

THE DYNAMICS OF TRANSNATIONAL PHILANTHROPY BY MIGRANT WORKERS TO THEIR COMMUNITIES OF ORIGIN: THE CASE OF POZORRUBIO, PHILIPPINES

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THE Philippine government heralds its over seven million citizens overseas, popularly known as overseas Filipino workers (OFWs), as the country's "modern-day heroes." The remittances that these Filipino migrants¹ send, which amount to over US\$ 6 billion from 1999 to 2001, have helped save the struggling Philippine economy. Remittances' economic contributions are a significant reason why the government continues to make international labor migration a vital part of the country's economic recovery efforts. For nearly three decades, international labor migration has helped the Philippines ease high unemployment rates, improve its balance of payments, and increase foreign reserves.

There has been much debate on how remittances should be spent, and how are they "productively" or "unproductively" used. But one of the identified approaches of how migrants utilize remittances, aside from doing this for the consumptive needs of their families, is financing social and economic development projects in the emigration country. An example is Senegal, where remittances from international migrants are a source of revenue for both migrant families and the social development projects of the hometowns (Ammassari and Black, 2001).

This practice is what civil society scholars call *diaspora philanthropy*, although the author is renaming this as *transnational philanthropy* (with supplementary theoretical and conceptual explanations). For civil society studies, philanthropy from the diaspora is a newly emerging theme. On the part of migration research, this is virtually nil as a topic consideration, though some studies on established migration themes (e.g. immigrant adaptation, return migration) carried some anecdotal evidence of transnational philanthropy. In the case of the Philippines, where migration is affecting a significant number of Filipinos², there is undocumented evidence of transnational philanthropy efforts. The current study may perhaps be the first Philippine research that deals with transnational philanthropy. The author will also attempt to provide a significant migration

¹ Many people mistakenly associate OFWs to include the permanent residents or immigrants. OFWs, be it documented or undocumented, are migrants who are temporary contract workers.

² In estimates from the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), there are 7.41 million overseas Filipinos – which include sea- and land-based temporary contract workers, undocumented migrants, and immigrants.

dimension into transnational philanthropy since previous studies (for example Sheikh, 2001; Kumar, 2001) only looked at this kind of philanthropy as a civil society phenomenon - and migrants as a fundraising market. They made mention of the number of their residents, e.g. Pakistanis, Indians, abroad. There is a lack, however, of looking at transnational philanthropy in the context of migration.

This study is an attempt to bridge discourses and studies on philanthropy and migration, both rich social science research disciplines. It specifically documents the dynamics of transnational philanthropy by overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) coming from a town in Pangasinan province, which is Pozorrubio (200 kilometers north of Manila).

Diaspora Versus Transnational Philanthropy

The term “diaspora” has created ambiguities that many see it as synonymous to migration. For Shuval (2000), diaspora migration is just “one of the many types of migration.” Etymologically speaking, diaspora is based on the Greek words *speiro*, which means “to sow,” and the preposition *dia*, which means “over” (Shuval, 2000).

Over time, the meaning of the term diaspora has changed. In analyzing the theoretical ambiguities of the term, Shuval said that diaspora refers “to much wider categories that reflect processes of politically motivated uprooting and moving of populations, voluntary migration, global communications, and transport.” Shuval adds that the term has a broad semantic domain; the term now encompasses “a motley array of groups such as political refugees, alien residents, guest workers, immigrants, expellees, ethnic and racial minorities, and overseas communities” (Shuval, 2000).

Many still associate migration or migrants to the word diaspora. This is why even in studies on diaspora philanthropy, analysts and researchers refer to the migrants outside as the “diaspora” – which is not necessarily the case. Unfortunately, the author cannot find any material on diaspora philanthropy that precisely defines what it is all about. We can tentatively define the phenomenon as a process in which migrants in the diaspora allocate a certain portion of their remittances to fund development projects in their origin societies.

For The Philanthropic Initiative (2001), diaspora philanthropy is a potentially significant resource for Global Social Investing³. The same group cannot actually determine the precise numbers or amounts of donations that the vast diaspora gives, but TPI has seen greater evidence that high levels of remittances have already funded several development efforts - from scholarships for poor students to institutions of higher

³ GSI is a term that The Philanthropic Initiative, Inc. uses to refer to “the strategic and systematic investment of private philanthropic resources to address complex, inter-connected, manifestations of chronic underdevelopment.” Representative targets of GSI, says the TPI, are poverty, health, the environment, human security, and basic education. Thus saying, “global social investors” refers to: 1) donors in wealthy nations whose philanthropy targets social, economic and environmental challenges in poor nations; and 2) donors in poorer nations who provide leadership and resources to address those same issues in their own countries” (The Philanthropic Initiative, 2001).

education” (The Philanthropic Initiative, 2001). In realizing the potentials of diaspora philanthropy, TPI gives this assessment:

“There is an active conversation regarding the incentives and components that could further enhance the volume and quality of diaspora flows. Individuals from many professions, including foundations, NGOs, high technology corporations, and banking have noted the enormous potential for diaspora philanthropy to contribute to programs of poverty alleviation. Several have commented that in order to attract significant diaspora resources, more attention needs to be given to the development of an enabling environment, including information sources, transfer mechanisms, and recognition of incentives” (2000).

While Shuval (2000) said the times have called for the changing context of the word “diaspora,” another concept, “transnationalism,” emerges. For example, in the Philippine context, Alegado (2001), citing the Filipino diaspora of the late 20th century, notes “the emergence of transnational ...family households whose members make their way ‘home.’” This is what Portes (1996, in Alegado, 2001) called the rise of transnational networks and enterprises from below.

In their book *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Pre-Colonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized States*, Basch, Glick-Schiller and Blanc-Szanton (1994, in Alegado, 2001) have defined transnationalism as:

“... the processes by which *immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement*. We call these processes *transnationalism* to emphasize that *many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders*. An essential element ... is the multiplicity of involvements that transmigrants sustain in both home and host societies. We are still groping for a language to describe these social locations” (italics supplied by author)

We can thus operationally define transnational philanthropy as the *process in which migrants or immigrants abroad, in forging and sustaining their social relations with their origin societies, allocate a certain portion of their remittances to fund development projects in the emigration country. As a result, transnational philanthropy builds transnational social relations that link together origin and settlement societies.*

Figure 1 diagrams the mechanics of the transnational philanthropy model that explains the flows and links that bind origin and host societies:

