Bengali. Children who forgot Bengali or not inclined to learn Bengali are often considered 'good' children. Parents boast of their children for successfully adopting Canadian accent and forgetting their language of origin. Some of the members showed an exception to this social behaviour. They believed that the second generation (referring to their children) would automatically be integrated in the host society and therefore it is their responsibility to help them to hold on to their origin culture as much and as long as they can. At home, the parents converse in Bengali with their children. Strong correlation is, therefore, clearly found between two components: holding on to the origin culture and engagement in development of the origin.

Social gatherings are a common and informal platform where Bangladeshis meet frequently on different occasions. Some of these occasions include birthdays, visits of eminent relatives and government officials, examination results of siblings, children, buying a car, getting a job, launching a business, buying a house, and wedding, post-wedding get-together and so on. These gatherings can be either heterogeneous (regular) or homogenous (selective). The former are generally open to all relatives, friends, neighbours and others, forming huge crowds. The latter are generally attended by homogenous groups like, doctors, engineers, bankers and business where their conversation tend to be very close to their hearts.

The most interesting part of gatherings are the topics of discussion, the most dominant of that being politics. The political climate of the country of origin is a hot debatable topic which usually ends in verbal attacks and splits among the groups. There were occasions when the host had to call police to bring the situation under control. Divisive politics, in Bangladesh, very prominently transpire among the diaspora here in Canada.

Academic and scholarly ideas as topics of discussion take place only when the gathering is dominated by academics, such as university and college professors. There is, however, a visible divide among the professionals. Homogenous gatherings are generally dominated by ridiculing the other groups. Yet, others indulge in backbiting others, by ridiculing and undermining their professions. The objective is, perhaps to show, 'who I am'. One individual, armed with a degree in aeronautical engineering from Central Asia, failed to secure a job in his field. He later got a diploma in petroleum studies and secured a job in the Middle East. He holds a tendency to undermine everyone, saying, 'Medical doctors in the West earn the highest salary though they possess mediocre caliber. A super caliber like me earns as high as one medical doctor in the West'. This means that he lacked a sense of respect toward others. In gatherings he asks about other's salary and he discloses his own. His attitude has isolated him from other members of the diaspora community. The implication is that he deprives himself of the collective thoughts and ideas about potential and profitable investment in the country. Of course, expression of 'who I am' varies from individual to individual.

Bangladeshi diaspora's giving and philanthropy patterns are found to be different from others. The study bears out that this is largely because of the cultural and political division. Although scattered efforts exist among Bangladeshi diaspora, expected yield could not be achieved. For instance, there are small Bangladeshi groups who have created a small fund to help out poor students in Bangladesh. This is obviously a great example of diaspora giving however, this at the same time, reveals that these groups are looking for a broader outlet through which they can contribute more efficiently and in broader ways. It has been observed that when Bangladesh faces a national crisis, a concerted effort could not be made for helping to overcome the crisis due to their failure to arrive at a consensus. Thus, the basic fabric of diaspora philanthropy and giving are jeopardized.

5. Conclusions

As time passes, Diaspora community tends to lose roots. The conventional development linkage by investing at the origin holds true for countries like China and India. Therefore, state policies have to be in place in order to attract direct investments from the Diaspora and also support development linkage. Diaspora entrepreneurship is a way of creating job opportunities through the successful business they run in the country. They are the gateway for trade, capital and knowledge especially for poor countries, who are isolated from the global scene. Thus, Diaspora members represent the link between their countries of origin and the host country. The familiarity of local culture and language by Diaspora members gives them additional benefit to build trust and open up opportunities for investment. Not all kinds of entrepreneurship are positive and result in successful development. There are two kinds of entrepreneurship, namely 'necessity entrepreneurs' and 'opportunity entrepreneurs'. The former are 'those who are simply self – employed' while the latter are 'those who reform or revolutionize the pattern of production'.

In terms of the effects on the development, necessity entrepreneurship has no outcome at all. All that they do is reduce overt unemployment and facilitate people to help themselves. On the other hand, opportunity entrepreneurs have significant influence on development in a positive way since 'skilled individuals' who specialized in high demand and rapidly growing sectors of the knowledge based economy can create huge economic

opportunities and profits for business and their countries (Newland and Tanaka 2010, 4). However, most developing countries adopt necessity type rather than opportunity one. Long term strategy is beneficial for the country instead of a short term one that provides jobs in short runs. An example is the important role of Indian Diaspora members in the IT industry that has served to enhance India's economic development (Newland and Tanaka 2010, 6). A robust and legal environment is a necessary draw for individuals to venture into business. Newland and Tanaka (2010) argue that failures in some government projects or sector can be a source of encouragement for business. An example is that of Somalia's ruined telecom sector, which was revived and re-established by the diaspora community.

