Diaspora Engagement in Development

An Analysis of the Engagement of the Tunisian Diaspora in Germany and the Potentials for Cooperation

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### Abbreviation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIPA</td>
<td>Tunisian Agricultural Investment Promotion Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>API</td>
<td>Tunisian Agency for the Promotion of Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Bundesagentur für Arbeit (Federal Employment Agency)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMZ</td>
<td>Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIM</td>
<td>Centre for International Migration and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAAD</td>
<td>Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (German Academic Exchange Service)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EZ</td>
<td>Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (Development cooperation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIPA</td>
<td>Tunisian Foreign Investment Promotion Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIZ</td>
<td>Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (German Development Agency)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCA</td>
<td>National Constituent Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTE</td>
<td>Office des Tunisiens à l’Etranger (Office of the Tunisians Abroad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASSTE</td>
<td>Ministry of Social Affairs, Solidarity and Tunisians Abroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMTE</td>
<td>Secretary of State for Migrations and Tunisians abroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>Senior Experten Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SKEW</td>
<td>Servicestelle Kommunen Eine Welt (Service Agency Communities in One World)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAV</td>
<td>Zentrale Auslandsvermittlung</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. **Introduction**

In recent scientific and political debates, the discourse on migration and development has received increasing attention. De Haas (2012) describes this debate as a pendulum swinging between pessimistic and optimistic accounts of the relationships. While in the beginning the negative effects of international migration on the countries of origin – such as “brain drain” – were at the centre of discussions, in the last decades there has been increasing recognition that international migration can contribute in a positive way to the development of countries of origin through economic, social and political transfers by migrant communities. There has therefore been a call to approach the migration and development debate in a more nuanced way, by recognising that migration can have both positive and negative effects.

The World Bank (2013) estimated that the amount of remittance flows worldwide reached more than US$529 billion in 2012. Developing countries received US$401 billion, and often remittance inflows to these countries far exceed official development assistance. Beside the economic contributions, social, cultural and political transfers of migrants can play an important role in the development of the countries of origin (de Haas, 2006). Thus there has been a growing interest in the area of diaspora engagement. As “agents for development”, diasporas can contribute economically, through remittances, diaspora investment, transnational entrepreneurship or the transfer of know-how and skills. In the political sphere, they can act as lobbyists, by raising awareness and promoting the interests of the country of origin or they can be directly politically involved e.g. through participation in elections. Migrant organisations are often engaged in the social field and promote integration of their community members in the receiving country and support the country of origin through community development projects (Nyberg Sørensen et al., 2003). Thus, “diasporas have increasingly become significant players in the international political arena” (Vertovec, 2005, p.1).

Even though there has been increasing interest in the topic of diaspora engagement in recent years, there is still limited research on specific diaspora communities and their diaspora engagement in different countries of destination. This study contributes to this research gap by determining the structures and characteristics of the Tunisian diaspora and by providing an overview of the landscape of Tunisian organisations and associations in Germany. Furthermore, it analyses the different areas of involvement and the potential for cooperation with German Development Cooperation (EZ).

By using a mixed method approach, primarily desk research and qualitative interviews, this explorative study found that the spirit of the “Arab Spring” not only influenced Tunisian society in the country of origin but also Tunisians living abroad. There is a new consciousness especially among the younger generation, with a stronger sense of belonging and connectedness to Tunisia. While historically, a major focus of the Tunisian
diaspora in Germany has been on promoting integration, the revolution has spurred to
action many Tunisians and shifted the focus towards developmental activities in Tunisia.
Consequently there is now a willingness and motivation among the diaspora to
contribute to development efforts and to shape Tunisia’s future. By outlining the new
consciousness and the new institutional landscape of the Tunisian diaspora in Germany,
this study is one of the first to analyse diaspora engagement in the context of the Arab
Spring. Moreover it tries to identify how German Development Cooperation could
capitalise on the movement created by the revolution to support diaspora development
activities in Tunisia.

1.1. Aim of the Study and Research Question

Diaspora engagement is highly context-specific. No diaspora is unified and homogenous;
there is a need to understand the heterogeneous interests, aspirations, institutions and
objectives of diaspora communities. The opportunity structures in the country of origin
as well as in the country of residence provide both constraints and opportunities and
shape the nature of diaspora engagement. It is therefore necessary to get a broader
understanding of the context in which diaspora engagement takes place. This study
addresses the lack of data available by painting a picture of the Tunisian diaspora in
Germany and its engagement in development. It seeks to shed light on the
characteristics of the Tunisian diaspora in Germany, its organisations and diaspora
engagement. Moreover, it identifies potential avenues for constructive cooperation with
institutions of the German Development Cooperation (EZ). Accordingly the main
research questions of this study are:

- How is the Tunisian diaspora in Germany characterized?
- In what ways do the diaspora contribute to the development of Tunisia?
- What potentials exist for constructive involvement and cooperation with
  German Development Cooperation?

Moreover, the following sub questions are addressed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Set of sub questions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisian diaspora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diaspora engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentials for</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.2. Methodology

This research was carried out in the form of an explorative study using a mix of different methods. First, desk research was conducted, reviewing the current literature available on the concepts of diasporas, as well as analysing existing statistical data and documents on the Tunisian diaspora in Germany (and other countries). Second, semi-structured interviews were conducted with actively engaged members of the Tunisian diaspora. Interviews were done between June and September 2013 in person, via Skype or by phone. Moreover, a discussion round was undertaken at a network meeting of several Tunisian diaspora organisations. In order to get a better understanding and overview of the German Development Cooperation with Tunisia, semi-structured interviews with GIZ staff were conducted via phone. Third, a questionnaire was sent to Tunisian diaspora organisations in order to establish contact with, and collect information from organisations for which email addresses or telephone numbers were not readily available.

As this study aims to map Tunisian organisations in Germany and to analyse their engagement in development it applies Tunisian diaspora organisations as the unit of analysis. These often constitute pools of aggregated interests and claim representation of their members and are therefore helpful tools to generate information on the diaspora in general. Bush (2008) defines diaspora organisations as “complex, formal, informal or semi-formal organisations that articulate and pursue goals that are asserted to be representative of the interests and aspirations of ‘the diaspora’ as a whole” (p.195). Yet diasporas are not a homogenous group, which means that participants have to be selected carefully to ensure that a range of views and opinions are included.

The first step of this research was a mapping of Tunisian diaspora organisations in Germany. The Register of Commerce houses a database of all registered associations. Using the keywords Tunisia and Tunisian in the search, 62 relevant organisations were identified. A drawback of the register, however, is that in general it only lists the postal addresses of organisations, and in some cases only the city in which they are located. Hence an internet search was used to gather additional contact information. Moreover, the web search also uncovered organisations that are not officially registered, which nonetheless were also included in the study. Overall 82 (66 registered and 16 unregistered) organisations were identified. Of this number, the telephone or email address was available (and active) for only 27 organisations. For eight organisations no contact data was available at all. The remaining 43, for which there were only postal addresses, were informed of the study via a letter and paper-based survey (see appendix C). Despite these efforts, no responses were received from the paper-based surveys.
Additionally, a significant proportion (21 of 43) of these letters was returned as ‘not known at this address’. As a result, the majority of the findings presented in this study relate to the 31 organisations where contact information (phone, email or a web presence) was available. One of these organisations indicated that they were no longer active leading to a sample of 30 organisations. After the identification of key contacts through desk research, snowball sampling was applied to generate further contacts within the Tunisian community. At the end of each interview, respondents were asked to name other individuals or organisations that might be willing to participate in the study. This allowed the research team to access respondents using multiple entry points which decreases the likelihood of receiving a biased account when only snowball sampling is used (McKenzie & Mistiaen, 2007). In total, 12 in-depth interviews and one discussion round with members of different organisations were carried out. With 83 per cent the majority of the persons interviewed individually were male. Looking at the reasons for migration four respondents migrated to work in Germany, mainly under the guest-worker programme. The others migrated for study purposes, one respondent migrated due to family reasons and one respondent was born in Germany.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Purpose of stay</th>
<th>Year of Arrival in Germany</th>
<th>Place &amp; Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IN_1</td>
<td>Cultural association</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Phone, 03.07.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN_2</td>
<td>Cultural association</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Study</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Phone, 04.07.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN_3</td>
<td>Cultural association</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Berlin, 07.07.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN_4</td>
<td>Cultural association</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Berlin, 09.07.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN_5</td>
<td>Academic &amp; student associations</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Study</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Skype, 18.07.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN_6</td>
<td>Academic &amp; student associations</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Study</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Skype, 19.07.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN_7</td>
<td>Business &amp; professional association</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Study</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Phone, 07.08.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN_8</td>
<td>Academic &amp; student associations</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Study</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Phone, 08.08.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN_9</td>
<td>Cultural association</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>Family reasons</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Essen, 13.08.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN_10</td>
<td>Social and political organisation</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Born in Germany</td>
<td>Skype, 13.08.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN_11</td>
<td>Cultural association</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Study</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Cologne, 04.09.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN_12</td>
<td>Social and political organisation</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>Study</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Cologne, 04.09.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The interviews were semi-structured and based on an interview guide (see Appendix B) that was divided into three main topics. First, questions were asked about characteristics of the Tunisian diaspora, its relation to the homeland, and to Germany. The second topic included questions about the engagement, focusing on the motivation, the structure, and the goals of the organisations as well as their sources of funding. Finally, the third topic dealt with the potentials for cooperation. In general, the sequence of the questions was allowed to be flexible in order to respond to the needs of the interviewee. For the analysis the technique of coding was used. Herein categories are built to summarise and structure the information obtained by the interviews according to themes and contents. In addition to this, the data was complemented by three semi-structured interviews with GIZ staff, purposely sampled for their knowledge of GIZ’s work in the field.

There is a number of limitations inherent to this study which should be acknowledged. Since an explorative approach is used, the study is not claiming to make representative statements. However, the aim is to contribute to the understanding of the Tunisian diaspora in Germany and its engagement in development and seeks to identify potential for constructive involvement and cooperation with the institutions of the German Development Cooperation. As mentioned before, the analysis focuses on organisations, for which email or telephone contact details were available. Therefore the list of Tunisian diaspora organisations is not exhaustive. The results are not applicable to all Tunisian diaspora organisations in Germany and therefore do not claim to be representative for the Tunisian diaspora as a whole; however, they do represent the more active organisations. The low response rate may be due to the unfavourable time at which the research was conducted, since the vast majority of the target groups is Muslim and the Islamic Holiday, Ramadan, coincided with the data collection phases of the study. Combined with school holidays some of the potential interview partners were not in Germany and therefore not available to participate in interviews. Moreover, one has to consider that the engagement is predominantly done on a voluntary basis beside the regular employment and family obligations. A further challenge in this research was the issue of trust and getting access to the target group. In general investing the time to build a relationship is often necessary to encourage participants to share their perceptions, ideas and vision; however with the limited time available for the study this was not feasible with all Tunisian organisations in Germany.

2. The Concept of Diaspora

The increasing attention on diasporas in the scientific and political debate also resulted in an inflationary use of the term as a metaphor for immigrant population, displaced communities, ethnic minorities or transnational social formations (Zunzer, 2004; Vertovec, 2009). Due to increased international migration the word and its uses have changed over time to describe various types of migrant communities with very different characteristics. It seems that the heterogeneity of immigrant populations and the shift in
the meaning of diaspora has become an analytical challenge that makes defining “diaspora” very difficult. In broader policy use, the term is often used to refer to an immigrant group – and often to their decedents – living outside of their country of birth.