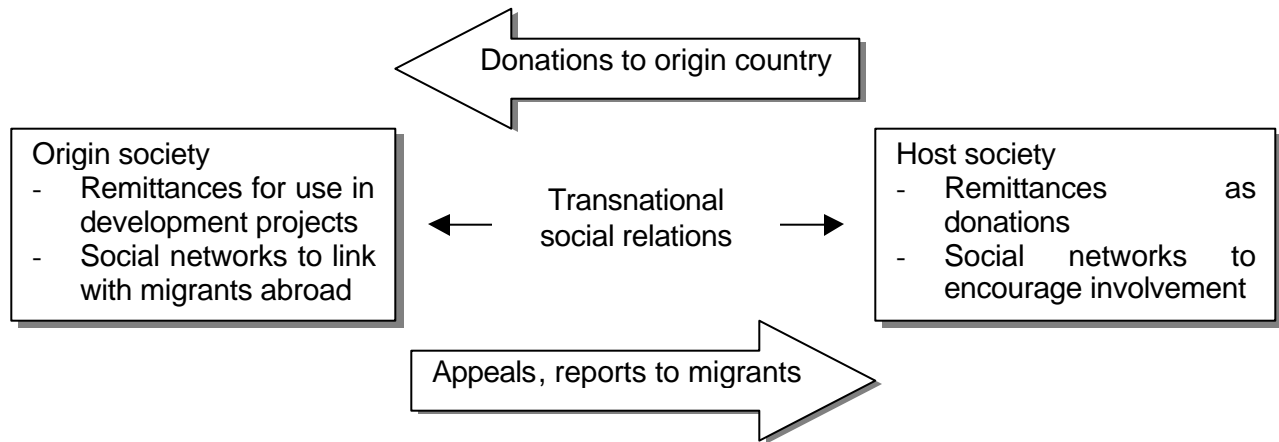


Figure 1: Model on Transnational Philanthropy

The essential ingredients of the model are remittances (economic ingredient) and social networks (social ingredient). In the host society, the social networks group themselves and pool their remittances, which are sent to the origin community. Upon receipt, the social networks in the origin community utilize the remittance-donations for development projects. Transnational social relations are then created in this process, at least when the migrants abroad continue to receive appeals and performance reports from the social networks in the origin community. Beneficiaries of this transnational transaction are not just the general members of the community of origin, but also the migrants abroad. The time element in this process is relevant, to which the transnationalism that occurs in this kind of philanthropy requires much amount of time and relations between those in the origin and settlement societies.

Diaspora philanthropy, as what transnational philanthropy is currently called, is a slowly emerging theme of study in the nonprofit sector - what with the emergence of immigrants in host societies. According to some analysts, Americans are now a minority already because of the larger immigrant group, which is further segregated into different regional affiliations. Among the most popular diaspora or ethnic philanthropy groups are the African-Americans (in terms of regional affiliation) and the Jewish and the Palestinians (in terms of specific ethnic grouping). In the United States, a group called the National Center for Black Philanthropy (NCFBP) convened a 2002 convention on African-American diaspora philanthropy (NCFBP, 2002). The W.K. Kellogg Foundation also reported that a growing percentage of Americans, who each year gives US\$ 175 billion to charity, are *minorities* (Cox Newspapers, 2001).

Existing trends on transnational philanthropy and their place in philanthropy and migration studies

In the transnational philanthropy model, we must consider both the philanthropists abroad and the recipients in the origin country. Studies to be cited here will be primarily taken in the Asian context.

The Immigration Country

Minority groups' giving is what some call as "philanthropy outside (of) the box" (Cox Newspapers, 2001). From Newman's research (2001), her analysis of community foundation survey data showed that the minority groups' community foundations are active in American philanthropy:

Table 1: Analysis of Community Foundation Survey Data¹ (Newman, 2001)

Source (Type of Donor)	No. of funds	No. of Supporting Organizations	Permanent Assets of the Foundation ⁴	Assets (as of December 31, 1997)	Percent of Total Assets
African-American					
African-American people	235	1	140	\$ 8,060,252	18
Nonprofit Organizations ²	102	0	63	17,902,157	42
People of European descent ³	49	1	31	7,505,446	40
Total	386	2	234	33,467,855	100
Asian-American					
Asian-American people	76	1	22	6,559,930	96
Nonprofit Organizations ²	3	0	2	83,832	1
People of European descent ³	6	0	4	178,053	3
Total	86	1	28	6,821,815	100
Latino					
Latino people	79	1	38	5,717,165	46
Nonprofit Organizations ²	18	0	18	698,532	7
People of European descent ³	26	1	22	2,702,653	47
Total	123	2	78	11,118,350	100
Native American					
Native American people	33	1	17	866,217	20
Nonprofit Organizations ²	2	0	1	110,000	2
People of European descent ³	10	1	6	2,054,779	78
Total	45	2	24	3,030,996	100
Grand Total	639	4	364	54,439,016	100

¹ Data from this table stem from a survey that was mailed to 72 community foundations that had at least one fund supported by, or targeted to, an ethnically diverse community. Respondents were asked to provide data as of December 31, 1997. Some 58 survey sheets were returned – some with incomplete information. No data were available from 14 community foundations, six of which are in the top 20 community foundations by asset size.

² Funds established by nonprofit organizations primarily serving ethnically diverse communities.

³ Funds established by donors of European descent to support needs of non-European local communities.

⁴ Number of component funds and supporting organizations that are permanent assets of the foundation.

Transnational philanthropy, for the immigration country's point of view, is referred to as ethnic giving, giving by communities of color (W.K. Kellogg Foundation, 2001), expatriate giving, or minority wealth (Cox Newspapers, 2001). This is slowly reversing a perception that these minorities, who were previously recipients of donations, are

beginning to be the donors. Another observation is that ethnic groups have began creating their own groups since they are discriminated (Cox Newspapers, 2001).

As compared to the American style of philanthropy, ethnic or minority philanthropy is less structured, less formal, and less considerate of tax deductions (Cox Newspapers, 2001). It is also likely possible that because of the informal structures and practices of immigrants' giving, it will become difficult to record and quantify exactly how much did they give. if there are no existing monitoring and recording systems on philanthropy and giving by immigrants, this poses a problem..

In her study *Asia-American Philanthropy: Expanding Circles of Participation*, Chao (2001) said that the most vibrant, broad-based traditions of giving and volunteering are the informal and indigenous forms practice in various Asian-American immigrant communities. Formal structures of giving are relatively new concepts for Asian Americans. Since they also practice their philanthropy through their families, friends, and myriad of self-help, mutual aid and other affiliated organizations, Asian-Americans create communities and find the emotional, social and financial support they have not been able to tap into elsewhere in America.

The Emigration Point of View

For people in the country of origin, especially those from developing or from least developed countries (LDCs), migration helps ease their countries' struggling economic conditions. The same goes to tapping migrants as sources of funds, the expatriates being the "untapped potentials," the "unrecognized or missing philanthropists" despite their physical absence in the emigration country.

Hanafi (2000) wrote that people from the diaspora can contribute to the reshaping and emergence of new economic networks. Hanafi computed the 1996 and 1997 financial contributions of the Palestinian diaspora – combining both investments and philanthropic giving. Table 2, which shows his computations, revealed the potentials of philanthropy by the diaspora of Palestine:

Table 2: Total Financial Contribution of the Palestinian Diaspora (US\$ million) (Hanafi, 2000)

Total Contribution	1996	1997
Total Investment	303.800	311.100
Total Contribution of the Diaspora	408.006	410.211
- <i>Expenses of Diaspora Visiting Palestine</i> ¹	96.400	90.900
- <i>Philanthropic Aid to the Palestinian Welfare Association</i> ²	3.806	4.211
- <i>Philanthropic Aid – Other Associations</i> ³	4.000	4.000
Donors' Foreign Aid	549.414	432.259

¹ Donations by Palestinians when they temporarily returned to Palestine

² Donations by Palestinians to the state-owned Welfare Association

³ Donations by Palestinians other associations

Because the expatriates have greater per capita income than their counterparts in the country of origin, expatriate giving is now being considered in Pakistan. Among the

reasons why these Pakistani expatriates give are: cultural affinity, patriotism, the organization's reputation, the organization's public relations, parental influence, and the presence of a fundraising chapter abroad. There is also documentation of some Pakistani nonprofits that were successful in tapping expatriate citizens to support their programs (Sheikh, 2001; Venture for Fund Raising, 2002b). An Indian study, meanwhile, looked at the giving patterns and characteristics of Indians in the United States (Kumar, 2001).

