



CARIBBEAN HOME TOWN ASSOCIATIONS: AN UNTAPPED RESOURCE FOR IMPACTING DEVELOPMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN REGION

Samantha C. Joseph*, Roger Hosein and Martin Franklin

University of the West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago

Abstract: The Caribbean has one of the largest diasporas with a wealth of resources that can be leveraged for the development of the region. The members of the Caribbean diaspora form part of various Home Town Associations (HTAs) which have the ability to impact development in the region in many ways. Notwithstanding, the Caribbean Diaspora has remained an underutilised resource for decades. This paper seeks to examine the potential of Caribbean HTAs not only as an avenue to harness collective remittance flows for increasing foreign currency flows to the region but also to contribute to the social, cultural and economic development of the Caribbean region. HTAs can serve as an indirect engine of economic development in the Caribbean region. This can be further facilitated by the Caribbean embassies in the various metropolitan countries. The paper concludes by emphasising the point that the HTAs must be embraced by a facilitating mechanism in order for these to be included in the region's developmental plans.

Keywords: Home Town Associations; HTAs; embassies; remittances; economic development.

INTRODUCTION

The Caribbean has one of the largest net migration rates and has evolved from being a net importer of labour to a net exporter (Nurse, 2004). The widening of the income gap amongst different regions in the world as well as an increase in labour shortages has spurred a continued increase in migration rates in the Caribbean region. Given that globalisation has brought with it the integration of systems including the temporary

and permanent movement of people across national borders, it is important for diasporas to be included into the region's development plans. This is justified by the large share of educated Caribbean people who have migrated from the region to many metropolitan countries (Mishra, 2006). These migrants maintain a strong connection with the home country and through a variety of channels are able to contribute to the development of their home country.

*Corresponding author: University of the West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago; e-mail: samanthacjoseph@gmail.com

The members of the diaspora form themselves into many organisations and associations called Home Town Associations (HTAs). These associations are usually social networks through which migrants can obtain moral and financial support from coethnics while adjusting to life in the host country (Alarcon, 2000; Levitt, 2001). Orozco (2000) defined an HTA as:

“Organizations which comprise of migrants who are from the same community or country of origin who reside in a distinct community in the host country. They may be formally or informally organized and their activities and purposes can be cultural, political, social and economical.”

HTAs usually begin as informal groups that seek out people with similar nationality to establish ties and bonds as well as a support framework (Somerville et al., 2008, p.5). Over time these groups develop into formal associations that extend their support not only to co-nationals in the host country but also to households of family, friends and communities in the home country (Somerville et al., 2008). An HTA usually collects membership fees from its members once it has become a formal group.

HTAs range from student alumni groups, religious groups and or groups who assist new migrants in the host country as well as communities in the home country (Fagen, 2009, p.4). Members of HTAs are able to socialise, solidify cultural values and bond at events such as picnics, dances and soccer games, etc. It has been argued that HTA is a new name for immigrants who want to affirm their identities and loyalties and maintain ties to their home country by contributing in some way to its development process. In this context, HTAs represent a channel through which members can contribute and improve on the conditions in their home country (ibid).

The members of HTAs help in promoting change in the home country via their contribution to the social, cultural, economic and political dimensions of the home economy. Such promotion helps to develop critical sectors and communities. In addition, the diaspora via HTAs and other voluntary groups help to reduce the level of poverty in various countries (Escobar and Janssen, 2006). The HTAs can be viewed as having the ability to function as effective agents for Caribbean development in areas such as education, health, culture, community beautification and development as well as promote a sense of identity amongst themselves (Smith, 2006). HTAs usually support activities geared towards the development of certain areas in the home country relating to:

“Technology, hospital and school construction to adult education and professional training. They also give volunteered time and money to directly deliver medical services, bring equipment and medicines to hospitals, provide psycho social counseling for the traumatized and create art spaces for local talent. Individual “remitters” of means who are not members of HTAs frequently support activities that have a collective impact and a target population that is more national than local in scope” (Fagen, 2009, p.4).

The English speaking Caribbean is yet to examine the wealth of resources which is concentrated in the Caribbean diaspora and the potential role of Caribbean HTAs to impact the region socially, economically, culturally and politically. This paper examines HTAs in the the United States of America and Canada and the potential for these associations to favourably impact different aspects of development in the respective Caribbean economies.

The rest of this paper proceeds as follows: Section 1, examines the motive behind

migrants joining HTAs; Section 2, is an examination of the literature regarding the development potential of HTAs in various regions via different avenues; Section 3 summarises the sample survey of HTAs in the USA and Canada and the final section presents the conclusion and policy recommendations.