Both views have an impact on the way in which diaspora engagement policies are designed. Gamlen (2006) develops a typology for understanding diaspora engagement policies. He groups diaspora engagement policies into three categories: capacity building, extending rights, and extracting obligations. Using this typology he assesses the policies of a number of different countries and finds that policies are often focused on capacity building through symbolic nation building and through institution building (be it the consular network, a ministry dedicated to diaspora affairs, or monitoring tools to better understand the views emanating from the diaspora). Policies looking to extract obligations from the diaspora – such as mandatory payments, knowledge transfer programmes (TOKTEN, TRQN), remittance capture through investment incentives or targeted cost reduction – are also common. Policies designed to incorporate the diaspora through the extension of rights are less common and yet can arguably complement other policies designed to engage the diaspora. Such policy measures include dual citizenship, parliamentary representation, voting rights, welfare protection and so forth.

Discussing diaspora engagement can therefore be analytically challenging. First of all, the word diaspora is applied to different migrant populations each having its unique features in regards to home country, migration patterns and historical experiences. Second, the definitions may give the appearance that diasporas are dispersed populations with common views and shared experiences. Yet today's diasporas are not homogenous groups, despite sharing a common country of birth or origin members can differ significantly in regards to their interests, ideas, values and attitudes. There is therefore a need to understand the different interests, aspirations, institutions and objectives of diaspora communities. Moreover the political opportunity structures in the country of origin as well as in the country of residence provide both constraints and opportunities and shape what diasporas can and cannot do.

3. The Tunisian Diaspora: Migration Patterns and History

Since diaspora engagement is highly context specific there is the need to understand the particular circumstances in which the engagement of the Tunisian diaspora takes place. This chapter therefore provides an overview of the emigration profile, the characteristics of the Tunisian diaspora in Germany, and the political opportunity structure in both the country of origin and the country of destination by analysing statistical data and the current literature available. The results will be used as a basis for the qualitative analysis of the data obtained by the interviews.
3.1. Emigration Profile

According to the Office of the Tunisians Abroad (OTE, 2013a) 1,155,634 Tunisians, were residing abroad in 2012. Looking at the modern migration history, different waves of emigration in terms of destination country, the type of movement and the period of emigration shaped today’s Tunisian diaspora. In general one can distinguish between four waves of modern emigration (Mensard, 2004):

- The first wave of emigration, from the 1950s to the early 1960s, was mainly characterised by spontaneous departures of low skilled migrants to European countries, in particular France.
- In the second wave, from the early 1960s to the mid-1970s, these spontaneous movements turned into regulated migration flows due to bilateral agreements on temporary migration signed between Tunisia and many European countries such as France (1963), Germany (1965) and Belgium (1969). These flows were mainly male dominated and composed of low skilled migrants. Libya also became a major destination country because of its booming oil sector, mainly for irregular migrants.
- The third wave, from the mid-1970s to the early 1980s, was mainly characterized by changing factors in the destination countries. First, increasing immigration restrictions in Europe transformed the temporary migration of single workers to permanent settlement with family reunification. Political tensions between Tunisia and Libya during this time led to a significant decrease in the migratory movements to Libya as well as to the return of many migrants. Emigration to the Gulf States increased due to the expansion of the oil-based economy and the resulting economic opportunities.
- In the beginning of the fourth wave of emigration, from the mid-1980s to the mid-2000s, many migrants returned from Libya due to ongoing tensions and the mass expulsion of Tunisian workers. As a consequence, many Tunisians sought alternative destinations and migrating to the Gulf States and new European destinations such as Italy and Spain. During this period there was also an increase in skilled migrants, in particular young graduates, that continues today.

Nowadays the lack of economic perspectives, high unemployment rates (notably among young graduates), low educational rewards, state authoritarianism, the lack of fundamental freedoms as well as political instability are the major push factors for emigration from Tunisia (Fargues & Fandrich, 2012). As the following figure shows, comparing the years 2009/2010 and 2011/2012, emigration flows have more than doubled (official numbers for the year 2010/2011 are not available). According to the data of the Tunisian National Statistical Institute, emigrants in 2011/2012 tended to be young (61.6 per cent were between 15 and 29 years old), single (78.3 per cent), male (86.0 per cent) and emigrated mainly to Libya (42.2 per cent), France (25.5 per cent) and Italy (18.8 per cent) (INS, 2012).
Figure 1: Emigration flows from Tunisia, 2005/2006 -2011/2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Emigration Flows</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 05-May 06</td>
<td>31180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 06-May 07</td>
<td>23130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 08-May 09</td>
<td>26660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 09-May 10</td>
<td>23730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 11-May 12</td>
<td>50930</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Statistics Institute, accessed through the official homepage and the CARIM database. Note: official data is missing for the year 2010/2011.

The sharp increase of emigration within the last two years can be explained through the recent political events in Tunisia. According to MTM i-Map (2012) Profile on Migration and Development–Tunisia¹, there has been a significant increase in irregular migration during the time of the revolution mainly towards the Italian coasts. Boubakri (2013) argues that this increase in irregular migration flows began in 2008, when, for the first time, Tunisian migrants were the largest migrant group entering Lampedusa, Italy. The general lack of prospects for young Tunisians combined with the reduced capacity of the Tunisian Government to manage their borders are seen as the major reasons why so many migrants left the country in the first month of the revolution. However, it seems that aside from these movements, migration to Europe has not been greatly affected (Fargues & Fandrich, 2012).

Looking at the top destination countries based on the stock of Tunisian migrants in 2012 (Table 3), France ranks first, hosting more than half (54.2 per cent) of the Tunisian migrants, followed by Italy (14.6 per cent), Libya (7.9 per cent) and Germany (7.4 per cent) (OTE, 2013a). With 84.4 per cent, Europe remains the major destination region for Tunisian migrants. According to the MTM i-Map (2012) Profile on Migration and Development–Tunisia, the characteristics of emigration vary depending on the destination country. While in the traditional European destinations, such as France and Germany, migration takes place based on family reunification, emigration to Italy is mainly characterized by labour migration. Emigration to the Maghreb countries tends to be more spontaneous, with higher fluctuation rates, and is primarily composed of lower skilled migrants, whereas migration to the Gulf States is regulated and organised through temporary labour migration programmes.

¹They refer to data collected by ICMPD experts during their gaps and needs assessment missions in the EU-Tunisia Migration Cooperation Agenda (ETMA) (EN) project (2012). There is no source available.
Table 3: Top Destination Countries of Tunisian Migrants, 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>625,864</td>
<td>54.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>169,099</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>91,669</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>85,218</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium and Luxembourg</td>
<td>22,025</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>19,350</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>16,822</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>16,753</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Arab Emirates</td>
<td>15,670</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>15,014</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>78,150</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,155,634</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


With regards to demographic characteristics, emigration from Tunisia tends to be male dominated, with 86 per cent being male migrants in 2011/2012. Additionally, the majority of emigrants are young, aged between 15 and 29 years. Looking at the skills of Tunisian emigrants, one can observe that there was a steady rise in educational levels and therefore a trend towards highly skilled migration until the year 2009. As the figure shows, the share of emigrants with tertiary education increased from 14 per cent in 2005/2006 to 26 per cent in 2007/2008, while the proportion of those with secondary education and less than secondary education, decreased from 48 per cent to 40 per cent and from 38 per cent to 34 per cent respectively. Yet in 2011/2012 higher skilled migrants made up only 17 per cent and one could observe a notable increase in the proportion of emigrants with middle skill level (from 39 per cent in 2009/2010 to 47 per cent) and emigrants with low skill level (from 28 per cent in 2009/2010 to 36 per cent). The sharp decrease in the educational level may be partly explained by the migration patterns in this year. As mentioned earlier the majority of emigrants migrated to Libya and (traditionally) these movements were characterised by spontaneous flows, mainly composed of lower skilled migrants.
Further information on the Tunisian diaspora in Europe can be found in a study published by the IOM Tunisia in 2011. The research was based on the results of a survey, conducted on a sample size of 1,684 Tunisian migrants registered in the consular districts of Paris, Pantin, Marseille, Milan, Palermo, and Hamburg. According to this study, work was the main reason for emigration (63.5 per cent), followed by marriage (13.6 per cent), studies (10 per cent), family reunification (7.3 per cent), and other causes (5.6 per cent). With regards to economic sectors, 62.3 per cent worked in the tertiary sector, 32.1 per cent in the industrial sector, and 5.1 per cent in the agricultural sector. As the following figure illustrates the most common professions were craftsmen (26 per cent), salesmen, and service staff (18 per cent).

According to the Office of Tunisians Abroad (OTE, 2013b), the statistics for 2012 show that 40.1 per cent are workers, 6.8 per cent are executives, 4.2 per cent are self-employed, while 14.3 per cent of the community are pensioners, housewives or unemployed (Note: information on the remaining 35 per cent is not available).

Concluding, one can observe that the Tunisian diaspora has become more heterogeneous in terms of demographic factors and skill levels. While traditionally emigration flows were mainly composed of single, male and lower skilled migrants, recent trends show an increase in higher skilled migrants and, due to family reunification, a higher share in female migration. Yet the revolution has also influenced migration patterns. Recent studies show an increase in irregular migration mainly towards Italy. Beside this, educational level has decreased again in recent years. This discussion of historic and contemporary Tunisian emigration patterns further cements the previous assertion that diasporas should not be seen as fixed or homogenous groups. A sound analysis therefore calls for recent and reliable data on the Tunisian diaspora in Germany.

3.2. Characteristics of the Tunisians in Germany

This section provides an overview of Tunisian populations in Germany. Yet it must be acknowledged that statistical data on the Tunisian diaspora in Germany is limited. The German Federal Statistical Office collects annual data of the immigrant population residing in Germany. Information is available on gender, age, average length of stay, and residence status for each nationality. The data only captures the immigrant population that does not have German citizenship. Unfortunately it does not provide separate information for Tunisian nationals on educational level, labour market performance, or other socio-economic key statistics. Even though the National Statistical Institute of Tunisia gathers data on the emigrant population which also includes some socio-economic factors, it does not distinguish between countries of destination. Beside these institutions, the Office of Tunisians Abroad (OTE) collects annual data on the Tunisian diaspora based on consular sources. Unfortunately recent data is not available, since at the time of writing this study the homepage was under reconstruction. In order to obtain an accurate overview of the Tunisian diaspora in Germany, the various sources are critically compared in the following section.

The emigration patterns of Tunisian migration to Germany are generally in line with those of the other European countries elaborated above. Germany became a major destination in 1965, when the guest worker programme was introduced with Tunisia. Migration flows were mainly composed of young, male and lower skilled migrants. The first oil price shock and the resulting economic crisis in many Western countries led to a labour recruitment stop in 1973. As a consequence, migration patterns changed towards

\footnote{Note: a request was sent by email.}
settlement and family reunification, leading also to an increasing number of female migrants. Beside this, educational migration also increased from the 1980s making the diaspora more heterogeneous in terms of skills and educational level (Schmelz, 2010). According to the data of the German Federal Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012), there were 23,610 Tunisians registered in Germany in 2011, of whom 15,396 (68.6 per cent) were male and 7,033 (31.4 per cent) female. This number does not include Tunisians naturalised in Germany. This at least explains part of the differences between the German and the Tunisian statistics. The OTE (2013a), estimates that there were 86,601 Tunisians residing in Germany in 2012, of whom 53,108 (61.3 per cent) were male and 33,493 (38.7 per cent) female. According to Katterbach (2010), one can assume that data from the OTE seems to be overestimated because there might be double counting, if persons move from one city to another, or leave the country without de-registering. Even though the total number of Tunisians in Germany varies significantly, the larger proportion of men is confirmed by both data sources.