What Migration Studies Think of Transnational Philanthropy

As earlier stated, very little is mentioned about diaspora or transnational philanthropy in migration studies. This discussion, however, can be tied up to the productive utilization of migrants' remittances (which are the portions of international migrants' earnings sent back from the country of immigration to the country of emigration) (ILO, 1999).

Ammassari and Black (2001), in their research on the development potential of return migration, lengthily discussed the debates in migration circles on the "productive" and "unproductive" use of remittances. Both authors contend that remittances' economic impact has been considered beneficial at both the micro and macro levels – at least in the short term. On a global scale, remittances have reached over US\$ 70 billion, according to estimates of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), while there is an estimated 150 million migrants and refugees worldwide. From the IMF estimate on total remittances, remittances are greater than total US government aid to developing countries, and larger than all the foreign direct investment by US companies in emerging markets last year (Frank, 2001). More than US\$ 13 billion yearly is sent out of the US alone, making the country the world's largest source of remittances.

Various analyses were given on the impact of the remittances to the countries of origin. One side said these expatriated earnings have failed to enhance development since these are not spent on investment goods but on basic consumer goods. One calls expenditures such as housing, land purchase, transport, repayment or debt, saving for insurance, old-age pension funds, and even "conspicuous consumption" as "unproductive." Remittances, another set of critics say, cause inflation (since they create a demand without concomitant production capacity), increase the demand for imported goods (thus producing a negative effect on the balance of payments), and lead to sharp social inequalities because of income among communities (Ammassari and Black, 2001).

But some argue that remittances have a positive impact on the balance of payments of sending countries. Remittances help narrow the trade gap, control external debt, facilitate debt servicing, and produce much needed foreign exchange. Some also look at remittances as a significant source of agricultural inputs. Meanwhile, once the migrant families' subsistence needs are met, they use these remittances for "investment purposes" such as education, livestock, farming, and small-scale enterprise. Remittances have also been tapped to develop micro- or social enterprises. And in the experience of Senegal, remittances have been used to finance social and economic development projects (Ammassari and Black, 2001).

This is where transnational philanthropy takes its humble place in migration studies. During a 2000 conference by the International Labor Organization (ILO) on remittances and micro-finance, it cited (although minimally) the work of the Rockefeller Foundation, a conference participant, on diaspora philanthropy - “to learn more about the scope for investments in community development and the options for incentives and other policy interventions (ILO, 2000). But in an ILO working paper on remittances, micro finance and the informal economy, diaspora philanthropy was not mentioned as an approach to use remittances productively (Puri and Ritzema, n.d.).

Transnational Philanthropy by Filipino Migrants

For purposes of this discussion on migration and philanthropy, remittances play an important part in the Philippine migration dynamics. Official Philippine government figures of remittances (1999 to 2001) that passed through formal channels, not informal means showed that Filipino migrants have remitted over US\$6 billion annually (Appendix 2 shows the amount of remittances, and the top ten country-sources of remittances to the Philippines). In terms of annual remittance flows, there is an up-and-down trend. However, it is the amount that counts – over US\$ 4 billion since 1995, and over US\$ 6 billion since 1999. Aside from the United States, other leading sources of remittances are the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (the country with the single largest concentration of overseas Filipino workers of OFWs), Hong Kong, the United Kingdom, and Japan. What these figures suggest is that the unskilled and skilled Filipinos abroad are the missing Philippine middle-class, and their possible excess incomes from their earnings can be a potential source of transnational philanthropy.

The Emigration Standpoint

The following data below list down the existing anecdotal evidence of philanthropy by migrants and their families and households. Data⁴ here came from qualitative findings (one of them a 1983 study) in researches to areas with migrant worker concentrations: (Pertierra [ed.], 1992; Francisco and Jimenez, 1983).

- *Giving to churches*, especially to the Roman Catholic Church (but including some local Protestant churches), was mentioned in these studies. Church construction, renovation and beautification surround the contributions of migrants from Vergara, Anini-y, and Parian. Meanwhile, migrants in Poblacion were observed to have changes in religious attitudes since they are “quite generous in their

⁴ The study edited by Francisco and Jimenez (1983) was on the effects of international contract labor in communities. Meanwhile, the one edited by Pertierra (1992) was on remittances and returnees with a focus on the cultural economy of migration in the province of Ilocos Norte. Included in the study were migrants were five villages and three towns: Vergara village, Mandaluyong City, Metro Manila; Poblacion village in San Pascual town, Batangas province; the town of Anini-y in Antique province in the Visayas region; Parian village in Calamba town, Laguna province (Francisco and Jimenez [ed.], 1983); and the following towns in Ilocos Norte province – Subadi village in the municipality of Batac; and Tangaoan village in Paduros)

contributions to church-related projects.” There was also the observation in Parian that 80 percent “of households with OCW (overseas contract work) experience participates actively in Church activities.” However, the 1983 study noted that OCW households from Parian “do not necessarily contribute more than the non-OCW households.”

- *Migrant workers also give to their neighbors and friends*, which some look as “unproductive” (Pertierra [ed.], 1992). In Poblacion, migrant workers generally “make it a point to distribute gifts to neighbors and friends.” In Ilocos Norte, noticeable is the fact that migrants donate to improve their status in the community. This was seen in Subadi and Tangaoan villages where migrants “stand as sponsors or godparents at weddings and baptisms.” In Tangaoan, the migrants also sponsor feasts and fiestas since “the more sumptuous the feast, the higher (is) one’s status.” As these things were noted as “unproductive” for the local economy, this was still considered a “show of goodwill – of sharing one’s bounty among neighbors and friends” (Francisco and Jimenez [ed.], 1983).
- *Migrants are also frequent donors to, and participants in, community projects and fundraising activities*. Projects such as benefit shows, fund drives, beauty contests and fiestas saw the participation and monetary contributions of migrant households and migrants themselves. At Parian, nearly half of the 1983 study’s key informants stated that some women migrants are relatively active in community undertakings such as Church fundraising activities. A handful of the women migrants are even managers of basketball teams.” Migrant workers from Tangaoan were frequent donors to community projects such as a basketball court, the supplies for elementary schools, and public facilities for the municipality (e.g. streetlights). But Pertierra ([ed.], 1992) noted a sense of donor fatigue on the part of the migrant workers in Tangaoan: “While most migrants are quite proud to be seen as minor benefactors in their home communities, an increasing number of vacationing migrants have become wary of solicitation letters, particularly when projects are not for their own village.”

