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SOUTHERN AFRICAN MIGRATION PROGRAMME

SOCIAL MEDIA, THE INTERNET AND DIASPORAS FOR DEVELOPMENT

SAMP POLICY BRIEF NO. 26

OCTOBER 2011

JONATHAN CRUSH, CASSANDRA EBERHARDT, MARY CAESAR, ABEL CHIKANDA, WADE PENDLETON AND ASHLEY HILL

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Editorial Note:
We wish to thank the IDRC for funding the SAMP research project on the Southern
African Diaspora in Canada.
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1.0 Introduction

- 1.1 The recent focus on diasporas by policy-makers researchers has highlighted the rich potential of migrants as a force for shaping development activities in their countries of origin. The study of diasporas in development presents researchers a number of significant challenges. As Vertovec and Cohen suggest, 'one of the major changes in migration patterns is the growth of populations anchored ... neither at their places of origin nor at their places of destination'. The fluid, multi-sited and multi-generational nature of diaspora groupings poses considerable methodological challenges of definition, identification, location, sampling and interviewing.
- 1.2 As the nature of African diasporas are constantly in flux so too should the methodologies we use to study them.³ In practice, traditional approaches lead to the same methodological roadblocks. Census and immigration data (particularly from destination countries) can provide an overall picture of diaspora stocks, flows and locations. However, privacy issues generally preclude these sources from providing disaggregated data at the level of the individual migrant or migrant household. Surveys of diaspora members have therefore become the standard means of collecting information on diaspora characteristics, identities, activities and linkages. This immediately raises a set of problems and challenges. Census data can tell us the size of the population to sample but not who the individuals are, where they live and how to contact them. Without a sampling frame, researchers tend to rely instead on 'snowball', 'purposive' or 'convenience' sampling.⁴ This has produced a disproportionate number of studies that rely on key informant and focus group interviews in

order to create a profile of diasporas and their development-related activities.

- Diasporas are often geographically dispersed within a country and across different countries. Cost and time constraints and the bias of snowball and convenience sampling lead to a focus on sub-sets. Studies of diaspora members in particular cities or regions are especially common.⁵ While sample sizes vary considerably, there is a marked reliance on very small samples, which raises obvious questions about the representativeness and generalizability of the findings.⁶
- 1.4 The mail-out survey is still the preferred method of reaching members of a geographically dispersed diaspora, although response rates remain stubbornly low. To contact members of the diaspora, mailing lists are compiled from organizations that keep, and are willing to share, membership lists (such as diaspora organizations, embassies, alumni associations, immigrant service agencies and religious organizations). However, this means an inherent sampling bias since data collected from these individuals and groups has the potential to be skewed towards diaspora members actively engaged with their origin country. This method of 'accessing the diaspora through the diaspora' is also unlikely to provide much information on 'hidden' members of a diaspora whose immigration status may be undocumented or uncertain and who are wary of disclosing personal information directly to researchers. Researchers have also noted that members of vulnerable populations such as asylum seekers and refugees might be reluctant to provide personal information due to fear and trust issues. 9

1.5 To identify and connect with larger numbers, different strategies need to be adopted. In this context, the potential of the internet has rarely been considered. Since the advent of the internet age, more than one billion people have become connected to the World Wide Web (WWW), creating seemingly limitless opportunities for communication. The past decade has also seen a major increase in the use of the internet by diaspora individuals and groupings. The internet has not only facilitated remittance transfers, but has increased communication among and between diasporas and influenced the formation of diasporic identities. In this context, the potential of web-based methodologies in diaspora research appears promising. The aim of this paper is twofold. First, we argue for supplementing conventional approaches with new methodologies that embrace the connectivity of diasporas, the emergence of social media and the potential of online surveys. Second, we illustrate the potential of this approach through discussion of the methods adopted in our current research on the African diaspora in Canada.