With regards to the German statistics, the average age of Tunisian citizens residing in Germany was 36.6 years in 2011 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012). As the figure shows, a high proportion of Tunisians are aged between 25 and 35 years. Again these numbers only refer to Tunisians who do not hold German citizenship.

Figure 4: Tunisian migrants in Germany by age group

Looking at the regional distribution one sees that the majority reside in North Rhine-Westphalia, followed by Bavaria, Baden-Wuerttemberg and Hesse (see Table).

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3 It has to be acknowledged that two different years are compared (2011 and 2012) because data for the year 2012 is not available from the German Statistical and the OTE does not provide data for the year 2011.
Table 4: Numbers of Tunisians by selected German Federal States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Federal State</th>
<th>Number of Tunisians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Rhine-Westphalia</td>
<td>6,811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bavaria</td>
<td>3,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baden-Wuerttemberg</td>
<td>3,232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hesse</td>
<td>2,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Saxony</td>
<td>2,014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>1,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamburg</td>
<td>1,171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2012

The following figures show the reasons for migrating to Germany based on data from the most recent General Census of Population and Housing of Tunisia conducted by the Tunisian National Statistical Institute (Institute National de la Statistique Tunisie) in 2004. As the figure shows, work was the main reason for emigration, followed by education, marriage and family reunification.

Figure 5: Main Reason of Emigration to Germany, 2004

Source: Recensement Général de la Population et l’Habitat, 2004 accessed through the CARIM database.

Several studies acknowledge that a trend towards increasing educational level of Tunisian migrants can be observed in recent years. According to Katterbach (2010) 7.6 per cent of the Tunisian diaspora in Germany were students and especially in Germany the number of students receiving Tunisian state scholarships has increased significantly. When comparing German and Tunisian statistics, a huge difference can be observed in the total number of Tunisian students in Germany.
Even though both statistics show an increasing trend in the number of Tunisian students in the period between 2004 and 2008, the figure of 6,255 students based on data from the OTE seems an overestimate. Moreover, looking at the period from 2008 to 2011, one can observe a slightly decreasing trend in the total number of Tunisian students in Germany (Tunisian statistics for this period are not available). According to a microcensus on the foreign population in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2003), 824 out of 1806 Tunisian students were registered in engineering in Winter Term 2003/2004, followed by mathematics/natural sciences (499) and language and cultural studies (213). With regard to occupational level in 2005, the majority of Tunisians in Germany were employed as workers (48.9 per cent), followed by 27.2 per cent skilled workers, 5.4 per cent executives and 18.5 per cent were self-employed (Boubakri, 2010). Unfortunately more recent data is not available.

In general, it is a great challenge to provide a sound overview of the Tunisian diaspora in Germany. As mentioned earlier, key statistics on socio-economic factors are missing, outdated, varying depending on the source and are sometimes also contradictory. Chapter 4, which analyses the findings of the qualitative interviews, will aid in understanding the current characteristics of the Tunisian diaspora in Germany. Nevertheless, further quantitative research should address the lack of data in order to provide a sound basis for analysis and further policies.

3.3. Tunisia’s Diaspora Policies

The Tunisian diaspora policies are closely connected to emigration patterns and the history of the country. Traditionally, policies focused on the administration of migrant workers’ flows and the protection of their social rights, due to the bilateral agreements that were signed during the 1960s and early 1970s. The Ministry of Labour and Training was the main ministry in charge. When migration turned towards settlement and family reunification because of the changing policies in major European destination countries,
the Ministry of Social Affairs, Solidarity and Tunisians Abroad was established, with the Office of the Tunisians Abroad as its executive body. Stronger emphasis was put on promoting the integration of Tunisian migrants as well as ensuring the development of a national identity and an emotional attachment to the country of origin. In order to promote national development, more recently implemented policies aimed at increasing the economic benefits through remittances, business networks, knowledge transfer and investments (Katterbach, 2010). In the Tunisian Presidential Programme 2009-2014, significant attention was given to the Tunisian diaspora and therefore was one of the main strategic frameworks used when dealing with the Tunisians abroad (ICMPD-IOM, 2010). It has to be acknowledged that this document was written under the former president Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. Due to the overthrow of the regime in 2011, and subsequent political changes, Tunisia’s diaspora policies have also been affected.

Before the revolution the Ministry of Social Affairs, Solidarity and Tunisians Abroad (MASSTE) was the main institution dealing with the diaspora. The application of Gamlen’s (2006) typology highlights that the focus of Tunisian diaspora policies have largely been seen in the area of “extending rights” and “capacity building”. The former included measures such as the possibility of Tunisians abroad to participate in elections, as well as the negotiation of bilateral and multilateral agreements regarding social security matters. In addition, when migration became more permanent, symbolic nation-building was a main objective in order to ensure the development of a national identity and an emotional attachment to the country of origin. Since the beginning of the 2000s policies increasingly focused on “extracting obligations” with the aim of mobilising resources for the country’s development (Katterbach, 2010).

The Office of the Tunisians Abroad (OTE) was created in 1988 in order to implement these policies through various cultural and social assistance programmes. Its 14 social attachés in Tunisian embassies and consulates organise cultural events, summer camps for Tunisian children living abroad and language courses to foster Tunisian migrants’ ties to the country. Moreover, the OTE provides information on the rights and privileges in both the country of destination and the country of origin. Beside this, they established an information system to gather data and information on the Tunisian diaspora. In order to mobilise resources of the diaspora, seminars and conferences were carried out promoting investments in the home country. Additionally, investment promotion is carried out by the Foreign Investment Promotion Agency (FIPA), the Agency for the Promotion of Industry (API) and the Agricultural Investment Promotion Agency (AIPA). API and AIPA promote investments in the industrial, as well as the agricultural and fishery sectors. The investment of Tunisian migrants is facilitated through one-stop-shops and further promoted through special incentives such as tax and customs exemptions. Both agencies take part in seminars organised by the OTE and provide information on their websites to reach Tunisian migrants as a special target group (Katterbach, 2010; ICMPD-IOM, 2010). According to Katterbach (2010) the FIPA, which aims at attracting foreign direct investment and has offices in Paris and Cologne, only recently implemented measures in order to promote diaspora investment.
Beside the aforementioned institutions, several other ministries and departments are dealing with the diaspora (Katterbach, 2010; ICMPD-IOM, 2010):

- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is responsible for the management of consular and diplomatic relations and the negotiations of agreements concerning migration.
- The National Social Security Fund, which is responsible for the Management of pension funds in Tunisia of Tunisians living abroad and negotiates bilateral social security agreements regarding the provision of medical care.
- The National Employment Agency and Self-Employment Site, which aim at facilitating the reintegration of returning labour migrants into the national economy.
- The Tunisian Agency for Technical Cooperation, which supports and ensures the protection of the executive Tunisian migrants within the framework of technical cooperation.
- The Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, which seeks to promote scientific exchange and know-how transfer.

Policies and institutions changed again through the recent political events in Tunisia. In October 2011 the new Secretary of State for Migrations and Tunisians abroad (SEMTE) was founded under the supervision of the Ministry for Social Affairs. The objective is to reorganise and reform the institutions in order to better manage migration and clarify responsibilities. As seen before, competencies relating to migration and diaspora issues have been dispersed among several government departments, and thus the SEMTE should now be the main supervisor of these activities. Among other things, the SEMTE seeks to establish new bodies e.g. the Advisory Council of Tunisians Abroad and the Agency for Migration and Development in order to collect data on Tunisians abroad. Moreover, a database that aims at connecting the various stakeholders in Tunisia and abroad should be implemented to facilitate coordination and cooperation of the authorities. Finally, agreements between Tunisia and European countries should be revised and new mechanisms to manage skilled migration be implemented. There is still a focus on the mobilisation and involvement of the Tunisian diaspora. In the election after the revolution, the Tunisian diaspora was able to elect their representatives in the National Constituent Assembly (NCA) in order to enhance political participation of Tunisians abroad (Boubakri, 2013).

To conclude, there may be a new role for the Tunisian diaspora in the country after the revolution. On the one hand, the diaspora seems to be more interested in shaping the future of Tunisia through political involvement and economic and social transfers. On the other hand, national authorities aim to promote dialogue and involvement of the diaspora to foster development (MTM i-map, 2012).
3.4. Diaspora Engagement Policies in Germany

The topic of diaspora engagement entered the policy agenda in the mid-2000s, when the German Government increasingly recognised the potential positive interaction of migration and development. In 2003, the German Development Agency (GIZ) hosted two conferences on “Migration and Development” in order to gain a better understanding and overview of diaspora communities in Germany and to identify opportunities for cooperation. As a result, several programmes and projects were established to promote transnational activities of the migrant communities in Germany (Sinatti, 2010).

In 2007, GIZ established the “Migration and Development Sector Project” (Sektorvorhaben Migration und Entwicklung), which advises the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), states and municipalities that deal with the issue of migration and development. Moreover, it establishes contacts with migrant organisations in Germany, promotes their projects, and offers workshops on various aspects of migration and development (GIZ, 2013a). Since 2011 it is part of The Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM). CIM is a working group of the GIZ and the Federal Employment Agency (Bundesagentur für Arbeit), whose objective is to promote the potential of global migration for sustainable development. CIM’s programme “Migration for Development” consists of four components: Returning Experts; Promoting the Development Activities of Migrant Organisations; Migrants as Entrepreneurs; Migration Policy Advice (CIM, 2013).

1) Promoting the Development Activities of Migrant Organisations: supports migrant organisations in the implementation of their programmes in their countries of origin by offering financial support as well as opportunities for training and networking.

2) Migrants as entrepreneurs: supports migrants who want to establish a business in their country of origin. Among other things, group seminars on topics related to business creation are organised and potential entrepreneurs can receive individual coaching in developing their business plan and in the implementation of their projects. The component is currently running in Morocco, Cameroon and Georgia.

3) Returning Experts: supports professional migrants in Germany to return to their country of origin and facilitates their economic integration.

4) Migration Policy Advice: identifies the specific counselling needs in the field of migration and development in priority countries and the design of implementation measures.

The Service Agency Communities in One World (SKEW, Servicestelle Kommunen Eine Welt) works on behalf of the BMZ and aims, through the programme “Migration and Development at the Local Level”, at improving networking between German development initiatives, local institutions and diaspora organisations as well as providing consulting and training. Besides these federal initiatives, there are several programmes at the state level. For instance the North Rhine-Westphalia supports
transnational engagement by providing capacity building activities and financial resources (Sinatti, 2010).

In general one can observe that these programmes focus on diaspora engagement in development, with the aim to provide funds, foster the professionalisation of diaspora organisations, and improve their networks.

4. Tunisian Diaspora Organisations and their Engagement in Development

At the institutional level of the Tunisian diaspora in Germany, there is also limited literature available. There exist only two studies, one by Schmelz (2010) with a focus on the potential of the diaspora for economic development and the other from Katterbach (2010) on Tunisia’s diaspora policies. However, both studies were conducted before the revolution. According to respondents in this study, the revolution also shaped the Tunisian diaspora in Germany and led to a new institutional landscape. This section presents the findings of the qualitative interviews conducted as part of the study. Additional information was obtained from the web presence of Tunisian organisations in Germany. In doing so it first provides a brief overview of the Tunisian diaspora in Germany by highlighting the way in which the revolution influenced the diaspora consciousness. Moreover, the institutional landscape will also be outlined. Herein, the goal is to explore the activities that are carried out by the diaspora in order to promote development in Tunisia. By addressing the factors that influenced diaspora engagement, the agency as well as opportunity structure of the Tunisian diaspora will be highlighted. Afterwards an overview of the German Development Cooperation in Tunisia will be provided in order to link the needs of both actors and to clarify possibilities for cooperation.