Immigration Standpoint

Chao (2001), in writing about Asian-American philanthropy, wrote some anecdotal qualitative evidence of Filipino-Americans’ giving patterns and characteristics. In this regard, she observed the following:

- 1) Like the other ethnic groups, Filipino Americans do informal giving practices; This is done when these Fil-Ams send their remittances to their “home country” to support family as well as community improvements.
- 2) Fil-Ams also form organizations. Some of these were fraternal (e.g. *Dimas Alang*, *Legionarios del Trabajo*, and the *Gan Oriente Filipino*), some were politically oriented groups (e.g. Filipino Federation of America, Filipino-American Christian Fellowship). The more prominent are organizations based on common locality and, in more recent years, profession. However, their groups are not as powerful and influential compared to their Chinese, Japanese or Korean counterparts. As a result, Filipinos do not necessarily isolate themselves into the ethnic-specific enclaves that are typical of the Asian-American experience.

- 3) Respondents to Chao's study said that although most of their families give to the church, no indigenous church provides cohesive social or charitable structure for the Filipino-American community. The literature and interviews cited by Chao suggest that because the Church in the Philippines is a missionary church that relies on Vatican and other outside organizations for support, the practice of giving to churches by the Fil-Am community has not fully developed. Even while they are predominantly Roman Catholic, most of them do not worship in a Filipino-based or Filipino-led parish.
- 4) Chao also wrote a portion on the issue of race- or ethnic-specific giving. One Filipino surgeon-interviewee wrote: "With their limited disposable income, Filipinos first give to their families here and *back there* (italics supplied by the author)... then to causes in the Philippines... then to Filipino-American causes... then to Pan-Asian issues... and finally to mainstream institutions ... in that order of preference."
- 5) One observation about why giving for poverty reduction programs is not that prominent for Filipino-Americans is because poverty alleviation is for government, not of private philanthropy, to handle. One Filipino-American respondent observed that "compared with the poverty they experienced back home, they can't understand why their fellow Filipinos could not pull themselves up and succeed in this country."
- 6) All Filipino fundraisers and donors interviewed said that events and social gatherings are effective fundraising tools. Filipino-American donors need to *feel a social connection* (italics supplied by the author), and to receive something in return.

This is the only available study that looks at the immigration point of view of Philippine transnational philanthropy. Its significance, however, is the fact that the United States is the Philippines' largest source of remittances. This does not essentially mean, however, that migrants from other corners of the world do not practice transnational philanthropy. This can be the subject of future studies.

Best Practices of Philippine Transnational Philanthropy

An April 2002 international conference on migration and development in the Philippines featured two best practices in transnational philanthropy. One is a regular program of a government agency, while another is the handiwork of migrant workers in Japan.

The Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) is an attached government agency under the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) that processes the papers of Filipinos applying as immigrants. The agency runs the 12-year-old *Lingkod sa Kapwa Pilipino* (or Link for Philippine Development) program that was designed to facilitate the transfer of various forms of assistance from Filipinos or other donors overseas to support projects in livelihood development, education, health and welfare, small-scale infrastructure, and technology and skills transfer (CFO, 2001). From 1990 to 2001, CFO has received a total of PhP 1.041 billion as the monetary worth of 1,239 individual and organizational donations. Meanwhile, migrant Filipinos from the United States gave the largest amount

of donations – P 820.48 million, or 78.8 percent of the total Linkapil donations. In terms of programs, health and medical missions programs received 53 percent of the total donations, followed by calamity/relief assistance (27 percent), education (16 percent), livelihood (three percent), and infrastructure and other programs (only one percent). Areas in Luzon island have received 80 percent of total donations, 13 percent for areas in the Visayas islands, and only seven percent for war-stricken Mindanao island. The province of Pampanga in Luzon island received the highest total of Linkapil donations with P 150.51 million (majority of which went to calamity relief when Mt. Pinatubo exploded in 1991) (see Appendix 3).

Linkapil is probably the Philippines' single biggest and systematic philanthropy program. This works in coordination with other offices such as the departments of Education, Health, and Social Welfare and Development, and the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) (CFO, 2001; CFO official documents, Oct. 8, 2001).

Meanwhile, a group of OFWs in Japan is using cyberspace technology to raise funds for needy Filipinos back home. The *Tulong Pinoy* (Help a Filipino) Movement began in April, 1998 when it first helped a tribal group in Mindanao island – the *Lumads*. Aside from donors in Japan, *Tulong Pinoy* also receives donations from Filipinos in other immigration countries. From March 2000 to December 2001, *Tulong Pinoy* has raised over PhP 150,000 in donations (Tulong Pinoy, 2002). The Movement has projects in education, social marketing, and livelihood assistance.

What is limited, however, in this scarce Philippine documentation of transnational philanthropy by migrants is directing the giving to programs that are precisely suited for their welfare and that of their families. The migration dimension of the Filipino migrants' giving to CFO or to the Tulong Pinoy Movement reveals that the migrants can be tapped for the development of the country of origin.

The Dynamics of Migrant Workers' Transnational Philanthropy in Pozorrubio⁵

Many Filipinos were surprised with the banner page of the May 23, 2001 issue of the *Asian Wall Street Journal*. In the paper's section titled "Column One," reporter Robert Frank featured the town of Pozorrubio in Pangasinan province for its steady progress because of remittances. Pozorrubio was then an unknown place; if one travels by land, it is an unnoticed route going to the Philippines' summer capital – Baguio City. But

⁵ The researcher did field interviews, community immersion and written and photo documentation. The significant limitations of this qualitative research are the following: a) Being a qualitative study, it did not delve much on the precise quantitative figures of migrant households' donations. It will take an ongoing study similar to that of the Philippine Nonprofit Sector Project to produce this kind of data; b) Groups of Pozorrubian migrants in the United States do not want to reveal their contact email addresses. Thus, the researcher was not able to get more pertinent information on how do these groups and their members give, what do they give, and what motivates them to give; c) The study also tackled the case of a defunct migrant workers' group in Hong Kong which, prior to its closure in 1996, made donations to the town. The researcher, however, was able to gather some existing records of the donations made by that deceased group of Pozorrubian domestic workers in Hong Kong.

thanks to the Asian Wall Street Journal article, and reactionary commentaries in the country's leading national dailies (e.g. Philippine Daily Inquirer, Manila Bulletin), Pozorrubio is now representative of the scale of Philippine migration⁶.

Located at the eastern part of Pangasinan, Pozorrubio has a total land area of 74.39 sq. kms – making it one of the largest towns in the province in terms of land area, number of villages (34), population (58,252), and the number of households (11,288). A minimum of three-and-a-half hours is needed to reach the place. Town officials remark that Pozorrubio is one of the most peaceful towns in Pangasinan.

Pozorrubio's main source of income comes from agriculture. But because of the overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) who originated from the town, Pozorrubio is gradually becoming an agro-commercial center (Frank, 2001). Records from the municipal government show that the town has 307 registered establishments (85 into wholesale and retail, ten financial institutions, 65 business and commercial establishments, 21 post-harvest facilities, 28 establishments of grains, three markets, 12 public and private irrigation facilities, 50 manufacturing establishments, 18 construction service facilities, six big private housing subdivisions, 32 day care centers, and seven church groups) (Municipality of Pozorrubio, 2001). These figures cannot be seen in many Philippine rural areas, more so in many rural towns or municipalities.