The second step is very important. Newland and Agunias (2012) emphasise that knowing the diaspora is crucial in order to be able to engage them in development. However, lack of data remains a serious problem when drafting appropriate policies. Newland and Agunias (2012) presented the example of India where the government tasked a High-Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora to analyse the location, situation, and potential development role of the estimated 20–30 million non-resident Indians (NRIs) and persons of Indian origin (PIOs).

The third step is building trust which refers to mutual trust and good communication between the diaspora and origin government. The trust should be built to dispel the long-standing notion that government believes that diaspora communities are cash cows. The third step emphasizes on partnerships while the fourth one is the mobilization of the diaspora for development. Strategies for diaspora mobilization may include high-profile events that would be attended by all diaspora members. This may require the creation of new institution in the government or the revitalization of existing institutions. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) uses a number of techniques to mobilize diaspora groups for development in their countries of origin. It directly funds development projects, executed by diaspora groups and an example is that of the Association of Haitian-Canadian Engineers and Scientists (Newland and Agunias 2012).

A few initiatives to Facilitate Diaspora Engagement Citizenship laws have become an important factor in facilitating the diaspora and their descendants to obtain dual or multiple citizenships. This act keeps the door open for them to return in case they choose to invest in their country of origin. Newland and Agunias (2012) observed that the number of countries allowing their citizens to hold dual citizenship has more than doubled in the past 20 years. Political right is another significant factor that determines whether or not diaspora would be willing to engage in development. Neither diaspora nor economic migrants (altogether 7 million) have political rights overseas, although the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), in their 2007 review, identified 115 states and territories that offer overseas voting provisions.

Newland and Agunias (2012) proposed another factor, the special property rights, which is a popular means to fully engage diaspora. They felt that placing limitations on foreign nationals' ownership of real estate and property would jeopardize initiatives to engage them. Foreigners cannot purchase land in the Philippines but they are allowed to purchase condominium units. In India and China, resident foreigners can purchase homes with permission from government authorities. Tax exemption on diaspora's belongings would be a great incentive for them to return or to invest. The lack of portability is believed to discourage more engagement with countries of origin, primarily by inhibiting

temporary and, especially, permanent return. Therefore, offering portable benefits to their diaspora, particularly those relating to pensions, medical and life insurance, are important. Lastly, recognition of diaspora and making them part of the national development plans would facilitate diaspora engagement in development (Newland and Agunias 2012).

I would argue that Bangladesh should follow the Indian or Chinese model to attract the huge number of diaspora. Building relationships is an effective tool in development efforts. The governments of the origin countries may consult with diaspora groups when creating national development plans, and acknowledge the contribution of diaspora to development in order to increase communication between diaspora and governments. This will lead to lasting partnerships for development. Although the diaspora is willing to help and support their homeland, there are some factors that hinder this willingness. The government of any country requires certain procedures for development and investment which in most cases are complex and difficult. Thus, individuals become reluctant to invest and engage in development by going through complex procedures (Newland and Tanaka 2010, 2). They may lack the organizational and management skills to offer their assistance. Therefore, governmental assistance should be provided to them to facilitate their interest. Also, providing financial support should be presented through legal entity or official diaspora group as one of the reasons that hinder this support is the lack of this feature (Gueron and Spevacek 2008, 5). In order to further promote Diaspora involvement in foreign assistance initiatives; endorsing financial support to development-oriented diaspora groups; and fostering institution building between diaspora and home country governments (Gueron and Spevacek 2008, 6).

Diaspora scholars generally emphasize on building effective relationships with the diaspora. They suggest a number of instruments in order to better shape the relationship. However, the major role has to be played by the country of origin. One of the instruments suggested is the diplomatic advocacy through which origin state can influence the policies of the host state thus serving the cause of the diaspora.

A number of hints can be useful for Bangladesh in order to benefit from its Diaspora which are having a strong home country institution to facilitate diaspora exchanges with a comprehensive global database of non resident Bangladeshis (NRBs) for both individuals and groups; ensuring engagement is mutually beneficial to both NRBs and the home country. This entails ensuring that NRBs have not only investment opportunities but confidence and clarity on issues like repatriation and sufficient knowledge to make informed investment decisions; host governments and the multilateral agencies can play an important role in both funding and facilitating the growth of vibrant diaspora networks (Islam 2009, 1).

Appropriate policies should be in place in order to attract Diaspora groups who have profound interest in the development issues in their country of origin. Also, policymakers should be aware of areas of interest which diaspora might be interested in and how that relates to the planned policies by governments. Thus, policymakers need to adapt and adjust their plans to match connections and interests that diaspora has. Good governance is an important element in development since governments with good reputation and lack of corruption are positively related to high rates of successful business. In addition, accessibility to financial capital is another element facilitated by governments which correlates to the pushing of development by diaspora members, irrespective of whether the business is large or small (Newland and Tanaka 2010, 8).

Disclosure statement

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