4.1. The Tunisian Diaspora before and after the Revolution

Asking the respondents to provide an overview of the characteristics of the Tunisian diaspora, the results confirm the statistical data analysed above. According to all respondents in this study one can distinguish between three groups of Tunisian migrants in Germany, which differ in terms of time of migration, reasons for migration, and socioeconomic characteristics, thus shaping the nature of today’s diaspora. The first group is the guest workers, who came to Germany through the bilateral agreement signed in the mid-1960s. Those were mainly low to middle skilled male migrants, working in the German industrial sector. When migration became more permanent, female migration increased due to family reunification and formation. Since the late 1980s there is an increasing trend in higher skilled migration, mainly with the reason to study in Germany. According to one respondent, half of this generation has stayed in Germany and built up a life and career. They often speak Arabic, French, German and English, many have academic degrees in engineering and are employed in higher
positions. The third group consists of the children of the guest worker generation, who were born and educated in Germany. As reported by the respondents these are more heterogeneous in terms of educational level. Yet many are studying in Germany and are therefore able to improve their socio-economic status, compared to their parents.

In general, the analysis shows that the majority of respondents are active in civic engagement and that this activity is not limited to participation in Tunisian community organisations in Germany. The majority of the respondents are also engaged in German associations or in German political parties and have built up a large network in various areas. Another important finding is that the spirit of the “Arab Spring” not only influenced Tunisian society in the country of origin but also Tunisians living abroad. According to the respondents there is a new consciousness especially among the younger generation, with a stronger sense of belonging and connectedness to Tunisia. There is willingness as well as a feeling of obligation to support the country and the population in order to foster the development of a modern, developed and democratic Tunisia. As a result, a variety of new Tunisian diaspora organisations were established in Germany. The revolution has not only reinforced the motivation to be engaged, but has also limited the barriers that were put in place before. Respondents acknowledged that, in the past, the Tunisian Government has attempted to influence the Tunisian association in Germany by restricting their engagement to cultural activities. Some of the organisations who received financial support were obliged to attend political events and to support the government from abroad. Moreover, some respondents stated that before the revolution the attitude towards other Tunisians in Germany was often marked by mistrust and dissociation. Consequently, there was a lack of cooperation and communication between the different Tunisian diaspora organisations. The revolution has made the landscape of Tunisian associations in Germany more diverse. Tunisians are now engaged in several areas, be it in the political, cultural, social or economic sphere. Members of the organisations have different aspirations, visions and ideas of how to shape the future of Tunisians, and these are now more openly discussed. Since the revolution there have also been stronger attempts to foster communication and cooperation among Tunisian diaspora organisations in Germany. As a result, networking was encouraged to pool the organisation and facilitate collaboration. Additionally, the goal is that this network functions as a link between the Tunisian diaspora, German organisations and public institutions. Respondents stated that at the time the study was conducted, the network involved up to 30 Tunisian organisations in Germany. The following section deals with Tunisian diaspora organisations in Germany in more detail.

4.2. Overview of Tunisian Diaspora Organisations in Germany

The detailed mapping of organisations, through internet search and information obtained from the commercial register, resulted in 82 Tunisian organisations and associations in Germany. Yet it must be acknowledged that not all associations are still active. As mentioned, it appears that the revolution has significantly changed the landscape of Tunisian diaspora organisations. On the one hand, many associations
ceased their engagement, while on the other hand new associations were established aiming at supporting the revolution from abroad.

The analysis of Tunisian diaspora organisations is based on a sample of 30 organisations⁴. In general these organisations fit into four categories: cultural associations; academic and student associations; business and professional organisations; social and political organisations.

**Figure 7: Types of Tunisian Organisations**

![Diagram showing the distribution of types of Tunisian organisations.](image)

Source: Field data, 2013

As the figure shows, the majority of associations and organisations are cultural associations (15), followed by academic and student associations (7), business and professional organisations (4) as well as social and political organisations (4). The categorisation should not be seen as exclusive, since there is often an overlap in activities between the different groups; however, categories have been assigned based on the main focus/characteristics of each organisation, providing a useful analytical framework. The following section provides an overview of the main characteristics of each category. For detailed information on each organisation see Appendix A.

### 4.2.1. Cultural Associations

Traditional Tunisian cultural associations were established by the guest worker generation between the 1960s and 1990s. According to the respondents some of these organisations were supported by the former government under Ben Ali, and sometimes served as an extended arm of the Tunisian regime in order to influence Tunisians living in Germany. Others aim to support and strengthen the relationships between Tunisians living in Germany, promote their integration and strengthen their ties to the country of origin. Moreover, the goal is to encourage cultural exchanges and deepen the relations

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⁴ For a more detailed discussion of the sample refer to Section 1.2
between Germany and Tunisia through promotion of cooperation and exchanges at different levels. Examples of activities are the organisation of cultural meetings, family gatherings, informational events and exhibitions. According to the interviewed associations, their goal is to act as a bridge builder in order to promote mutual understanding both in Germany as well as in Tunisia. Most of them are rather small associations, with members engaged on a voluntary basis. All respondents of this group mentioned that they have good contacts with other migrant organisations, German NGOs and the municipality. In the cultural sphere, in particular, they often implement activities in close cooperation with these organisations. Additionally, some respondents were also active in German associations or in German political parties.

Beside these traditional associations, new organisations developed during the revolution. Herein, one can distinguish between two types. First, religious associations were established aiming at promoting social, cultural and religious activities in the Tunisian community, as well as deepening the relations between the second and third generation of the community and the country of origin. Another objective is to foster dialogue and intercultural exchange between the Tunisian community and Germany. Second, there are cultural associations with a focus on promoting the integration of Tunisians in Germany and the encouragement of cultural exchanges and dialogue. Yet these have been established by the younger generation and emphasise freedom, democracy and political independence. Another objective is to build a network for communication between the competencies of Tunisians in Germany in order to support the development of the country of origin.

### 4.2.2. Academic and Student Associations

The majority of the seven academic and student associations also have a long history and were established mainly in the late 1990s by highly skilled migrants living in Germany. Their main aims are to support Tunisian students in Germany, to enable technology transfer to Tunisia and to support long-term cooperation between industry and academic institutions in Tunisia and Germany. Activities for Tunisian students in Germany are, among others, the organisation of workshops, seminars and training courses covering a wide range of topics such as teamwork, time-management, and conflict management. As part of the cultural exchange they organise cultural evenings with lectures, music, dance and local specialties. Moreover, their goal is to create a platform for networking and exchange of experience between its members during their studies and in their future careers. With events such as orientation seminars, tutoring courses, or mentoring programmes they support new Tunisian students in the first semester to integrate into student and social life in Germany. Additionally, career fairs for Tunisians abroad were organised, bringing together Tunisian students, alumni and companies operating in or with Tunisia. These long established organisations are large, representing a high number of members. Beside students, alumni are also active in the network. According to the respondents of this group, especially high skilled diaspora can
play a major role in shaping the future of Tunisia, in particular in the economic sphere by sharing their know-how, skills and contacts with German companies.

4.2.3. Business and Professional Organisations

Three out of four business and professional organisations developed during the revolution. Only one organisation covered in the study was established prior to the revolution. Similar to the student and academic associations, these organisations seek to promote the economic development of Tunisia by pooling the expertise of Tunisians abroad and by promoting investment in Tunisia. Generally, these organisations aim to promote cooperation between Tunisian professionals in Germany with companies in Tunisia with the goal of facilitating knowledge transfer. Common activities include workshops and seminars on entrepreneurship, teamwork, and management. On the other hand, seminars and events are provided for companies to disseminate information on the investment climate and opportunities in Tunisia. This is done also in conferences and trade fairs in cooperation with the municipality, German and Tunisian companies as well as authorities of the Tunisian Government, such as FIPA, AIPA and the OTE. Until now, only one organisation has implemented projects in Tunisia. The others operate from Germany in order to promote economic investment from abroad.

4.2.4. Social and Political Organisations

The four organisations in this category are more heterogeneous and focus on different areas of involvement. These organisations developed during the “Arab Spring” and aim to support the main objectives of the revolution, including freedom, human rights, the fight against corruption as well as social and economic objectives. Although placed in one category, the groups assigned to this category have distinct characteristics: humanitarian organisation, advocacy organisation, public policy network, and one that focuses more generally on promoting development.

Humanitarian aid focuses on the collection of donations in order to provide people in need in Tunisia with basic food, clothing, and medicines. In the long-run, the goal is to ensure that people there are able to help themselves. This should be realised by providing education and vocational training, health promotion, as well through aid for start-up businesses. Political engagement has been achieved for instance through electoral observation in the first election after the revolution, as well as through campaigns to provide information on the landscape of political parties. Additionally, awareness raising activities such as media campaigns and information events have been carried out to inform the broader German society about the current situation in Tunisia. Moreover, social media such as Facebook and Twitter are used to provide background information and coverage in the form of print material, photographs and videos. In addition, one goal is to connect Tunisian professionals and managers, experts, entrepreneurs and academics in Germany, to build a modern, developed and democratic Tunisia.
4.3. Areas of Involvement in Development

The majority of Tunisian associations focus more on integration than on implementing projects in Tunisia. Yet there is an increasing interest and motivation to contribute to the country’s development since the revolution. Participants mention that this can be done via several means. It is acknowledged that due to their skills and qualifications the Tunisian diaspora can provide consultancy to the Tunisian Government and civil society organisations, be it through temporary or long-term return. On the other hand, projects are planned to be implemented in Tunisia to foster socio and economic development. However, it is also perceived that development of Tunisia can also be promoted from abroad, for instance through building bridges in the cultural sphere and promoting investment to boost the economy.

4.3.1. Bridge Builders

All respondents emphasise their role in connecting both the country of origin and the country of destination, which is done through several means. In particular the representatives of the cultural organisations see their role in building bridges between the two cultures and, therefore, enable mutual understanding. Particularly since the revolution, attention has been given to raising awareness of the current situation in Tunisia. For instance the Tunisian-German Cultural Association Berlin (Deutsch-Tunesischer-Kulturverein Berlin DTKVB) organises talks and information events addressing aspects of the revolution and the social and political situation in Tunisia. The Tunisian-German Cultural Association in Hanau (Tunesisch-Deutscher Kultur Verein in Hanau) is planning an exhibition with a Tunisian artist illustrating the various facets of arts and culture of the revolution. Other organisations mentioned that they invited artists, musicians and writers from Tunisia to express the voice of the revolution. Through their extended networks in Germany the respondents seek to connect Germans, as well as Tunisians, who wish to contribute to development and integration. Since some are also active in the German political arena, they use their contacts for lobbying for their particular interest and to bring the Tunisian case onto the political agenda. Another intention of some respondents is to transmit democratic ideas and values in the form of social remittances. Levitt (1998) describes social remittances as “the ideas, behaviours, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending-country communities” (p. 927). By these means, they seek to improve the young democracy and ensure sustainable development.