The town's tax collection is one of the highest in Region 1 of the Philippines. From PhP 30,106,069.91 in 1999, the revenue went up to PhP 48,325,110.40. (Pozorrubio Office of the Municipal Budget Officer, 2002). Most of the revenue collections come from the town public market. However, the current and previous town mayors said the income of the municipal government remains insufficient to meet many needs of residents, such as irrigation facilities and farm-to-market roads.

Surprisingly, there is no local government official figures of how many Pozorrubians are working or residing abroad. Estimates point to ten percent of the total municipal population to be abroad, or some 5,800. The current town mayor acknowledges the contributions of migrants from Pozorrubio – OFWs, immigrants, and returnees – for the steady progress of their town. Even non-migrant residents acknowledge Pozorrubio's

⁶ Citizens from the Republic of the Philippines are among the world's globalized nationals since they are present in over 190 countries. Quoting government estimates as of December 2001, there are 3.05 million of them documented sea- and land-based contract workers, 1.62 million undocumented workers and residents, and 2.74 million immigrants (for a total of 7.41 million overseas Filipinos). Continued deployment of Filipinos in the international labor migration market continues to increase – from 350,892 new hires deployed in 1984 to 866,590 last year (see Appendix 1). The Philippines is a classic case of the feminization of international migration, as female new hires now comprise 70 percent in the year 2000. These Filipinas are renowned locally for their work as entertainers, domestic workers and caregivers in Asian, Middle East and North American states. The Philippines has over eight million families affected by migration. The Philippines is also the world's largest exporter of labor, and the world's largest supplier of merchant seamen (25 percent of the world total) and nurses and medical professionals (Opiniano, 2002a).

progress, as reported also in the Asian Wall Street Journal (Frank, 2001). Concrete houses are swarming in many villages – helping create a construction boom in the town. The town plaza, meanwhile, is bustling with small enterprises. The former mayor said that market vendors need to kill a minimum of 40 pigs a day, compared to the previous 20 pigs.

Pozorrubio was previously a dark town. But when the former mayor encouraged residents, including migrant families, to volunteer and set up their own sidewalk light posts in front of their houses, the approach lit up the whole town. Even Frank himself was surprised that in this rural town, there were Internet cafes, a branch of Western Union, car rental services for returning migrants, video rental shops, and a rural bank with over US\$ 2 million dollars in deposits but with just a few borrowers (Frank, 2001).

The first wave of migrants began leaving in the early 1980s when Pozorrubians went to Saudi Arabia and Hong Kong. Many of the Pozorrubian migrants are now immigrants in the United States and Canada, and contract workers in Hong Kong, Saudi Arabia and other European and Asian countries. Pozorrubian domestic workers in Hong Kong are a distinct group because of their number compared to domestic workers from other Philippine localities.

A town-based web company said there are seven distinctly Pozorrubian groups abroad, while there are two Pangasinan groups (province-wide) which have members from Pozorrubio. The groups are: Pozorrubians of Greater Los Angeles (PGLA), United Pozorrubians of Northern California, Pozorrubians of Southern California, Pozorrubio High School Alumni Association of Northern America, Pozorrubians Midwest USA, Pozorrubians of Guam (all in the United States), and the Pozorrubian Cultural Association of Ontario (in Canada). Pozorrubians abroad are also members of the United Pangasinanes of America in the US, and the Pangasinan Province Association of Australia. Pozorrubio's renowned groups of migrant workers in Hong Kong are already defunct, while there were no identified groups of Pozorrubians in countries such as Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom.

Manifestations of Transnational Philanthropy

Aside from the economic manifestations of the town's development, Frank also saw projects that were courtesy of donations from migrants abroad. He even wrote that these public facilities were "new" - although a first-hand witnessing of these showed that these were pretty old. One defunct group of Hong Kong domestic workers, the United Pozorrubians in Hong Kong, pooled their resources to construct a park in the town square in 1996. The distinct feature of the park is the presence of two Chinese mini-pagodas. The Guam-based migrants, Frank wrote, funded a new library. But this is actually the years-old municipal library that received rather-old books as donations from the Guam-based migrants.

One of the frequent recipients of donations is the Catholic-run St. Jude Thaddeus Parish. The diocesan parish church is currently renovating its ceiling to the tune of PHP 3 million, in which over half of the target amount was raised through the donations of

migrants from the US, Hong Kong and Saudi Arabia. Listings of donors are posted outside the parish compound and in the church entrance. The lists included people who gave American or Hong Kong dollars and Saudi rials. The parish also raises money through its May Flower Festival celebration and bingo socials. Many of the donors are families of migrant workers abroad.

The parish priest said the St. Jude Thaddeus receives the migrants' donations in different ways. The migrants contact their relatives in Pozorrubio, and the latter mentions the needs of the Church. Relatives at home then ask the migrants abroad for donations. The donation is given when, for example, a migrant couple temporarily returns to Pozorrubio and gives the donation. Another approach may be a Hong Kong domestic worker giving the donations on behalf of another migrant worker, or a group of Pozorrubians. Some send their donations through mail.

Another frequent donee of Pozorrubian migrants is the Pozorrubio Community Hospital, a medical facility that is under the Pangasinan provincial health office. Many of its amenities, such as an electrocardiograph, one computer unit, comfort room, septic tank, hospital beddings, stethoscopes, window screens, medicines, and ceiling and electric fans come from the US immigrants and Hong Kong migrant workers. US immigrant groups such as the Pozorrubians of Greater Los Angeles, annually conduct medical missions in the town. These medical missions are in collaboration with the town's 34 village health centers and the rural health unit (RHU) office. The hospital director added that when the medicines from abroad go straight to the hospital, it is not being registered anymore to the Bureau of Food and Drugs (BFAD). These are distributed for free to residents.

But the hospital director mentioned that some of the donations are showing signs of wear and tear. The electrocardiograph from abroad is now busted, as the hospital currently uses a new one that came from the municipal government. The hospital currently needs more new medical facilities such as neutralizers and stethoscopes, and new medicines for diseases such as asthma.

The Benigno Aldana National High School, located near the national highway, is another beneficiary of donations from the migrants abroad (including its alumni). The school's fences, some statues, and commemorative marks were set up through the donations of its immigrant alumni in the United States. Meanwhile, the school's newly furnished English Learning Center contains books, a karaoke unit, a mini-stage, and chandeliers from the migrants' donations.

There were also some smaller schools that have received donations from migrants. Aside from books that other schools got from their migrant alumni, the Palguyod Elementary School in Palguyod village received some PhP 10,000 for the school's flagpole. The school's Parents-Teachers Association (PTA) raised the remaining PhP 5,000. But Palguyod Elementary School is in need of books, and has not yet received book donations from its migrants abroad (especially those who came from the village).

Some village councils have received money from overseas. The captain of Palguyod village recalled that a migrants' group in Hong Kong donated 32 monobloc chairs that were bought here for PhP 5,000. The chairs are frequently used for village-wide celebrations such as the village fiesta. However, it does not receive donations from migrants for other important village needs such as health and irrigation. Since the year 2000, the village of Palguyod operates on a meager budget of over PhP 700,000 – that coming from the internal revenue allotment (IRA) given by the national government to the country's 41,000 villages. Meanwhile, civic groups such as the Rotary Club of Pozorrubio and the Jaycees-Pozorrubio chapter also receive donations from migrant groups abroad.