2.0 Diasporas Online

2.1 In the context of today's electronic media, there are opportunities for individuals using the internet to communicate in unprecedented ways.¹² Online communication has become particularly valuable to transnational and diasporic communities as it creates a meeting place of the private and the public, the interpersonal and the communal.¹³ In and through the internet, diasporic communities have developed a space of (global) commons, a sense of 'imagined community' across borders.¹⁴ Several recent studies of African diasporas illustrate these points. Bernal, for example, argues that Eritreans abroad use the internet as a 'transnational public sphere' where they produce and debate narratives of

history, culture, democracy and identity.¹⁵ Mano and Willems show that growth of the Zimbabwean diaspora abroad has been accompanied by a corresponding rise in different types of media that aim to connect 'the homeland' and 'the diaspora' in multiple and imaginative ways.¹⁶ Their analysis focused on websites, chatrooms and discussion forums. Peel describes the 'online communities' within the Zimbabwean diaspora and their role in interrogating 'their own identities, their citizenship and sense of belonging, their politics, and their transnational aspirations'.¹⁷

2.2 The recent explosion of social media is likely to provide further opportunities for diaspora connectivity, engagement, debate and identity-formation. Social Networking Sites (SNSs) have profoundly reshaped internet usage in the last decade (Table 1). The earliest SNSs had varying foci and success; however, it was not until the creation of MySpace in 2003 that the popularity of SNSs began to grow. SNSs have since become a way for users to connect and interact with family, friends and colleagues globally. They have also opened up opportunities to make contact with new individuals, both personal and professional, and with other members of diasporas.

Table 1: Social Networking Sites					
Social Networking Site (SNS)	Description	Founded	Membership Founding Year	Membership 2010	
Facebook	Facebook is a social utility that helps people communicate with friends, family and co-workers.	2004	1,000,000	400,000,000	

LinkedIn	LinkedIn was created to connect the world's professionals	2003	81,000	75,000,000
MySpace	MySpace is an online service that allows its members to set up personal profiles that can be linked together through networks of friends.		Data Unavailable	76,000,000
Twitter	Twitter is a real-time information network	2007	1,000,000	75,000,000

2.3 Facebook.com is now the most trafficked SNS in the world with over 400 million active users. ²⁰ Launched by Harvard student Mark Zuckerberg in February 2004, Facebook is a peer relationship-based SNS that allows users to create personal profiles and to establish 'friendships' with other users. In addition to basic demographic information, profiles also include information on personal interests, political views, group affiliations and cultural tastes. ²¹ Lewis et al. show how Facebook data can be used to define sub-groups by gender, race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status with distinct network behaviours and cultural preferences. ²² In addition, Facebook users have the ability to form and to become members of formal 'groups'. Groups are based around shared interests and activities, and provide members with the ability to network with other members and to share information relevant to the group description. Diaspora Facebook groups have grown rapidly in number and size since 2004. Many diaspora-related groups are nationally based – for example, Zimbabweans in Canada, Nigerians in the UK – while others link diaspora members across

countries and even globally.

- 2.4 As Lewis et al. note, SNSs are 'historically unique in the amount and detail of personal information that users regularly provide; the explicit articulation of relational data as a central part of these sites' functioning; and the staggering rate of their adoption'. SNSs, like other internet tools, also provide 'remarkable new research opportunities'. In this context, the question addressed in this chapter is not what diaspora social networking tells us about diasporas (an important but separate issue) but how the use of social networking and other internet tools by diaspora members can be used by the researcher to collect data from and about diasporas. The internet, and SNSs in particular, are potentially very valuable as they open up a space for reaching widely dispersed diaspora populations.
- 2.5 The remainder of this paper focuses on a case study of the Southern African diaspora in Canada. The discussion focuses on the use of the internet, and SNSs in particular, to identify and recruit a large national sample of diaspora individuals. The chapter also discusses the use of online surveying to collect information on the diaspora and its linkage with countries of origin. By way of background, the next section provides an overview of African migration patterns and trends to Canada.

