

**ENGAGING DIASPORA COMMUNITIES IN  
DEVELOPMENT: AN INVESTIGATION OF FILIPINO  
HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS IN CANADA**

by

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## **Abstract**

The study examines the potential role that donor agencies may have in facilitating the flow of group donations called collective remittances among migrant organisations, which fund development projects in their home communities. It focuses on Filipino hometown associations (HTAs) in Canada and the barriers that prevent them from sending resources to the Philippines regularly. The study draws information from three sources: a literature review of diaspora philanthropy, a survey of Filipino HTAs and interviews of stakeholders. The analysis reveals that high transaction costs are the major factor contributing to the sporadic exchanges of resources. Transaction costs occur due to limited exchanges of information, which leads to greater risk and uncertainty for stakeholders at both the 'giving' and 'receiving' ends of the transaction. The study recommends that donor assistance should focus on capacity building to give stakeholders in the Philippines the opportunity to improve their communication and outreach strategies.

**Keywords:** collective remittances, diaspora philanthropy, transnationalism, Filipino diaspora in Canada, hometown associations

# Executive Summary

Migrants and the diaspora communities they form have gained much attention in development circles in recent years because of their potential in promoting development in their home countries. The attention relates primarily to their ability to mobilize resources, specifically money transfers called remittances. While the majority of remittances are individual in nature, which are essentially money transfers sent to families and friends, migrants are also sending group donations called collective remittances to fund development projects in their home communities. The practice is a kind of philanthropic activity undertaken by migrants at a transnational level to promote development in their home communities.

As a country characterized by diversity and multiculturalism, Canada is in a unique position to promote this transnational process. Consequently, the study examines Canada's potential role in facilitating the flow of resources from diaspora communities to their home countries. Specifically, the study attempts to address the problem that *there are too few collective remittances sent to the Philippines on a regular basis by existing Filipino hometown associations (HTAs) in Canada*. The definitions of relevant terms are as follows:

- *Filipino HTAs* – a type of Filipino migrant organisation with members coming from the same hometown/region in the Philippines
- *Collective remittance* - group donations collected by Filipino HTAs and sent back for development purposes in the Philippines
- *Regular basis* – sustained, yearly or monthly basis; not a one-time deal

The study intends to investigate the problem from a policy perspective and highlight potential programming priorities for Canada's donor agency, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), to encourage collective remittances among migrant organisations.

## Methodology

The study draws information from three sources: a literature review, a survey and elite interviews. First, the study reviewed the available literature documenting the philanthropic

process in Mexico and El Salvador to gain understanding of the relevant factors sustaining the flow of resources in both countries. Second, the study also surveyed Filipino HTAs in Canada to obtain relevant information on the supply side, specifically donors of collective remittances. Third, elite interviews of relevant stakeholders in the Philippines were also conducted to understand the perspectives of the demand side, namely recipients of collective remittances. Lastly, the study uses an analytical framework based on the supply and demand structure of a market to gain understanding of the barriers present in this particular exchange of resources.

## **Findings and Recommendations**

The case study of Mexico and El Salvador reveals that the success of the HTAs in United States stems from their organisational structure, transnational ties, motivation, capacity and developmental impact. Of the five, sound organisational structure and strong transnational ties are most important since both promote efficient exchanges of information between donors and recipients of collective remittances. On the demand side, the success of both countries stems from the policies adopted by the national governments, which relate to the implementation of a national strategy and the adoption of incentive schemes to encourage participation among migrants. Overall, these factors help explain the relative success of both countries because they have profound influence on the ways in which migrants perceive the philanthropic activity.

In philanthropy, there is a general risk undertaken by donors because there are no guarantees regarding the use of their resources. However, the risk decreases when there are efficient exchanges of information and when institutions can guarantee the appropriate use of donations. In the case of Mexico and El Salvador, the market is able to function effectively because reinforcement mechanisms exist, specifically in the form incentive schemes and constant exchanges of information between relevant stakeholders. Thus, the features outlined above are best described as success factors in this case.

In regards to the collective remittance process along the Philippine-Canada corridor, the survey reveals that Filipino HTAs in Canada have limited organisational capacity and weak transnational ties. This leads to inefficient exchanges of information between donors and recipients of collective remittances. Furthermore, the recipients on the demand side, namely the government, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the Church in the Philippines, adopted strategies based on helping donors implement their development projects. This approach centred on facilitation is problematic since the facilitators themselves lack credibility among migrants.

Consequently, there is high tendency among Filipino migrants to perceive the philanthropic process as risky and unworthy of their time and resources.

Overall, many existing Filipino HTAs are not sending collective remittances on a regular basis to the Philippines because the transaction costs are too high. Accordingly, policy efforts should focus on lowering the transaction costs through improved capacity of the demand side. The study argues that donor assistance should focus on the demand side because recipients of collective remittances are in a better position to rebuild transnational ties and maximize resources flowing into the Philippines through improved outreach and communication strategies.

There are four policy alternatives conceptualized in the study, which relate to monetary assistance to offset high cost, institutional building to encourage cost-sharing, mediation to redirect cost and skills development to teach how to lower cost. More specifically, these programming opportunities are: diaspora fund, transnational network, certification program and capacity-building. Based on the evaluative framework made up of six criteria relating to cost, general acceptability, effectiveness, and operationalization of the alternatives, the study recommends the following programming priorities:

- First, CIDA should consider capacity-building for relevant stakeholders in the Philippines as a programming priority. Assistance should focus primarily on institutional development, specifically on how stakeholders can improve their accountability and communications strategies.
- Second, CIDA may take the lead in bringing together relevant stakeholders to discuss the potential of setting up a diaspora fund, which can match HTA donations. CIDA will guarantee the start up fund, but its involvement will depend primarily on the commitment of relevant stakeholders to participate in the process.
- Third, CIDA may choose to facilitate the creation of a diaspora transnational network. It will focus on information assistance, technical collaborations and a range of other services geared towards fostering transnational relations between Filipinos and diaspora communities abroad.

To my parents  
and all the other migrants like them  
who put their children first.

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# Table of Contents

<b>Approval.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Abstract.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Executive Summary .....</b>	<b>iv</b>
Methodology .....	iv
Findings and Recommendations .....	v
<b>Dedication .....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements.....</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>Table of Contents .....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>List of Figures .....</b>	<b>xii</b>
<b>List of Tables .....</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>Abbreviations.....</b>	<b>xiv</b>
<b>1   Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1   Purpose .....	2
1.2   Study Outline.....	3
<b>2   Background: Migration and Development.....</b>	<b>4</b>
2.1   Collective Remittances: A Development Issue .....	6
2.2   Diaspora Communities and Philanthropy.....	8
2.3   Diaspora Communities in Canada: Development Partners? .....	10
2.4   Engaging Canadians: A New Priority in Development.....	12
<b>3   The Filipino Diaspora in Canada: A Case Study.....</b>	<b>13</b>
3.1   Longstanding Development Partnership .....	13
3.2   Well-Established Diaspora Community in Canada.....	13
3.3   Evidence of Filipino Diaspora Philanthropy .....	15
3.4   Defining the Problem .....	16
<b>4   Methodology .....</b>	<b>17</b>
4.1   Case Studies: Mexico and El Salvador.....	17
4.1.1   Rationale .....	17
4.1.2   Process.....	17
4.2   Filipino Hometown Association Questionnaire: The Supply Side.....	18
4.2.1   Rationale .....	18
4.2.2   Process.....	18
4.3   Interviews: The Demand Side .....	19
4.3.1   Rationale .....	19
4.3.2   Process.....	19
4.4   Analytical Framework.....	21

<b>5 Findings .....</b>	<b>22</b>
5.1 Case Study Findings.....	22
5.1.1 The Supply Side .....	22
5.1.2 The Demand Side .....	28
5.2 The Supply Side – Filipino HTAs in Canada.....	30
5.2.1 Descriptive Findings .....	30
5.2.2 Survey Participation Responses .....	34
5.2.3 Philanthropic Activities.....	35
5.2.4 Organisational Structure.....	37
5.2.5 Transnational Ties .....	38
5.2.6 Motivation.....	40
5.2.7 Capacity.....	41
5.2.8 Development Impact .....	42
5.3 The Demand Side – The Philippine Society .....	43
5.3.1 The Government.....	44
5.3.2 Migrant Non-Government Organisations (NGOs).....	47
5.3.3 Church Groups .....	50
5.4 Other Challenges and Observations .....	52
5.4.1 Durability .....	52
5.4.2 Giving is a Personal Decision .....	52
5.4.3 Worldwide Existence of Filipino Diasporas .....	53
5.5 Summary of Findings .....	55
5.6 Policy Implication - Lowering Transaction Costs.....	56
<b>6 Policy Alternatives .....</b>	<b>58</b>
6.1 Diaspora Fund for Development .....	59
6.2 Diaspora Transnational Network.....	60
6.3 “A Canadian Seal of Approval” - Certification Program.....	60
6.4 Capacity Building.....	61
<b>7 Assessment of Policy Alternatives .....</b>	<b>62</b>
7.1 Criteria.....	62
7.1.1 Cost .....	62
7.1.2 Consistency .....	63
7.1.3 Acceptability .....	64
7.1.4 Effectiveness .....	64
7.1.5 Implementation.....	65
7.1.6 Monitoring.....	66
7.2 Alternatives Matrix .....	66
7.2.1 Important Considerations .....	67
<b>8 Recommended Programming Priorities .....</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>9 Limitations.....</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>10 Conclusion .....</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>Appendices .....</b>	<b>75</b>
Appendix A.....	76
Appendix B .....	77
Appendix C .....	81
Appendix D .....	82
Appendix E .....	83

Appendix F .....	84
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>87</b>
Works Cited .....	87
Interviews .....	90
Websites Reviewed.....	91

## **List of Figures**

Figure 1: Migrants' Transnational Philanthropy Model .....	9
Figure 2: Filipino-Canadian Population: 2001 Census, by Provinces .....	14
Figure 3: Number of Filipino Migrant Organisations and Hometown Associations & Filipino-Canadian Population Distribution, by Provinces.....	32
Figure 4: Policy Alternative Spectrum: How to Address High Transaction Costs.....	58
Figure 5: Classification of Filipino Migrant Organisations in Canada.....	81

## List of Tables

Table 1: Workers' Remittances to Developing Countries (US\$, billions).....	5
Table 2: Typology of Remittances .....	7
Table 3: Examples of Diaspora Communities in Canada and Canadian ODA to Selected Countries .....	11
Table 4: Filipino Migration to Canada, 2000 to 2004 .....	15
Table 5: Comparison of the Mexican and El Salvadorian Hometown Associations in the United States .....	23
Table 6: Factors to Success: Mexico and El Salvadorian HTAs in the United States - The Supply Side .....	27
Table 7: Comparison of the Mexican and El Salvadorian Approaches to Collective Remittances .....	28
Table 8: Factors to Success: Mexico and El Salvador - The Demand Side .....	30
Table 9: Types of Filipino Migrant Organisations in Canada .....	33
Table 10: Overview of Philanthropic Activities Undertaken by Filipino HTAs in Canada.....	36
Table 11: Organisational Structure of Filipino HTAs in Canada .....	37
Table 12: Transnational Ties of Filipino HTAs to the Philippines .....	39
Table 13: Motivation of Filipino HTAs in Canada .....	41
Table 14: Capacity of Filipino HTAs in Canada.....	41
Table 15: Impact of Filipino HTAs on the Philippines .....	42
Table 16: Philippine Government Programs to Engage Migrants in Development .....	44
Table 17: Philippine Government Programs to Maintain Transnational Ties.....	46
Table 18: Migrant Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in the Philippines .....	48
Table 19: Church-related NGO in the Philippines .....	50
Table 20: Stock Estimates of Overseas Filipinos, 2003 .....	54
Table 21: Alternatives Matrix .....	67
Table 22: The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).....	76
Table 23: Summary of Survey Results – Filipino Hometown Association Questionnaire .....	82
Table 24: Number of Filipino Migrant Organisations, by type and province .....	83
Table 25: Detailed Assessment of the Policy Alternatives.....	84

## Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
BSP	<i>Bangko Sentral Ng Pilipinas</i> / Central Bank of the Philippines
CEECs	Central and Eastern European Country
CFO	Commission on Filipinos Overseas
CGMA	<i>Classroom Galing sa Mamamayang Pilipino Abroad</i> / Classroom from Filipinos Abroad
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DOLE	Department of Labour and Employment, Philippines
FISDL	Social Investment and Local Fund, El Salvador
GK	<i>Gawad Kalinga</i>
HTA	Hometown Association
IPS	Canada's International Policy Statement
LINKAPIL	<i>Lingkod sa Kapwa Pilipino</i> / Link for Philippine Development
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MSMEs	Micro, Small, and Medium-Size Enterprises
NEDA	National Economic Development Agency
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NIS	Newly Independent States
ODA	Official Development Assistance
POEA	Philippine Overseas Employment Administration
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

# 1 Introduction

*“Private citizens have more power to do public good and solve common problems than ever before in human history.”*

– Former US President Bill Clinton, March 6, 2006

By 2015, the international community hopes to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which consist of eight basic elements of human development.<sup>1</sup> The MDGs have become the framework that guides the development community in its efforts to reduce poverty, inequality and injustice worldwide. The international community has made progress toward achieving the MDGs since their adoption in 2000, but a great deal of work remains. Donors and recipients of official development assistance (ODA)<sup>2</sup> recognize the need for a more collaborative partnership to ensure the achievement of the MDGs by 2015. They also recognise the potential of many non-state actors in promoting development, particularly in their ability to provide additional resources for MDG-related programming. In recent years, potential partners that have gained much attention in development circles are migrants and their respective diaspora communities.

The United Nations Population Fund estimates that approximately two percent of the world’s population live outside their countries of origin (UNFPA, 2005). Increasingly, migrants from the developing world are moving to developed countries because of economic opportunities created by high demand for labour in these economies. This movement improves the economic capacity of many migrants, thereby allowing them to send money back home. Consequently, the attention on migrants and the diaspora communities they form relates primarily to their ability to mobilise resources for their home countries, specifically money transfers called remittances.

While the kind of remittance prevalent among migrants is individual in nature, typically money sent to family and friends, collective remittance is gaining popularity particularly in many Central American countries. Collective remittances are essentially group donations collected by migrant organisations such as hometown associations for development projects in their home

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A for the complete list of MDGs.

<sup>2</sup> Commonly known as foreign aid

countries.<sup>3</sup> Collective remittance is a kind of philanthropic activity undertaken by migrants to contribute to the socio-economic development of their home communities.

As a country characterized by diversity and multiculturalism, Canada is in a unique position to promote this transnational process, which not only contributes to the development of other countries, but also engages ordinary Canadians in development activities. Through this philanthropic process, Canadians from different diaspora communities have the opportunity to build transnational linkages that may eventually have profound influence on Canada's economic, cultural and social competence within the international community. While collective remittances cannot replace foreign aid to developing countries, they can certainly complement Canada's development efforts as diaspora communities can influence broader change and further deepen the impact of development assistance.

## 1.1 Purpose

The study examines Canada's potential role in facilitating the flow of resources from diaspora communities to their home countries. Specifically, the study attempts to address the problem that there are too few collective remittances sent to the Philippines on a regular basis by existing Filipino HTAs in Canada. The large number of diaspora communities in Canada makes it difficult to undertake a comprehensive analysis of the issue especially with limited resources. Consequently, a more prudent and focused approach such as a case study is appropriate and thus, adopted for the analysis.

Using the Filipino diaspora as the focus of the study, the analysis aims to delineate relevant barriers that prevent the efficient transfer of resources. The study intends to highlight programming opportunities, which Canada's donor agency, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), may adopt to encourage collective remittance among migrant organisations and promote engagement in the development of their home countries. The study hopes that the information delineated will initiate discussions among relevant stakeholders particularly with government officials and members of diaspora communities. Increased discussions on the issue may help stimulate debate and considerations within Canada's development circles, specifically on diaspora philanthropy as an option in development cooperation.

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<sup>3</sup> Migrant organisations are social groupings formed by migrants from the same origin country in their host communities. There are different kinds of migrant organisations ranging from hometown associations to sports clubs and professional organisations. The most common type of migrant organisation is the hometown association or HTA.

## **1.2 Study Outline**

The study commences with relevant background information on section 2 that explains relevant concepts relating to migration and development and provides an overview of the Filipino diaspora in Canada, the rationale behind its selection as the focus of the study and an explanation of the central problem relevant to them. Section 4 explains the methodology and the analytical framework used while section 5 delineates the relevant findings of the study, commencing with case study results, followed by the supply and demand characteristics, and other relevant challenges and observations found. Section 6 presents the potential policy alternatives, followed by an assessment of these alternatives on section 7. The study concludes with a brief discussion of limitations and final remarks regarding the analysis.

## **2 Background: Migration and Development**

The increased attention on migrants as agents of development stems from the increasing volume of money transfers called remittances. The World Bank reports that “international migrant remittances are perhaps the largest source of external finance in developing countries” and thus, appear to be “a promising source in development especially with the expectation of its steady increase as more people migrate in response to globalisation” (Maimbo & Ratha, 2005; p. 2). In fact, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2004) highlights that remittance figures actually dwarf ODA flows in many developing countries. According to the World Bank (2006), developing countries received US\$166.9 billion worth of remittances in 2005 compared to only US\$78.6 billion of ODA. The increasing trend is also evident in the actual figures of workers’ remittances sent through formal channels to developing countries from 2000 to 2004.

Table 1 clearly illustrates the extent at which remittances have increased over the years. From 2000 to 2004, significant increases have taken place, most notably in the amount of remittances flowing into all developing countries (63 percent), East Asia and Pacific (81 percent), Latin America (85 percent) and South Asia (106 percent). Given that most of the world’s poor reside in these regions, there are reasons to be optimistic about the potential role that remittances may play in the development of poor communities in the region.

Table 1: Workers' Remittances to Developing Countries (US\$, billions)

REGIONS	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
All developing countries	77	85	99	116	126
East Asia and Pacific	11	13	17	20	20
Europe and Central Asia	11	11	11	13	13
Latin America and the Caribbean	20	24	28	34	37
Middle East and North Africa*	13	15	16	17	17
South Asia	16	16	22	27	33
Sub-Saharan Africa*	5	5	5	6	6

Data source: Ratha, 2005; \*Remittance flows to Africa are heavily under-reported. Less than two-thirds of African countries report remittance data. For sub-Saharan Africa, only one-third collects data. Therefore, these figures may not accurately illustrate the remittance trends in African countries from 2000 to 2004. Essentially, the lack of remittance figures may explain the minimal increase of remittance flows in these regions (Sander & Maimbo, 2003).

The official figures measured by international financial institutions only constitute remittances sent through formal channels, primarily through banks and other financial institutions. Consequently, they are not accurate illustrations of the actual resource flow since a large number of migrants prefer to send money through informal systems, most notably through the *hawala* system developed in South Asia.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the Philippine government estimates that approximately US\$2 billion worth of Filipino remittances went through the informal system in 2005 (BSP, 2006). Therefore, the volume of remittances flowing into developing countries is actually much larger than estimated.

The majority of remittances are sent on an individual basis typically given by migrants to families and friends for their daily needs. However, an increasing number of migrants and members of diaspora communities wish to do more to contribute to the development of their homelands. Migrants from Central America and elsewhere have been pooling a portion of their remittances to promote community development. These money transfers are commonly referred to as "collective remittances" (Orozco, 2000). While collective remittances make only a small share of total remittances, the aggregate amounts to a significant source of development funds. For example, collective community investments in Mexico amounted to more than US\$30 million

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<sup>4</sup> The *hawala* system is an informal money transfer mechanism, which relies on a network of *hawala* brokers. Essentially, a migrant approaches a broker in the host country and asks him or her to send money to the recipient country. The *hawala* broker contacts another *hawala* broker in the recipient country and gives him or her instructions on the money transfers usually minus a small commission. The brokers then promise each other to settle the debt at a later date. Thus, the transaction takes place entirely on the honour system. The practice is most popular in the Middle East, Africa and Asia.

in 2002 (Johnson & Sedaca, 2004).<sup>5</sup> Since many of these investments take place in poor rural areas, these contributions may provide significant benefits and large development impact to recipient communities in developing countries.