4.3.2. Promoting Economic and Knowledge Transfers

Many respondents see the promotion of knowledge transfers and economic investments as crucial for the sustainable development of Tunisia. Academic and student associations as well as business and professional organisations are – due to their expertise and knowledge – especially engaged in this sphere and organise events to promote economic development.
They seek to generate an extended network of professionals, students and academics with a Tunisian background, to exchange their knowledge and experiences. For instance, the Facebook page Tunisian computer scientist in Germany (Tunisische Informatiker in Deutschland) connects Tunisian computer scientists living in Germany and informs them about job offers, workshops or trainings in their field. Another example is the German–Tunisian Economic Forum (Deutsch-Tunesisches Wirtschaftsforum DTW-Forum) which promotes cooperation between Tunisian experts in Germany to intensify scientific exchange with Tunisian authorities and to support economic development in Tunisia.

In addition to those networks, trade fairs and conferences are organised for the promotion of economic investment in Tunisia. For instance, in 2012 the Tunisian academics society (Tunisische Akademiker Gesellschaft TAG) organised, for the fourth time, a Career Forum in Munich. The objective of the forum is to promote networking by bringing together Tunisian students and professionals on the one hand and companies operating in Tunisia on the other. In the last forum, special attention was given to the current context of Tunisia by debating the role of expatriate skills in the academic and economic development of the country. Besides the fair, where companies provide information on their activities in Tunisia, the career forum also hosts conferences in which specific topics related to the Tunisian context are addressed. Similarly, the association of German–Tunisian entrepreneurs (Deutsch-tunesischen Jungunternehmer), in cooperation with the City of Stuttgart, the Arab Business Centre Stuttgart and the Economic Juniors Stuttgart (Wirtschaftjuniores), organised the “Arab Business Conference”. The previous conference in 2012 also focused on the Maghreb countries Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya addressing the potentials of these markets. As part of its 50-year anniversary the cultural association Tunis Cologne (Tunis Köln e.V.) plans an exhibition with Tunisian artists, as well as a trade fair with Tunisian products in order to provide a picture of Tunisians’ culture and handcraft.

**4.3.3. Projects in or for Tunisia**

To date, there has not been a significant number of activities developed and implemented in Tunisia by the Tunisian diaspora in Germany. Nevertheless, there are some examples of such projects. These fall mainly in the area of humanitarian aid, education, business development, and in the political sphere.

There are two organisations which implement community programmes aiming at improving the life of vulnerable members of Tunisian society. The cultural association El-Kantara aims at improving the situation for vulnerable elderly persons in Tunisia through the provision of financial assistance. In one project the organisation has built social housing in Tunisia for families in need. Moreover, financial resources were provided to entrepreneurs and small businesses lacking access to microfinance. The new programme, “The family sponsorship” is an initiative, where people in Germany can
sponsor a child or a family in Tunisia, by paying 30 euro per month. The aim is to support families in which the breadwinner is absent or unable to work. The purpose of the donation is to ensure that basic needs are met and to purchase clothing or school equipment. The organisation Tunicare transports items such as clothes and medical devices to Tunisia with the objective to support families in the poorer regions of the country. In the long-run the goal is to ensure that people are able to help themselves. This should be realised through the provision of education and vocational training, health promotion, and financial support for start-up businesses. The German-Tunisian Association of Family and Culture (Deutsch-Tunesischer Verein für Familie und Kultur DTV) has the idea to implement a project to improve the situation of Tunisian women, through the provision of micro-credit. In a next phase possible project partners in Tunisia will be identified and a concrete concept will be developed.

In the area of education, the Association of Tunisian academics in Stuttgart (Verein der Tunesischen Akademiker in Stuttgart VTAS) plans to implement a project in cooperation with a German foundation, to improve the vocational training system in Tunisia. To achieve this goal the group intends to facilitate the construction of a vocational school (Berufschule) in Tunisia that can provide formal education for occupations such as carpentry, painters and decorators and for automobile mechanics to improve their skills and qualifications. Another idea is to arrange a training cooperation with German companies and vocational schools, where Tunisian trainees receive education in Germany. The idea of VTAS is to support the trainees and offer language and integration courses during their stay in Germany.

Providing support and opportunities for businesses or other projects in Tunisia is mainly planned by two organisations. Qetik is a project planned by a Tunisian woman born in Germany who moved for a period of four years to Tunisia. The project aims to connect the Tunisian diaspora with people in Tunisia through the creation of an online platform where Tunisians can offer their project ideas, and Tunisians in Germany can offer their skills or make donations of money and materials to participants in Tunisia. The underlying principle is to deliver demand-driven support to Tunisian youth in rural areas and/or on the social periphery, providing them with the opportunity to improve their lives. In doing so, micro-projects and small businesses can be established, which create jobs and give young people in Tunisia the opportunity to take ownership of shaping their own environment. Although there was a lot of interest expressed by the diaspora to participate in this project, practical and financial hurdles have so far prevented its implementation.

Tunicom is an organisation that developed during the revolution with the objective of connecting Tunisian professionals and managers, experts, entrepreneurs and academics in Germany in order to build a modern, developed and democratic Tunisia. The organisation has four working areas, namely humanitarian aid, economic development, socio-political work and media work. There are currently two projects: TuniConsult and TuniVote. TuniConsult is a database of Tunisian experts in Germany who provide free
counselling to Tunisian entrepreneurs for their business start-ups. This knowledge transfer is seen as a fundamental factor for promoting sustainable development in Tunisia. *TuniVote* is a tool that provides information on the political parties that participated in the first election in October 2011. Due to the lack of political culture in Tunisia, the aim is to raise awareness and to provide an open and independent overview of the political landscape in Tunisia.

The cooperative public policy network **Tunisian Bridge Foundation** publishes studies and analyses current bilateral cooperation as well as foreign policies and seeks to develop concrete solutions for Tunisia’s development. Moreover, it provides consultancy in politics, society, and economy. It works together with the Tunisian Government and provides scientific and policy advice in these fields.

In general, the majority of respondents stated that they are interested in implementing projects to support social, political, and economic development in Tunisia. How much support can be provided by GIZ and what synergies can be created will be discussed in the following chapter.

### 4.4. Potentials for Cooperation: Matching the Needs of the Tunisian Diaspora and the German Development Cooperation

Based on the analysis, several potential avenues for cooperation can be identified, targeting different areas of involvement. While historically a major focus of the Tunisian diaspora in Germany has been on integration, the revolution has spurred many Tunisians to action and shifted the focus towards developmental activities. Consequently, there is now a willingness and motivation to contribute to development efforts and to shape Tunisia’s future. Within this context, the German Development Cooperation could capitalise on the movement created by the revolution to support their development activities in Tunisia. This section considers the work that the German Development Cooperation has done and discusses the needs of the Tunisian diaspora as identified during the research in order to highlight potential areas for cooperation.

#### 4.4.1. Overview of the German Development Cooperation in Tunisia

Development cooperation between Germany and Tunisia is based on bilateral agreements in the context of regional/thematic programmes which began in the 1960s. The main areas of cooperation are environmental and resource protection, water, renewable energy, and sustainable economic development and employment promotion.

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5 Information is obtained from interviews with GIZ stuff and the web presence of the GIZ Tunisia and CIM.
In response to the political upheavals in Tunisia, on 9 January 2012 the German and Tunisian Governments signed a Memorandum of Understanding on the "transformation partnership". Based on this memorandum, the first Tunisian-German intergovernmental consultations took place on 12 September 2012 in Berlin, in which several projects and measures were agreed on. Activities are implemented in the four key areas (1) Economy, employment, regional development, environment and energy, (2) Security, (3) Democracy, good governance, civil society, judicial cooperation, and (4) Research, education, culture and media (Auswertiges Amt, 2012). As part of the transformation partnership, the German Foreign Federal Office (Auswärtiges Amt) has offered project funding of 60 million euro to German and international NGOs in 2012 and 2013. In the implementation of the projects the German Government works together with various partners such as the German Development Agency “Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)”, German political foundations, the German-Tunisian Chamber of Commerce, the KfW Development Bank, Deutsche Welle, and Media in Cooperation and Transition (MICT) (Auswertiges Amt, 2013).

The GIZ office in Tunisia was established in Tunis in 1999 and employs 40 international professionals and more than 90 national staff members. The key thematic areas are energy, climate and water. Additionally, support is provided in three sectors (GIZ, 2013b):

1. **Sustainable Economic Development and Employment Promotion**: Measures include improving economic performance in the regions, developing emerging markets for renewable energy, modernising industrial infrastructure and promoting entrepreneurship by improving the supply of microfinance services for the self-employed.

2. **Protection of natural resources**: Attention is given to the development of sustainable approaches to agriculture, environment, water and waste policy. Practically, GIZ mediates between citizens, public agencies and the private sector to find solutions for the sustainable management of resources.

3. **Regional development, local governance and democracy**: Special focus is placed on the establishment of new administrative structures, the promotion of human rights and advancement of the dialogue between civil society and state.

As an example, the GIZ “Entrepreneurship and Innovation Development Programme (PAEI) –Tunisia” aims at the promotion of innovation and entrepreneurship in Tunisia. In the field of innovation, the programme focuses on the innovation of management processes and products of small and medium-sized companies. In the context of entrepreneurship, GIZ is working on three levels. At state level, GIZ cooperates with ministries, especially the Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Higher Education and Research. For instance, consulting is offered on the formulation of strategies for the promotion of entrepreneurship and innovation. At the regional level, cooperation is done with business development agencies. Herein, pilot projects are implemented for capacity building and networking. At micro level, there are several pilot projects, for
example, with universities, where exchanges with other stakeholders is promoted. In parallel, an extended network of entrepreneurship coaches in Tunisia was created.

Looking at the programmes related to migration and development, the following projects of the CIM could be identified for the Tunisian case:

- The “Pilot projects to promote legal mobility of highly skilled workers from Tunisia” is financed by the German Federal Foreign Office and implemented by the GIZ in cooperation with the Federal Employment Agency’s (BA) International Placement Services (ZAV) in 2012 and 2013. The aim of the project is to enable 100 Tunisian unemployed engineers a working stay in Germany and, therefore, provide them with new professional perspectives and the opportunity to gain international experience. The participants of the project receive a two-month German language course in Tunisia as well as additional specialised and country-specific training in order to be prepared for their stay in Germany. The second part of the project is a six-month internship, in which participants gain work experience in German Companies with the aim of achieving long-term acquisition of employment (GIZ n.d.).

- In the “Programme Returning Experts” CIM supports Tunisian professionals in Germany who want to return to their country of origin. Counselling and recruitment services are offered as well as financial support in the form of a salary top-up provided for the first two years. Participants are only supported in jobs that are relevant for development. In this programme Tunisian experts work primarily as engineers or computer scientists. According to representatives of the Tunisian student association TAG, the association was involved in the recruitment process in some specific cases. So far three Tunisians have been recruited via this component of the CIM programme.

According to the CIM staff interviewed for this study there is increasing interest in cooperating with the Tunisian diaspora since the revolution. As a result more efforts have been put in place to gain access to this target group. For instance, an information event will be organised with TAG in November 2013 with a view to giving information on the different components of the programme “Migration and Development”. Additionally, workshops and networking events are planned to promote capacity building of Tunisian diaspora organisations.

4.4.2. The Needs of the Diaspora

As previously discussed, agency and opportunity structures determine what the Tunisian diaspora is willing – or able – to do. While there are some factors that influence the engagement in a positive way, participants also perceived challenges that have a negative impact on their engagement in development.