3.0 Locating the African Diaspora in Canada

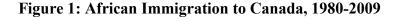
3.1 Over the last decade, Canada became an increasingly important destination for migrants from Africa. According to the United Nations, the African-born migrant stock of Canada is 307,505. Of these, 246,000 (80 per cent) are from only ten countries (Table 2). In

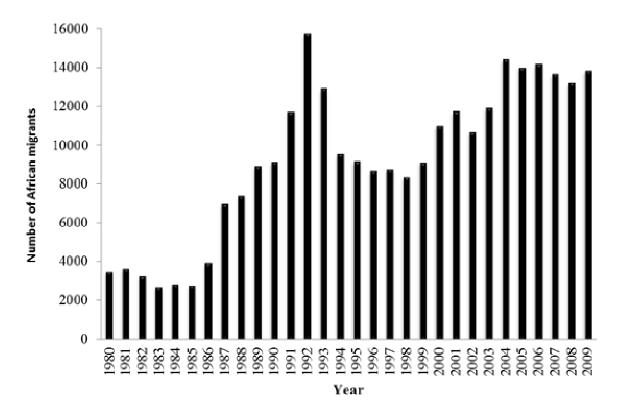
terms of migrant flows, between 1980 and 2009, a total of 277,620 African immigrants officially landed in Canada. Figure 1 shows that the volume of annual migration to Canada steadily increased over time with two peak periods (1990–93 and 2004–09). In both of these periods, the number of refugees entering Canada increased sharply. In 1991, for example, nearly 50 per cent of African immigrants were refugees. Of 128,000 African migrants to Canada since 2000, 42 per cent entered as refugees.

Table 2: African Migrant Stock in Canada, Top 10 Countries of Origin				
Country	No.	% of Total African Migrant Stock		
S Africa	37,681	12.2		
Egypt	36,924	12.0		
Morocco	26,050	8.5		
Algeria	20,894	6.8		
Kenya	20,821	6.8		
Somalia	20,376	6.6		
Tanzania	19,960	6.5		
Ghana	17,072	5.6		
Ethiopia	14,486	4.7		
Uganda	11,085	3.6		
Nigeria	10,652	3.5		
DRC	10,201	3.3		
Total	246,202	79.9		

Source: United Nations, 'Global Migrant Origins Database', United Nations, 2007. Available at

http://www.migrationdrc.org/research/typesofmigration/global_migrant_origin_database.html.





3.2 The migrant stock in Canada from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) is 88,820 (or 29 per cent of the total African migrant stock). Three countries -- South Africa, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) – make up nearly 80 per cent of the SADC migrant stock in Canada (Table 3). The flow of immigrants from Southern Africa has increased gradually over time (Figure 2) and is currently around 4–5,000 per annum. The proportion of refugees is much lower than for Africa as a whole (at around 22 per cent). Economic migrants make up 55 per cent of the total migrant inflow since 1980 (compared to 36 per cent for Africa as a whole).

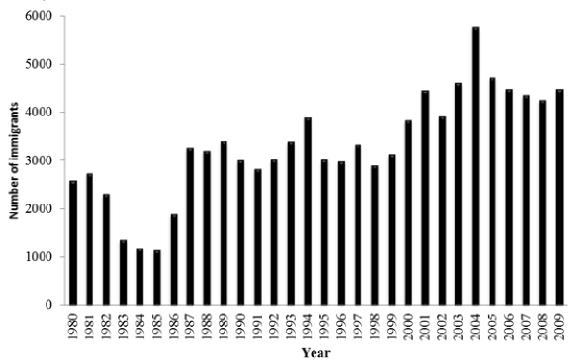
Table 3: Southern African Development Community Migrant Stock in Canada			
Country No. %			

South Africa	37,681	42.5
Tanzania	19,960	22.5
DRC	10,201	11.5
Mauritius	6,720	7.6
Zimbabwe	4,186	4.7
Angola	2,501	2.8
Zambia	2,380	2.7
Madagascar	1,950	2.3
Seychelles	1,035	1.2
Mozambique	911	1.0
Malawi	430	0.5
Namibia	305	0.3
Botswana	200	0.2
Swaziland	195	0.1
Lesotho	165	0.1
Total	88,820	100.0

Source: United Nations, 'Global Migrant Origins Database', United Nations, 2007. Available at:

http://www.migrationdrc.org/research/typesofmigration/global_migrant_origin_d atabase.html.