## 2.1 Collective Remittances: A Development Issue

Collective remittance is gaining much attention among scholars and policymakers alike because it constitutes a “novel form of philanthropy – grassroots in nature, democratic in practice and transnational in scope” (Gordon, 2005; p. 51). Central to the practice of collective remittances are migrant organisations, which act as intermediaries that pool together donations and allocate them to specific development projects. Hometown Associations are the most common type of migrant organisations, which bring together migrants from the same city or region in the home country. In some cases, HTAs also unite émigrés sharing the same language and ethnicity. Wise and Rodrigues (2001; p. 756) argue that the key aspect of collective remittance is that “it transcends the limits of family relationships in the strictest sense to give rise to community ties at the binational level”.

Johnson and Sedaca (2004; p. 1) best explain the motivation to engage in this kind of philanthropic work. They suggest that:

“while reasons for their departure vary, be it jobs, education, persecution, civil strife, individuals within émigré and diaspora communities maintain a special affinity with their homeland; a desire to maintain a connection (cultural, social or economic) to the country of origin. With this affinity comes an interest in matters related to the development of their homeland, be it the social and economic well-being of remaining friends and family members, humanitarian concerns, business interests, professional aspirations or even a desire to return “home” some day. When this interest becomes engagement, whether collective or individual, émigré and diaspora communities can use their financial, time and intellectual resource to help reduce poverty, contribute to the expansion of the private sector and enhance global competitiveness in their country of origin”.

Essentially, collective remittance depends on migrants’ belief that they have a stake in the development of their countries of origin (Opiniano, 2005). Without this conviction, the motivation to allocate a portion of their earnings to development diminishes. Table 2 summarizes the primary differences between individual and collective remittances according to varying factors of the remittance dynamics.

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<sup>5</sup> To my knowledge, there is no in-depth research available on the actual volume of collective remittances coming to specific countries other than Mexico. The estimates available come from contribution figures of HTAs on specific development projects.

Table 2: Typology of Remittances

	TYPES OF REMITTANCES	
	INDIVIDUAL	COLLECTIVE
<i>Sender</i>	individuals/migrants	organised group of migrants; families, hometown clubs/associations or other migrant organisations
<i>Recipients</i>	family members, friends	communities or target groups within communities
<i>Mediating actors/institutions</i>	families, social networks, money transfer companies	community social networks; local, state and federal governments; NGOs, foundations
<i>Importance of place of origin in destination of remittance</i>	usually close relationship - remittance goes to kin in place of origin	close relationship between identity and place of origin; village loyalty
<i>Logic and purpose</i>	money is sent to support or help relatives and friends	Logic of philanthropy; money is donated to help a community or a group of needy people; to provide unavailable resources or amenities
<i>Uses and function</i>	consumption – food, clothing, housing, education, health, social services; Improving well-being of recipients	community public works infrastructure, social services; Providing social citizenship benefits/goods/services

Data source: Adapted from Goldring, 2003

As the table illustrates, a notable distinction of collective remittance concerns its community-driven development projects, which do not necessarily benefit one or two families, but potentially, an entire city or region of a given country. The benefits of collective remittances are most evident in Mexico and El Salvador, both of which are highly successful in mobilising collective remittances on a regular basis from diaspora communities in the United States.

In Mexico, the state of Zacatecas has the most organized and advanced organisation in the United States. Since the late 1980s, yearly donations amounted to at least US\$5,000 worth of supplies for infrastructural development in the region. The latest estimates peg donations at a total figure of US\$4 million in 2005 (Gordon, 2005). Mexican HTAs also played increasing roles in income-generating ventures, particularly in the state of Guanajuato where approximately US\$60,000 have been invested by HTAs to buy equipments for small export-clothing factories called *maquiladoras* (Orozco, 2000). The Mexican diaspora in the United States illustrates that as migrant organisations mature, they are in better position to undertake larger projects with better potential to affect the socio-economic development of the country.

In El Salvador, the practice of collective remittance among its diaspora communities in the United States is relatively new. However, the increasing political stability in the country has attracted the attention of many expatriates in the United States (Orozco, 2004). Consequently, the amount of donation increased steadily in recent years. For the Chinameca community, expatriates gave an initial donation of US\$5,000 to build a school. Over time, the same community increased contributions and decided to allocate US\$43,000 to build Red Cross offices to serve as health clinics (Orozco, 2004). The philanthropic work undertaken by El Salvadorian HTAs has greatly facilitated the reconstruction efforts in the country. Overall, the Mexican and El Salvadorian diaspora communities in the United States have been largely successful in mobilising collective remittances for their home communities.

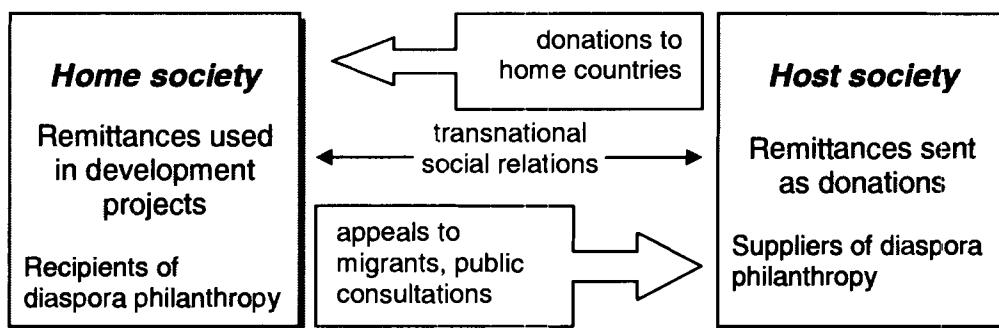
## 2.2 Diaspora Communities and Philanthropy

More broadly, migration and development scholars such as Jeremiah Opiniano describe migrants' efforts to help their countries of origin as philanthropy, specifically "diaspora philanthropy." This is not a new concept since other communities such as the Italian, Jewish, Chinese and Japanese diaspora have adhered to traditions of giving back to their countries of origin already in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, as Geithner et al. (2004; p. i) suggest, "in an era of accelerated globalisation, the relationship between diaspora philanthropy and the economic and social development of many countries is increasingly relevant [because] the transfer of resources from residents of one country back to their countries of origin has rapidly escalated over the last few decades". Therefore, among the new interests in development circles relate to the impact of diaspora transfers on poverty and development and the potential to increase the quantity of diaspora giving to result in effective social and economic change.

Geithner et al. (2004) also suggests that in contemporary usage, diaspora refers to any diffusion of people outside of their homeland and generally connotes the communities formed by migrants and the continuation of links between members of the diaspora and their home communities. Essentially, Cheran (2003) explains that the terms diaspora and diaspora communities refer to metaphoric definitions for expatriates, expellees, refugees, alien residents, immigrants, displaced communities and ethnic minorities. Opiniano (2005b) contends, however, that using the term diaspora can be "misleading and tricky" since the term "connotes negative human mobility." Instead, Opiniano (2002) offers to call this kind of philanthropy as "migrants' transnational philanthropy," which he explains is a "process by which migrants abroad allocate a

portion of their remittances to fund development projects in their home country.”<sup>6</sup> The philanthropic process leads to transnational relations, which link together origin and settlement societies. Figure 1 below aptly illustrates the process described by Opiniano.

*Figure 1: Migrants' Transnational Philanthropy Model*



*Data source: Adapted from Opiniano, 2002*

As the figure suggests, the host society, through diaspora communities, mobilises the financial resources needed to undertake development projects. The home society receives the resources as donations and uses them to fund local development projects. The home society may appeal to migrants directly to have a say in the type of development project financed by migrant donations. However, this is often unnecessary since most organised groups undertake public consultations between donors and recipients to reach a consensus on the type of project most beneficial to the communities. In essence, diaspora communities are the suppliers while local communities in their home countries are the recipients of this kind of philanthropy.

The notion of migrants engaging in philanthropic work for the benefit of their home communities also offers a reason for optimism among developing countries. Essentially, the “brain drain” phenomenon has raised concerns regarding the negative effects of migration on developing economies. As more and more skilled workers leave their home countries to work and reside in developed economies, questions arise among developing countries regarding the economic impact of spending resources on educating their population and losing out on the benefits due to sustained migration. While there are indeed economic and social losses incurred in the movement of people from developing to developed economies, diaspora philanthropy offers

<sup>6</sup> While coming up with a universal term to describe this kind of philanthropy deserves much attention because of its increasing relevance in the international community, it is not the primary focus of the analysis and therefore, the study presents no further discussions of the issue. The more commonly cited term of “diaspora philanthropy” is used for the purposes of the analysis.

migrants an opportunity to contribute back to the development of their home communities through the provision of much-needed resources. Essentially, diaspora philanthropy is a migrant-led initiative that, if harnessed effectively, can benefit poor communities in the developing world. The philanthropic process can certainly help alleviate concerns that migration has only been beneficial to richer countries.

Some diasporas like the Indian, Chinese and Mexican communities already exhibit that their philanthropic activities can evolve from infrastructure-related to entrepreneurial initiatives that not only provide jobs for their home countries, but also bring technical expertise to their economies. For example, an Asian Development Bank report entitled “Developing the Diaspora” reveals that the Indian diaspora in California has been critical in the creation of the software industry in India, which resulted in 400,000 software jobs and exported US\$6 billion worth of goods and services in 2002 (ADB, 2004). It also highlights that technology sectors expanded significantly in China and Taiwan because of assistance from Chinese-American professionals in the United States. In Mexico, diaspora communities in the United States are transitioning towards investment and job creation initiatives to help their home communities. Overall, diaspora philanthropy provides enormous potential in the mobilisation of varying types of resources for developing countries. It also highlights a more positive feature of international migration.

### **2.3 Diaspora Communities in Canada: Development Partners?**

Canada is a multicultural country with a large immigrant population originating from the developing world. Consequently, questions arise regarding the potential role that diaspora communities in Canada may play in the development of their home countries. The Canadian population’s diversity has been a consequence of the country’s open migration policies, which have recently focused on attracting skilled migrants worldwide. Between 1980 and 2002, approximately 4.2 million migrants moved to Canada with a majority coming from the developing world and countries in transition. The most recent estimates by Citizenship and Immigration Canada reveal that between 1991 and 2001, 58 percent of Canadian immigrants came from Asia and the Middle East, 20 percent from Central and Eastern Europe, 11 percent from Latin America and the Caribbean, 8 percent from Africa and 3 percent from the United States (Ndarishikanye, 2005a). The country’s diversity is most visible in Canada’s largest cities, specifically Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal, where ethnic neighbourhoods characterise many sections of the cities. Overall, the Canadian society has an extensive network of diaspora communities, many of which have their countries of origin in the developing world.

Table 3 below provides a quick illustration of some of Canada's diaspora communities, including their estimated number as well as the amount of ODA received by their home countries from Canada's development cooperation program.

*Table 3: Examples of Diaspora Communities in Canada and Canadian ODA to Selected Countries*

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	ESTIMATED NUMBER IN CANADA BASED ON 2001 CENSUS	TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS OF CANADIAN ODA (CDN\$M) 2003-04
GHANA	16,935	66.31
GUYANA	51,570	14.91
HAITI	82,405	27.50
PHILIPPINES	327,550	20.28
UKRAINE <sup>7</sup>	1,071,060	21.26
VIETNAM	151,410	51.09
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,700,570</b>	<b>201.35</b>

*Data sources: Statscan, 2005 & CIDA, 2005b; calculations made by author*

The table illustrates that a significant portion of Canada's ODA go to countries with notable diaspora presence in Canada. Of the six, Ghana, Ukraine and Vietnam are identified as Canada's 25 development partners, thereby suggesting that a significant portion of Canada's ODA will be directed to these countries in coming years.<sup>8</sup> These initial figures suggest that there may be some opportunities for collaboration between the Canadian government and diaspora communities since the initial ingredients that allow diaspora philanthropy to work already exist. Clearly, the major factor is the presence of extensive networks of individuals from countries in which the Canadian government has expressed development interests. This is already evident in Canada and therefore, there are reasons why the Canadian government may consider the engagement of diaspora communities in its development programming. Furthermore, the individuals that make these diaspora communities are Canadians themselves. Consequently, this type of development activity geared towards the engagement of diaspora communities also engages Canadian citizens in a way that allows them to foster transnational relations and strengthen civil society.

<sup>7</sup> To clarify, the disbursement figure for Ukraine is formally known as official aid (OA) instead of ODA since the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) identifies the country as a Central and Eastern European Country (CEECs)/ Newly Independent State (NIS).

<sup>8</sup> See section 3.1 for details.

The subject of diaspora philanthropy as an instrument for development remains largely unexplored in Canada. Unlike the American and British aid agencies, CIDA has only recently given some attention and support to initiatives promoting philanthropic activities such as collective remittances in countries with extensive immigrant communities in Canada. In fact, a CIDA official maintains that this type of remittance is currently a topic of interest to the agency (Ndarashikany, 2005b). Philanthropic activities of diaspora communities in the United States demonstrate that they, too, can become agents of development in their home countries. Therefore, there are reasons why Canada should look at ways in which it can engage diaspora communities in development.

## 2.4 Engaging Canadians: A New Priority in Development

In the spring of 2005, the Canadian government launched its International Policy Statement (IPS) entitled “*A Role of Pride and Influence in the World*.” It highlights that the Canadian government “will devote significantly more resources and creative effort to encourage Canadians to join in [development] endeavours and will leverage their expertise and skills to maximize the benefits of Canadian aid dollars” (CIDA, 2005a; p. 28). Through programs such as Canada Corps, the Canadian government hopes to engage Canadians of all ages and backgrounds in its development cooperation program.

The attention on the mobilisation of Canadians indicates that the time is appropriate to look at the potential of diaspora communities in Canada and the role they may play in addressing the challenges of poverty and underdevelopment in their home countries. Many Canadians come from countries that receive Canadian development assistance and therefore, there are reasons why looking at how Canada’s diaspora communities can help their home communities is relevant at this point. Instinctively, there may be advantages derived from encouraging participation among Canadians who have personal and social ties to the targeted communities. Among these advantages is gaining valuable information, particularly on cultural and anthropological concerns that academics and policymakers may often overlook.

### **3 The Filipino Diaspora in Canada: A Case Study**

Among the developing countries with notable diaspora community in Canada is the Philippines. Approximately one percent of Canada's population are of Filipino background (Statscan, 2005). Furthermore, the Philippines is a Canadian partner in development for quite some time, receiving more than CDN\$500 million in ODA since 1986 (CIDA, 2006). Consequently, the Filipino diaspora makes for an interesting case study. The following sections explain in details why an investigation of the Filipino diaspora in Canada is appropriate in this case. The latter section elaborates on the central problem examined in the study, which relates directly to the experience of the Filipino diaspora in Canada.

#### **3.1 Longstanding Development Partnership**

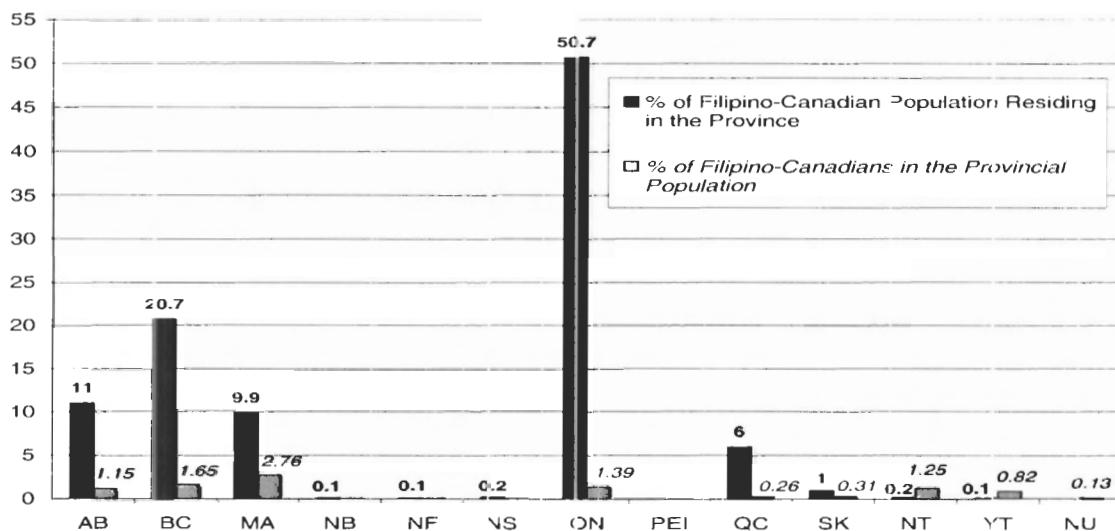
Canada has a long and enduring friendship with the Philippines dating back more than half a century. Since the overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship, Canada's financial assistance focused on building democratic frameworks and promoting economic development in the country (CIDA, 2006). However, despite Canada's longstanding assistance to the Philippines, the low-middle income country is not identified by the IPS as one of Canada's 25 development partners. The Canadian government is adopting a more focused approach on its development programs and therefore, at least two-thirds of Canada's total ODA will be directed to the 25 partner countries by 2010 (CIDA, 2005a). This means limited resources available for countries not identified by the IPS. The Philippines remains an unstable country economically and the flow of foreign capital remains of great importance to its economic stability. Accordingly, finding ways in which the Philippines can tap other resources is a relevant programming option for the country. The Filipino diaspora is clearly a potential resource that may bring the financial and technical assistance needed in the country.

#### **3.2 Well-Established Diaspora Community in Canada**

The 2001 Census estimates that there are 327,550 Canadian residents of Filipino background (see Table 3). The figure is approximately one percent of Canada's total population and consequently, there is an established network of Filipino-Canadians in the country. These

networks are most evident in three major cities: Toronto, Vancouver and Winnipeg. Figure 2 below provides further explanation regarding the Filipino community's geographic distribution in Canada.

*Figure 2: Filipino-Canadian Population: 2001 Census, by Provinces*



*Data source: Statscan, 2005; calculations made by author*

Essentially, the networks of Filipino-Canadians are most visible in the provinces of Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta since approximately 80 percent of Filipino-Canadians reside in these provinces. Ontario boasts the largest network of Filipino-Canadians with half of the total Filipino population in Canada. British Columbia ranks second while Alberta ranks third. In these provinces, Filipino-Canadians make up a little more than one percent of the provincial population. This contrasts with the figure evident in Manitoba where almost three percent of the provincial population are of Filipino background. Therefore, despite its fourth place ranking, the network of Filipino-Canadians in Manitoba may be more apparent than in other Canadian provinces.

In addition to the existing Filipino communities, the Philippines is also one of the main sources of new immigrants to Canada, consistently ranking among the top four from 2000 to 2004 (see Table 4). An estimated 59,000 Filipinos entered the country as permanent residents within this given period. Filipinos also make up a significant portion of temporary residents in Canada, most of which are domestic workers under the country's Live-In Caregiver program. CIC (2005a) estimates 21,721 Filipinos entered Canada as temporary residents from 2000 to 2004.

*Table 4: Filipino Migration to Canada, 2000 to 2004*

CATEGORIES	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Number of Permanent Residents entering Canada from the Philippines	10,119	12,927	11,011	11,986	13,301
Number of Temporary Residents entering Canada from the Philippines	2,263	4,111	4,733	4,942	5,672
Country ranking for the Philippines as Source Country of Permanent Residents	4	4	4	4	3

*Data source: CIC, 2005a*

The table also illustrates an increasing trend concerning Filipino migration to Canada. While the number of Filipino permanent residents coming to the country remains much larger than temporary residents, there has been a significant increase in the flow of temporary workers from the Philippines since 2000 (CIC, 2005a). Canada's Live-In Caregiver program, which allows foreign workers to apply for permanent residency in Canada after two years of employment, help explain this increase (CIC, 2005b). Essentially, many Filipinos, particularly domestic workers residing in Hong Kong and Italy, choose to go through the program to secure Canadian permanent residency for them and their families (Jarillas, 2005). Regardless of the migration channels, the above figures collectively affirm the growing trend of Filipino migration into Canada. Therefore, one can only expect an increase in the strength of the Filipino diaspora in the country.