Time is a major factor that influences engagement. All respondents interviewed for this project were engaged on a voluntary basis, next to their jobs and family obligations.
There is a need expressed for more human resources to implement projects in Tunisia efficiently or to contribute to development in general. Beside this, financial resources are scarce. The majority of organisations state that they finance their activities with membership fees and donations. Some organisations get financial support from German municipalities or German NGOs. These primarily fund a meeting place or other infrastructure such as computers. For business and professional organisations, companies are also an important source of funding. With regards to financial resources, a major challenge is perceived in the lack of information on funding opportunities. For instance, a representative of a cultural association participated in an information campaign organised by the CIM on diaspora engagement in development. Inspired by the opportunities that were offered, she is now planning a project targeting women in Tunisia. Besides lacking resources, there seems to be a lack of trust among the different diaspora organisations. Even though it was acknowledged that the revolution brought the Tunisian diaspora more together, many respondents feel that there is still a lot of mistrust and miscommunication. Yet cooperation is perceived as very important since synergies could be created in order to jointly shape Tunisia’s future.

The political opportunity structure in Tunisia plays a major role by influencing engagement in several ways. On the one hand, there is a spirit of optimism and motivation to shape the future of Tunisia. Equipped with qualifications, skills and knowledge, the diaspora aims to contribute to positive change in Tunisia. Yet the process of transformation can also hinder engagement. Political instability due to constantly changing authorities, as well as bureaucracy and corruption, often discourage them from engaging in development work in Tunisia. In general, there seems to be a lack of reliable partners on the ground in Tunisia. On the one hand authorities, such as the OTE (2013c), recognise the positive role of Tunisians abroad in boosting the national economy and promoting technology and scientific transfers – and therefore aim at involving the diaspora in producing strategies for economic and scientific development. On the other hand, participants argue that they are quite reluctant to rely on and cooperate with Tunisian authorities, for fear of political manipulation. This was the case in particular with regard to the attempt of the OTE to establish an umbrella organisation of Tunisian organisations in Germany. Herein, a more flexible platform or network with loose structures is preferred by the participants to guarantee independence on the one hand, but also facilitate cooperation and exchanges between the organisations on the other. In general, it seems that Tunisian authorities have to invest in building trust to overcome these barriers and to enable an equal partnership with the diaspora. Beside the government, there is also a lack of trust in Tunisian civil society. Some respondents mentioned that many civil society organisations emerged during the revolution (previously they were restricted by the former government). Even though it is recognised that these organisations play an important role in the development of the country, they are not yet considered reliable partners since they lack experience, competences and financial resources. Thus German organisations such as GIZ and the Chamber of Foreign Trade are seen as important in the implementation of projects and
could also potentially play a role in developing the capacities of civil society organisations in Tunisia.

The political opportunity structure in Germany can enable engagement in development. In general, all participants feel that they get support from the German Government especially from the municipalities. Yet information on cooperation or funding opportunities at the federal level is rather lacking. While all respondents interviewed were interested in future cooperation with the institutions of the German Development Cooperation, only two organisations have already implemented joint projects. Cooperation, according to the respondents, can be realised by several means, for instance by providing financial resources, consultancy and capacity building workshops as well as by implementing joint projects. There seems to be a general willingness to cooperate, but structural barriers such as lack of information and lack of involvement have to be overcome. Moreover, some respondents acknowledge that their engagement is not sufficiently recognised or appreciated. Although they show commitment and are involved not just for Tunisia but also for Germany, they feel that the media and the broader public tend to focus on the challenges of migration and integration. Herein, it seems important to involve the diaspora in the policy process and to appreciate their engagement through public campaigns. In this respect changing the public perception of migrants could facilitate diaspora engagement.

4.4.3. Potentials for Cooperation

Matching both the needs of the diaspora and the needs of German Development Cooperation, several forms of potential cooperation can be identified. The main developmental activities of the diaspora focus on promoting economic development through academic and knowledge transfer. Potentials were identified in the following areas:

Promotion of migrant entrepreneurship: The aim of many Tunisian organisations is to promote small businesses in Tunisia to improve economic prospects. GIZ Tunisia could be an important partner in identifying entrepreneurs and connecting them with the diaspora. For instance, the GIZ “Entrepreneurship and Innovation Development Programme (PAEI) – Tunisia” aims, among others things, at the promotion of entrepreneurship in Tunisia and obtains a considerable network connecting several institutions in this area. The Migrants as Entrepreneurs (Migranten als Unternehmer) component that CIM runs is planned to be incorporated in Tunisia. Both GIZ staff as well as some respondents mentioned that there is high potential for entrepreneurship by the Tunisian diaspora since many members obtain important and necessary qualifications and skills.

Involving the diaspora in consultancy work. All groups of the Tunisian diaspora maintain specific knowledge and skills. Many are academics and professionals with skills and
qualifications obtained in Germany, and, since they have grown up in Tunisia, they also have country specific knowledge valuable to development cooperation.

**Involving the Tunisian diaspora in dialogue and the policy process.** Due to their country specific knowledge and intercultural skills, Tunisian diaspora organisations can function as important intermediaries by determining the needs of the country of origin while also understanding the German context. Additionally, they can provide useful “insider” information and therefore might support more sustainable policy measures. At the same time, involving the Tunisian diaspora in dialogues shows appreciation of their engagement. Involving first generation migrants means that first-hand knowledge of the historical context can be generated. Moreover, diversity in terms of age also provides the opportunity for different perspectives, views and values, reflecting the diversity inherent to the diaspora. Yet diversity may also represent a major challenge for involving the diaspora, especially where conflict affects countries of origin. According to some respondents, before the revolution organisations were either in favour of or against the former regime. The new political landscape in Tunisia also resulted in a new landscape of diaspora organisations, with various visions, interests and affiliations. Having focal points within the Tunisian diaspora that serve as liaisons between the diaspora organisations and GIZ (CIM) would be extremely helpful. In recognising that the diaspora is neither static, nor homogeneous, institutionalised consultations, through for example the appointment of a full-time focal point for Tunisia from within the Tunisian diaspora could ensure that the needs of the diaspora are constantly at the forefront when designing projects.

**Promoting participation in the “Programme Returning Experts”.** Since many diaspora members are academics and professionals with skills and qualifications obtained in Germany, they could be potential participants of this programme. Moreover, Tunisian diaspora organisations have extended networks within the Tunisian community and can therefore help to identify potential returnees. Participation of CIM in conferences and information events organised by the Tunisian diaspora organisations can help to gain broader access to the target group. Moreover, the web presence of the diaspora can be used to spread information on programmes and workshops offered by CIM.

**“Promoting the Development Activities of Migrant Organisations”.** One can observe an increasing interest of Tunisian diaspora organisations in implementing projects in Tunisia. Yet the main challenges are perceived in the lack of human and financial resources, as well as in the lack of reliable partners in Tunisia. Providing information on the CIM project and gaining access to the Tunisian diaspora is one important step to overcome these barriers.
5. Conclusion

The spirit of the “Arab Spring” not only influenced Tunisian society in the country of origin but also Tunisians living abroad. There is a new consciousness especially among the younger generation, with a stronger sense of belonging and connectedness to Tunisia. While historically, a major focus of the Tunisian diaspora in Germany has been integration, the revolution has spurred many Tunisians to action and shifted the focus towards developmental activities. Consequently, there is now a willingness and motivation to contribute to development efforts and to shape Tunisia’s future. As a result, various new organisations were established within the diaspora to support this goal.

Looking at the potential of developmental engagement, the majority of Tunisian associations focus more on integration than on implementing projects in Tunisia. Yet since the revolution, there is an increasing interest and motivation to contribute to the country’s development. This can be done via several means. The Tunisian diaspora can – with its combined skills and qualifications – provide consultancy to the Tunisian Government and civil society organisations, be it through temporary or long-term return. Projects are planned to be implemented in Tunisia to foster socio and economic development. However, the development of Tunisia can also be promoted from abroad, for instance, through building bridges in the cultural sphere and promoting investment to boost the economy. All respondents emphasise their role in connecting both the country of origin and the country of destination, which is done through several means. In particular, the representatives of the cultural organisations see their role in building bridges between the two cultures and therefore enable mutual understanding. Particularly since the revolution, attention has been given to raising awareness of the current situation in Tunisia. Second, the promotion of knowledge transfers and economic investment is seen as crucial for the sustainable development of Tunisia. Academic and student associations as well as business and professional organisations are – due to their expertise and knowledge – especially engaged in this sphere and organise events to promote economic development. On the one hand, they seek to generate an extended network of professionals, students, and academics with a Tunisian background to exchange their knowledge and experiences. On the other hand, trade fairs and conferences are organised for the promotion of economic investment in Tunisia. Third, although there have not been a significant number of activities developed and implemented to date in Tunisia by the Tunisian diaspora in Germany, one can observe an increasing interest in implementing projects since the revolution. These fall mainly in the area of humanitarian aid, education, business development, and in the political sphere.

Looking at the Tunisian development cooperation of Germany, there is increasing interest in cooperating with the Tunisian diaspora since the revolution. As a result, more efforts have been made to access this target group. While all respondents acknowledged
that they are interested in cooperating with the German EZ some barriers are perceived
that have a negative impact on their engagement in development and therefore hinder
effective cooperation. Especially time and financial resources are perceived as major
constraints. Moreover, the lack of reliable partners in Tunisia hinders the
implementation of projects.

By matching the needs of the Tunisian diaspora and the German Development
Cooperation the analysis showed that there are several ways in which both sides could
benefit and the promotion of developmental activities of the Tunisian diaspora could be
improved. Based on this the following chapter provides recommendations for improving
the potentials and limiting the barriers of engagement.

6. Recommendations

In order to promote the engagement of and with the Tunisian diaspora, the following
recommendations are provided:

**Limiting barriers for engagement and capacity building of the diaspora
organisations:** All participants stated that they are interested in cooperating with the
German Development Cooperation. Yet the major perceived challenge was the lack of
information on possible sources of funding and on activities that are carried out to
develop the capacity of diaspora organisations. These barriers could be overcome by: 1)
distributing information to the diaspora about funding and/or cooperation
opportunities via the organisation’s homepages or social media accounts; 2) CIM could
attend meetings, events or conferences organised by the diaspora, particularly to reach
groups that do not have an online presence; and/or by 3) working with key members of
organisations of the Tunisian diaspora – who act as focal points – and could be
responsible for the networking and the coordination of activities. In this regard, there is
already the attempt to create a network between the different Tunisian organisations,
which can serve as a link between the diaspora and German Development Cooperation.
The GIZ could facilitate this process by providing financial resources and capacity
building workshops as well as networking opportunities. Herein, it should be ensured
that the network includes various types of diaspora organisations, which represent the
different interests, aspirations and ideas. In addition, a special focus could be placed on
the promotion of dialogue and cooperation, as well as on the building of trust among the
different organisations of the network.

The lack of time, human and financial resources as well as high bureaucratic burdens
associated with getting and running projects are perceived as major barriers for
engagement. By providing financial resources and training for diaspora organisations,
much can be done already to minimise these barriers. Nevertheless, the findings also
indicated that there is a need for structural funding of diaspora organisations, especially
when engagement focuses on development. For many respondents developing,
implementing and running a project is not a feasible option when working on a voluntary basis alongside other work and family responsibilities. Consequently, funding should not only be provided for project implementation, but also for the financing of paid positions and general overhead costs. Currently, project funding does not cover overhead costs, which is a major concern for many organisations. Additionally, to limit the bureaucratic hurdles, the application process and the proof of the utilisation of funds should be designed in a simple and straightforward manner to ensure that time is not unnecessarily spent on bureaucratic paper work.