Figure 2: Immigration from the Southern African Development Community to Canada, 1980-2009



3.3 Southern Africa's major source of migrants to Canada is South Africa with over 40 per cent of the total SADC migrant stock (Table 16.3). Contrary to established wisdom that there has been a growing brain drain from South Africa to Canada since the end of apartheid, immigration has not risen markedly since the mid-1990s (Figure 3). The peak year was 1994 but thereafter there has been an overall annual decline in the flow to Canada, particularly since 2000. For example, more South Africans emigrated to Canada in 1980 than in 2009. The vast majority of South African immigrants entered in the economic migrant class (80 per cent between 1980 and 2009).

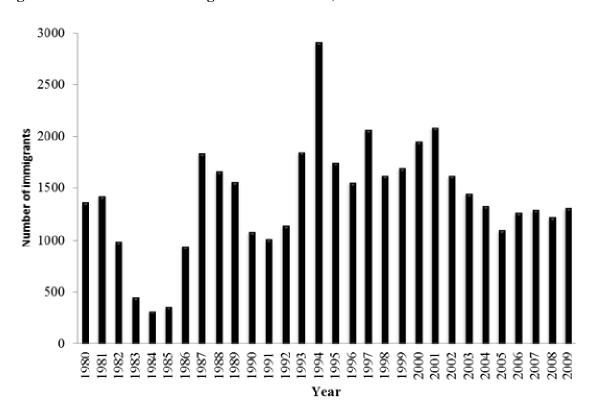


Figure 3: South African Immigration to Canada, 1980-2009

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2009)

In 2009, the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) initiated a project on the 90,000-strong Southern African diaspora in Canada. The objectives were: (a) to examine migration numbers, patterns and trends from Southern Africa to Canada after 1990; (b) to construct a socioeconomic and demographic profile of the SADC diaspora in Canada; (c) to explore the migration experience of Southern African migrants including their reasons for leaving Africa, their attitudes towards Canada and Africa and their attitudes towards African development; (d) to uncover the social, cultural, material and transnational ties that migrants in Canada maintain with Africa; and (e) to examine the potential for return migration and for involvement in individual or group development-related activity.

4.0 E-Recruiting

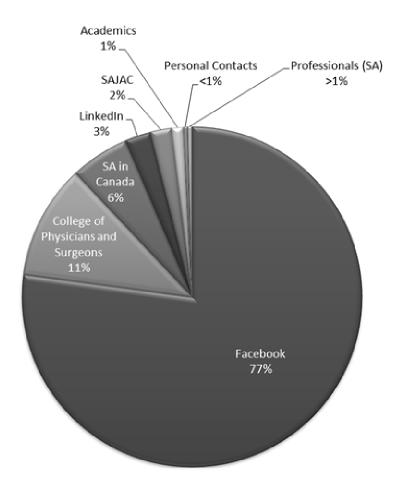
4.1 The question of how to locate diaspora individuals for interview preoccupied the SAMP team throughout the study. Apart from global migrant stocks and a general idea of diaspora distributions around the country, there was no sample population nor was it possible to develop a sampling frame. Census and immigration data provide a general picture of the size and spatial distribution of the diaspora but do not, by law, identify individuals by name or provide their contact details. Initially, in a variation on the 'snowball' and 'convenience' sampling methods beloved of diaspora researchers, each member of the research team made a list of names and email addresses of people they knew who were from Southern Africa. They invited them to come to the SAMP website and complete an online survey and pass information about the survey and link on to their friends and acquaintances. This strategy proved largely unsuccessful as did efforts to ask

diaspora organizations to publicize the survey. Six weeks in, only 80 people had completed the survey and these were disproportionately from the two towns in which the team members lived (Kingston and London, Ontario).