All available avenues for Filipinos seeking to move to Canada promote permanent instead of temporary residency. Consequently, in considering the development potential of the Filipino diaspora, one has to keep in mind that Filipinos in the country are more likely to establish permanent residency in Canada than return to the Philippines. Depending on what the analysis reveals, this may prove beneficial or detrimental to the promotion of diaspora philanthropy. Nonetheless, the Filipino diaspora in Canada is an ideal case for investigation not only because of their notable presence in the country, but because of the commitment of the Canadian government to assist the Philippines with its socio-economic development.

### **3.3 Evidence of Filipino Diaspora Philanthropy**

Equally important about the Filipino diaspora in Canada are their past engagement in philanthropic work and their potential in gathering much-needed resources for development

purposes in the Philippines. In fact, a small number of Filipino HTAs have been instrumental in mobilising financial and in-kind assistance to the Philippines for a variety of development projects ranging from infrastructure- to health-related ventures. Opiniano (2005) attributes this desire to help to a long Filipino tradition of giving and volunteering derived from the *bayanihan* spirit of communal action for the betterment of all members of the community. Consequently, with this kind of philanthropic experience and communal spirit already evident within the Filipino diaspora in Canada, it is appropriate to look at their practices and identify the existing problems, specifically the barriers that prevent them from becoming full partners of development in the Philippines.

### **3.4 Defining the Problem**

Of all the Filipino migrant organisations worldwide that have mobilised collective remittances for development projects in the Philippines, HTAs are the most prominent. Consequently, the analysis places primary attention on Filipino HTAs in Canada. A quick review of past philanthropic activities undertaken by Filipino HTAs reveals that sending collective remittances are generally sporadic and rarely sustained. CIDA and NGO officials confirm these trends as both highlighted that group donations to the Philippines are “often a one-time deal” (Jarillas, 2005; Opiniano, 2005c; Girado, 2006). Consequently, the central problem identified in the analysis is that *there are too few collective remittances sent to the Philippines on a regular basis by existing Filipino HTAs in Canada*. The definitions of relevant terms are as follows:

- *Filipino HTAs* – Filipino migrant organisations with members coming from the same hometown/region or share the same dialect/ethnicity in the Philippines
- *Collective remittance* - group donations collected by Filipino HTAs and sent back to the Philippines for development purposes
- *Regular basis* – sustained, yearly or monthly basis; not a one-time deal

The study intends to investigate the issue from a policy perspective, looking specifically at the reasons why this type of philanthropy common among Mexican and El Salvadorian HTAs in the United States is difficult to sustain in Canada. After a careful examination of primary and secondary data, the study highlights the policy implications of the findings and potential ways to address the problem.

## **4 Methodology**

The study uses an integrative approach to obtain the primary and secondary data required in the analysis. To collect primary data, the study surveyed Filipino HTAs across Canada and conducted interviews of relevant stakeholders. A comprehensive review of the available literature on Mexico and El Salvador’s “success stories” provides the secondary data and forms the basis of the analysis. The following sections further delineate the three components of the methodology as well as the rationale for the type of information chosen and the process used to collect them.

### **4.1 Case Studies: Mexico and El Salvador**

#### **4.1.1 Rationale**

Scholars of collective remittances identify Mexico and El Salvador as highly successful in mobilising migrant resources because of the notable amount of donations sent by Mexican and El Salvadorian HTAs in the United States. Both communities are able to sustain this type of philanthropic work on a regular basis and consequently, acquiring a solid understanding of the factors that enabled them to engage in the philanthropic process is ideal in this case. Doing so allows for a systematic approach to analysing information on a subject area that remains relatively novel to scholars and policymakers alike. Furthermore, the case study allows for a comparative analysis of the Central American and Filipino diaspora communities, which may help reveal the barriers that prevent Filipino-Canadians from sending collective remittances to the Philippines regularly.

#### **4.1.2 Process**

Given the amount of available literature on the philanthropic work of Mexican and El Salvadorian communities in the United States, the study conducted a literature review with particular focus on the factors that made both cases successful. Essentially, the overarching themes emanating from the supply and demand sides of the Mexican and El Salvadorian philanthropic process became the primary basis of the study’s analytical framework.

## **4.2 Filipino Hometown Association Questionnaire: The Supply Side**

### **4.2.1 Rationale**

The available literature suggests that the effective mobilisation and usage of collective remittances is dependent on the organisations' motivations, capabilities and interests. Remittance expert Manuel Orozco argues that migrant associations are not development-oriented in nature and therefore, it is important to understand why these organisations exist in the first place (Orozco, 2003). Forcing migrant organisations to engage in activities inconsistent with their overall mandate is both irrational and a poor way of using valuable financial and human resources. Consequently, information regarding the nature and characteristics of Filipino HTAs in Canada is crucial in the analysis.

### **4.2.2 Process**

The study asked Filipino HTAs across Canada to participate in a survey, which involves a questionnaire with 29 queries relating to their motivations, capabilities, development interests, activities and linkages to the Philippines. Appendix B provides a copy of the questionnaire used in the study. The *Filipino Telephone Guide 2005*, which is a yearly publication available for the public at the Philippine Consulate-General in Toronto, provided the list of Filipino HTAs in Canada. While it is the most comprehensive information database available regarding Filipino migrant organisations in Canada, the Philippine Consulate-General does not regularly update the contact information provided. Therefore, there are no certainties on the actual number of Filipino HTAs active in the country.

The survey process commenced with calls to all registered Filipino HTAs with contact information. The results of each phone call were noted and used as information. HTAs unable to respond during the initial attempt received follow up phone calls to ensure participation of all Filipino HTAs in Canada. Essentially, the calls informed HTA officers about the study and asked them about their willingness to participate in the survey. Organisations consenting to the request received a copy of the questionnaire through either mail, email or fax depending on their preference. HTAs that received questionnaires through any of these methods also received follow up calls or emails to remind them of the survey. Respondents also had the option of responding through telephone interviews. Appendix D shows the summary of the results from the phone calls as well as the survey participation. A total of 29 organisations expressed interest in participating. However, of the 29, only five HTAs responded, all of which preferred telephone interviews. Due

to the low response rate, the study also consulted eleven official websites of Filipino HTAs in Canada to obtain pertinent information about the organisations. Among the available information on the website are the HTA's purpose, yearly events, organizational structure and previous philanthropic activities. Overall, the data from the supply side consists of recorded information from phone calls, questionnaire responses and website consultations.

### **4.3 Interviews: The Demand Side**

#### **4.3.1 Rationale**

Understanding the views, ideas and needs of the primary recipients and stakeholders of collective remittances in the Philippines is also relevant in the analysis because doing so provides valuable insights on those who actually consume the resources generated by diaspora communities. Without a sound understanding of how recipients and other stakeholders view collective remittances, efforts of HTAs in Canada may prove unnecessary if recipients place no values on the donations they receive. Consequently, the study also conducted interviews of relevant stakeholders in the Philippines to gain better understanding of the country's demands, perspectives and ideas on collective remittances sent by Filipino HTAs.

Equally important is an understanding of the position and perspectives of the Canadian government in terms of its development policies and past practices. Therefore, consultations with CIDA officials both in Canada and in the Philippines were also undertaken. The Canadian government's ability to facilitate the collective remittance process depends largely on the existing policies concerning Canada's position in international development.

#### **4.3.2 Process**

The relevant individuals interviewed consisted of government and non-government officials. Interestingly, permanent residents from the United States who have engaged in sending donations to their communities through HTAs were also available during the field research and therefore, their views on the issue were solicited as well. Among these Filipino-Americans was a former president of an organisation from the state of New Jersey. Furthermore, the field research revealed that church groups also benefited significantly from collective remittances sent by Filipino HTAs in Canada. Consequently, church officials, both Catholic and non-Catholic, were approached for interviews. However, due to a hectic Christmas schedule, all church officials

declined requests for meetings. Essentially, the available literature and relevant internet sites provided much of the information regarding church-related activities.

#### **4.3.2.1 Government Officials**

The government officials consisted of a Congressman, city mayor and city councillor, all of whom reside in the province of Laguna. The province is among the top suppliers of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) after the provinces of Batangas, Cavite, Rizal and the National Capital Region. From 1998 to 2002, the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) estimates that a total of 57,451 residents of Laguna left the country, approximately 4 percent of the total number of OFWs who left in the same time period (Bagasao, Piccio, Lopez, & Djinis, 2004). In terms of the number of domestic workers coming from the province, the POEA estimates that it ranks third overall. As the numbers suggest, Laguna is an important source of Filipino migrants and therefore, the province is an ideal place to conduct the interviews.

Questions raised during interviews of elected Filipino officials pertained to their perspectives on the role of diaspora communities in regional development and their governments' policies and strategies on remittances. The time allocated by elected officials was minimal and therefore, further consultations with city government staff, specifically representatives from city planning and city registrar, were undertaken. All Filipino government officials, elected and non-elected, expressed concerns regarding the author's use of their names in the study and therefore, they will only be referred to by their titles and the province in which they reside.

The field research also involved an interview with a Senior Program Officer (Development) at the Canadian embassy in Manila, which provided an opportunity to obtain information on Canada's development assistance program in the Philippines. Questions raised during the interview pertained to CIDA's programming priorities and the potential influence of remittances on socio-economic development in the Philippines. In addition, email consultations with CIDA officials in Ottawa were undertaken to investigate Canada's current policies relating to remittances and engaging diaspora communities in development.

#### **4.3.2.2 NGO Officials**

Complementing the interviews with government officials are consultations with NGO staff in the Philippines. The interviews of representatives from two prominent migrant NGOs, the Institute for Migration and Development Issues and Atikha/Balikabayani, centred on discussions relating to the civil society's role on the collective remittance process. The consultations also

discussed the main barriers that prevent the continued flow of collective remittances from diaspora communities abroad into poor communities in the Philippines.

#### **4.4 Analytical Framework**

The analytical framework uses the supply and demand economic model and examines philanthropy at the micro-level. The supply and demand structure of a market becomes the metaphoric framework where collective remittance is the primary good. Sending collective remittances is essentially the economic activity where migrant organisations, which in this case are HTAs, are the suppliers while the home countries, through their citizens, governments, and civil societies, are the consumers. The study expects that a thorough investigation of the supply and demand sides of the collective remittance process would help reveal the main barriers preventing the efficient flow of resources.

## **5 Findings**

The following sections present the main findings of the study. The first section explains the relevant factors that made the Mexican and El Salvadorian experience successful. The latter sections provide a detailed narrative on the nature and characteristics of Filipino HTAs in Canada and an examination of the relevant stakeholders in the Philippines. A discussion of other challenges and observations, summary of findings and policy implications conclude this part of the analysis.

### **5.1 Case Study Findings**

A review of the available literature documenting the Mexican and El Salvadorian philanthropic activities reveals that there are certain factors evident in both the supply and demand side of the exchange process that allow for the sustained flow of collective remittances in both countries. The following sections delineate these “success” factors commencing with the supply side.<sup>9</sup>

#### **5.1.1 The Supply Side**

When observed in absolute terms, the number of Mexicans and El Salvadorians in the United States is significant. There are ten million Mexicans living in the United States, which is approximately nine percent of Mexico’s population and just over three percent of the American population. El Salvador only has two million, but it makes up approximately 30 percent of El Salvador’s population. Accordingly, the extensive networks of Mexican and El Salvadorian émigrés present many opportunities for collective action for the benefit of their home communities. Table 5 summarizes the main factors that allow these migrant networks to send collective remittances on a regular basis. Grouped according to five thematic concepts, these factors are organisational structure, transnational ties, motivation, capacity and development impact. Of the five, organisational structure and transnational ties are most important.

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<sup>9</sup> The following is based on Lowell & de la Garza, 2000; Orozco, 2000; Alarcon, 2002; Goldring, 2003; Orozco, 2003; Dunn, 2004; Orozco, 2004; Merz & Chen, 2005; Orozco, 2005; PADF, 2005

Table 5: Comparison of the Mexican and El Salvadorian Hometown Associations in the United States

THE SUPPLY SIDE – HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS			
THEMATIC CONCEPTS		COUNTRIES	
	SUB-THEMES	MEXICO	EL SALVADOR
ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE	ORGANISATIONAL NATURE	Have umbrella organisations to provide leverage and influence (e.g. <i>Federacion de Clubes Záratecanos del Sur de California</i> )	Regarded as most organised of all Central American migrant organisations
	DECISION-MAKING	Most have an executive board that leads and initiates discussions on organisation- and project-related issues	Often establishes an Executive Board where a few selected members make final decisions on organisation- and project-related issues
	SUSTAINABILITY	Most HTAs established in the 1970s. More were established after “matching funds” initiative	Most HTAs created in 1990s, but are growing rapidly in number
TRANSNATIONAL TIES	HOMETOWN TIES	Regular public consultation process with communities in Mexico	Members make frequent visits to their hometowns to find out their needs
	COLLABORATION	Collaborates with government officials and other organisations in Mexico	Have established partnerships with various organisations in home country (government agencies, churches, municipalities and businesses)
MOTIVATION		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intense loyalty to villages</li> <li>• Tangible results on previous donations</li> <li>• Matching programs set by 3 levels of government</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Initial motivation: Reconstruct war-ravaged communities</li> <li>• Long-term motivation: Improve quality of life of fellow citizens</li> </ul>

THE SUPPLY SIDE – HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS			
THEMATIC CONCEPTS		COUNTRIES	
	SUB-THEMES	MEXICO	EL SALVADOR
CAPACITY	FINANCIAL	Small donation schemes: resources raised through dances, beauty pageants, raffles, picnics, rodeos, membership dues and private donations	Small donation schemes: rely on donations and fundraising events (raffles, pageants and dinners). Diversifying sources funds a priority
	DEVELOPMENTAL	HTAs play active roles in identification, implementation and monitoring of projects	HTAs play a role in identification of projects through consultations. However, they are often approached by people from their hometowns
DEVELOPMENT IMPACT		Infrastructure projects have transformed towns in Mexico, particularly in Zacatecas. Focus has moved on to "productive projects looking at job creation and economic growth	Addressed the immediate needs of specific communities through assistance after natural disasters and through provision of basic human needs (e.g. education and health)

Data source: Adapted from several publications: Lowell & de la Garza, 2000; Orozco, 2000; Alarcon, 2002; Goldring, 2003; Orozco, 2003; Dunn, 2004; Orozco, 2004; Merz & Chen, 2005; Orozco, 2005; PADF, 2005

One of the two most important success factors is the organisational structure of Mexican and El Salvadorian HTAs, which essentially allow them to make efficient decisions within their organisations. While informality is a distinctive feature of the HTAs, they have established frameworks that allow an efficient decision-making process to take place. El Salvadorian HTAs are highly organised and they maintain a core group of active members in charge of their activities and general direction. Such feature facilitates collaboration and interaction among HTA members, particularly in undertaking projects, organizing events and soliciting donations. Mexican HTAs are not as organized, but they often have umbrella organisations that bring together smaller entities and allow for collective leverage and influence. These larger organisations facilitate the flow of information between HTAs and permit them to share transaction cost, particularly in communicating with Mexican officials and identifying their

<sup>19</sup> Phone lines were identified as residential when the individual who answers the call refers to the organisation's officer as a family member. In some cases, voice messages also mentioned "the residence of" and therefore, it was also noted as a residential line. Only the numbers that had clear indications of a residential line were noted in the study.

<sup>20</sup> Calls identified as "no answer" are as follows: a) no pick up; b) did not return message/call; and c) relevant individual not present at time of both calls.

hometown needs. Both communities also have executive boards, which consists of anywhere from five to ten volunteers. These dedicated members often lead discussions and initiates options for the general direction and potential activities of the organisation.

Mexican and El Salvadorian migrants' interest in joining HTAs is also increasing, which is evident in the number of HTAs created in the 1990s. Within the Mexican diaspora, there is an estimated number of 1000 HTAs across the United States. In Los Angeles alone, there are 109 Mexican HTAs in 1995. By 1998, there were 170, which eventually increased to 230 in 1999. The Mexican governments' "3 X 1" matching fund scheme serves as an influential motivation for Mexican migrants to establish more HTAs. As more people witnessed the tangible results of their donations, coupled with the willingness of the Mexican government to participate in the initiative, more Mexicans became interested in the philanthropic venture. In the case of El Salvador, HTAs are relatively new, but their number is growing. Since the 1990s, El Salvadorians established approximately 200 HTAs. As the most organised Latin American diaspora, El Salvadorian HTAs are equally resilient as their Mexican counterparts. Essentially, there are reasons to be optimistic about the sustainability of these organisations since interests among migrants continue to grow.

The second of the two most important success factors is transnational ties, which allow for efficient exchanges of information between donors and recipients of collective remittances. Because of their close proximity to Mexico and El Salvador, members of HTAs make frequent visits to their hometowns. This allows them to conduct regular public consultations with community leaders and strengthen their affinity to their home communities. Essentially, stronger transnational ties provide opportunities to exchange information, particularly in regards to hometown needs and donor concerns. Furthermore, frequent visits serve a psychological purpose since they remind migrants of their personal linkages to the community. Sustained interaction with the hometown strengthens personal affinity and thus, maintains the motivation to help. Through these personal ties, migrants develop a sense of commitment to the future of their home communities. Raymond (2005) argues that the practice of philanthropy is a "monetized expression of a community's commitment to its future" and therefore, maintaining these ties is a priority for all HTAs.

Collaboration among HTAs and officials from their home communities are equally important as well. In the case of Mexico and El Salvador, there are established partnerships with government, NGOs, church and business officials. Consequently, HTAs and local entities are better able to undertake development activities since there is engagement from both sides. While El Salvadorian HTAs have expressed some reservations in fully trusting government officials,

they are willing to engage in some form of collaboration with them. Overall, despite some concerns, both diasporas have established opportunities for collaboration and partnership with their home communities, which facilitates the exchange of information among relevant stakeholders and reduces the risk and uncertainty in the philanthropic process.

The third success factor is the motivation of Mexican and El Salvadorian migrants to help their home communities, which relates primarily to their intense loyalty to their villages. In the case of El Salvador, the end of the civil war in the early 1990s inspired communal assistance for the reconstruction of the war-ravaged country. Today, their motivation stems from the desire to improve the quality of life of their fellow citizens. In Mexican communities in the United States, migrants' high regard of previous development projects complements their intense loyalty to their villages. The transformation of Mexican villages and towns provided tangible results that convinced migrants of the value of their donations. The three level of governments' intention to match funds also provided further motivation to engage in philanthropic work. Overall, members of the Mexican and El Salvadorian communities in the United States maintain strong affinity towards their home countries, which help explain their motivation and optimism for change.

The fourth success factor is capacity, which relates specifically to financial and developmental capacity of Mexican and El Salvadorian HTAs. Despite having small donation schemes, these HTAs have sound financial capabilities for organisations of their size. They rely primarily on social fundraisers, which typically range from beauty pageants to picnics, dinners and dances. Some HTAs also use membership fees and private donations to complement fundraising activities. El Salvadorians have also approached big American companies like Sprint and American Airlines to provide donations in exchange for new customers in the diaspora. It is a reflection of the community's desire to diversify their sources of funds. Overall, the financial capabilities of both diaspora communities enable them to acquire the necessary resources to engage in philanthropic work on a regular basis.

The developmental capacities of Mexican and El Salvadorian HTAs are also worth noting. They play active roles in identification, implementation and monitoring of development projects. Often, these HTAs engage in consultations with community leaders from their hometowns to identify potential activities. The development interests of both communities centre on promoting small social changes, particularly toward vulnerable sectors such as children and the elderly (Orozco, 2005). Consequently, their philanthropic work revolves around the provision of social services and improved infrastructures. In Mexico's case, however, there is a notable

shift in the type of assistance provided to their home communities. Increasingly, migrants are funding job creation programs and other entrepreneurial and investment-related activities.