**Building capacity in Tunisia:** To be efficiently engaged in development, diaspora organisations need reliable partners in the country of origin. Yet the majority of civil society organisations in Tunisia have emerged only recently during the revolution and therefore often lack experience, know-how and financial resources. For promoting Tunisian diaspora engagement it is also important to build the capacity of organisations in Tunisia. A mapping of possible cooperation partners, also including German and international organisations can further facilitate project implementation. Besides the mapping, there should be further attempts to link diaspora engagement with the needs and the potential of the country of origin. Hence developing (or supporting) a platform where the diaspora can “offer” their skills and resources and match them with the demand in Tunisia, seems to be a useful way to improve the efficiency of diaspora engagement.

**Promoting dialogue and networking within the diaspora:** Since resources are scarce, cooperation with other organisations can help to facilitate the implementation of projects. While the majority of respondents say they have good contacts with German NGOs and migrant organisations, the network within the Tunisian diaspora is often limited to the regional level. Supporting the creation of a network within the diaspora can also foster partnerships and cooperation. Special focus should be placed on the promotion of dialogue, since the revolution triggered differing and sometimes conflicting interests, opinions and values within the diaspora.

**Opportunities for cooperation:** In addition to the existing programmes, CIM could develop other projects that promote diaspora engagement. Similar to the Dutch Government funded and IOM run TRQN (Temporary Return of Qualified Nationals) programme, a programme could be developed where Tunisian migrants return to their country of origin on a temporary basis in order to transfer their knowledge in positions where expertise is lacking locally (IOM, 2013). The placements should be arranged based on the matching of skills available in Germany and the needs present in potential host institutions in Tunisia. Some examples of past projects under temporary return schemes include: developing university curricula, restructuring government ministries, and developing a marketing plan for promoting investment opportunities. Tunisian migrant organisations can provide a pool of qualified Tunisians who are interested in further engagement. Another possibility would be a project in cooperation with
organisations that promote the engagement of seniors such as the Senior Expert Service (Senior Experten Service, SES) targeting the first generation of Tunisian migrants, now largely retired. Additionally, expanding the existing CIM run *Migrants as Entrepreneurs (Migranten als Unternehmer) programme* to Tunisia would fill a needs gap and be implemented relatively, as it is an ongoing CIM programme.

**Supporting the various types of Tunisian diaspora organisation:** Many authors argue that there is a reinforcing link between integration and diaspora engagement. On the one hand, integration is seen as crucial since it enables individuals to obtain the resources and networks necessary to be actively engaged. On the other hand, civic engagement often reinforces equal participation, enables empowerment and improves capacities of human and social capital. Consequently, transnational engagements can increase civic, political and possibly even socioeconomic integration (Koser 2007, Warnecke 2010, Shain 1994). In order to support diaspora engagement in development it seems important that holistic policies are implemented that support both integration and transnational activities. This ultimately means that Tunisian diaspora organisations that largely focus on integration issues can still be valuable partners in the promotion of development in the long-term.

**Non-monetary recognition:** Non-monetary benefits could also promote and encourage diaspora engagement. This research shows that many respondents did not feel supported by the government, although they put a lot of time and effort into conflict resolution. Both *public recognition* and *appreciation of diaspora engagement* are therefore important to keep motivation high within community members.
7. References


Sinatti, G. (2010). Key Criteria of ‘Good Practice’ for Constructive Diaspora Engagement in Peacebuilding: Discussion paper based on fieldwork studies in Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and the United Kingdom (Discussion Paper). The Hague.


# Appendix A: Mapping of the Tunisian Diaspora Organisations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Email</th>
<th>Internet</th>
<th>Est.</th>
<th>Cat</th>
<th>Aim</th>
<th>Interview/Questionnaire</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| Tunesischer Kultur- und Dialogverein in Stuttgart e.V. | Zaytunah-Zentrum@gmx.de | www.facebook.com/pages/Zaytunah-Tunesischer-Kultur-und-Dialogverein-in-Stuttgart-eV | 2010 | 1 | • promotion of social, cultural and religious activities in the Tunisian community  
• promotion of youth work and leisure activities.  
• promotion of dialogue and intercultural exchange between the Tunisian community and German society | No |
| Bund der tunesischen Akademiker in Hannover | b.tahannover@googlemail.com | www.b-tah.de | 2010 | 2 | • Support Tunisian students in study-related affairs  
• support their integration in the university, the labour market, the social surroundings  
• Platform for networking and exchange of experiences between its members | No |
| Deutsch-Tunisische Gesellschaft e.V. | jaballah@hot mail.com | www.deutsch-tunisische-gesellschaft.de | 1959 | 1 | • promote cultural, political and economic relations between the people of both countries and to strengthen their relationship  
• supporting projects in Tunisia | No |
| Deutsch-Tunisische Horizonte e.V. | Mouna.gharbi@uk-essen.de | www.facebook.com/dthev | 2013 | 1 | • supporting and connecting the Tunisian use in Germany | Questionnaire |
| Deutsch-Tunisischer Verein für Familie und Kultur (D.T.V.) | abdallah-melaouhi@t-online.de | 1997 | 1 | • support the integration of Tunisian women in Germany, by providing workshops and information events on topics such as health, education, and migration law in Germany | Interview |

**Categories**: 1=Cultural associations, 2= Student and academic associations, 3= Business and professional organisations; 4= Social and political organisations
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Email/URL</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| DTJ - Deutsch-Tunisische Jungunternehmer e.V.                    | info@dtj-ev.de, www.dtj-ev.de                                             | 2010 | 3        | • to promote and support German and Tunisian entrepreneurs in Baden-Württemberg  
• establish contacts between interested parties and promote networking activities  
• offer workshops, seminars and training on entrepreneurship                                                                                                                                       | Interview|
| General Union der Tunesier in Deutschland (GUTD) e.V.            | gutdtn@yahoo.com, www.facebook.com/pages/General-Union-der-Tunesier-in-Deutschland-GUTD | 2012 | 1        | • promotion and support of Tunisians in Germany.  
• facilitate the integration of students into the German academic, social and professional life.  
• building a network for communication between the competencies of Tunisians in Germany, especially among academics from various fields.                                                                 | No       |
| Tunesisch-Deutscher Familienverein Düren e.V.                    | moncef.riahi@web.de                                                       | 2002 | 1        | • support Tunisian families in Germany through the organisation of leisure activities                                                                                                               | No       |
| Tunesisch-Deutscher Kultur Verein in Hanau e.V.                  | mustapha.jebabli@yahoo.de                                                 | 1992 | 1        | • supporting the integration of Tunisians in Germany  
• promoting cultural exchange and dialogue  
• providing information on Tunisia in events and cultural activities                                                                                                                                   | Interview|
| Tunesische Akademiker Gesellschaft (TAG)                        | hajer.bencharrada@tag-germany.org, www.tag-germany.org                    | 1999 | 2        | • support students during their studies and in everyday life  
• contacts between academics to expand experience.  
• integration of Tunisian students in the German society  
• contacts between companies and academics.  
• facilitate entry into professional life as possible.                                                                                                                                            | Interview|
| Tunesische Akademiker Gesellschaft Hessen                        | www.facebook.com/TunesischeAkademike                                      | 2011 | 2        | Part of TAG, and therefore same aims and activities                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | No       |

**Categories:** 1=Cultural associations, 2= Student and academic associations, 3= Business and professional organisations; 4= Social and political organisations
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<thead>
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<th>Category</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Website</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tunesische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland e.V.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.facebook.com/pages/Tunisische-Gemeinschaft-in-Deutschland-eVBerlin">www.facebook.com/pages/Tunisische-Gemeinschaft-in-Deutschland-eVBerlin</a></td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>• promotes integration of Tunisians in Germany through education work, social activities, lectures, seminars  • provides information on history, culture and life of the Tunisian people  • support effort, which promotes humanitarian aid, social activities, health, education in Tunisia</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tunesische Vereinigung in Deutschland TVD e.V.</td>
<td><a href="mailto:Kontakt.TVD@hotmail.de">Kontakt.TVD@hotmail.de</a></td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>• promotion of young people, through the support of their integration into German society and the preservation of their identity.  • promotion of education, adult and vocational education, including student aid.  • Promoting international attitude, tolerance in all fields of culture</td>
<td>Interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tunesischen wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft</td>
<td><a href="http://www.t-w-g.org/kontakt-de-8.html">http://www.t-w-g.org/kontakt-de-8.html</a></td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>• scientific seminars concerning the work of members, educational seminars to prepare members for the labour market  • Information seminars, events concerning study programs  • Excursions to companies and international trade fairs  • Cooperation with scientists as well as industrial and academic institutions in Tunisia and Germany</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Categories:** 1=Cultural associations, 2= Student and academic associations, 3= Business and professional organisations; 4= Social and political organisations
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Contact Information</th>
<th>Website</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Tunesischer "Zaytouna" Verein für Kommunikation e.V. | info@zaytouna-verein.de, www.facebook.com/zaytouna.verein | | 2011 | • promotion of social and cultural activities in the Tunisian community  
• promotion of dialogue and intercultural exchange between the Tunisian community and German society |
| Tunesischer Unterstützungsverein El Kantara - Die Brücke e.V. | nejiezzeddine@googlemail.com, www.el-kantara.de/ | | 1991 | • promotion of social and cultural activities in the Tunisian community  
• social projects in Tunisia targeting older people and vulnerable groups  
• promotion of dialogue and intercultural exchange |
| Tunicare e.V. | r.jouili@helft-tunesien.org, www.tunicare.org | | 2011 | • humanitarian aid for Tunisia  
• in the long-term implementing projects in education and vocational training, health promotion, as well for small start-ups |
| Tunicomp | kontakt@tunicomp.net, www.tunicomp.de/ | | 2011 | • independent, non-profit and politically neutral competence network that connects Tunisian academics and professionals in Germany  
• working areas: humanitarian aid, economic development, social political work, media work |
| Verein der tunesischen Akademiker in Stuttgart | www.vtas-ev.org/kontakt/ | | 1992 | • Exchange of scientific and cultural experiences between Tunisian, German, and other academics in Germany  
• Support of Tunisian students in Germany  
• offering Seminars and Workshops  
• Mentoring program for Tunisian and other students (scientific and cultural) |
| Verein zur Förderung der Demokratie in Tunesien e.V. | info@demokratietunesien.eu, www.demokratietunesien.de | | 2011 | • promotion international attitude, tolerance in all areas of culture and international understanding  
• promotion of education for Tunisians in Germany  
• organization of cultural events, workshops, seminars  
• national and international projects for more democracy |