- 4.2 A multi-faceted e-recruitment strategy was therefore developed using social media and diaspora websites to identify potential diaspora individuals. These included the use of:
 - Facebook
 - LinkedIn
 - Academia.edu
 - University websites
 - Diaspora websites (for example, South Africans in Ontario, Jewish South Africans in Canada)
 - Professional websites

The relative importance of each medium in identifying diaspora members is shown in Figure 4.

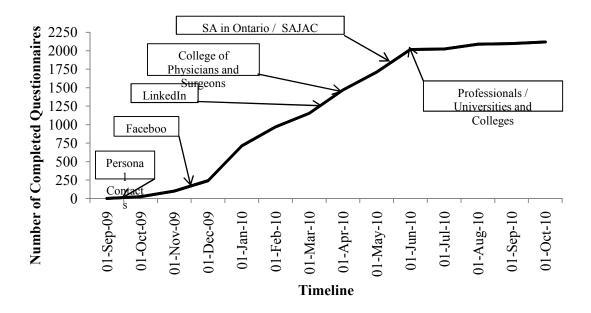
Figure 4: Southern African Development Community Online Recruitment Strategies



4.3 Facebook proved to be the key to accessing large numbers of diaspora members. In total, 97 diaspora-related Facebook groups were located (the majority relating to South Africa (36), Mauritius (15) and Zimbabwe (11)). Each member of a group was sent a personalized message explaining the purpose of the survey and inviting participation. Many people belonged to more than one group but each individual was only messaged once. Despite fears that messaging might lead to charges of spamming from recipients, the overall response was both positive and overwhelming. Numerous supportive messages were received (not to mention invitations to become Facebook 'friends' with respondents). From the moment that the Facebook e-recruitment campaign began, the overall numbers of

respondents escalated dramatically (Figure 5) reaching over 2,000 within a matter of weeks. A total of 5,621 people were eventually messaged on Facebook with an overall response rate of over 40 per cent.

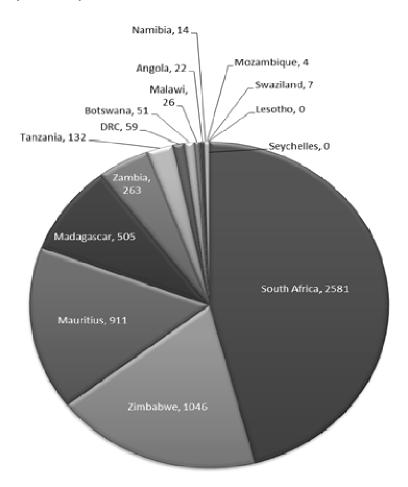
Figure 5: Southern African Development Community Questionnaire Respondents over Time



Note: The graph shows the date on which various different e-recruiting strategies commenced and their impact.

4.4 The country coverage achieved via Facebook varied considerably (Figure 6). In total, around 6 per cent of the diaspora was sent an individualized message. Most countries were in the 5–15 per cent range although over 20 per cent of migrants in Canada from Botswana, Madagascar and Zimbabwe were located and messaged. Concerns that Facebook e-recruitment would produce a predominantly young (even student) cohort proved unfounded. A few years ago this would have undoubtedly been the case. However, the demographics of Facebook users in general have changed dramatically in the last 2–3 years and diaspora users are no different.