The fifth and final factor to success relates to the local impact of development projects undertaken by Mexican and El Salvadorian HTAs, which have been noticeable in many communities in both countries. In the region of Zacatecas in Mexico, infrastructure projects transformed the cities as more paved roads and classrooms are available for public use. In El Salvador, in-kind donations from diaspora communities facilitated the recovery from natural disasters such as earthquakes while improvements in school infrastructure, water systems and health clinics also improved the quality of services in rural El Salvadorian communities. Consequently, the developmental impact of HTA assistance has to be well-documented and well-publicized in home communities to serve donor notice that their financial contributions were put into good use. Despite the direct and indirect costs for migrants to engage in this type of philanthropic work, the belief that their resources had positive impact on their home communities often compensate for the costs incurred.

Overall, five main factors help explain the relative success of both the Mexican and El Salvadorian HTAs. Table 6 below summarizes these factors:

*Table 6: Factors to Success: Mexico and El Salvadorian HTAs in the United States - The Supply Side*

<b>FACTORS TO SUCCESS: THE SUPPLY SIDE</b>	
• ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE	• TRANSNATIONAL TIES
• MOTIVATION	• CAPACITY
• DEVELOPMENT IMPACT	

Essentially, the sound organisational structure allows HTAs to make efficient decisions, particularly in raising funds. Strong transnational ties complement this feature, which provides opportunities for efficient exchanges of information between donors and recipients. Sustained motivation among members, favourable financial and developmental capacity and obvious development impact of HTA projects in their home communities further strengthen these characteristics. Collectively, these five factors help illustrate why Mexican and El Salvadorian HTAs in the United States are successful in mobilising collective remittances for their home countries.

### 5.1.2 The Demand Side

The governments of Mexico and El Salvador recognize the contributions of HTAs to the development of their local communities and consequently, they adopted several policy and programming initiatives to promote and encourage philanthropy among émigrés in the United States. Table 7 summarizes both governments' policies and strategies:

*Table 7: Comparison of the Mexican and El Salvadorian Approaches to Collective Remittances*

THE DEMAND SIDE		
	MEXICO	EL SALVADOR
NATIONAL STRATEGY	<p>Government of Mexico:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recognizes the contribution of diaspora communities in the United States</li> <li>• has a national strategy to engage diaspora communities</li> <li>• aims to forge closer relations with HTAs</li> </ul>	<p>Government of El Salvador:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• recognizes the contribution of diaspora communities in the United States</li> <li>• has an explicit agenda (Diaspora Outreach Policy)</li> <li>• forges partnerships with HTAs</li> </ul>
INCENTIVES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Municipal, state and federal governments support HTA donations by matching funds</li> <li>• “4 X 1” program (2005)</li> <li>• “3 X 1” program (1999)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Programa Unidos por la Solaridad</i>, a program by the Social Investment and Local Fund (FISDL), which matches funds through an open competition among El Salvadorian HTAs</li> </ul>

*Data sources: Adapted from several publications, Orozco, 2000; Goldring, 2003; Orozco, 2004; Federacion de Clubes Záratecanos, 2006.*

While there are some migrant NGOs acting as intermediaries in the philanthropic process between the diaspora communities in the United States and their home countries, one of which is the Latino United Latin American Citizens, their role is minor compared to the role of the governments of Mexico and El Salvador. Both are fully aware of the potential role that HTAs have on the development of their countries' socio-economic conditions. Accordingly, forging better relations with HTAs is a priority for both governments.

Among the policies adopted is the implementation of national strategies and agendas to coordinate efforts relating to diaspora outreach in the United States. Furthermore, the Mexican and El Salvadorian governments recognised that the cost to engage in this philanthropic process is high, particularly for a population with low-paying jobs. Consequently, both governments

adopted an incentive scheme to offset the high cost associated with the process and encourage philanthropy among diaspora communities in the United States.

In Mexico, all three levels of government adopted an incentive program where public funds match every dollar donated by an HTA. In 1986, Zacatecan government officials visited Mexican HTAs in Southern California and agreed to match the donations for philanthropic projects dollar-for-dollar. The federal and municipal governments joined the initiative in 1992 and 1999 respectively. Essentially, Mexico's "3X1" program has attracted the attention of many Mexican émigrés and consequently, HTA participation flourished. Increased participation means increased funds and therefore, Mexican HTAs are able to strengthen their financial capacity.

In October of 2005, First Data Corporation, an American private firm that specializes in electronic commerce and payment services and owns Western Union, contributed US\$1.25 million to the program. This transformed the incentive scheme into a new "4X1" initiative with the private sector serving as the fourth primary contributor. The new public-private partnership is a clear recognition of the tremendous role that HTAs have in improving the economic opportunity and quality of life in poor Mexican communities. Matching public and private funds would not have been available to HTAs if their philanthropic activities have not had positive effects on communities in Mexico. As First Data CEO Charlie Fote suggests, the incentive program is "a successful and innovative initiative [that] helps strengthen communities and create valuable job opportunities for people living in disadvantaged and underserved areas in Mexico" (Federacion, 2006). Clearly, the combined public and private funds is a significant initiative that relies primarily on monetary assistance to encourage philanthropic work among Mexican migrants in the United States.

In El Salvador, the national government also has an incentive program called *Programa Unidos por la Solaridad*, which is a component of the Social Investment and Local Fund (FISDL). It matches funds through an open competition among El Salvadorian HTAs in the United States. Unlike Mexico's "4X1" initiative, the El Salvadorian program is relatively new and financial support comes primarily from the national government. Nonetheless, it also serves to encourage philanthropy among El Salvadorian HTAs in the United States.

Overall, the factors to success on the demand side stem from the strategies adopted by both governments. Table 8 summarizes these factors, which relate primarily to the coordination of efforts and incentive schemes of the Mexican and El Salvadorian governments.

*Table 8: Factors to Success: Mexico and El Salvador - The Demand Side*

<b>FACTORS TO SUCCESS: THE DEMAND SIDE</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NATIONAL STRATEGIES</li> <li>• INCENTIVES</li> </ul>

Essentially, the adoption of national strategies by both governments facilitated the creation of organisational frameworks on the demand side. Donors and recipients alike are able to coordinate their efforts in a way that addresses both sides' concerns regarding their philanthropic work. In addition, incentive schemes also complemented these efforts, which further encouraged participation and affirmed both governments' recognition and appreciation of migrants' assistance to their home countries. Thus, both governments' policy strategies are instrumental in sustaining the flow of collective remittances into their countries.

## 5.2 The Supply Side – Filipino HTAs in Canada

The survey of Filipino HTAs in Canada yields interesting results. First, the study presents a description of Filipino migrant organisations in Canada and an overview of the survey participation of Filipino HTAs. The rest of the section discusses the characteristics of Filipino HTAs compared to their Mexican and El Salvadorian counterparts.

### 5.2.1 Descriptive Findings

Compared to the number of Mexicans and El Salvadorians in the United States, Filipinos in Canada are not as significant in terms of their total population. There are approximately 330,000 Filipinos in Canada compared to the ten million Mexicans and two million El Salvadorians in the United States. However, when observed as a proportion of the host country's total population, Filipinos in Canada stand in between Mexico and El Salvador with one percent of Canada's total population.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, it is valid to compare the Filipino diaspora in Canada to the Mexican and El Salvadorian diasporas in the United States despite their difference in absolute population size. It is important to note, however, that the volume of Filipinos in Canada may have influence on the ways in which migrants are organised in the country. Specifically, there may not be enough migrants from the same community to form or sustain hometown associations and therefore, Filipino migrants may choose to join other types of migrant

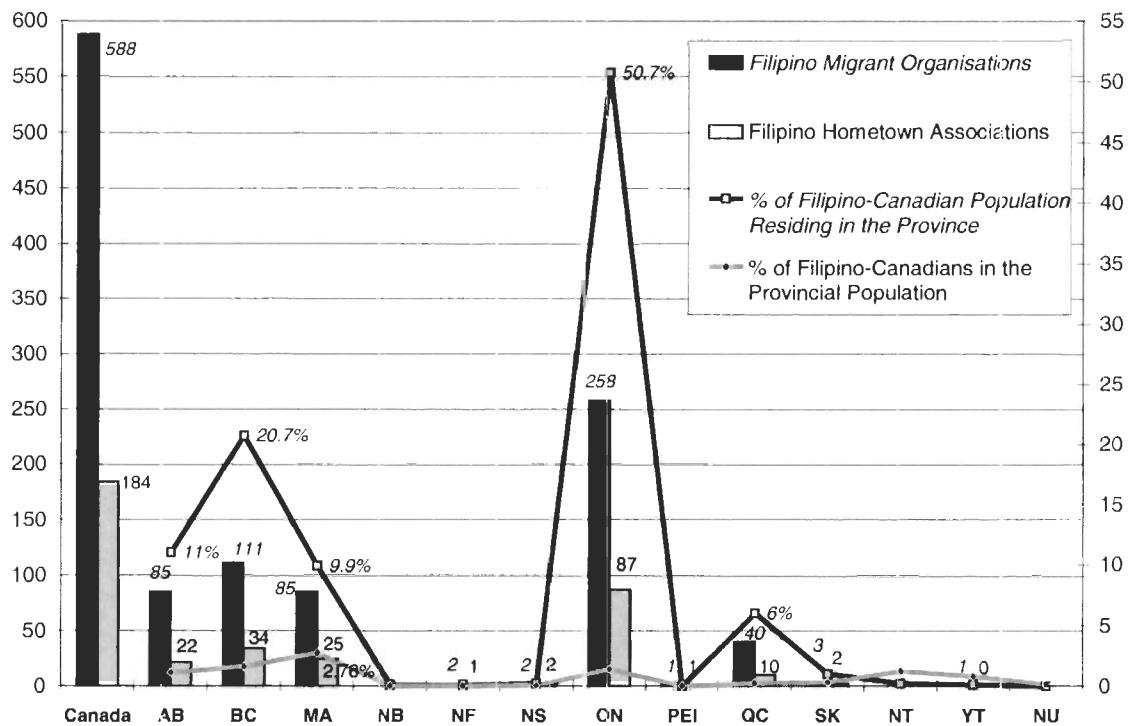
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<sup>10</sup> Mexicans stand at three percent of the US population while El Salvadorians stand at .7 percent of the US population.

organisations. Accordingly, the study needs to begin the analysis with a broader look at the supply side, specifically a general overview of Filipino migrant organisations in Canada.

Internationally, there is an extensive network of Filipino migrant organisations. In total, the Philippine Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE) estimates that there are approximately 12,000 associations while the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) records about 4,000 Filipino organisations globally. The discrepancy is understandable since neither department keeps an updated record of Filipino migrant organisations worldwide. In Canada, the closest estimate on the number of Filipino organisations is 588, a total obtained from a yearly community publication distributed by the Philippine Consulate General in Toronto. The onus to provide proper contact information falls on the organisations and consequently, the publication does not guarantee accurate contact and status information for registered organisations. Figure 3 illustrates the geographic distribution of Filipino migrant organisations in Canada.

*Figure 3: Number of Filipino Migrant Organisations and Hometown Associations & Filipino-Canadian Population Distribution, by Provinces*



*Data sources: Statscan, 2005; Corpus, Tanjungco & Kerworthy., 2005; calculations made by the author  
Reminder: A migrant organisation is a social grouping made up of migrants from the same home country while an HTA is a type of migrant organisation comprised of migrants from the same hometown in the origin country.*

Figure 3 shows that Filipino migrant organisations are concentrated on four Canadian provinces: Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba and Ontario. This is not surprising since nearly 90 percent of the Filipino-Canadian population reside in these four provinces.<sup>11</sup> Nearly half of the Filipino organisations are in Ontario while approximately 20 percent are in British Columbia. These figures reflect the exact distribution of Filipino-Canadians in both provinces. The rest are primarily in Alberta and Manitoba.

Of all the Filipino migrant organisations in Canada, Figure 3 illustrates that 184 are HTAs, which is approximately 31 percent of the total number. In the four provinces with significant Filipino population, HTA is the most popular type of migrant organisation established followed by community/area-based types of association. In Manitoba, there is also a significant number of church-based groups, which is not evident in other provinces. In Quebec, the organisations are primarily community/area-based which suggests that Filipinos in the province

<sup>11</sup> Figure 3 illustrates the exact figures for each province.

are more-oriented towards establishing groups based on their Filipino heritage instead of their regional or provincial identities in the Philippines. Aside from HTAs and community/area-based groups, there is also a notable number of cultural groups as well as sports clubs in the provinces. Appendix C shows the exact distribution of the types of migrant organisations evident in Canadian provinces. To understand the differences among them, Table 9 delineates and explains the major types of migrant organisations present in Filipino-Canadian communities:

*Table 9: Types of Filipino Migrant Organisations in Canada*

<b>TYPES OF MIGRANT ORGANISATIONS</b>	<b>MEMBERSHIP DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>EXAMPLES</b>
HOMETOWN ASSOCIATION (HTA)	Members come from the same origin community in the Philippines, or who have similar regional, ethnic or language affiliations	Samahang Sampablenyo of Toronto
COMMUNITY OR AREA-BASED GROUP	Members come from the same host city/region, but not necessarily from the same communities/regions in the Philippines	Filipiniana Association of Ottawa Valley
BUSINESS GROUPS	Migrant groups joined together to pursue business opportunities within the Filipino-Canadian community and within the Philippine-Canada corridor	Calgary Filipino Chamber of Commerce
PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS	Members share the same occupations or come from an organisation of business and professional leaders	Philippine Dental Association of Manitoba
ALUMNI ASSOCIATIONS	Members graduated from the same high school, college/university or fraternity/sorority in the Philippines	University of Santo Tomas (UST) Alumni Association in BC
CHURCH/FAITH-BASED GROUPS	Groups of migrants joined together because of faith or religious reasons	Winnipeg Filipino Alliance Church
SPORTS CLUBS	Groups of migrants joined together because of sports- or fitness-related reasons	Filipino Bowling Club of Quebec
CHARITIES	Migrant groups formed to address specific causes in the Philippines or Filipino-Canadian communities	Concerned Canadian Filipino for International Foundation (Alberta)
CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS	Migrant groups formed to promote Filipino heritage in Canadian communities	Folklorico Filipino Canada (Ontario)

*Data source: Opiniano, 2005a; Corpus, Tanjanco & Kenworthy, 2005*

The diversity in the type of organisations evident in the Filipino-Canadian community suggests that unlike the Mexican and El Salvadorian diasporas in the United States, Filipino-Canadians are more dispersed and do not necessarily belong to an HTA. Essentially, they have

varying interests in the ways in which they want to maintain their social ties with other Filipino-Canadians and their home communities. Such distinction presents both challenges and opportunities. It is challenging because the coordination of development efforts among different organisations may prove too difficult and overwhelming. Conversely, it may also provide opportunities since specific organisations may have the ability to specialize in one particular type of development project or activity. For example, business groups may play a role in providing assistance that focuses directly on job creation and entrepreneurship while alumni associations may target skills development in the Philippines. Overall, the variance in the types of Filipino migrant organisations in Canada suggests that collective remittance cannot be interpreted as a strictly HTA to hometown occurrence. There are other migrant organisations relevant in this case, which may allow for a broader scope of engagement other than the initial understanding of the Mexican and El Salvadorian philanthropic processes. Essentially, the presence of HTAs may not be as popular in Canada compared to the Mexican and El Salvadorian communities in the United States because there may be insufficient density of people from the same hometown in the Philippines. Accordingly, this becomes an important caveat regarding the Filipino diaspora in Canada.

The study remains focused on HTAs, however, because their philanthropic activities are well documented compared to other types of migrant organisations in Canada. Furthermore, the financial and time constraints only allowed research activities to focus on one type of migrant organisation. Thus, the most popular type of migrant organisation remains the primary subject of the study.

### **5.2.2 Survey Participation Responses**

Appendix D summarizes the results of the Filipino HTA survey conducted for the analysis. Essentially, the survey experience reveals that Filipino HTAs in Canada are informal entities that have limited organizational capacity. Approximately 74 percent of the Filipino HTAs could not be reached because of incorrect contact information or unavailability of relevant officials. While most HTAs register with the Philippine Consulate in Toronto after their creation, they fail to provide updated contact information, thereby resulting in inaccurate publication of the organisations' telephone numbers in public documents such as the Filipino Telephone Guide. One may speculate that some HTAs may have ceased to exist or are in temporary hiatus. This gives some indication of their ability to operate over time, which is not entirely favourable in this case. Furthermore, 30 percent of Filipino HTAs in Canada have confirmed residential lines, which

imply that official headquarters are located in residences of organisation officials. Only six percent have official websites and only three percent have official email addresses.

Of the HTAs that provided accurate contact information (47 HTAs), only 16 percent expressed interest in survey participation while 9 percent refused to participate, citing lack of time to complete survey and lack of interest in the study as primary reasons. Of the HTAs that expressed interest, 63 percent requested email questionnaires, with a significant number providing personal email addresses. A total of five HTAs requested mail questionnaires while only one asked for a fax questionnaire. Of the 30 HTAs that expressed interest, only five questionnaires were finished, all of which were conducted over telephone interviews. Throughout the survey, many officials highlighted that their organisation is voluntary in nature and therefore, there is general hesitancy in agreeing to participate in the survey. While many eventually agreed, they did not return the survey despite follow-up calls and emails to participants. The lack of responses among those who expressed interest illustrates again the limited capacity of Filipino HTAs. Overall, the survey experience further confirms the informality of Filipino HTAs in Canada and a general lack of capacity among volunteers to undertake basic organizational duties such as updating contact information and responding to organization-related documents, on a regular basis. Despite the low response rate, many of the answers from the five finished questionnaires conveyed similar messages, which aptly describe the underlying nature and characteristics of Filipino HTAs in Canada.

### **5.2.3 Philanthropic Activities**

The survey responses and website consultations revealed that there are four primary focus areas regarding the type of assistance provided by Filipino HTAs in the past. Table 10 provides an overview of the types of development projects undertaken and examples of Filipino HTAs in Canada that carried them out.

*Table 10: Overview of Philanthropic Activities Undertaken by Filipino HTAs in Canada*

TYPES OF ASSISTANCE		SPECIFIC ACTIVITY UNDERTAKEN	EXAMPLES OF HTAs
EDUCATION	School Materials and Equipment	Donation of books Donation of Electric Fans	Southern Tagalog Association of BC* Bataan Association of Montreal*
	School Facilities	Construction of Classrooms	Batangas Provincial Association of Canada
	Student Assistance	Scholarships	Lunarians of Canada (Ontario)
	Materials and Equipments	Health equipments	Lucena City Association of Ontario
HEALTH	Health Services	Medical Missions	Marinduque Cultural Society of Canada (Ontario)
	Recreation	Build recreational facilities	Samahang Sampablenyo of Toronto*
INFRASTRUCTURE	Church-based	Renovations of churches and chapels	Pangasinan Group of Manitoba*
	Transportation	Construction of waiting sheds	Marikina Association of Canada (Ontario)
	Natural Disaster	Food, clothing and water	United Aklanon Association of Toronto
EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE			

*Data source: Based on findings from survey and website consultations; \* denotes HTAs that participated in the survey*

Like the Mexican and El Salvadorian communities in the United States, Filipino HTAs are equally interested in projects that relate primarily to improving social conditions in their home communities, specifically on areas in which the government has fallen short in providing much-needed services and facilities. Past philanthropic activities focused on education, health and infrastructure improvements ranging from in-kind to financial assistance. What is also striking about past philanthropic work is the tangible nature of the development projects undertaken. This is understandable since migrants want quick results from their hard-earned resources. Often, Opiniano (2005a; p. 60) explains that “Filipino migrants want to receive actual pictures, performance reports, thank you letters from recipients, and even messages from telephone calls and email messages”. Given that there is general lack of trust among migrants towards government officials in the Philippines, HTA members want physical evidence that confirms the appropriate use of their resources. Consequently, project geared towards economic development

are quite rare since results relating to this type of programming are often difficult to measure and observe by migrants themselves.