Migrants motive for joining HTAs

The importance of diaspora associations has not been at the forefront of the development literature. Most HTAs evolve as informal networks, as these associations evolve they develop a formal structure and take on a name, obtain a charter by law, collect membership fees as well as they elect a leader and committee members (Hirabayashi, 1993, p.14).

In examining the motives behind migrants becoming part of HTAs, many scholars have advocated that migrants forming part of HTAs do so based on the motive of belonging and emotional attachment (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). Migrants want to remain connected to their home country and generally want to feel like they are part of something bigger than themselves. Migrants join these HTAs to maintain a sense of identity and belonging. Even though they may not have the desire to return to the home country, they still become members of these HTAs so that they can make their contributions (*ibid*).

The status motive is another explanation for migrants joining HTAs in the host country. This motive is based on the concept that people usually interpret their status from a historical perspective. Further, if an individual's status is made known amongst his/her peers who belong to a community, this provides a context for the individual to express his/her status and identity. This would not be readily available in the host country except in the HTAs. Therefore, migrants

may wish to join these associations for this purpose. As it relates to Mexican migrants, Goldring (1998) noted that they;

“...continue to orient their lives in part around their places of origin, maintaining transnational spaces and multiple identities, because these localities provide a special context in which people can improve their social position and perhaps their power, make claims about their changing status and have it appropriately valorized, and also participate in changing their place of origin so that it becomes more consistent with their changing expectation of status.” (p.167).

The status motive is usually evident at functions hosted by these associations and attended by large groups of migrants from the same community or country. Mountz and Wright (1996, p.416) observed that;

“In a village in Oaxaca, migrants and their families who engage in fiesta sponsorship sometimes spend more than their total annual income on a particular celebration. The size of investment exemplifies the extreme material competition for successful migrant status at work in the village.”

It has also been argued that migrants form part of HTAs as a means of gaining access to employment opportunities provided by the associations in the place of destination. This is known as the Option motive for joining HTAs. Migrants see these HTAs as having a wide range of options and opportunities which can make their lives better. Most times these associations based on their connections with various stakeholders in the host country are able to get employment opportunities for migrants. Roberts and Morris (2003) argue that these associations are the place where much of the exchange of available information on employment opportunities occurs. This in itself increases the membership of the network. The support given to migrants and their family in

these associations is a major reason why migrants become part of these networks.

Another reason why migrants join HTAs is for them to enjoy the benefits derived from being part of the association; in most cases many HTAs make contributions and donations to members and other migrants who are less fortunate, for example:

“...The Comité Tejar and their counterpart organization in the home country have provided medicine, food, clothing, and shelter to particular community members in El Salvador or in other neighboring communities with acute need. Typically, the committee would learn about these needs from petitions made through friends and family members connected to members of the HTA (Paul and Gammage, 2004, p.11).

Regardless of the motive for joining HTAs many benefits can be derived from these associations which can impact development at different levels in an economy.

Review of the Literature regarding the contributions of HTAs to Development.

HTAs can contribute to the development of their country of origin via different avenues.

In order for the HTAs to exert a greater positive effect on their home country, they must achieve improved contact with community stakeholders if only to be informed about development priorities. Table 1 below illustrates the various avenues through which HTAs can typically contribute to the development of their home country.

HTAs have the potential to contribute to the development of the home country by charitable contributions to different organisations, including community based and non-governmental organisations such as the church, orphanages and elderly homes in their home country. They can send donations of clothes, cash, goods, food, and other items for these nonprofit institutions or members of their community. Contributions can also include medical supplies and basic necessities in times of disasters. Attzs (2008) examined the role of remittances during a natural disaster and noted that remittances help to smooth household consumption in the aftermath of disasters. The response of the Jamaican diaspora after the damage caused by hurricane Gilbert is one such example; the response of the Haitian diaspora in the aftermath of cyclone Jeanne is another (Fagen, 2006, p.13). It has been estimated that remittances to

Table 1 Ways in which HTAs can impact development in the home country

Impact	Activity
Charity	Donations of toys and clothes, donations to churches and homes
Community development	Parks, cemeteries, sports complexes, ambulances, fire trucks
Infrastructure	Sport utilities, street construction
Investment	Income generation programs for the community
Human development	Scholarships, sport utilities, libraries, health equipment
Others	General fund-raising

Source: Orozco (2000)

Haiti increased by 20% in the aftermath of the earth quake that hit in early 2010 (Trinidad Express Newspaper, 2010).