Figure 6: Number of Facebook Messages Sent by Southern African Development Community Country



- 4.5 Some SNSs deliberately target particular sub-groups. LinkedIn and Academia.edu, for example, target professionals and academics, respectively. LinkedIn proved a useful tool for identifying and messaging professionals (primarily from the business, banking, legal and IT sectors). Academia.edu proved less useful for e-recruiting diaspora academics, necessitating a rather tedious search of Canadian university websites using keywords to identify people to email who had trained in Southern Africa.
- 4.6 Another professional sub-group in which the study was interested was physicians,

given the considerable amount of attention and controversy which surrounds the 'brain drain' of health professionals from South Africa to Canada.²⁵ Some physicians were recruited during the Facebook campaign but this was clearly insufficient to undertake any general analysis of the medical diaspora in Canada. The website of the College of Physicians and Surgeons provides the names and addresses of all physicians in the country. Using the language and degree granting institution, it was possible to construct a large physician database. In the case of South Africans, for example, a total of 791 physicians were identified. The questionnaire was mailed out to all physicians identified and 554 responded (a response rate of 70 per cent). This far exceeds the 32 per cent response rate reported for the National Physician Survey conducted in 2007 by the College of Family Physicians of Canada. 26 Two other diaspora websites – South Africans in Ontario and the South African Jewish Association of Canada (SAJAC) – also contain names and addresses (but no emails) of members in the public domain. Again, hard copies of the survey were mailed out to 554 addresses with a response rate of over 40 per cent. Data from the returned hard copies was entered online and seamlessly integrated into the overall database.

4.7 The overall importance and potential of the Facebook e-recruitment strategy for many (but not all) countries is clear (Table 4). Without the use of this SNS, SAMP would have been far less effective in accessing the diaspora in Canada. The other online methods of e-recruitment provided significant additional numbers of South Africans but not many individuals from other countries (Figure 7).

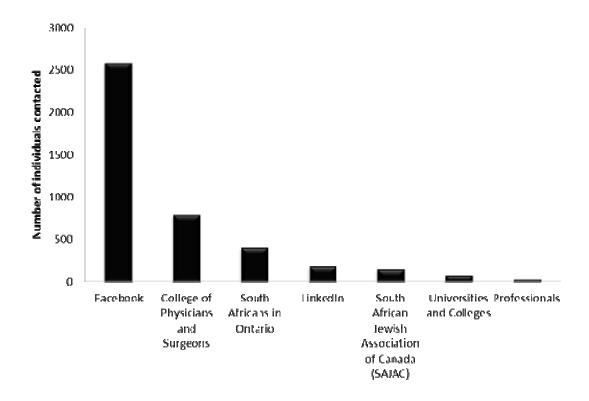
Table 4: Southern African Development Community Diasporic Facebook Presence					
Country	Number of Facebook Groups	Number of Facebook Group Members	Number of Individuals Messaged*	% of Migrant Stock Messaged	
Angola	3	34	22	0.9	
Botswana	3	54	51	26.0	
DRC	5	130	59	0.6	
Lesotho	0	0	0	0.0	
Madagascar	7	663	505	26.0	
Malawi	1	26	26	6.0	
Mauritius	15	1639	911	14.0	
Mozambique	1	27	4	0.4	
Namibia	3	68	14	5.0	
Seychelles	0	0	0	0.0	
South Africa	36	5371	2581	7.0	
Swaziland	2	506	7	4.0	
Tanzania	4	201	132	7.0	
Zambia	6	366	263	11.0	
Zimbabwe	11	477	1046**	25.0	
Totals	97	9562	5621	6.0	

Note:

Figure 7: Online Recruitment of South Africans in Canada

^{*} The number of individuals messaged may not correspond with the total number of individuals in a Facebook group for one or a combination of the following reasons: Facebook profile prohibited sending a message, individual was not currently living in Canada, duplicate profiles, individual was under the age of 18. As some groups were 'global' in nature, only individuals who appeared to be living in Canada were sent a message.

^{**} Figure is higher than the total group membership as a member of the research team identified individuals on Facebook by a 'six-degrees-of-separation' technique that yielded more potential respondents.