These observations imply that Filipino HTAs in Canada are less mature as their Mexican counterparts in the United States. As mentioned in section 2.2, Mexican HTAs are transitioning towards job creation and other economic ventures after much attention on social development undertakings. This illustrates their maturity and improved organizational capacity since they are able to take on projects that do not necessarily result in quick tangible results. It implies that Mexican HTAs have established a sense of certainty and accountability that allow migrants to feel confident that their resources will be used effectively even without physical evidence on the ground. While Filipino HTAs remain in the developmental stage of organizational effectiveness, the Mexican diaspora highlights that there is tremendous potential in the long run after HTAs develop and broaden their interests and capacities.

#### **5.2.4 Organisational Structure**

As the case study illustrates, the ways in which HTAs are organised, both internal and within the given diaspora, is one of the two most important factors in the collective remittance process. Without favourable organisational structures, HTA support for activities and decision-making process is weak. When compared to Mexican and El Salvadorian HTAs, the Filipino HTAs in Canada do not fare as well. Table 11 provides an illustration of the existing structure.

*Table 11: Organisational Structure of Filipino HTAs in Canada*

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE	FILIPINO HTAs IN CANADA
ORGANISATIONAL NATURE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Majority of HTAs are informal in nature</li> <li>• Umbrella organisations exist, but not fully utilised and leveraged</li> </ul>
DECISION-MAKING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Have executive boards that leads and initiates discussions on organisation- and project-related issues</li> </ul>
DURABILITY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• HTA members' commitments unreliable</li> <li>• Concerns about second and third generations' interests</li> <li>• Ontario HTAs bigger in membership size than others</li> </ul>

As noted above, Filipino HTAs in Canada are typically informal in nature with members' residences serving as official headquarters of organisations. As appendix D illustrates, a significant number of HTAs have residential lines as their primary contact line, thereby

suggesting that Filipino HTAs do not have office space reserved for their organisational work. In cases of general meetings, elections and fundraising events, the survey reveals that HTAs may rent a community centre or restaurants for the event. Furthermore, the executive boards consist of a selected number of volunteers who take up responsibilities in the management and planning of the organisation. Typically, four or five members take much of the responsibilities, particularly in leading and initiating discussions on organisation- and project-related issues. While there may be other executive members available, survey responses reveal that some eventually decline to carry out their responsibilities due to other personal or job-related commitments.

In Quebec and Manitoba, the HTAs surveyed expressed general appreciation of the ways in which HTAs in the provinces were organised. However, despite the desire among executive members to coordinate efforts and activities among HTAs, members of each organisation are generally unreliable in social events participation. Therefore, the organisational nature does not necessarily lead to sustained fundraising activities and collaborative partnerships. In addition, despite the existence of umbrella organisations for most HTAs surveyed, they are not fully utilised and leveraged because of inconsistency in the support from one HTA to another.

In all the survey responses, officials stressed that there is no guarantee of members' commitments to the organisation. HTAs cannot force members to attend events and therefore, there are instances of low participation and donations. In many cases, Filipino migrants join HTAs after arrival in Canada to build social networks and combat homesickness. However, as members adjust to life in the host country, their participation rate in organisation's events decreases, often citing busy schedule as primary reason. Furthermore, there is general concern regarding the participation of second and third generation Filipino-Canadians. Unlike their parents, young Filipino-Canadians have little interest in participating in social events organized by HTAs. Consequently, there is some concern on whether Filipino HTAs in Canada would truly last given the propensity of young Filipino-Canadians to discount the importance of these organisations.

### **5.2.5 Transnational Ties**

As identified in the Mexican and El Salvadorian case study, the second most important factor in the collective remittance process is the transnational ties of HTAs to their home communities. Collective remittance is a kind of philanthropic work that relies on migrants' special affinity to their hometowns, which convinces them that they have a stake in the development of their home communities (Johnson and Sedaca, 2004; Opiniano, 2005c). This

sense of kinship weakens when ties to the homeland slowly deteriorates. Table 12 describes the strength of transnational ties along the Filipino-Canadian corridor.

*Table 12: Transnational Ties of Filipino HTAs to the Philippines*

TRANSNATIONAL TIES	FILIPINO HTAs IN CANADA
HOMETOWN TIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hometown ties are weak – members unable to visit home communities on a regular basis</li> <li>• Public consultations with hometowns rare</li> <li>• Some Filipino officials (priests, mayors and councillors) visit diaspora communities across Canada, but rarely undertaken</li> </ul>
COLLABORATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More collaboration with church than government/NGO officials</li> <li>• General lack of trust towards government and NGO officials</li> </ul>

Unlike Mexican and El Salvadorian HTA members, the distance and the cost associated with travel between Canada and the Philippines prevent Filipino HTA members from visiting their home communities regularly. Often, the older generation of retired Filipino-Canadians are the only group that may visit the country frequently. Therefore, hometown ties are generally weak and public consultations are rare.

Every so often, some Filipino government, NGO or church officials would visit expatriates in Canada to inform HTA members of their specific needs or projects. These information sessions, often called by NGO officials as “roadshows”, often generate donations (Opiniano, 2005c; Girado, 2006). However, high costs limit their outreach activities. While communication technology has improved dramatically in the Philippines in recent years, specifically cellular technology, maintaining contacts with relevant government and non-government officials remain difficult for many Filipino HTAs in Canada. Thus, the flow of information regarding hometown needs and diaspora concerns is slow and delayed.

In addition, due to rampant corruption and political instability in the Philippines, which is often the highlight in the available media for Filipinos in Canada, there is general lack of trust among Filipino migrants towards the Filipino government (Opiniano, 2005c). These help explain the reluctance among Filipinos to provide donations to government-sponsored development programs. In some cases, Filipino migrants “see no more hope for the future of the Philippines and would rather stay in their new homeland” because of the corruption and political problems in

the country (Opiniano, 2005a, p. 32; Dugtong, 2005; Girado, 2006). Consequently, the onus is on the Filipino government to address these problems to ensure that Filipino migrants do not stay disengaged in the development of their home country. Essentially, unless improvements in the political environment transpire through better accountability and improved stability, the general tendency among migrants is to shift away from donating to the Philippines. Unlike Mexico and El Salvador where governments have displayed some general desire to improve the political situations in their countries, the Philippines remains mired in political controversy that continues to dismay many migrants abroad. Such disenchantment weakens both migrants' affinity to their home country and willingness to provide resources for development purposes.

Three of the five respondents also expressed distrust towards NGO officials, citing they are equally suspicious as government officials. Consequently, the amount of collaboration that takes place between Filipino HTAs and relevant stakeholders in the Philippines is disappointing. It is important to note, however, that there are specific HTAs that have very strong relationship with local officials from their home communities. One example is the Pozzorubio Association of Ontario, which has established contacts with government officials in their hometown. Overall, geography and distrust pose significant problems relating to establishing strong transnational ties between Filipino HTAs in Canada and the Philippines. While evidence thus far seems to illustrate that there may be little hope in promoting collective remittances among Filipino HTAs in Canada, the latter sections of the findings will help explain that consumers of collective remittance may help alleviate this growing scepticism evident from the supply side of the philanthropic process.

### **5.2.6 Motivation**

Filipino migrants' motivation to assist in the development of the Philippines is evident, but it is not as formidable as the motivation evident in Mexico and El Salvador. While survey responses reveal that assisting home communities in the Philippines is a component of the overall mandate of HTAs, this is only secondary to assisting members and compatriots in Canada. In fact, four of the five survey respondents reveal that scholarships for local Filipino students and assisting newly arrived Filipino migrants are some of their top priorities in terms of social engagement in Canada. Table 13 summarizes the general observations relating to the motivation of Filipino HTAs in Canada.

*Table 13: Motivation of Filipino HTAs in Canada*

MOTIVATION
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Assisting home communities in the Philippines is secondary to assisting members/compatriots in Canada</li> <li>• Integration of newly arrived immigrants also a priority</li> <li>• General reluctance to commit</li> </ul>

Overall, the desire to help is evident among the Filipino HTAs in Canada. However, members lack intense loyalty to their home communities in the Philippines, which is an influential factor in philanthropy as characterised by the Mexican and El Salvadorian communities. Strengthening Filipino-Canadians' connections to their home communities may be a priority in this case to increase their sense of affinity and thus, decrease their reluctance to commit to sustained philanthropic work.

### 5.2.7 Capacity

The capacity to mobilise funds and adopt development-related projects are equally important in the collective remittance process. Table 14 below summarizes both the financial and developmental capacity of Filipino HTAs in Canada.

*Table 14: Capacity of Filipino HTAs in Canada*

CAPACITY	FILIPINO HTAs IN CANADA
FINANCIAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Small donation schemes: rely primarily on fundraisers such as ballroom dancing, casino trips, Christmas formals; some have membership fees</li> <li>• Generally not enough funds to sustain yearly activities</li> <li>• Members' donations unreliable</li> </ul>
DEVELOPMENTAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some HTAs have ability to identify projects, but most rely on requests from hometown officials; consultations rarely undertaken</li> <li>• Usually use intermediaries such as NGOs or government programs to implement and monitor projects undertaken</li> </ul>

The table conveys that the financial capacity of Filipino HTAs is limited as they rely primarily on small fundraising schemes such as casino trips, ballroom dancing and holiday parties. Of the five survey respondents, four cited lack of funds as an important reason for not being able to send collective remittances to the Philippines. Officials expressed that if additional

funds were available, the likelihood of their association undertaking more philanthropic work increases. As discussed in the previous section, there is general reluctance among HTA members to commit to HTA events and therefore, their donations are unreliable as well. Essentially, while there are existing mechanisms that allow Filipino HTAs to solicit donations, the amount of money collected is often insufficient to sustain their activities.

In terms of developmental capacity, Filipino HTAs prefer to mobilise funds and use intermediaries in the identification and implementation of development projects. While there are some occasions in which HTAs had lead roles in project identification either with or without public consultations, there is general preference towards having recipients come forward with their own project ideas. Of course, the approval of proposed development projects depends on the HTAs' available funds.

### 5.2.8 Development Impact

The final factor to success pertains to development impact. Table 15 delineates the relevant findings pertaining to the development impact of collective remittances in the Philippines.

*Table 15: Impact of Filipino HTAs on the Philippines*

<b>DEVELOPMENT IMPACT</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Immediate needs of communities addressed by financial and in-kind assistance</li><li>• Development impact is piecemeal</li><li>• Many tangible projects, but not enough “productive projects”</li></ul>

Because of the irregular nature of the collective remittance flow to the Philippines, the development impact of donations is not as great when compared to Mexico and El Salvador. While development projects undertaken are typically tangible in nature, they are not targeted towards a specific objective within a community. Projects end up as small contributions to an array of different problems, which do not entirely provide holistic impact on development. Consequently, while there is a general sense of appreciation for the contributions, the piecemeal nature of developmental impact undermines the overall perception that the collective remittance process is worthwhile. For example, in a small city in the province of Laguna, HTAs from Canada and the United States funded several infrastructure projects. However, one HTA chose to build a classroom in a rural community while another built a recreational slide at a local park.

Ideally, HTAs would target the schools in the community first and move on to recreational endeavours. However, what transpires are disorganized efforts that do not necessarily provide broader communal impact. Again, this may convince HTA members that their donations are not entirely effective and beneficial and thus, reduce their motivation to participate in future development projects.

While the overall depiction of the supply side leans heavily on pessimism, it is important to note that Filipino HTAs in Canada are in a unique position compared to the Mexican and El Salvadorian HTAs in the United States. Essentially, the number of Filipino-Canadians from the same hometown in the Philippines may not be sufficient to sustain the existence of HTAs, which may help explain the weaknesses of the associations. While the findings indicate that the current Filipino HTAs in Canada are unlikely to be in a position to provide substantial collective remittances, the analysis also reveals that the supply side goes beyond Filipino HTAs. Other types of Filipino migrant organisations in Canada may be better organised and better connected to the Philippines than the existing HTAs. Accordingly, one need not to be entirely negative on the supply side of this transnational process since there are other sources of collective remittances in Canada. Such discovery requires further consideration in any broader analysis of collective remittances from Filipino diaspora groups.

### **5.3 The Demand Side – The Philippine Society**

Private individuals, government officials and NGO representatives interviewed all expressed that the socio-economic conditions in the Philippines remain underdeveloped and therefore, any assistance from outside sources are needed and appreciated. According to a Filipino Congressman (2005) from the province of Laguna, the underlying needs of Filipinos remain centred on the improvement of one's quality of life, specifically in regards to job creation and inadequate social services.

There are three entities in the Philippines that have placed much attention on the philanthropy of Filipino diaspora communities worldwide. They are the government, migrant NGOs and religious groups, most notably the Catholic Church. Therefore, the following sections focus on these three actors, which essentially function as partners or intermediaries between donors and local communities. Collectively, they are the primary recipients of collective remittances in the Philippines.

### 5.3.1 The Government

Unlike the Mexican and El Salvadorian governments, the Filipino government does not have a national strategy to maximize development potential of Filipinos overseas and coordinate efforts in diaspora engagement (Newland & Patrick, 2004). Instead of broad incentive programs similar to Mexico's 4X1 initiative and El Salvador's FISDL, the Filipino government opted for a micro-level approach with particular focus on facilitating development projects. Employment agencies such as the Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE) as well as the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) have specific programs targeting Filipino communities abroad. Programs such as *Link for Philippine Development* (LINKAPIL) and *Classroom from Filipinos Abroad* (CGMA) seek financial assistance from Filipino migrants for social and economic development projects in Filipino communities. Table 16 explains the roles and functions of both programs.

*Table 16: Philippine Government Programs to Engage Migrants in Development*

GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS	DESCRIPTION	ACTIVITIES
<i>Lingkod sa Kapwa Pilipino/ Link for Philippine Development (LINKAPIL)</i>	A mechanism developed by the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) that aims to harness the potential and resources of overseas Filipinos to help support Philippine development goals	Activities range from education projects to microenterprise development, small-scale infrastructure, health and welfare and transfer of skills, knowledge and technology
<i>Classroom Galing sa Mamamayang Pilipino sa Abroad/ Classroom from Filipinos Abroad (CGMA)</i>	A program ran by the Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE), which solicits donations from Filipino migrants and their employers for the purpose of building classrooms to alleviate the shortage in the Philippines	Construction of elementary and high school classrooms in rural communities

*Data sources: CFO and DOLE websites*

Established in 1989, LINKAPIL is highly regarded by the Filipino government since it provides an organisational infrastructure for project development, resource transfer and project evaluation and monitoring. From 1990 to 2004, Filipino migrants donated approximately 1.518 billion pesos<sup>12</sup> to the program, benefiting 11 million Filipinos in 73 cities and provinces (Ang, 2005). Of the total LINKAPIL donations in the same time period, CFO (2005) estimates that 69.1

<sup>12</sup> Approximately CDN\$33 million at the current exchange rate of \$1 CDN = 46 PHP

million pesos originated from Canada, a value equivalent to CDN\$1.5 million at today's exchange rate. CGMA is a relatively new initiative, which began in 2003. So far, financial support from diaspora communities abroad helped build more than 229 new primary and secondary classrooms nationwide. Of the total number, Filipino migrant organisations in Canada funded fourteen classrooms throughout the country (CGMA, 2006).

While none of the five HTAs surveyed have actually donated to these government programs, website consultations revealed that some Filipino-Canadian HTAs have participated in the past. Among them are the Batangas Provincial Association of Canada and Kapampangan National Association of Montreal, both of which donated US\$4,000 to the CGMA program to build classrooms on their behalf.

Essentially, both government programs attempt to facilitate the project development process through assistance in project identification, implementation and evaluation. While both programs make it easier for HTAs to engage in development, there is a notable obstacle associated with this kind of strategy. It pertains primarily to accountability and transparency issues. As discussed in section 5.2.5, Filipino migrants have general lack of trust towards the Filipino government. This is particularly true in this study since four of the five HTAs surveyed cited that their lack of participation stems from corruption concerns. Consequently, trust becomes a relevant issue in this type of programming adopted by the Filipino government.

Aside from accountability issues, the Filipino government also recognizes that maintaining ties to the homeland is necessary to encourage philanthropic work among Filipino migrants. Consequently, the CFO adopted the Filipino Education and Heritage Programme, which consists of several initiatives designed to promote ties with Filipinos abroad, particularly with second and third generation Filipinos. Table 17 explains these government initiatives.

Table 17: Philippine Government Programs to Maintain Transnational Ties

PROGRAM	PURPOSE
LANGUAGE AWARENESS – Guide to Learning Filipino	A teaching material with accompanying tape are available for migrant organizations and groups overseas to teach the Filipino language to children of overseas Filipinos and other individuals interested in acquiring the language AIM: To pave the way toward better understanding of the Philippines and its people
PHILIPPINE SCHOOLS OVERSEAS	Accredited by the Philippine Department of Education, Philippine Schools Overseas serve to address the educational needs of children of Overseas Filipino workers. They hope to facilitate the children's reintegration into the Philippine educational system upon their return to the country AIM: To teach and spread the Filipino culture and heritage among Filipino youth overseas
TRAVEL-STUDY PROGRAM – <i>Lakbay Aral</i>	A travel study program that provides young Filipinos born overseas with an opportunity to learn more about their roots and heritage by experiencing life in the Philippines AIM: To reconnect homeland ties with young Filipinos born outside the country
TRAVEL PROGRAM – <i>Lakbayan sa Pilipinas</i>	A 12-day journey for overseas Filipinos to visit their home communities and other historical sites in the Philippines AIM: To re-establish ties with homeland

Data source: CFO website

Collectively, CFO (2005) explains that the programming aims to let younger generations “know the country and its institutions better, and to inculcate in them the ideal that their identity and interests will best be served in the context of preserving their cultural moorings with that of all-Filipino community”. The existence of these programs implies that there are avenues in which younger Filipino-Canadians can maintain cultural ties to the Philippines. This, as explained in previous sections, is invaluable particularly in motivating them to engage in philanthropic work. However, there is little evidence of strong participation among Filipino-Canadian youths and therefore, a more concerted effort from the Philippine government is necessary to promote the programs among Filipino-Canadians.

Overall, the Filipino government’s approach to diaspora philanthropy centres on facilitation and promotion of homeland ties. This mainly contrasts the incentive-based approach adopted by the Mexican and El Salvadorian HTAs.

### **5.3.2 Migrant Non-Government Organisations (NGOs)**

Another prominent actor in the philanthropic process are migrant NGOs. These non-profit institutions focus on the potential impact of migration on the economic, social and political development of the Philippines. In funding their activities, migrant NGOs actively seek financial assistance from a variety of donors, among them are diaspora communities, specifically Filipino HTAs. In fact, some migrant NGOs have formal partnerships with HTAs abroad. An example is the Loving Presence Foundation, which receives financial support from the Filipino-American Community of South Puget Sound in the United States. Among the prominent NGOs that actively promote the linkage between migration and development are as follows:

*Table 18: Migrant Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in the Philippines*

NGO	DESCRIPTION	ACTIVITIES
UNLADKABAYAN MIGRANT SERVICES FOUNDATION	UnladKabayan is a non-profit organisation established to respond to the urgent need of migrant workers, specifically on their financial plans upon return to the country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Migrant Savings for alternative investment</li> <li>• Social entrepreneurship and Enterprise Development services</li> <li>• Credit Program</li> <li>• Education Training</li> <li>• Advocacy</li> </ul>
ATIKHA/BALIKABAYANI	Atikha is a comprehensive migrant and development non-government organisation, which commits itself to addressing the social cost and harnessing the full potential of overseas migration for local community development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Psychosocial Counselling and Intervention</li> <li>• Networking and Advocacy</li> <li>• Development of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises</li> <li>• Research and Information</li> </ul>
ECONOMIC RESOURCE CENTRE FOR OVERSEAS FILIPINOS (ERCOF)	ERCOF focuses on assisting Overseas Filipinos achieve financial and economic independence for themselves and their families, in ways that will also enable them to contribute to the development of their hometowns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Services on savings and investment, access to microcredit institutions and skills and entrepreneurship training</li> <li>• Legal information and links to Philippine lawyers</li> <li>• Financial planning</li> <li>• Research, networking, consulting and awareness raising</li> <li>• Assistance on business formation and services</li> </ul>
INSTITUTE FOR MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT ISSUES (IMDI)	IMDI analyses the links surrounding Filipinos' migration and the country's state of development. It hopes to promote and mainstream migration and development approaches that benefit the country and that will make a dent on the factors that push and maintain Filipinos abroad	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Research</li> <li>• Advocacy</li> <li>• Journalism</li> </ul>

*Data sources: Websites of respective NGOs*

Among the priorities of these migrant NGOs is to channel diaspora funds towards development projects such as microfinance and micro-small-medium-sized enterprises (MSMEs), both of which are important strategies to initiate economic development at the local level. However, despite their noble intentions, their financial, human and technical capacity limits them from undertaking larger development projects and prevents them from maximizing the developmental impact of their activities.