HTAs have been able to improve the educational options open to members of migrant communities. Most of the studies on HTAs are tied to the United States of America, Central America and Mexico. This may be as a result of the migration stock from that region as well as the establishment of policies that enable these countries to partner with the diaspora and migrant groupings in the recipient country.

Delgado-Wise and Rodriguez (2001) posits that the investments made by HTAs to the local community and the home economy present good opportunities to stimulate growth and development in that economy. Similarly, Orozco and Welle (2000) highlighted that most scholars view HTAs as having made significant contributions to enhancing investments and the quality of life in the home country.

In recent times many scholars have examined HTAs as representing a form of political expression; this is especially so in Latin American countries that have made opportunities available for migrants to participate in the politics in their home country (Itzigsohn, 2000; Villacrés, 2008). Nun (2003) noted that migrant's participation in politics in the home country helps them share in the responsibilities assigned to the elected representatives and this helps in the process of democratising the practices of government. It is argued that the HTAs can be considered bedrocks of democracy. This is as a result of the fact that the nature of their organisation allows them to be dense networks of civil society. Within their organisations, they foster civil relations as well as teach their members the social skills and attitude needed in the host

country for democracy to prevail (Walter, 1992). In a similar manner, Putnam et al. (1994) noted that the virtue of these HTAs is their ability to strengthen their members' social capital. These HTAs are able to create engagements between the migrants, their home town as well as the local state government. HTAs can impact democracy by engaging the locals in partnerships which increase transparency and accountability of the local state (Burgess and Tinajero, forthcoming; Fox and Xochitl, 2008; Williams, 2008).

It has also been argued by many scholars that HTAs have the potential to reduce inequality and prevent social exclusion. These two variables can easily be passed on to the political sphere and allow for skewness in popular interest, which would prevent sovereignty (Alvarez et al., 1998; Baiocchi et al., 2008; Fox, 1997; Rueschmeyer et al., 1992).

HTAs are slowly moving away from just a local focus to creating important linkages between the home and host countries. Members of HTAs apart from just sending their family members remittances are now also sending collective remittances to help build and develop their local community. These collective remittances are used in the local community to develop human capital, infrastructure, and investment in schools as well as projects in the community (Alarcon, 2000).

Serrano (2003) examined an example of collective remittances and argued that approximately 1% of total remittances sent to Latin America are collective remittances sent by HTAs. He also highlighted that this figure may seem small and insignificant; however, when examined in actual dollar figures, it represents a substantial amount of money. In El Salvador alone, this small

percentage amounted to US\$15 million and is invested in a range of poor communities across the country (Crowell, 2003).

HTAs are also perceived as a form of transnationalism¹, i.e., the social and political aspect. Levitt (2002) examined social networks such as HTAs and concluded that HTAs are expressions of transnationalism. Members of HTAs usually join out of self interest; however, this may sometimes lead to collective intent, especially when these members gain status from their positions and membership in the HTA.

This study therefore builds on the existing literature on HTAs as well as creates new knowledge.

Empirical study of Caribbean HTAs in USA and Canada

Methodology

The aim of this study is to provide some quantitative analysis in assessing the potential of Caribbean HTAs to serve as an engine for growth and development in the Caribbean region through the contributions HTAs make to the social, cultural, economic and physical development of the local community and economy of the home country.

The methodology adopted was a sample survey which was conducted amongst forty two (42) Caribbean HTAs. Membership in these HTAs came from nationals of Caribbean countries such as St. Lucia, Guyana, Jamaica, Grenada and Haiti who reside in the USA and Canada. These countries were chosen because they have the higher rates of migration from the Caribbean and receive larger share of remittances to the Caribbean. The sample size consisted of 10% of the listing of all registered HTAs in the USA and Canada, as provided by the embassies of the respective home country.

The research instrument was a structured questionnaire which was executed on the presidents of each HTA within the sample. The questionnaire sought to collect primary data on the HTAs willingness to contribute to their home country, their functions as an association, their relation with the local government in the home country and the obstacles that they face in making a greater contribution to the home country. The questionnaire also probed whether or not these HTAs have been making contributions to their home country and if so, the type and extent of these contributions. A purposive sampling approach was employed as to ensure representation from the top recipients of remittances in CARICOM and the countries with the larger migration rate.