4.8 The total number of respondents was 2119. Response rates varied considerably from country to country (Table 5). In the case of a number of countries (such as Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique) the (small) numbers who completed the survey were greater than the number messaged. However, with the exception of Madagascar and Mauritius, response rates were generally over 20 per cent and in some cases (Angola, South Africa) were over 40 per cent. In total 2.4 per cent of the migrant stock completed the survey.

Table 5: Southern African Development Community Questionnaire Respondents by							
Country of Bi	Country of Birth						
Country of	Country of Total Individuals Total Responses Response Rate Proportion of						
Birth	Contacted		(%)	Migrant Stock			
				(%)			
Angola	22	10	45.5	0.4			
Botswana	51	7	13.7	3.5			
DRC	59	12	20.3	0.1			
Lesotho	0	2	200.0	1.2			

Madagascar	505	30	5.9	1.5
Malawi	28	10	34.7	2.3
Mauritius	925	53	5.7	0.8
Mozambique	5	8	160.0	0.9
Namibia	14	26	185.7	8.5
Seychelles	0	2	200.0	0.2
South Africa	3,839	1,653	43.1	4.4
Swaziland	7	9	128.6	4.6
Tanzania	135	37	27.4	0.2
Zambia	264	40	15.2	1.7
Zimbabwe	1,050	220	21.0	5.3
Total	6,904	2,119	30.7	2.4

5.0 Surveying the Online Diaspora

5.1 The Southern African diaspora in Canada is widely dispersed. Although diasporas do cluster in particular provinces, the major provinces are also extremely large (Table 6). Cost and time constraints prohibited face-to-face interviews with individuals identified in the e-recruitment campaign. As a result, the preferred interviewing methodology was the online survey. The internet has opened up new opportunities to study geographically dispersed populations with a strong online presence and there has been increased usage of online questionnaires.²⁷ By moving from a paper or telephone format to an electronic medium costs are significantly reduced.²⁸ The online survey potentially allows researchers to reach much larger numbers of individuals with common characteristics in a short period of time, despite their being separated by sometimes vast distances.²⁹ The primary disadvantage, of course, is that individuals without an online presence are overlooked.

Table 6: Distribution of South African Development Community Migrants in Canada

Province or Territory of Original Landing

Country of													
Previons Residence	Z	PE	S S	N N	OC	NO O	MB	SK	AB	BC	YT	L	PNS
Angola	5	0	0	0	209	1,317	0	0	89	26	0	0	0
Botswana	0	0	0	0	8	640	11	7	81	78	0	0	0
DRC	12	14	9	255	10,610	5,090	689	189	631	470	0	0	0
Lesotho	0	0	0	0	0	71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Madagascar	0	0	0	0	1,666	62	0	0	9	0	0	0	0
Malawi	9	0	0	0	32	333	13	5	45	37	0	0	0
Mauritius	0	0	5	5	3,465	5,417	125	39	452	969	0	32	0
Namibia	12	0	0	0	11	156	0	8	62	24	0	0	0
Seychelles	0	0	0	0	1,013	122	0	0	11	16	0	0	0
South Africa	398	22	244	115	864	19,984	1,444	2,089	4,950	12,083	20	13	17
Swaziland	7	0	0	0	11	75	0	0	9	48	0	0	0
Tanzania	7	9	22	15	478	6,841	63	64	2,157	813	0	0	0
Zambia	0	0	10	78	174	2,288	108	103	194	304	0	9	0
Zimbabwe	12	0	44	32	728	4,425	133	49	947	298	5	16	0
Total	459	42	390	451	19,667	46,821	2,586	2,553	9,610	15,461	25	<i>L</i> 9	17
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Note: source is the Citizenship and Immigration Canada, RDM, Facts and Figures 2009. NL – Newfoundland and Labrador; PE – Prince Edward Island; NS – Nova Scotia; NB – New Brunswick; QC – Quebec; ON- Ontario; MB – Manitoba; SK – Saskatchewan; AB – Alberta; BC – British Columbia; YT – Yukon Territory; NT - Northwest Territories; PNS - Province not stated. Table shows province of original residence on arrival in country. Data for Mozambique not available.