A popular fundraising practice in Pozorrubio, as done in other towns and cities in Pangasinan, is the staging of popularity beauty pageants. Each village sends its own candidate, who wins by the number of donations she has raised either locally or through the help of overseas workers and immigrants. Either a Miss or a Mrs. Pozorrubio pageant is staged, and this is popular during the town fiesta (which is currently celebrated every January, previously from May). Migrant groups abroad even have their own candidates to the town-wide contest. Some migrants groups, such as those in Hong Kong and Canada, stage their own pageants. From the money raised, allocated percentages of the earnings go to municipal programs and projects, to the village whom the candidate represented, and to the family of the winning candidate.

Table 3 shows the results of the 2002 Miss Pozorrubio. It was confirmed that many of the money raised by the candidates, especially the first and second placers, came from the migrant relatives and friends abroad. Some residents remarked that the amount raised in Pozorrubio is even smaller than what other Pangasinan towns and cities can raise.

Table 3: Canvassing Results, 2002 Miss Pozorrubio (in Philippine pesos)

Candidates	Marietta B. Rillera	Felicidad V. Salinas	Bernadette B. Lulewics
Rank	First	Second	Third
First Canvassing	2,400	16,174	6,734
1 st Box	4,200	25,000	13,250
2 nd Box	103,610	30,900	17,470
Capturing	-	445,000	-
Secret Cash Votes	893,819	20,060	63,580.50
TOTAL	1,004,029	519,134	101,034.50

Source: www.pozorrubio.net.ph

Some public amenities were established because of these beauty pageants. The town plaza has a stage that was named before a former Miss Pozorrubio winner. A newly opened multi-purpose hall, which can accommodate some 200 people, was also named before a former Miss Pozorrubio winner.

However, some residents and community leaders noticed that the ones who frequently give are not the well-off families, but the middle- and lower-class ones. In Palguyod

town, for example, the village captain said it is hard to ask money from the families of migrants, or even ask them to be the candidate of their village's beauty contest. Meanwhile, the parish priest of St. Jude Thaddeus makes a similar observation of his parishioners. However, it seems hard to distinguish which are the migrant- and non-migrant families, the "rich" and the "poor," which the statement is making reference of. Nevertheless, the parish priest said that because of the migrants' large and extra earnings, and their gratefulness to God for their overseas work, they are able to give.

Jealousy among people and groups is noticeable in the town – even in the people's philanthropy. While documentary evidence supporting this are not available, key informants said that if one group, for example, donates PhP 50,000, another group doubles it. This practice usually happens in the annual search for Miss or Mrs. Pozorrubio. A returnee, who once worked as a domestic in Hong Kong, said her group is facing "competition" from another group in terms of donations.

The local government has been an instrumental part in asking for the involvement of Pozorrubians both here and most especially abroad. During his stint as officer-in-charge in 1986 after the first people power revolution in Manila, the former mayor visited the Pozorrubians in Northern and Southern California, Chicago, Hawaii, New York, Washington, and Hong Kong. With his physical presence abroad, the former mayor encouraged Pozorrubians to form their own solidarity groups, elect their sets of officers, and identify projects and programs in their hometown where they can pledge and donate. Those initial meetings were drinking sprees and initial get-togethers of Pozorrubians, who learned of these gatherings via rapid phone calls from other town mates in the same geographical area abroad. Under a new administration, the current mayor encourages the migrants to give their donations straight to the beneficiary.

Case: The Defunct Pozorrubians Association of Hong Kong

The Pozorrubians Association of Hong Kong was one of two defunct Pozorrubian groups in the former Crown Colony (the other being the United Pozorrubians in Hong Kong). All the members of both groups are domestic workers in Hong Kong. The PAHK, says its former president who returned for good in 1999, was the first one formed – on November 1993 (months after, the other group was formed).

As an initial project, the PAHK held a Valentine's Day fundraising activity as a dry run and get together. They were able to raise some HK\$ 10,000 through membership contributions by 100 members (inclusive of 20 active ones) and ticket sales. Some HK\$ 4,500 dollars was given to the Pozorrubio Community Hospital. The PAHK, on May 1994, donated two sets of the desk-model baumanometer, a set of a wall-unit baumanometer, a set of pulmo-aide, two sets of stethoscopes, four sets of single-head stethoscopes, two units of disposable nebulizers, and a set of a kompak-model baumanometer. The donor group even received a thank you letter from the Community Hospital, and a resolution from the municipal government. Later on, the PAHK donated a septic tank filled with 1,000 gallons of water to the amount of PhP 39,000.

The 62-year-old former PAHK president, who now sells vegetables at the town market every morning to earn a living, recalled the other fundraising-cum-beauty pageants activities they have held. These were on October 1994, raising a total of HK\$ 30,000 for the Community Hospital's septic tank; and on October 1995, raising a total of HK\$ 40,000 for identified projects in the villages of Amagbagan, Palac-Palac, Batakil, Malokiat, Casanfernandoan, and Balacag. A look at the documents of the defunct group showed the following details:

1. Resolution from Amagbagan village (dated February 6, 1996), thanking PAHK for its donation of PhP 10,000 for beautification projects. Of the amount, purchased were 50 pieces of concrete flower boxes (installed at the provincial road), 17 pieces of monobloc chairs, and a unit of a wooden rostrum;
2. Two certifications (dated October 20 and 23, 1995) confirming the construction of the septic tank of the Community Hospital;
3. A thank you letter from St. Jude Thaddeus parish (dated September 4, 1995) for receipt of HK\$ 700 for the church renovation fund drive;
4. A thank you letter from the Malokiat Parish Pastoral Council (dated March 30, 1998) for a donation of P 10,000 for the construction of the Malokiat village chapel;
5. A resolution from the Balacag village council thanking the PAHK and the United Pozorrubians in Hong Kong for their monetary support to construct the school fence of the Balacag Elementary School (no amount, however, was mentioned); and
6. A resolution from the Amagbagan village council (dated February 3, 1996) thanking the PAHK for their PhP 10,000 donation "in line of beautification and other project" (sic).

All in all, the PAHK gave an estimated total of PhP 121,000, that excluding donations whose monetary worth was not explicitly disclosed in documents, in its two-year existence. It ceased operations on January 1996. For the former president of the group, giving is an instrumental part of her life even if she currently scampers to earn PhP 200 from selling vegetables. She said:

"If you do not help those in need, and you know that somehow you can help them, why do you have to keep some form of help which you can give? I also do not expect anything in return. I said to myself, 'I will give so that when the time comes that when I am weak already, some people might just remember me.'"

The current municipal government is now encouraging Pozorrubian migrants to come back home and see for themselves the improvements in Pozorrubio. They can also see for themselves what happened to their donations. Return migration was the theme of the 2002 town fiesta ("*Sempet* [Come back home to] Pozorrubio"). Return migration also becomes a mechanism for migrants to not just see the physical benefits of their donations, but as a means to maintain transnational relations between origin and host societies.

But while the transnational philanthropic transfer happens, the communication and linkages between the migrants outside and their kin and origin community here

continue. What also brews is a certain sense of community philanthropy, particularly by the relatives and families of migrants left behind. This is not to discount, however, the non-migrant families who give to causes and fundraising appeals, especially the popularity beauty pageants.