Central to their financial well-being is the ability to gather funds from diaspora communities abroad, which requires effective networking on their part. Networking allows these NGOs to inform potential donors of their activities and highlight the impact they have had on the development of local communities. However, the interviews revealed that they are unable to establish constant communication with Filipinos abroad because they do not have the resources to send people or to create the necessary communications framework. Thus, migrant NGOs in the Philippines have to work within the limits of the available budget despite the existence of an extensive network of Filipino diaspora communities worldwide. Atikha representative Cherry Girado (2006) cites that this is rather disappointing because it limits both their potential to help and the potential of many Filipinos who want to contribute, but are unaware of available services and opportunities in the Philippines.

Furthermore, all the migrant NGOs consulted recognize that accountability and transparency remain important issues for their work. NGO officials affirm that despite their separation from the government, there is general apprehension among migrants when it comes to supporting organisations in the Philippines. Consequently, migrant NGOs are required to build up their accountability and transparency in order to encourage further participation among Filipino HTAs in their activities.

While economic development programs seem to be the primary focus of most migrant NGOs, they also conduct important research that certainly contributes to the understanding of a relatively new phenomenon concerning migration and development. In fact, Atikha has undertaken a research initiative that looks directly at the social impact of migration, particularly on women, their families and relationships. Despite much focus on the potential effects of migration on development, it is also important to look at the social costs of migration. The research agenda of migrant NGOs also illustrate that they are in a better position to identify relevant information pertaining to this philanthropic process. They understand the local and regional needs as well as the sensitivities and intricacies relevant in dealing with Filipino migrants. Overall, migrant NGOs in the Philippines have worthy agendas that truly deserve

attention. However, their capacity limits them from maximizing their potential role in linking Filipino migration to the development of the country.

### 5.3.3 Church Groups

The surveys and the field research revealed that the Catholic Church and other religious groups are also relevant stakeholders in the collective remittance process in the Philippines. Table 19 describes one religious organisation, which has been very active in mobilising collective remittances from Filipino HTAs worldwide.

*Table 19: Church-related NGO in the Philippines*

CHURCH-RELATED NGO	DESCRIPTION	ACTIVITIES
GAWAD KALINGA (GK)	<p><i>Gawad Kalinga (GK) is the social organisation of a Catholic group called Couple's for Christ. It started out as an organisation focused on building houses for families residing in squatter areas. However, it has recently undertaken several other initiatives focusing on education, health, livelihood and community empowerment.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shelter and site development: GK777 – housing program, which aims to build 700,000 homes in 7,000 communities in seven years</li> <li>• Education: SIBOL – education for street children; SIGA – scholarship for higher education</li> <li>• Health: LUSOG – medical missions in housing sites</li> <li>• Livelihood: GAWAD KABUHAYAN – focuses on skills training</li> <li>• Community Empowerment: KAPITBAHAYAN – community sustainability</li> </ul>

*Data source: Gawad Kalinga website*

GK is a highly successful organisation that has gained national and international attention. What started out as a housing development program is now a comprehensive social development initiative that targets education, health and community development. It has a well-developed international network of charitable organizations under the banner of Answering the Cry for the Poor (ANCOP) Foundation. ANCOP's international offices facilitate GK partnerships with various organizations in Canada and are the official channels through which GK partners,

individuals and volunteers support and fund their growing work (ANCOP, 2006). Essentially, ANCOP is the official fundraising and sponsor relations arm of GK. While none of the HTAs surveyed has given donations to GK, it is a relevant stakeholder in the collective remittance process because it has the most extensive network of fundraising offices worldwide. They are also registered charitable organizations, which imply that they can provide tax receipts for private donations. This may encourage participation among migrant Filipinos in Canada. Accordingly, GK may serve as a model for other philanthropic organisations, religious or non-religious, given their extensive international networking abilities.

Aside from GK, other religious groups are also active in visiting diaspora communities in Canada to ask for donations for infrastructure-related projects. One of the HTAs surveyed actually provided financial assistance to a visiting priest for roof reconstruction of the local church in their hometown. While local church groups typically have some small-scale programs designed to help local communities, religious beliefs and identity often define their activities, which may not necessarily benefit the overall economic or social development of a given community. Therefore, there are some concerns whether channelling funds to the Church is ideal in this case. Nonetheless, church groups' philanthropic activities have attracted the attention of many Filipino HTAs abroad in the past and therefore, they are truly one of the major recipients of collective remittances in the Philippines.

The role of the Church in the collective remittance process is difficult to ignore especially since religion is very influential in Filipino life. Accordingly, a better understanding of how the Church influences and interacts with Filipino HTAs in Canada would have been ideal in this case. While the study recognizes the importance of the Church in this transnational process, it is unable to provide more substantive findings due to the inopportune timing of the field research. Essentially, further studies on the issue requires a thorough investigation of the Church's role in the collective remittance process since the Church may have profound influence on the ways in which migrants choose to donate their resources.

Overall, what is evident from the demand side in the Philippines is that there are other notable stakeholders aside from the government. Unlike Mexico and El Salvador, the Philippines has no national strategy to coordinate donor and recipient efforts and no institutional guarantees for Filipino migrants abroad. Instead, a strategy based on facilitation is in place, which does not only pertain to the government, but to the two other stakeholders as well.

## **5.4 Other Challenges and Observations**

Aside from the relevant findings delineated in the previous sections, there are other notable challenges and observations found regarding the collective remittance process. These are as follows:

### **5.4.1 Durability**

The primary channels of migration available to Filipino migrants lead to permanent residency. Therefore, there are some concerns regarding the durability of Filipino HTAs in Canada. As the literature review suggests, personal ties to the homeland stimulate interests among migrants to donate back to their home communities. While maintaining connections may be relatively easy for first-generation Filipino-Canadians, this may not be the case for future generations. As the second generation grow accustomed to Canadian lifestyle and society, they may lose interest in their parents' homeland. Furthermore, since the geographic distance between both countries is immense, maintaining physical and social links to their home communities may be difficult. Accordingly, there are concerns whether Filipino HTAs in Canada would persist over long periods of time. A former Filipino HTA president from New Jersey stressed that despite the interests among older generations to continue holding general meetings and social events, the younger generation has little interest in participation, thereby influencing members to postpone, or in many cases, cancel fundraising and other social activities (Bunales, 2005). Opiniano (2005a) explains that concerns relating to durability are most common in countries where Filipinos are mostly permanent residents because they adjust to the new lifestyle and absorb the new culture and practices of host countries. Consequently, one has to consider whether HTA assistance is truly beneficial in this case if the practice may not necessarily continue in the long run given the available migration channels in Canada.

### **5.4.2 Giving is a Personal Decision**

The decision of a Filipino migrant to move to another country permanently or temporarily is personal and therefore, the same principle applies with the decision to give donations to their home communities (Opiniano, 2004b). Members cannot be forced to participate in philanthropic work even if an intermediary such as an HTA is available to undertake the broader tasks of solicitation, project identification and implementation. Opiniano (2005c) explains that in his encounters with Filipino migrants in Canada, some in Toronto have actually expressed little hope for the future of the Philippines and want to focus more on their lives in their

new homeland. Consequently, the main issue, Opiniano (2004b, p. 51) argues, lies in the ability of the Filipino society “to reconnect overseas Filipinos to their home communities” and convince them that they have a stake in the socio-economic development of the country. Doing so creates a sense of collective responsibility and not necessarily the burden to look after the needs of Filipinos in their homeland.

#### **5.4.3 Worldwide Existence of Filipino Diasporas**

While this may be outside the scope of the policy problem identified, donor agencies should also take notice of the existence of other Filipino diasporas worldwide. Unlike Mexican and El Salvadorian communities, which are mostly concentrated in the United States, Filipino diaspora communities exist around the world, most notably in North America, the Middle East and the Asia-Pacific region. In a report conducted on behalf of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), it finds that close to ten percent of the 80 million Filipino population are in at least 192 countries (Bagasao et al., 2004). The United States, Canada and Australia are home to many permanent immigrants while Saudi Arabia, Japan and Hong Kong are hosts to more than one million temporary workers. Table 20 illustrates the stock estimates of overseas Filipinos in 2003 according to regions and migrant status.

Table 20: Stock Estimates of Overseas Filipinos, 2003

REGION	PERMANENT <sup>13</sup>	TEMPORARY <sup>14</sup>	IRREGULAR <sup>15</sup>	TOTAL
World	2,865,412	3,385,001	1,512,765	7,763,178
Africa	318	53,706	16,955	70,979
East and South Asia	85,570	944,129	503,173	1,532,872
Middle East	2,290	1,361,409	108,150	1,471,849
Europe	165,030	459,042	143,810	767,882
Americas	2,386,036	286,103	709,676	3,381,815
Oceania	226,168	55,814	21,001	312,983

Data source: Adapted from Bagasao et al., 2004

While the tendency to abandon HTAs may be high among permanent residents, it is not necessarily the case with temporary workers. They have a defined amount of time to work abroad and therefore, they are well-aware of their eventual return to the Philippines. This may motivate them to maintain interests in the development of the country. Consequently, there is great potential in tapping resources from temporary Filipino workers, particularly through the collective remittance process.

For countries like Canada, which has strategic objectives in the Philippines, it may be helpful to adopt development programs that would eventually encourage Filipino HTAs both inside and outside Canada to send collective remittances. Doing so provides greater resources for development projects in the Philippines, which can certainly complement Canadian development efforts in the country. Essentially, considerations on potential programming geared towards the promotion of collective remittances in the Philippines should be comprehensive in nature in order to maximise the cost-effectiveness of the program. Donor agencies need to recognize that empowering consumers of collective remittances in the Philippines is the best way to achieve cost-effectiveness because doing so allows for a much broader scope of philanthropy and may generate much-needed resources for the Philippines. This especially relevant when approximately USD\$10-12 billion of remittances are sent yearly by Filipino migrants to the Philippines through both formal and informal channels. Even a slight percentage of this amount could result in a

<sup>13</sup> Migrants who hold permanent residence or landed immigrant status in a foreign country and do not depend on work contracts. They include migrants who have acquired foreign citizenship.

<sup>14</sup> Migrants whose stay overseas is based or determined by a formal or informal contract of employment. They are officially referred to as overseas Filipino workers (OFW).

<sup>15</sup> Migrants who do not possess valid passports or documents; lack valid documents or work permits; and have overstayed.

significant sum of charitable donation to the country. Accordingly, there is tremendous potential in this case if the consumers of collective remittance have the capacity to convince Filipino migrants abroad that they have a stake in the development of the country.

## 5.5 Summary of Findings

The case study of Mexican and El Salvadorian HTAs reveals that there are five notable factors that help explain their success in mobilizing collective remittances on a regular basis. Among the most important are their organisational capacity and transnational linkages. Essentially, HTAs need to have organisational mechanisms that allow them to make efficient decisions, raise funds and identify development projects relevant to their home communities. Furthermore, maintaining hometown ties is equally important because it strengthens a migrant's affinity to the community and increases his or her motivation to engage in HTA's development-related activities. It also allows for an efficient exchange of information between donors and recipients. On the demand side, there is general appreciation of the work undertaken by HTAs, which is evident in both governments' initiatives to match funds. The national strategies that coordinate efforts among relevant stakeholders in the collective remittance process provide an institutional framework that facilitates and encourages the flow of resources.

In philanthropy, there is a general risk undertaken by donors because there are no absolute guarantees that the use of resources will meet their expectations and preferences. However, the risk decreases when there is an efficient exchange of quality information between donors and recipients and when institutions can guarantee the appropriate use of resources. In the case of Mexico and El Salvador, the market is able to function effectively because of reinforcement mechanisms, namely the incentive schemes and constant exchanges of information between relevant stakeholders. There may be comfort derived when public funds, which are generally assumed to be directed towards productive purposes, match the donations collected by HTAs. Furthermore, the maintenance of transnational ties through frequent visitations and project collaborations allow for an exchange of information between stakeholders. These exchanges provide opportunities for both donors and recipients to affirm their intentions of carrying out their responsibilities. With this guarantee, the level of trust increases and thus, motivates migrants to donate to HTA activities and sustain the flow of collective remittances sent to their home communities.

In regards to the collective remittance process along the Philippine-Canada corridor, the study reveals that the supply side has weak organizational capacity and limited financial

resources. These limitations reduce efficiency and increase costs for those involved. This is complemented by infrequent visits among migrants to the Philippines, which weakens personal affinity and reduces the motivation to participate in HTA activities. The lack of sustained interaction and limited organisational capacity also prevent frequent exchanges of quality information between stakeholders. Consequently, there is high tendency among Filipino migrants to perceive the philanthropic process as risky and unworthy of their time and resources.

On the demand side, there are no institutional guarantees for the appropriate use of collective remittances. Instead of an incentive scheme similar to Mexico and El Salvador, recipients in the Philippines adopted a strategy based on facilitation. The strategy is problematic especially when the facilitators themselves lack credibility among migrants. Despite interests in improving their credibility, government agencies and NGOs have few resources to do so and therefore, have to work within their limited capacity. Essentially, the limited capacity of both consumers and suppliers of collective remittances prevents them from exchanging valuable information on a regular basis. This increases risk and uncertainty for donors as well as the overall transaction cost of sending collective remittances.

## **5.6 Policy Implication - Lowering Transaction Costs**

The analysis reveals that many existing Filipino HTAs are not sending collective remittances on a regular basis to the Philippines because the transaction costs are too high. Jones (1987) defines transaction costs as costs involved in negotiating, monitoring and enforcing the exchange of goods between parties. Williamson (1975) argues that among the reasons why transaction cost arises in an exchange context is imperfect or asymmetric information. Without adequate information from their counterparts, suppliers and consumers continue to question each others' actions because there are no guarantees that one will do what they are supposed to do. This increases risk and uncertainty in making the exchange of the good and thus, results in high transaction costs. Consequently, the policy implication relates to the reduction of transaction costs in this transnational process. Just as efforts by donor agencies in facilitating the flow of individual remittances focus on the reduction of transaction costs, the same should apply with collective remittances.

Central to transaction cost analysis is the exchange of information between consumers and suppliers, which is extremely relevant particularly in a transnational context. Consequently, policy efforts should focus on improving the flow of quality information between suppliers and consumers of collective remittance to reduce the risk and uncertainty associated with the process.

In addition, efforts to facilitate the flow of information ought to focus on the demand side for three reasons:

First, the available immigration channels for Filipino migrants lead to permanent settlement in Canada. Consequently, there is uncertainty regarding the stability of Filipino HTAs in Canada as hometown ties weaken among younger generations of Filipino-Canadians. Efforts to rebuild these ties need to come from the demand side because as consumers of philanthropy, they are better able to convince Filipino migrants that they have a stake in the development of the country. Essentially, allocating resources for the supply side is unwise when there are no guarantees that HTAs in Canada will continue to exist unless consumers of philanthropy are able to convince Filipino-Canadians that it is in their best interest to assist in the development of the country.

Second, the analysis reveals that there are other types of Filipino migrant organisations in Canada aside from HTAs. Among the most prominent are business groups, cultural associations, professional organisations and alumni associations. By empowering the recipients of collective remittances in the Philippines, they are also in a better position to convince these other migrant organisations to participate in philanthropic activities that may be entirely consistent with their overall mandates. For example, migrant NGOs specializing in educational programs may target alumni associations and link them to appropriate scholarship programs in the Philippines. This may help facilitate the creation of synergies beyond the HTA context.

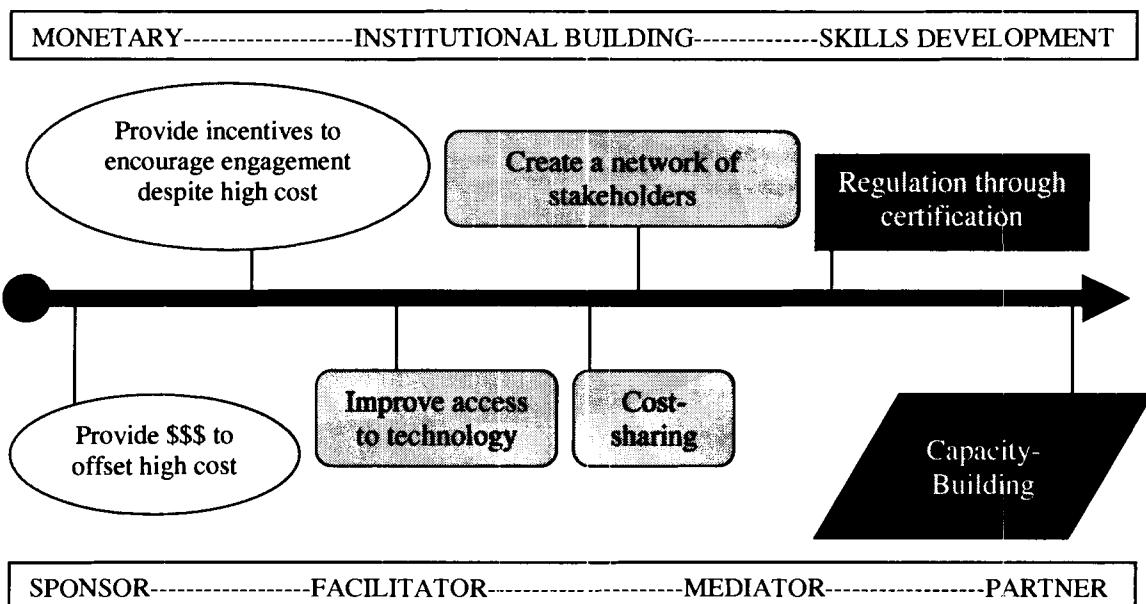
Third, there is also an extensive network of Filipino diaspora communities worldwide. Accordingly, improving the abilities of the demand side provides them opportunities to tap into many potential donors not just Filipino migrants in Canada. This may maximise the resources available for development projects in the Philippines and thus, complement Canada's development efforts in the country.

Overall, in order to promote sustained flow of collective remittances from Filipino HTAs in Canada to the Philippines, the best approach is to lower the transaction costs for stakeholders. This is best achieved through efforts that increase the exchange of quality information between the supply and demand sides. In addition, the demand side ought to lead the efforts and thus, receive donor assistance because consumers of collective remittance play a crucial role in both the outreach and other developmental aspects of the philanthropic process.

## 6 Policy Alternatives

To address the high transaction cost, the Canadian government, through its development cooperation program, may consider a range of programming alternatives based on different policy instruments. Essentially, efforts to lower transaction costs can range from providing monetary assistance to building institutions or skills development. Furthermore, donor agencies can also have varying roles with each strategy ranging from a sponsor to facilitator, to mediator or partner. Figure 4 below illustrates the policy alternative spectrum, which provides an overview of specific courses of action, their nature and the role donor agencies undertake in adopting these alternatives.

*Figure 4: Policy Alternative Spectrum: How to Address High Transaction Costs*



As the figure demonstrates, the potential alternatives focus primarily on the improvements of the financial, technical, institutional and human capacity of relevant stakeholders through different policy strategies. Essentially, the ideal way to interpret the spectrum is by looking at the courses of action from left to right. The strategies on the left of the

spectrum rely primarily on monetary assistance while those in the middle rely mainly on institutional building. These contrast the instrument on the far right, which relies on skills development. The same kind of observation applies for the donor agency's role, which transitions from a purely sponsor role on the left to a full partner towards the right of the spectrum. Furthermore, as the background of each alternative darkens and as the shape sharpens into a parallelogram, the alternatives rely more on a skills development approach rather than a purely monetary strategy. While these courses of actions are very specific, they can be conceptualised into four different policy alternatives that can become the basis of development programming. The similarities in the shapes and shades of grey help illustrate how each course of action are brought together into four different programming alternatives. Overall, these alternatives relate to monetary assistance to offset high cost, institutional building to encourage cost-sharing, mediation to redirect cost and skills development to teach how to lower cost. The following sections further explain these programming alternatives.