- 5.2 Other general advantages of online surveying include the ability to post adverts and invitations on websites and to send invitations to list-serve members. Self-administered surveys mean that fieldworker costs are minimized. If the data is automatically collected and written to an online database file, the costs of data entry are also eliminated. There are many low-cost, or even free, online survey providers who provide technical and administrative support in research design, data collection and data analysis. This eliminates the need to hire individuals who are experienced in IT and survey design to assist in the research project. In sum, the costs in terms of both time and money for publishing a survey on the web are low compared with the costs associated with conventional surveying methods. The data entry stage is eliminated for the survey administrator, and software can ensure that data acquired from the participants is free of common entry errors. ²
- 5.3 This project used an online survey instrument accessible through the SAMP website (http://www.queensu.ca/samp). This was a methodology with which SAMP had prior experience (and success) in interviewing medical professionals in South Africa.³ In SAMP's study of health professionals, the online survey was supplemented by a mail-out survey to capture nursing professionals who did not have internet access.⁴ In other words, internet surveys are not a complete substitute for more conventional methods, which suggests that a mixed methodology approach is preferable.
- 5.4 One significant advantage of online surveys for diaspora research is that it takes advantage of the internet's ability to provide access to groups and individuals who would

be difficult, if not impossible, to reach through other channels.⁵ Not only are diaspora members easier to access but online surveys are easily accessible to users irrespective of geographical location and can be completed at their convenience. Furthermore, online surveys ensure a high degree of anonymity which has the potential to increase response rates by participants.⁶ As with any study, there are a number of potential pitfalls to carrying out online survey research including the validity of data and sampling issues, design and implementation issues, and the question of access.⁷

5.5 The advanced nature of some online survey providers allows researchers to export data to a variety of data analysis programs further saving time. Some providers allow researchers to conduct preliminary analyses on data while the survey is in progress. With the rapid advances in online survey technology over the past ten years, collecting and storing data online is now more secure than ever before. Through the use of encryption, survey data can be stored without the possibility of sensitive and confidential data being accessed by the public. Another significant advantage of online surveying is the convenience of automated data collection which reduces any opportunities for input errors by individuals entering the data manually. 9

6.0 Conclusion

6.1 This paper describes and discusses the potential of the internet for identifying and interviewing diaspora individuals on their connections with their countries of origin. Its original methodological contribution lies in the e-recruitment strategies used to access a

widely dispersed diaspora. Initial attempts to pursue an internet version of snowball sampling were not especially successful. The turn to social media proved decisive. Diasporas are spontaneously using SNSs for all kinds of online networking activity. In doing so, they provide contact details on public sites which can be readily accessed by the researcher. Mass mailings are inadvisable since they contravene the spamming controls on many SNS sites. However, there is no obstacle to messaging individuals with personalized messages and invitations to participate in a survey. SNSs thus provide a powerful new tool for diaspora research to supplement other methods. ¹⁰ Abandonment of other methods (such as the mail-out survey or face-to-face interviews) is inadvisable since, there are diaspora members who are not accessible through SNSs. However, as we show, the internet can also be used in combination with the mail-out survey to identify and interview various professional and cultural group members.

Online surveys have been around for some time, although their use in diaspora research has been limited.¹¹ Not only were high response rates achieved in the SAMP survey there were numerous queries and positive comments on the survey by email. Some 334 respondents (16 per cent) made themselves available for a follow-up in-depth interview and 835 (40 per cent) requested copies of the final report. All of this indicates that the degree of interest in the survey amongst diaspora individuals was extremely high. More generally, it indicates that the study of diasporas may be particularly amenable to the use of web-based methodologies.

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