**Categories:** 1= Cultural associations, 2= Student and academic associations, 3= Business and professional organisations; 4= Social and political organisations
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Email</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>QETIK</td>
<td><a href="mailto:z.ben.othman@gmail.com">z.ben.othman@gmail.com</a></td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>• developing a platform to connect the Diaspora with young people in Tunisia to implement projects and ideas • creation of jobs and economic perspectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tunesische Informatiker in Deutschland</td>
<td><a href="http://www.facebook.com/TnInfoDe">www.facebook.com/TnInfoDe</a></td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>• Facebook page to connect Tunisian computer scientist living in Germany • Providing information on job offers, events, workshops and trainings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deutsch - Tunesisches Wirtschaftsforum</td>
<td><a href="http://www.facebook.com/pages/DTW-Forum-eV">www.facebook.com/pages/DTW-Forum-eV</a></td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>• promote cooperation between the Tunisian expertise makers in Germany to support economic development in Tunisia, intensify scientific exchange with Tunisian authorities and ease the technology and know-how transfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tunisian Academics’ Society e.V.</td>
<td><a href="mailto:mohamed.w.othmani@gmail.com">mohamed.w.othmani@gmail.com</a></td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>• apolitical organisation aiming at connecting Tunisian Students abroad • promote a pleasant life together of Tunisian students</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Categories:** 1=Cultural associations, 2= Student and academic associations, 3= Business and professional organisations; 4= Social and political organisations
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Contact</th>
<th>Website</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Köln Tunis e.V.                                   | r.khammassi@gmx.de | [http://koeltunis.de/](http://koeltunis.de/) | 1964  | 1        | • support of town-twinning activities between Cologne and Tunis  
• supporting partnership relations in various areas such as sport, arts and culture as well as economic exchanges  
• provision of information on the living conditions of people in Tunis after the "Arab Spring"  
• organizing Lectures, exhibitions, Discussion forums to strengthen civil society | Interview  |
| Tunisian Bridge Foundation                        | a.gati@gmail.com  | [www.jisr.de](http://www.jisr.de) | 2011  | 4        | • German-Tunisian think thank aiming at promoting bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, cultural field  
• lobbying for an improved migration policy regarding Tunisians in Germany | Questionnaire|
| Tunesisch Deutsche Gemeinschaft (Bremen)           |                    |                    | 2011  | 1        | • contributing to Tunisians culture  
• foster ties to Tunisia through information events and consultancy  
• strengthen the German and Arabic language of the second Generation | Questionnaire|
| Tunisian Youth e.V.                               | tunisianyouth@gmail.com | [www.facebook.com/TunisianYouthev](http://www.facebook.com/TunisianYouthev) | 2012  | 1        | • contributing to mutual understanding between Germany and Tunisia and promote the German Tunisian friendship  
• providing integration help for young Tunisians  
• Care and support of the Tunisian youth living in Germany  
• Support of young people in need in Tunisia | Questionnaire|
| Deutsch – Tunesischer Verein für Kultur und Integration e.V. | hassan.trabelsi@dtv-verein.de |                     | 1     | 1        | No information                                                                                   | No         |

**Categories:** 1=Cultural associations, 2= Student and academic associations, 3= Business and professional organisations; 4= Social and political organisations
Appendix B: Interview Guide (German)

Einleitende Frage: Migrationsgeschichte
1. Wann sind Sie nach Deutschland migriert?
   a. Was waren die Gründe, welche Motivation hatten Sie?

Thema 1: Diaspora
2. Können Sie mir einige Details über die Tunesische Diaspora in Deutschland nennen?
   a. Ist sie Homogen oder heterogen (in Bezug auf sozio-ökonom. Faktoren, Ethnie, Religion)?
   b. Gibt es starke Verbindungen / Netzwerke innerhalb der TunesierInnen in Deutschland?
   c. Wie ist die Beziehung zu Tunesien? Gibt es starke Verbindungen? Wie ist das Verhältnis zum Staat?
   d. Gibt es einen Unterschied zwischen der Tunesischen Diaspora vor und nach der Revolution?

Thema 2: Engagement
3. Wie ist diese Organisation/Initiative entstanden?
4. Wie ist diese organisiert?
   a. Wie viele Mitglieder hat die Organisation? Gibt es hauptamtliche Mitarbeiter/innen?
   b. Wie wird die Organisation finanziert?
5. Was sind die wichtigsten Ziele der Organisation?
6. Setzt die Organisation Aktivitäten/Projekte in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit um?
   a. Wenn JA:
      – Wie lange ist die Laufzeit des Projekts?
      – Wie wird das Projekt finanziert?
      – Wie tragen diese Aktivitäten zur Entwicklung bei?
      – Was sind die Auswirkungen? Kurz- und langfristige?
   b. Wenn NEIN:
      – In welchen Bereichen ist Ihre Organisation tätig?
      – Würden Sie gerne, dass dies ihre Organisation in der EZ engagiert ist?
      – Was sind die Gründe für fehlendes Engagement in diesem Bereich?
7. Ihrer Meinung nach was sind Faktoren, die Ihr Engagement beeinflussen?
   a. Positiv und negativ

Thema 3: Zusammenarbeit
8. Mit welchen Organisationen/Institutionen arbeiten Sie in Tunesien zusammen?
9. Arbeiten Sie mit anderen staatlichen (nicht-staatliche) Organisationen in Deutschland zusammen?
10. Sehen Sie Potenziale für die Zusammenarbeit mit Organisationen der deutschen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (zum Beispiel BMZ, GIZ)?
    a. Wenn ja, in welcher Form?
Gibt es etwas was Sie noch hinzufügen möchten?
Appendix C: Questionnaire (German)

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren,

Die Maastricht Graduate School of Governance führt im Auftrag der Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) eine Studie über die tunesische Diaspora in Deutschland durch. In der Diskussion über Migration und Entwicklung werden Diasporagemeinschaften mehr und mehr als wichtige Akteure angesehen, die aktiv einen Beitrag zur Integration sowie zur Entwicklung des Herkunftslandes leisten. Im Allgemeinen gibt es jedoch nur wenig Information über die tunesische Diaspora und ihre Organisationen in Deutschland. Ziel der Studie ist es daher, die Strukturen und Charakteristiken der tunesischen Diaspora in Deutschland zu ermitteln und einen Überblick über die Vereine und Verbände der Tunesier/innen in Deutschland zu gewinnen. Des Weiteren soll untersucht werden, in welchen Bereichen die Vereine aktiv sind und wo Potenziale für eine Kooperation mit der deutschen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (EZ) bestehen.


Bitte beachten Sie, dass Ihre Teilnahme an dieser Umfrage freiwillig ist und dass falls Sie eine Teilnahme erwägen, die erhaltenen Informationen ausschließlich zu wissenschaftlichen Zwecken verwendet und streng vertraulich behandelt werden.

Gerne stehe ich für Fragen und Rückmeldungen zur Verfügung.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

Nora Ragab
Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin
Die Tunesische Diaspora und deren Vereine in Deutschland

Allgemeine Informationen

1. Kontaktinformationen
   Name der Organisation: ________________________________
   Adresse: ________________________________
   Telefon: ________________________________
   Email: ________________________________
   Webseite: ________________________________

2. In welchem Jahr wurde die Organisation gegründet? __________

3. Wie viele Mitarbeiter, Ehrenamtliche (unbezahlte Mitarbeiter) und Mitglieder hat die Organisation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Insgesamt</th>
<th>Frauen</th>
<th>Männer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mitarbeiter:</td>
<td>_________</td>
<td>_________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehrenamtliche:</td>
<td>_________</td>
<td>_________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitglieder:</td>
<td>_________</td>
<td>_________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Wie wird die Organisation hauptsächlich finanziert?
   ☐ Mitgliederbeiträge
   ☐ Spenden
   ☐ Öffentliche Mittel
   ☐ Sonstiges (bitte angeben): ________________________________

5. Bitte erläutern Sie kurz die Vision und Ziele der Organisation:

   Tätigkeitsbereiche

6. In welchen Themenbereichen ist Ihre Organisation tätig?
7. Könnten Sie kurz die Aktivitäten Ihrer Organisation beschreiben?

8. Engagiert sich Ihre Organisation für die Entwicklung Tunesiens?
   □ Ja
   □ Nein
   Anmerkung:
   Wenn Sie angekreuzt haben, dass sich Ihre Organisation für die Entwicklung Tunesiens engagiert, beantworten Sie bitte die Fragen auf Seite 3 (Entwicklungspolitisches Engagement für/in Tunesien).
   Wenn Sie angekreuzt haben, dass sich Ihre Organisation NICHT für die Entwicklung Tunesiens engagiert, beantworten Sie bitte die Fragen auf Seite 4 (Potenziale für entwicklungs-politisches Engagement).

Entwicklungspolitisches Engagement für/in Tunesien

Dieser Teil muss ausgefüllt werden, wenn Sie angekreuzt haben, dass sich Ihre Organisation für die Entwicklung Tunesiens engagiert.

9. In welchen Bereichen ist Ihre Organisation in Tunesien aktiv?
   □ Bildungswesen
   □ Infrastruktur
Bitte erläutern Sie kurz die Aktivitäten:

11. Welche Aktivitäten setzt Ihre Organisation in Deutschland um, um die Entwicklung Tunesiens zu fördern?
(Mehrfachnennung möglich)

☐ Informationen über Projekte in Tunesien
☐ Informationsveranstaltung über die Situation in Tunesien
☐ Spendensammeln für Tunesien
☐ Bewusstseinsbildung und Aufklärungsarbeit in Deutschland
☐ Lobbying
☐ Sonstiges (bitte angeben): ___________________

Anmerkung: Gehen Sie jetzt bitte zur Seite 5 (Zusammenarbeit).

Potenziale für entwicklungspolitisches Engagement

Dieser Teil muss ausgefüllt werden, wenn Sie angekreuzt haben, dass sich Ihre Organisation NICHT für die Entwicklung Tunesiens engagiert.

12. Was sind Ihrer Meinung nach die Gründe für fehlendes Engagement in diesem Bereich?
(Mehrfachnennung möglich)

☐ Kein Interesse
☐ Fehlende finanzielle Ressourcen
☐ Fehlende Unterstützung
☐ Fehlende Zeit
☐ Fehlende Informationen über Fördermöglichkeiten
☐ Fehlendes Knowhow
☐ Fehlende Kontakte und Kooperationen/Netzwerke
☐ Fehlende Bindung zum Herkunftsland
☐ Sonstiges (bitte angeben): ______________________

13. Würden Sie gerne, dass sich Ihre Organisation für die Entwicklung Tunesiens engagiert?

☐ Ja          ☐ Nein

14. In welchen Bereichen wünschen Sie sich ein Engagement in/für Tunesien? (Mehrfachenennung möglich)

☐ Bildungswesen       ☐ Infrastruktur
☐ Gesundheitswesen    ☐ Gute Regierungsführung (z.B. Antikorruption)
☐ Förderung der Zivilgesellschaft ☐ Umweltschutz
☐ Friedensbildung     ☐ Sonstiges (bitte angeben): ______________
☐ Wirtschaftsförderung

Zusammenarbeit


16. Mit welchen Organisationen arbeiten Sie in Deutschland zusammen? (Mehrfachenennung möglich)

☐ Andere tunesische Vereine
☐ Andere Migrantenorganisationen
☐ Deutsche Nichtregierungsorganisationen (z.B. Caritas, AWO, Diakonie)
☐ Stiftungen
☐ Staatliche Organisationen (z.B. Stadtverwaltung, Kommunen)
☐ Institutionen der Deutschen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (z.B. GIZ, BMZ)
☐ Sonstiges (bitte angeben): _________________________________________

17. Sehen Sie Potenziale für die Zusammenarbeit mit Organisationen der Deutschen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (z.B. GIZ, Engagement Global, BMZ)?

☐ Ja ☐ Nein

18. Falls ja, wie sollte diese Zusammenarbeit aussehen?

☐ Finanzielle Unterstützung
☐ Vernetzung mit anderen entwicklungspolitischen Akteuren
☐ Beratungs- und Fortbildungsangebote
☐ Durchführung von gemeinsamen Projekten
☐ Sonstiges (bitte angeben): _________________________________________

Vielen Dank für Ihre Beteiligung an dieser Umfrage und die Zeit, die Sie für die Beantwortung der Fragen investiert haben. Gerne stehen wir Ihnen für weitere Fragen und Anregungen zur Verfügung. Wir würden uns ebenfalls sehr freuen, wenn wir Sie für weitere Fragen oder ein Interview kontaktieren dürfen: ☐ Ja ☐ Nein