## 6.1 Diaspora Fund for Development

A purely monetary approach to address the high transaction cost is to set up a fund geared specifically towards diaspora-related development initiatives. CIDA may help create a “Diaspora Fund for Development”, which will be accessible to donors and recipients of collective remittances through open competitions. The financial resources available through the fund may have different uses. For example, the funds may match existing donations collected by Canadian-based HTAs, which would enable them to broaden the scope of their own development projects and thus, motivate them to engage in the process despite high transaction costs. This adopts the incentive-based approach evident in the Mexican and El Salvadorian cases. Migrant NGOs may also apply to obtain additional funds that would allow them to strengthen their organisational and outreach capacities.

Essentially, CIDA may take the lead in bringing together relevant stakeholders in the collective remittance process, mainly HTA leaders, Filipino government agencies and private corporations to discuss the potential of setting up the diaspora fund geared specifically for this philanthropic activity. CIDA will guarantee the start up fund, but its involvement will depend primarily on the commitment of relevant stakeholders to participate in the process. Overall, CIDA plays the role of a facilitator, which may eventually evolve to a sponsorship role if it becomes satisfied that other actors will respond to the initiative. CIDA may also help define the terms and conditions that ought to be satisfied before the release of funds.

## **6.2 Diaspora Transnational Network**

Similar to business networks, a diaspora transnational network may be set up to help coordinate efforts, exchange information and strengthen transnational ties among stakeholders. It may be an umbrella organisation or a strategic alliance of stakeholders that looks directly at the linkages between migration and development. A notable feature of this network is improved access to information and communications technology. The amalgamation of available websites under a more formal and easily recognizable online database would be a priority. An independent body with links to donor agencies may monitor the network and provide information on its accountability and performance records. Interested HTAs as well as migrant NGOs may approach this network directly, thereby facilitating the creation of synergies among donors and recipients of collective remittance. The network would provide a central venue in which consumers and suppliers alike can interact to facilitate the flow of information and thus, reduce uncertainty and risk associated with collective remittance. Essentially, this alternative focuses on building institutions to encourage cost-sharing among relevant stakeholders.

## **6.3 “A Canadian Seal of Approval” - Certification Program**

Given that accountability and transparency is a major concern among donors, the Canadian government may adopt a program in which a team of accountability experts would evaluate interested NGOs, government agencies or church groups regarding their organizational effectiveness. Favourable results of the evaluation leads to an official recognition of the NGO/government agency/church group as a responsible and accountable entity. Essentially, they receive a Canadian seal of approval, which affirms their institutional effectiveness. With the seal of approval, consumers of collective remittance can boast about their work and achievements, which may help dispel the concerns of diaspora communities. Given Canada’s international reputation in good governance and effective management, specifically its development focus on results-based management, Canadian teams are in a favourable position to conduct these evaluations. Essentially, the certification program relies on Canadian mediation to help lower the uncertainty and risk associated with the philanthropic process. It asks Canadian officials to become central actors in the exchange of information through the formalities of certification and evaluation.

## **6.4 Capacity Building**

Skills development is another approach, which may help develop the financial, technical, institutional and human capacity of relevant stakeholders from the demand side of the philanthropic process. Assistance should focus primarily on institutional development, specifically on how stakeholders can improve their accountability and communications strategies. Among the potential activities include identification of effective monitoring and feedback mechanisms that will send accurate due diligence reports to donors as well as communication tools appropriate within the context of the Philippine diaspora.

While many ways exist to undertake capacity building, exchange programs may receive particular attention to allow representatives from both countries to experience first-hand the challenges and successes of their counterparts. Officials from established NGOs in Canada can apply to spend a defined number of months in a developing country in hopes of providing relevant management and institutional development strategies to the host NGO or government agency. Migrant NGOs or government officials from the developing country would in turn replace the other official in Canada. The exchange programs may facilitate the flow of information in a manner that allows NGO and government officials themselves to engage in the teaching process. Another approach may involve a selection process, in which the Canadian government identifies relevant stakeholders that may have the most potential in advancing the issue. These selected NGOs or government agencies may be the focus of capacity-building programs with hopes that what they learn may be shared with the broader civil society.

## 7 Assessment of Policy Alternatives

While adopting all the aforementioned alternatives provides a comprehensive approach to address the problem, government funds allocated for development programs are limited and therefore, donor agencies need to focus their modest resources where they can do the most good. The study uses an evaluative framework, guided by a set of criteria, to initiate the decision-making process and compare the policy alternatives. This allows for a better assessment of alternatives and results in a better judgement of what may be acceptable to relevant constituencies (Patton & Sawicki, 1993). The subsequent sections present detailed accounts of the selected criteria and the measures that define them. An alternatives matrix follows, which illustrates the comparative breakdown of the policy alternatives as defined by the evaluative framework.

### 7.1 Criteria

CIDA is the primary agency that operates and manages Canada's development cooperation program. Therefore, many of the criteria selected reflect the development and management principles of the agency. According to CIDA, many of its programs and activities are chosen "based on the needs and priorities of developing country partners, the relevance of Canadian expertise, and the availability of funds in the annual aid budget" (CIDA, 2006). Consequently, the selected criteria attempt to reflect these primary concerns.

#### 7.1.1 Cost

- **RATIONALE:** Donor agencies have limited financial capacity and therefore, the cost of the programming alternative is a relevant factor in decision-making. Essentially, the ideal alternative involves minimal direct cost due to scarce resources.
- **MEASUREMENTS:** There is one specific measure for this criterion:
  - *Direct cost* – Using past examples of CIDA-financed projects, an estimate of the direct cost involved to implement each alternative is projected. Costs of at least three projects that have similar concepts to the alternatives are noted. Alternatives with an estimated cost range of 0-\$99,999 receive a low cost

designation, while those with estimates between \$100,000-\$999,999 and \$1,000,000+ receive medium and high cost respectively.

### 7.1.2 Consistency

- **RATIONALE:** Specific policy objectives and priorities guide donor agencies' development programming in a given country. Consequently, the proposed alternative has to be consistent with CIDA's ODA objectives and bilateral programming priorities in the Philippines. Any alternatives deemed inconsistent may receive little support from CIDA and thus, no financial assistance to operationalize the alternative.
- **MEASUREMENTS:** There are two specific measures for this criterion:
  - *Consistency with CIDA's ODA objectives* – Using the IPS document, each alternative is evaluated on its consistency with Canada's development cooperation policy and program priorities. Each alternative receives a high, medium or low designation. An alternative consistent with four or all of the total five priorities<sup>16</sup> receives a high designation while alternatives receiving two and three, and zero and one receive medium and low designation respectively.
  - *Consistency with CIDA's bilateral programming strategies in the Philippines* – CIDA has two strategic policy strategies, one of which pertains to governance while the other relates to micro-, small- and medium-size enterprise (MSMEs) development. Each alternative receives a high, medium, and low ranking depending on its projected ability to contribute to both or either policy strategies. An alternative that is able to address both strategies receives a high designation, while alternatives that address one receive a medium and alternatives that are unable to address either strategy receive a low ranking.

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<sup>16</sup> The five priorities are: 1) advance Canadian values of global citizenship; 2) deliver visible, durable impact on the world's key development challenges; 3) focus on reducing poverty through an effective and focused approach; 4) recognize and promote sustainable solutions; 5) mobilize Canadians in dialogue and participation.

### **7.1.3 Acceptability**

- **RATIONALE:** Equally important is the ability of recipients to accept the development programming sponsored by donor agencies. Consequently, acceptability of the Filipino society, specifically main stakeholders in the Philippines, is a relevant factor in the decision-making process.
- **MEASUREMENTS:** There are two specific measures for this criterion:
  - *Acceptability by the Philippine government* – Since the Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan (MTPDP) 2004-2010 guides the government's development programming, the study assumes that consistency with the document may be a proxy measure for the general programming acceptability of the Filipino government. Consequently, each alternative receives a high, medium or low designation depending on its ability to address the Philippine government's MTPDP priorities. Consistency with four or all of the five priorities<sup>17</sup> results in high ranking, while consistency with two to three and zero to one receive medium and low designation respectively.
  - *Acceptability by migrant NGOs* – NGO representatives interviewed expressed general ideas on the kind of assistance they deem appropriate for the situation. Consequently, each alternative receives a high, medium or low designation depending on its projected consistency with the programming suggestions made by NGO officials.

### **7.1.4 Effectiveness**

- **RATIONALE:** Ideally, development programming addresses the problem at hand effectively and adds value to overall development efforts. Therefore, effectiveness is an important criterion to ensure that the potential alternatives do indeed target the specific problems identified and contributes to the overall development of the Philippines.
- **MEASUREMENTS:** There are three specific measures for this criterion:

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<sup>17</sup> The five priorities are: economic growth & development, energy, social justice & basic needs, education & youth opportunities; and anti-corruption & good governance.

- *Information Flow* – The measure relates to the ability of each alternative to increase the exchange of quality information between consumers and suppliers of collective remittances. Each alternative receives a high, medium or low designation depending on whether the alternative directly or indirectly facilitates the exchange of information. If the alternative directly affects the flow of information, it receives a high ranking. If indirectly, the alternative receives medium and if no impact at all, it receives low designation.
- *Value-Added* - Alternatives are evaluated on their ability to provide additional benefits to the overall development of the country. Each alternative receives a high, medium or low designation depending on whether the alternative affects other developmental goals relating to good governance, health outcomes, basic education, private-sector development, gender equality and environmental sustainability. If the alternative allows results in five or all of the six, it receives high while alternatives resulting in three or four receives medium designation. Alternatives with only one or two of the goals results in low ranking.
- *Diaspora Reach* – The measure relates to the effectiveness of each alternative in engaging or reaching other Filipino diasporas worldwide. Each alternative receives a high, medium or low designation depending on its potential to engage Filipino diasporas worldwide. High designation implies a comprehensive reach while medium designation suggests limited scope. Low ranking are for alternatives that focus only on the Filipino diaspora in Canada.

### 7.1.5 Implementation

- **RATIONALE:** Development program ideas have to be relatively easy to implement to prevent future delays or increased costs. Furthermore, private firms/contractors need to have the capacity to operationalize the programs. Consequently, another important criterion pertains to the implementation requirements of the proposed alternatives.
- **MEASUREMENTS:** There is one specific measure for this criterion:

- *Past Experiences* – Using past examples of CIDA's Philippines programming, alternatives are evaluated on whether the agency has had partnerships with private firms/contractors that are able to carry out the proposed programming. If there are at least four to five previous CIDA projects that are conceptually the same as the alternative, it receives a high designation. If there are between two to three previous CIDA projects consistent with the alternative, it receives a medium designation while alternatives that have no conceptual similarities with previous CIDA projects receive a low designation.

#### **7.1.6 Monitoring**

- **RATIONALE:** Donor agencies operate with public funds and consequently, constant monitoring and evaluation is often required. Thus, it is ideal that the proposed alternative requires no other special measures or added organisational capacity to undertake monitoring and evaluation of the program.
- **MEASUREMENTS:** There is one specific measure for this criterion:
  - *Ease of Monitoring* - Alternatives receive a high, medium, or low designation depending on the projected difficulty of measuring program success within a five-year period. Highly difficult alternatives receive a low ranking, while alternatives that have some difficulty and no difficulty receive medium and high designations respectively.

## **7.2 Alternatives Matrix**

Each alternative is evaluated based on the selected measures for each criterion. The alternatives receive numerical values based on the designation they receive for each measure. For all the measures except direct cost, a high designation receives a value of three while medium and low designations receive values of two and one respectively. The opposite holds for direct cost since high cost is unfavourable in this case and thus, receives a value of 1. Each alternative can score a maximum of 30 points. A high score implies that an alternative fares favourably relative to another based on the specified criteria. The numerical approach is not absolute and it merely illustrates how alternatives compare to one another. Table 21 is the alternatives matrix, which delineates a summary of the assessment and the scores each alternative received. A more detailed account of the matrix is available in appendix F.

Table 21: Alternatives Matrix

CRITERIA		POLICY ALTERNATIVES			
	MEASURES (Value Received)	#1: Diaspora Fund	#2: Network	#3: Certification Program	#4: Capacity Building
<b>COST</b>	<i>Direct</i>	MED (2)	HIGH (1)	MED (2)	HIGH (1)
<b>CONSISTENCY</b>	<i>ODA Objectives</i>	HIGH (3)	MED (2)	MED (2)	HIGH (3)
	<i>Bilateral Policy Strategies</i>	HIGH (3)	HIGH (3)	HIGH (3)	HIGH (3)
<b>ACCEPTABILITY</b>	<i>Philippine Govt</i>	HIGH (3)	MED (2)	MED (2)	HIGH (3)
	<i>Migrant NGOs</i>	MED (2)	MED (2)	LOW (1)	HIGH (3)
<b>EFFECTIVENESS</b>	<i>Information Flow</i>	MED (2)	HIGH (3)	MED (2)	HIGH (3)
	<i>Value Added</i>	MED (2)	MED (2)	MED (2)	HIGH (3)
	<i>Diaspora Reach</i>	MED (2)	HIGH (3)	LOW (1)	HIGH (3)
<b>IMPLEMENTATION</b>	<i>Past Experiences</i>	HIGH (3)	MED (2)	LOW (1)	HIGH (3)
<b>MONITORING</b>	<i>Ease of Monitoring</i>	MED (2)	HIGH (3)	LOW (1)	MED (2)
<b>TOTAL SCORE</b>	30	24	23	17	27

### 7.2.1 Important Considerations

The evaluative framework uses equal weighting to reflect the comparable importance of the selected criteria in development programming. Using this approach, the alternative matrix reveals that alternative four ranks highest when compared to the other alternatives. The matrix illustrates that based on the evaluative framework made up of six criteria, an alternative based on capacity building principles has priority over other proposed alternatives. However, while alternative four scored high in many of the selected measures; its score on costs was poor. This becomes a concern since the Philippines is not identified as Canada's 25 development partners. The resources allocated for development purposes in the country may not increase over time. Any new programming opportunities may have to fall within the current budget and thus, divert funds from existing programs. Accordingly, the adoption of the project may prove difficult given its

high cost. Therefore, it may be appropriate to give a heavier weight on the cost criteria to better reflect the reality of limited funds.

However, one should also note that, of the nine remaining measures, the alternative received high designation on eight measures, which suggest that it ranks highly relative to the other alternatives. Furthermore, all migrant NGO officials cited that the most beneficial assistance they could receive from a donor agency would be technical assistance, specifically projects that would allow their staff to gain better understanding of philanthropy, improve networking skills and increase knowledge of accountability enhancement. Therefore, while cost may be an important concern in this case, this may be offset by the fact that a stakeholder, considered as one of the most important actors in this philanthropic process, regards capacity building as most beneficial mechanism to address the problem. The alternative also allows consumers of collective remittances to tap into an extensive network of Filipino diaspora worldwide, which may lead to maximised resource flows for development in the Philippines. Consequently, despite high costs, alternative four remains the preferred programming priority.<sup>18</sup> A potential approach to address this concern is to have the scope of the program adjusted according to the financial resources available. Other donors may be given the opportunity to contribute to broaden the scope of the program.

Alternatives one and two ranked second and third respectively, but their scores remain very close. While alternative two received high designations on two of the three effectiveness measures, it is a more expensive venture than alternative one. Furthermore, alternative two's consistency and acceptability designations are lower than those of alternative one. Accordingly, the priority ranking revealed by the matrix should hold. Alternative one should receive secondary attention when more programming opportunities are ideal in this case. Lastly, alternative two should complete the list of programming priorities. Conversely, the certification program ranked low in many respects and therefore, is not included on the list.

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<sup>18</sup> The analysis also conducted sensitivity tests where cost was weighted twice and three times its original weight. Alternative four also scored the highest both times.

## **8 Recommended Programming Priorities**

Based on the evaluative framework adopted for the assessment of the policy alternatives, the study recommends the following programming priorities to encourage the sustained flow of collective remittances from existing Filipino HTAs in Canada to their home communities.

*First*, CIDA should consider capacity building for relevant stakeholders in the Philippines as a programming priority. Within this programming, skills development should be an important component to ensure that relevant NGO and government officials gain the expertise they need in order to facilitate the exchange of quality information between them and the suppliers of collective remittances. Among the priorities should be improvements in organisational accountability, effective communications, networking and outreach strategies. CIDA may:

- undertake stakeholder consultations to identify most effective approach
- review available or projected budget to gain understanding of funding limitations
- identify potential participants, activities, location and facilitators
- explore potential organisational techniques and strategies
- analyse the feasibility of exchange programs as component of the project
- consider gender equality as a component of the program

*Second*, if additional funds are available and more migrant-related programming is ideal, CIDA may choose to facilitate the creation of a Diaspora Fund, which may focus on matching HTA donations. CIDA can take the lead in bringing together relevant stakeholders to discuss the possibility of setting up a diaspora fund. CIDA may encourage the private sector, foundations and different levels of government in the Philippines to contribute to the fund to increase the pool of resources available for Filipino HTAs. The Diaspora Fund can be an institutional mechanism that implicitly guarantees effective use of migrant resources. CIDA may:

- contact potential contributors such as the private sector, particularly corporations that specialise on remittance transfers and encourage them to participate in a CIDA-led consultation process

- approach philanthropic foundations such as the Ayala Foundation, donor agencies of other developed countries with extensive Filipino migrant networks, the Philippine government and Filipino HTA leaders to solicit views and intentions regarding the funding initiative
- consider the possibility of a stakeholder convention to discuss the possibility of a diaspora fund for the Philippines

*Third*, CIDA may also choose to facilitate the creation of a diaspora transnational network. It may focus on information assistance, technical collaborations and a range of other services geared towards fostering transnational relations between Filipinos and diaspora communities abroad. An incrementalist approach is ideal in this case to accommodate the limited funds available for the project. CIDA may:

- undertake stakeholder consultations and identify potential partners that may already have smaller networks established. Approach them to see potential synergies, collaboration and partnership opportunities
- identify potential information and communications technology strategies to be used in the program with notable consideration on the technical capacity of stakeholders
- identify existing network infrastructures like Philippine-Canada Cooperations Office (PCCO) and the potential role it may have in facilitating the creation of the network
- consider the benefits of creating a research arm within the network to encourage further analysis on the dynamics of diaspora philanthropy

Lastly, further research on the issue is also highly recommended. The study is an exploratory investigation on a very novel and complex issue and therefore, more analysis is required to gain better understanding of diaspora philanthropy's impact, longevity and challenges. The role of diaspora communities in development is certainly an interesting consideration for a country like Canada. Accordingly, a thorough understanding of the transnational process is warranted. Canada is in a unique position to strengthen transnational linkages between diasporas and their home communities. These linkages may present new opportunities that may eventually benefit Canada's social, economic and political interests nationally and globally as well.

## **9 Limitations**

A recognized limitation of the analysis is its targeted approach, which focuses solely on HTAs despite the availability of other kinds of Filipino migrant organisations in Canada. Other migrant organisations may have distinct characteristics and capacities that distinguish them from their HTA counterparts, particularly in their abilities to send collective remittances. A more comprehensive approach may have been beneficial in this case. However, such undertaking requires more resources than what was available for the analysis. Consequently, as suggested in the previous section, there are opportunities for more analytical work on the issue, especially in the Canadian context.

The low response rate among Filipinos HTAs also makes it difficult to assert definitive conclusions regarding the supply side of the collective remittance process. The same is true with the demand side since only a selected number of government and NGO officials are consulted, all of whom reside in one province/region in the Philippines. Regional views may vary according to their experiences with diaspora philanthropy and therefore, reaching out to other locations in the Philippines would have been ideal. Furthermore, while the study recognized the importance of the Catholic Church in this philanthropic process, its understanding on how the Church shapes and influences Filipinos' donation practices is limited. Consequently, the role of the Church is another area that requires further investigation and thorough analysis.