Conclusion: Completing a Two-Piece Puzzle

Transnational philanthropy completes a two-piece puzzle that combines the philanthropic and migratory dimensions of this cross-border approach to giving. The new nomenclature for this type of philanthropy shows the convergence of migration and philanthropy studies and action. Previous research on the “old term,” diaspora philanthropy, provided only its philanthropic dimension, such that it becomes a new target market for nonprofit organizations and people in need.

What the new term provides is that philanthropy becomes a transnational activity (Ammassari and Black, 2001). On the immigration standpoint, for example, Chao’s respondents (2001) showed a sense of trying to link themselves with their motherland or homebase through giving.

This research on Pozorrubio’s transnational philanthropy dynamics reveals many implications to the migration and philanthropy disciplines, to poverty reduction efforts, to furthering the spirit of giving by migrants abroad and the communities at home, and to make transnational philanthropy an approach to utilize the development potential of migration.

- 1) It has significant implications for research. For the philanthropic sector, more research on diaspora philanthropy must now carry significant migration inputs. Studies similar to the India and Pakistan examples should show how do the expatriates give importance to forging transnational linkages with their origin countries through their giving. For migration research, many other studies on transnational philanthropy must be written, though because of the transnational nature of this kind of philanthropy, the methodology will be expectedly expensive and tedious. These can include: surveys of giving by migrants abroad (similar to the domestic studies in the Philippines), comparative country surveys, best practices of transnational philanthropy, evaluation studies on the performance of recipients of transnational philanthropy, effects of immigration status and regulations to migrants’ giving, religious giving practices by immigrants, and the development potentials of transnational philanthropy. In the Philippine setting, the development of national giving surveys should make transnational philanthropy the next subject of local philanthropy and migration research. While the practice has long existed, this is where best practice research is also important. A regional level study on this topic is also necessary to further validate Chao’s findings if these apply in the emigration standpoint for the greater East or Southeast Asian region.

- 2) Transnational philanthropy can help answer some of the myths regarding the development potential of migration. While transnational philanthropy was an overlooked and underestimated approach to utilizing remittances productively, transnational philanthropy needs good examples (such as the Pozorrubio case) that can be shared elsewhere. The clamor to utilize remittances productively is using transnational philanthropy to set up industries, social enterprises, and providing more social services. This is currently ongoing at the University of California Los Angeles' North American Integrated Development (NAID) Center, which has the "Globalization from Below" project. In the NAID project, members of the hometown associations (HTAs) of Mexican migrants in California that were formed pool their resources to fund development projects and prospective local enterprises in their native hometowns in Mexico. The project also has counterpart Mexican groups such as universities, researchers, nonprofit organizations, multi-lateral agencies, and national and local government agencies (NAID Center, 2001; Ortiz, 2000). Approaches such as the NAID Center's are contributory examples for both migration and philanthropy experts and scholars. Examples such as social investment programs for migrants (Sandrino-Lim, 2002) can also be facilitated through transnational philanthropy. Transnational philanthropy may also facilitate prospective return migration. If the migrants abroad, especially the documented and undocumented contract workers and immigrants, have a chance to go back to their town for good, their prepared and planned return is hoped to follow. It will be nice to see transnational philanthropy facilitating the smooth return of Filipino migrants as they do socio-economic reintegration in their progressing hometown (Opiniano, 2002a).
- 3) For nonprofit and civil society organizations, transnational philanthropy presents the challenge of doing indigenous fundraising approaches and proper accounting and reporting procedures of donations received. The Tulong Pinoy Movement and the Linkapil programs are examples of properly accounted and reported transnational philanthropy programs. For Philippine NGOs that remain heavily dependent on grants, they can try transnational philanthropy as the new wave of Philippine nonprofit fundraising. For so long, however, non-profit universities have tapped their alumni associations abroad for scholarship programs and other donations. NGOs can have these universities as examples.
- 4) Transnational philanthropy should help transform the way migrants are severely criticized for "wasting" their remittances by giving to relatives and friends and to superfluous expenses and "useless investments" such as weddings, fiestas, and celebrations (Panganiban, 2002). By tapping the excess disposable income and the generous hearts of migrants and their kin in the origin communities, transnational philanthropy can continually manifest the migrants' national consciousness, patriotism, social involvement, and transnational relations. Transnational philanthropy might even give local-based giving a run for their money.

But a dream output of transnational philanthropy is the setting up of community foundations run for, and by, the community members themselves. A criticism on these foundations, even in the Philippines, is that these remain to be donor-driven. Their development agendas were not even identified by the community.

Through transnational philanthropy, the migrant groups abroad can already embody community foundation characteristics. Meanwhile, counterpart groups in the origin societies – of migrant and non-migrant (or development) affiliation – can be formed into community foundations. An ideal set-up is that both origin and host societies’ “community foundations” work together to identify the development agenda of the hometown and see where the migrants can contribute and where the groups locally can place their counterparts. It can be possible also that the concept of “community” in the transnational philanthropy dynamics may carry dynamic characteristics. The community concept here now becomes two-way, cross-border, or in a sense indistinguishable but present.

- 5) Transnational philanthropy also underlines the significance of social capital in migration, philanthropy, and poverty reduction (Opiniano, 2002b). It is the ties that bind people together both here and abroad that fuel the transnational exchange. By building more social institutions such as immigrant groups or civic organizations in the origin society, poverty reduction through a “different form” of social capital can occur. In terms of research, social capital is already commonplace in philanthropy and civil society studies, but is new in migration research. Ammassari and Black (2001) think that the development of social networks and ties can be seen “as an instrument not only for emigration (or immigration), but also... for the development of transnational activities (*contribution to hometown associations, maintenance of cultural links between home and receiving societies, etc.*)” But Portes and Mooney (1996), in documenting an approach similar to UCLA-NAID in a Latin American country, noted that social capital is destructive as well. Thus, interventions in providing social capital should be strategic so that implementers may be made aware of its downsides.

Transnational philanthropy balances the work of the origin and host societies in the pursuit of reducing poverty in the origin society, and promoting giving in both societies. We certainly hope that with the wonderful dynamics that surround transnational philanthropy, and its benefits for both origin and host societies, it will promote more individual than institutional giving.

More importantly, philanthropy is regardless of geographic boundaries, occupations, or income brackets. Citizens both here and abroad, through transnational philanthropy, can be inspired to “teach the joy of giving” (Venture for Fund Raising, 2002a) and make us work for poverty reduction and development via the transnational mode.