Finally, the study intended to explore one particular diaspora with hopes that the findings and recommendations may apply to other diaspora communities. However, such an approach proved to be unsound and not encouraged. The analysis reveals that each diaspora community is unique with different dynamics evident in the philanthropic process. Furthermore, some developing countries may be at a different stage of maturity in terms of their capacity to engage migrants in development. Mexico and the Philippines may be in a better position than countries like Somalia or Haiti. Lastly, collective remittance may actually prove detrimental to specific countries because migrant groups may have affiliations with warring factions or terrorist groups. They may help prolong the conflict or fund terrorist activities with the resources they send to their communities. Essentially, donor agencies need thorough analyses of specific cases to gain a better understanding of the dynamics of the collective remittance process in each country.

While there are some caveats regarding the findings of the study, there are also notable contributions that ought to get consideration for future research. Essentially, the methodological approach can serve as a basis for future analytical work on collective remittances concerning other diaspora communities in Canada. In home countries where there are no ongoing civil conflicts, the five success factors revealed in the study may serve as the main comparative points for diaspora communities since the complexities arising from conflicts are not relevant in these cases. Furthermore, the study yielded important exploratory findings, which may serve as important basis for future academic and policy research on the issue. Overall, while there are limitations in the study, there are also valuable findings that certainly contribute to a better understanding of this philanthropic process.

## 10 Conclusion

Globalisation has facilitated the movement of people worldwide. This is most evident in countries like Canada where diaspora communities have become integral components of the national society. As the networks of migrants continue to expand, their abilities to exert influence on a range of policy issues, both in their host and home countries, increase as well. For many migrants originating from the developing world, among these issues concerns the development of their home communities. Through philanthropic activities such as sending collective remittances, migrants are able to mobilise resources for development purposes that can certainly improve the quality of life of their fellow citizens and promote socio-economic development in their home countries.

The Filipino diaspora in Canada, particularly migrant organisations such as HTAs, exhibits the capacity to engage in development activities and perhaps has even greater potential to influence development in the Philippines at a level comparable to the Mexican and El Salvadorian communities in the United States. However, the analysis reveals that there are great challenges associated with the current dynamics, particularly in maintaining transnational linkages, limited organisational capacity of the supply side and weak credibility of intermediaries from the demand side. Collectively, these challenges prevent an efficient exchange of information between relevant stakeholders, which is a crucial component of philanthropy especially in a transnational context. Asymmetric information leads to increased risk and uncertainty, which results in high transaction costs and less motivation for migrants to engage in the process. Consequently, efforts by donor agencies to encourage the flow of resources between Filipino migrants in Canada and their home communities in the Philippines have to focus on facilitating the exchange of quality information. This is best achieved by improving the capacity of those who consume the resources. Essentially, capable and informed consumers are in a better position to influence the decisions and activities of suppliers especially in a transnational philanthropic context.

In order to realise the potential of diaspora communities in Canada, particularly in the development of their home countries, the practice of giving back has to start at the grassroots level, mainly through the promotion of collective remittances. HTAs represent a new breed of transnational grassroots organisation with real potential to affect communities positively (Bada,

2003). CIDA's (2004) Philippine Country Evaluation Report says "contributing to grass root services at the community level helps to alleviate poverty, and stimulate the growth and competitiveness of the economy". Consequently, there are important reasons why sending collective remittance ought to be facilitated between diaspora communities in Canada and their home countries.

For the Philippines, diaspora philanthropy also addresses the pessimist approach on migration, which dwells on the negative effects of continued outflow of citizens. Migrant engagement in the development of their home communities highlights a positive contribution that counteracts the negative consequences of losing human capital. As Opiniano (2005a; p. 69) suggests, "the long-term aim of this kind of philanthropy is to somehow make a dent on the factors that cause underdevelopment, and that push and maintain Filipinos overseas." Collectively, these efforts may help make migration a choice rather than a necessity for Filipinos (Opiniano, 2004a).

More broadly, encouraging this type of philanthropy may also strengthen transnational social capital. As interactions between communities in Canada and in other countries increase, the tendency to build relationships and create trust at a transnational level increases also. This may lead to other ventures, specifically increased investments, market access, transfer of knowledge and political exchanges that may not only improve relations among individuals and communities, but among states as well. Fostering relations through diaspora philanthropy may inspire collaboration and partnerships that could certainly contribute to the improvement Canada's political, economic and social competence in the international community. Essentially, migrants are transnationals who can provide opportunities for both the host and home countries. In a globalised world, there are plenty of opportunities for synergies and diaspora communities can certainly play a role in making them a reality.

## **Appendices**

## Appendix A

Table 22: *The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)*

<b>MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS (MDGs) TO BE ACHIEVED BY 2015</b>
1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
2. Achieve universal primary education
3. Promote gender equality and empower women
4. Reduce child mortality
5. Improve maternal health
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
7. Ensure environmental sustainability
8. Develop a global partnership for development, with targets for aid

Data source: UN, 2005

## Appendix B

### FILIPINO HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS IN CANADA: COLLECTIVE REMITTANCE QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is being conducted as part of a research project for the Public Policy Program at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver. The purpose of the research is to investigate the motivations, capabilities and interests of Filipino migrant organisations in sending donations to communities in the Philippines. Your organisation's participation is completely voluntary. In answering this questionnaire, the respondent, on behalf of his or her organisation, is consenting to participate in the study. No organisations have been contacted for their approval of this questionnaire. Responses will be confidential and will not be distributed to outside parties.

If you have any questions or would like the results of the study, you may contact the Public Policy Program Director, Nancy Olewiler, at 604-291-5289 or at [olewiler@sfsu.ca](mailto:olewiler@sfsu.ca).

#### NAME OF ORGANISATION:

#### I. ABOUT YOUR ORGANISATION

1. Location:
2. Year formed:
3. Approximate number of members:
4. Current status as of November 1, 2005:  
[for example: active, temporarily inactive, permanently inactive]
  
5. Is your organisation incorporated?
  - a] If YES, what year was it incorporated?
  - b] If YES, is it incorporated provincially or federally?
  
6. Is your organisation registered as a charitable organisation?
  - a] If YES, what year was it registered?
  - b] If NO, why not?
  
7. Where is the organisation's primary meeting place?  
[for example: central headquarters, community centre or member's residence]
  
8. Why was the organisation formed?
  
9. What are the organisation's goals and objectives?

**FILIPINO HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS IN CANADA:**  
**COLLECTIVE REMITTANCE QUESTIONNAIRE**

**II. CAPABILITIES**

10. What are the organisation's yearly activities?

[for example: annual general meetings, fundraisers, social gatherings]

11. Who are the decision-makers of the organisation and how are decisions made?

[for example: there may be board of directors or officers or both]

12. Who runs the organisation's yearly activities?

[for example: permanent staff, officers or established committees]

13. How is your organisation funded?

14. How does your organisation keep in contact with members?

[for example: newsletters, emails, word of mouth]

15. Is your organisation part of a larger Filipino association or federation in Canada?

a] If YES, which larger Filipino association?

b] If YES, what is the purpose of this relationship?

16. What types of assistance does your organisation expect from the Canadian government?

**III. AWARENESS**

17. Has your organisation participated in any Philippine government programs encouraging Filipinos abroad to donate in the Philippines?

[for example: Lingkod sa Kapwa Pilipino (LINKAPIL)]

a] If NO, why not?

b] If YES, which programs?

c] If YES, how did the organization find out about them?

**FILIPINO HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS IN CANADA:**  
**COLLECTIVE REMITTANCE QUESTIONNAIRE**

**IV. PHILANTHROPIC ACTIVITIES**

18. Since your organisation was formed, has your organisation sent group donations for development projects in the Philippines?

a] If NO, what prevents your organisation from sending group donations to the Philippines on a regular basis?

b] If YES, can you please discuss the five most recent donations by answering the following:

- i] Where in the Philippines did the money go?
- ii] How was it spent?
- iii] How did the organization find out about the project?

1)

i]

ii]

iii]

2)

i]

ii]

iii]

3)

i]

ii]

iii]

4)

i]

ii]

iii]

5)

i]

ii]

iii]

**V. DEVELOPMENT INTERESTS**

19. What does the organization's mission say about sending group donations to the Philippines?

20. If the organisation has funding for group donations, what types of projects in the Philippines would your organisation support?

[For example, projects may be related to infrastructure development such as building public parks and roads or education-related such as buying textbooks for children or funding scholarships.]

21. If the organisation has funding for group donations, is preference given to your home community or any community in the Philippines that need assistance the most?

**VI. PHILIPPINE CONNECTION**

22. How does your organisation obtain news information from the Philippines?

**FILIPINO HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS IN CANADA:**  
**COLLECTIVE REMITTANCE QUESTIONNAIRE**

23. Does your organisation have direct contact with government or non-governmental (NGOs) officials in the Philippines? If yes, can you specify?

a] How has this contact helped your organisation in the past?

24. Do members visit the Philippines often?

25. How would your organisation like to be informed about the community needs in the Philippines?

**VII. ABOUT YOU**

26. Name [Voluntary]:

27. Position in the Organisation:

28. Contact Information (Phone/Facsimile/Email):

**VIII. COMMENTS**

29. Please provide any additional comments you may have for this research.  
Your feedback is greatly appreciated.

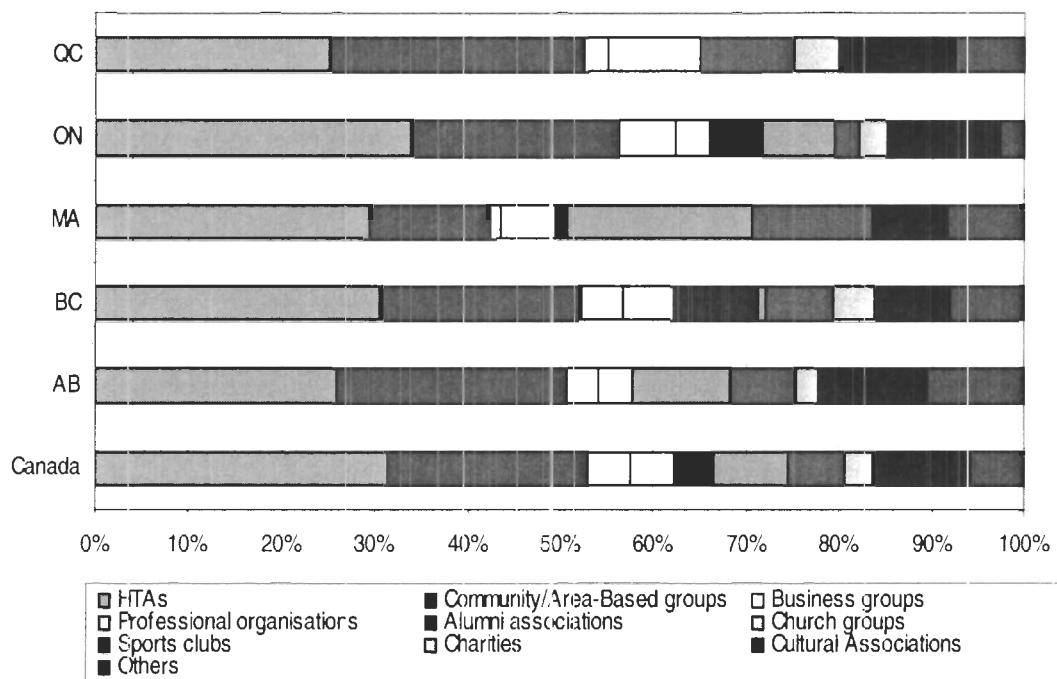
**THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION.**

Please return this questionnaire to Jon Silva through email [[jsilva@sfu.ca](mailto:jsilva@sfu.ca)], facsimile [604-291-5288] or mail [301-2483 Yew St., Vancouver, BC V6K 3H3].

*Note: This is not the original formatting of the survey. Reformatting is necessary to fit the template.*

## Appendix C

Figure 5: Classification of Filipino Migrant Organisations in Canada



Data source: *The Filipino Telephone Guide 2005*, calculations made by author

## Appendix D

Table 23: Summary of Survey Results – Filipino Hometown Association Questionnaire

	NUMBER OF HTAs...	AB	BC	MA	NF	NS	ON	PEI	QC	SK
SURVEY PARTICIPATION RESPONSES	Contacted	22	34	25	1	2	87	1	10	2
	Expressed Interests in Participation	3	2	6	0	0	15	0	3	1
	• Requested Email Questionnaires	1		5			11		1	1
	• Requested Fax Questionnaires	0					1		0	
	• Requested Mail Questionnaires	2	1				1		1	
	• Requested Phone Interviews	0	1	1			2		1	
	Finished Questionnaire	0	1	1			2		1	
	Refused to Participate	3	6	0			8		0	0
	• Too Busy	3	4				6			
	• Not Interested	0	2				2			
COMMUNICATION RESULTS AND CAPACITY	With Residential Lines <sup>19</sup>	7	4	10			25		5	
	With Official Websites	1	2	0			8		0	
	With Organisation Email Address	1	0	0			5		0	
	CALLS RESULTING IN...									
	No Answers <sup>20</sup>	9	8	15		1	37		4	
	Busy Signal	1	3	0			3		0	
	Wrong Phone Numbers	6	11	4	1		15	1	2	1
	Not in Service	0	4	0		1	9		1	

<sup>19</sup> Phone lines were identified as residential when the individual who answers the call refers to the organisation's officer as a family member. In some cases, voice messages also mentioned "the residence of" and therefore, it was also noted as a residential line. Only the numbers that had clear indications of a residential line were noted in the study.

<sup>20</sup> Calls identified as "no answer" are as follows: a) no pick up; b) did not return message/call; and c) relevant individual not present at time of both calls.

## Appendix E

*Table 24: Number of Filipino Migrant Organisations, by type and province*

Type	CAN	AB	BC	MA	NF	NS	ON	QC	SA
HTAs	184	22	34	25	1	2	87	10	2
Community/Area-Based groups	127	21	24	11			58	11	1
Business groups	27	3	5	1	1		16	1	
Professional Organisations	27	3	6	5			9	4	
Alumni Associations	26		10	1			15		
Church groups	47	9	1	17			20		
Sports clubs	36	6	8	11			7	4	
Charities	17	2	5				8	2	
Cultural Associations	62	10	9	7			31	5	
Others	35	9	9	7			7	3	
Total	588	85	111	85	2	2	258	40	3

*Data source: The Filipino Telephone Guide 2005, calculations made by author*

*Note: New Brunswick, Nunavut and Northwest Territories had no Filipino migrant organisations registered. Prince Edward Island has one HTA while Yukon has one community/area-based group.*

## Appendix F

*Table 25: Detailed Assessment of the Policy Alternatives*

CRITERIA		POLICY ALTERNATIVES				
	MEASURE (Value Received)	ADDITIONAL COMMENTS	#1: Diaspora Fund	#2: Network	#3: Certification Program	#4: Capacity Building
<b>COST</b>	<i>Direct*</i>	Projections based on past CIDA - Asia branch programming (Philippines, Vietnam & Indonesia)	MED (2) \$500,000 - \$1M	HIGH (1) More than \$1M	MED (2) \$250,000 - \$750,000	HIGH (1) More than \$1M
	<i>ODA Objectives</i>	Difficulty in addressing sustainable solutions	HIGH (3) 4 out of 5	MED (2) 3 out of 5	MED (2) 3 out of 5	HIGH (3) 4 out of 5
<b>CONSISTENCY</b>	<i>Bilateral Policy Strategies</i>	All can directly and indirectly affect good governance and MSME development	HIGH (3) Good governance & MSMEs	HIGH (3) Good governance & MSMEs	HIGH (3) Good governance & MSMEs	HIGH (3) Good governance & MSMEs
	<i>Philippine Govt</i>	Difficulty in addressing energy priority	HIGH (3) 4 out of 5	MED (2) 3 out of 5	MED (2) 3 out of 5	HIGH (3) 4 out of 5
<b>ACCEPTABILITY</b>	<i>Migrant NGOs</i>	All NGO officials discussed the need for technical assistance	MED (2) Indirect technical assistance	MED (2) Indirect technical assistance	LOW (1) No technical assistance available	HIGH (3) Direct technical assistance

CRITERIA		POLICY ALTERNATIVES			
MEASURE (Value Received)	ADDITIONAL COMMENTS	#1: Diaspora Fund	#2: Network	#3: Certification Program	#4: Capacity Building
<i>Information Flow</i>	All alternatives have at least some indirect effect on information flow	MED (2) Indirect effect on information flow; funds may be used as incentives instead	HIGH (3) Direct effect on information flow because of network effect	MED (2) Indirect effect on information flow; information is improved through mediation	HIGH (3) Direct effect on information flow because of improved human and technical capacity
	Difficulties in addressing gender equality and environmental sustainability; alternative 4 may incorporate gender equality as a requirement of the program			MED (2) 4 out of 6	HIGH (3) 5 out of 6 Gender equality may be incorporated in the program
<i>Effectiveness</i>	<i>Value Added</i>			MED (2) 4 out of 6	HIGH (3) Empowering NGOs and other agencies allow them to tap resources from Filipino HTAs regardless of their location
	<i>Diaspora Reach</i>	Only alternative 2 and 4 can really have a broader diaspora reach		MED (2) Indirect effect since competition may be open to Filipino-Canadian HTAs only (selective process)	LOW (1) No guarantees that Canadian certification would be recognized by other Filipino HTAs outside Canada

CRITERIA		POLICY ALTERNATIVES			
	MEASURE (Value Received)	ADDITIONAL COMMENTS	#1: Diaspora Fund	#2: Network	#3: Certification Program
<b>IMPLEMENTATION</b>	<i>Past Experiences</i>	Projections based on past CIDA/Asia branch programming: Philippines, Vietnam & Indonesia	HIGH (3) Many examples of programming based on fund allocation	MED (2) Selected number of network coordination programming	LOW (1) No concrete example of this type of alternative
		<i>Ease of Monitoring</i>	Some experience in monitoring and evaluation, but general concepts of alternatives often difficult to measure	HIGH (3) Some experience and relatively easier to monitor outcomes using before and after figures/data	LOW (1) No experience and difficulty in measuring outcomes
<b>TOTAL SCORE</b>	<b>30</b>		<b>24</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>17</b>
				<b>27</b>	

Note: \*Figures are in Canadian dollars

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## Interviews

Filipino government officials<sup>21</sup>

Congressman (2005), Province of Laguna, Philippines; December 18, 2005

City Mayor (2006), Province of Laguna, Philippines; January 5, 2006

City Councillor (2006), Province of Laguna, Philippines; January 6, 2006

City Planning Staff (2006), Province of Laguna, Philippines; January 5, 2006

City Registrar Staff (2006), Province of Laguna, Philippines; January 6, 2006

Canadian government officials

Canadian Embassy in Manila

Myrna Jarillas (2005), Senior Program Officer, Development; Manila, Philippines; December 12, 2005

Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)

Anne Germain (2005), Senior Development Officer, United Nations and Commonwealth Division; Ottawa, Ontario; October 25, 2005

Yohanna Loucheur (2005), Senior Policy Advisor, Economic Development; Ottawa, Ontario; October 18, 2005

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<sup>21</sup> All Filipino government officials, elected and non-elected, requested that only their official titles and the province in which they reside should be used in the study.

Barnabe Ndarishikanye (2005b), Senior Development Officer, Eastern Africa and the Horn Program; Ottawa, Ontario; October 11, 2005

#### NGO Officials

Jeremiah Opiniano (2005c), Executive Director; Institute for Migration and Development Issues, Manila, Philippines; December 12, 2005

Cherry Girado (2006), Atikha/Balikbayani, San Pablo City, Philippines, January 6, 2006

#### Diaspora Philanthropy Scholar

Cheryl Dugtong (2005), PhD Candidate; De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines; December 12, 2005

#### Former HTA President

Dr. Lilia Bunales (2005), Sampablenyos, East Coast Chapter, New Jersey, USA; December 17, 2005

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