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Appendix 1
Statistics on Overseas Filipino Workers

Annual Deployment of Land- and Sea-Based OFWs by Destination, 1998-2001

	1998	1999	2000	2001
Deployed Land-Based Total	638,343	640,331	643,304	661,639
Middle East	279,767	287,076	283,291	297,533
Asia	307,261	299,521	292,067	285,051
Europe	26,422	30,707	39,296	43,019
Americas	9,152	9,045	7,624	10,679
Africa	5,538	4,936	4,298	4,943
Trust Territories	7,677	6,622	7,421	6,823
Deployed Sea-Based Total	193,300	196,689	198,324	204,951
GRAND TOTAL	831,643	837,020	841,628	866,590

Deployment of OFWs – Top Ten Destinations (2000-2001)

Countries of destination	January to December		
	2001	2000	% change
1. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	190,732	184,724	3.25
2. Hong Kong	113,583	121,762	-6.72
3. Japan	74,093	63,041	17.53
4. United Arab Emirates	44,631	43,045	3.68
5. Taiwan	38,311	51,145	-25.09
6. Singapore	26,305	22,873	15.00
7. Italy	21,956	21,490	2.17
8. Kuwait	21,641	26,386	-17.98
9. Brunei	13,068	13,649	-4.26
10. Qatar	10,769	8,679	24.08

Source: Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (www.poea.gov.ph)

Appendix 2
Remittances of Filipino Migrants

Overseas Filipino Workers Foreign Exchange Remittances
1984-2001 (in million US dollars)

YEAR	LANDBASED	GROWTH RATE	SEABASED	GROWTH RATE	TOTAL	GROWTH RATE
1984	472.58	-28.41	186.31	-34.48	658.89	-30.24
1985	597.89	26.52	89.31	-52.06	687.20	4.30
1986	571.75	-4.37	108.69	21.70	680.44	-0.98
1987	671.43	17.43	120.48	10.85	791.91	16.38
1988	683.31	1.77	173.50	44.01	856.81	8.20
1989	755.19	10.52	217.83	25.55	973.02	13.56
1990	893.40	18.30	287.67	32.06	1,181.07	21.38
1991	1,125.06	25.93	375.23	30.44	1,500.29	27.03
1992	1,757.36	56.20	445.02	18.60	2,202.38	46.80
1993	1,840.30	4.72	389.28	-12.53	2,229.58	1.24
1994	2,560.92	39.16	379.35	0	2,940.27	31.88
1995	4,667.00	82.24	210.51	(44.51)	4,877.51	65.89
1996	4,055.40	-13.10	251.24	19.35	4,306.64	-11.70
1997	5,484.22	35.23	257.61	2.54	5,741.83	33.33
1998	4,651.44	-15.19	274.55	6.58	4,925.99	-14.21
1999	5,948.34	27.88	846.21	208.22	6,794.55	44.17
2000	5,123.77	-13.86	926.68	9.51	6,050.45	-10.95
2001	5,141.54	0.34	1,093.31	15.24	6,223.86	2.79

* Source: Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas

May not add up to totals due to rounding off.

Appendix 2

Remittances of Filipino Migrants

Top Ten Countries in Terms of Remittances* 1996-2000 (in Thousand US Dollars)

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
*TOTAL	4,306,641	5,741,835	4,925,309	6,794,550	6,050,450
Landbased	4,055,397	5,484,223	4,650,760	5,948,341	5,123,773
Seabased	251,244	257,612	274,549	846,209	926,677
USA	2,564,467	4,109,430	3,961,215	4,868,879	3,952,303
Landbased	2,397,518	3,925,921	3,758,955	4,258,969	3,219,104
Seabased	166,949	183,509	202,260	609,910	733,199
KSA	14,515	5,723	33,433	183,304	276,323
Landbased	14,515	5,395	33,432	181,010	275,281
Seabased	0	328	1	2,294	1,042
HONG KONG	221,009	189,230	171,353	176,738	146,831
Landbased	211,243	180,154	163,398	149,452	126,497
Seabased	9,766	9,076	7,955	27,286	20,334
UK	278,142	205,940	130,961	83,079	91,087
Landbased	273,988	197,731	121,661	69,709	75,499
Seabased	4,154	8,209	9,300	13,370	15,588
JAPAN	114,609	131,375	107,807	273,831	370,097
Landbased	103,668	122,502	100,474	230,011	323,358
Seabased	10,941	8,873	7,333	43,820	46,739
GERMANY	130,892	121,258	82,268	54,200	90,904
Landbased	98,890	92,139	53,286	26,545	46,082
Seabased	32,002	29,119	28,982	27,655	44,822
SINGAPORE	129,654	93,329	69,288	80,180	105,351
Landbased	129,177	91,070	67,748	69,816	93,364
Seabased	477	2,259	1,540	10,364	11,987
KUWAIT	21,469	16,998	13,550	21,264	16,616
Landbased	21,469	16,973	13,550	21,262	16,286
Seabased	0	25	0	2	330
NETHERLANDS	45,067	14,637	18,447	11,532	16,206
Landbased	43,795	14,134	18,123	11,036	15,014
Seabased	1,272	503	324	496	1,192
GREECE	7,298	5,588	6,264	32,791	53,759
Landbased	1,344	2,962	2,381	13,939	21,023
Seabased	5,954	2,626	3,883	18,852	32,736

Source : Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas (Total may not add up to totals due to rounding off.)

* includes other countries

Appendix 3

Donations Coursed through the Lingkod sa Kapwa Pilipino Program Commission on Filipinos Overseas

Summary Donations per Year (1990 to 2001)

Year	Number of Donations ¹	Amount (in million pesos)
1990	91	249.510
1991	106	145.630
1992	90	25.030
1993	121	79.900
1994	86	67.640
1995	54	31.300
1996	89	54.040
1997	106	56.980
1998	117	70.537
1999	162	88.560
2000	169	105.950
2001	48	65.879
Total	1,239	1,040.956

¹ From individual and organizational donors

Summary Donations by Country of Origin (1990 to 2001)

Country of Origin	Amount (in millions of pesos)	Percent
United States of America	820.48	78.8
Germany	54.59	5.2
Canada	51.60	5.0
Australia	35.66	3.4
Japan	29.91	2.9
The Netherlands	10.61	1.0
Korea	8.16	0.8
Belgium	5.58	0.5
Sweden	5.00	0.4
Italy	3.89	0.4
Other Countries	15.5	1.6
Total	1,040.956	100.00

Appendix 3

Donations Coursed through the Lingkod sa Kapwa Pilipino Program Commission on Filipinos Overseas

Distribution of Donations by Program Component

Program Component	Percent
Health Related / Medical Mission	53.0
Relief / Calamity Assistance	27.0
Education / Scholarships	16.0
Livelihood	3.0
Others / Infrastructure	1.0

Top Ten Philippine Provinces in terms of Linkapil donations (1990 to 2001)

Province	Rank	Amount (in million pesos)
Pampanga	1	150.51
National Capital Region	2	148.10
Benguet	3	131.60
Batangas	4	57.55
Cebu	5	56.50
Pangasinan	6	38.25
Zambales	7	31.82
Nueva Ecija	8	27.80
Palawan	9	27.26
Bulacan	10	26.14

THE DYNAMICS OF TRANSNATIONAL PHILANTHROPY BY MIGRANT WORKERS TO THEIR COMMUNITIES OF ORIGIN: THE CASE OF POZORRUBIO, PHILIPPINES

About the author

JEREMIAH M. OPINIANO, 26, works as project officer (migrants' desk) of the *Institute on Church and Social Issues (ICSI)*. The Institute, a nonprofit organization run by the Catholic Jesuit priests in the Philippines, does social policy research, advocacy, and journalism to mainstream the issues of the country's basic social sectors. At the Institute, Opiniano does research on return migration and philanthropy by migrants, and heads a media-NGO network – called the Overseas Filipino Workers Journalism Consortium – that monthly writes articles on migration issue sin the Philippines.

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