Analysis of survey results

In the sample survey of Caribbean HTAs, the respondents constituted HTAs from Guyana, St. Lucia, Jamaica, Grenada, and Haiti who operate in the USA and Canada. Of the 42 HTAs interviewed; 12 were Guyanese, 3 were St. Lucian, 5 Grenadian, 10 were from Jamaica and 12 were from Haiti. With regards to membership, the Guyanese HTAs have an average of 600 members per HTA, compared to 150 members for the Grenadian HTAs, 800 for Jamaican, 200 for St. Lucia and 1,000 members for the Haitian HTAs. The data suggest that the Haitian and Guyanese HTAs have a larger membership than the other HTAs. This is consistent with the fact that these countries have a larger volume of migrants and they are also the top recipients of remittances in the Caribbean, namely 53% and 16%, respectively of GDP for Haiti and Guyana (Fajnzylber and López, 2007). However, it is important to note that the paying members of these associations are much less than those who support the associations and take part in their activities. Approximately half of these members are

actually paying members, while the other half give their support but do not pay the membership fees. The catchment area for these associations in the USA spanned New York, New Jersey, Georgia, Washington, as well as Atlanta. The associations from Canada represented cities such as Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa and New Brunswick.

All the HTAs communicate with their members on a monthly basis with the exception of two HTAs from Guyana who meet on a weekly basis and one from Jamaica which meets quarterly. Similarly, all the HTAs communicate with their members through meetings and use emails and telephones as media of communication. In addition, 15% of all the HTAs utilised newsletters to communicate with their members; while 6% utilise their website on the world wide web.

At the HTAs' monthly meetings, the presidents of all the HTAs admitted to discussing issues and events in the home country; these include issues that the members of the HTAs are facing in the host country as well as fundraising and cultural activities. To a smaller extent 26% and 13%, respectively of all the HTAs discussed investment and employment opportunities in the home country.

About 65% of the HTAs indicated that they have programs in their associations that allow members to contribute to the development of the home country. About 60% of the HTAs that have these programs also have scholarship programs that provide students from the home country with an opportunity to study in the USA or Canada and pay the fees associated with their program of study. Other HTAs contribute to the home country through programs which support elderly and children homes, provide educational supplies such as computers to the schools in their home country, feeding programs, provision of medical supplies to

local hospitals as well as embarked on community development programs. Many of the Haitian HTAs have programs that support food and agricultural production as well as efficient water supply and animal rearing in the home country.

All the HTAs admitted that their membership frequently ask questions relating to how they could contribute to the development of their home country. Two of the HTAs postulated that citizens of the host country have also approached them regarding investment opportunities in the home country. This means that the HTAs can act as virtual announcement boards for investment opportunities in the home countries. Only 21% of HTAs claimed that stakeholders in the home country have contacted them regarding investment opportunities. These investment opportunities included real estate, small businesses, stock, bonds and shares, educational and health services.

The presidents of all the HTAs claimed that they do not provide much support for members who are interested in investing their financial, human capital and economic resources in the home country. They admitted that the only assistance that they give to their members in that regard is in the form of general information and the contact numbers of their relevant embassy representative who could shed light on investment opportunities in their country of origin.

About 86% of all the HTAs acknowledged that they make a direct contribution to the home country through collective remittances donated to the local communities, community development projects, the paving of streets, cemeteries, as well as street lights for local communities. The HTAs also make contributions to the educational system by providing educational supplies such

as computers for high schools in the local community. The HTAs also provide scholarships for members of the local community to further their education in metropolitan country. They also admitted to contributing to the health system of the home country by providing medical supplies to various home country community health centers as well as contributions to elderly homes and orphanages. They also make charitable contributions to the home country especially in times of natural disasters, as in the case of Grenada and Haiti, where the HTAs from these two countries admitted to making a significant contribution to the home country. For example, all the Grenadian HTAs interviewed admitted that when Grenada was hit by a devastating hurricane, they sent food and medical supplies as well as financial resources to assist with the rebuilding of Grenada. Many members of the HTA also flew to Grenada to give whatever assistance they could with regard to shelter, housing and medical support. Similar trends followed for Haiti which was also hit by a hurricane and more recently, an earthquake.

All the HTAs noted that their members would be willing to take part in programs which allowed them to transfer their skills and knowledge to the home country. However, this initiative has not been launched. Hence, they are unable to make a contribution in that regard.

With the exception of two HTAs from Haiti, all presidents of the HTAs noted that they do not have a direct relationship with the government of their respective home country. The two HTAs from Haiti which admitted to having a relationship with some of the government ministries in the home country, also admitted to having contact with local government bodies. However, all the HTAs admitted to having a relationship

with their respective embassies and that the members of the respective embassies support their cultural and fund raising activities. The presidents of the St. Lucian HTAs admitted that a representative of the government visited them recently concerning the upcoming Homecoming being planned by the Government of St. Lucia for members of the Diaspora. This 'Homecoming 2010' will be held in July 2010; members of the HTAs and St. Lucian diaspora are encouraged to come home to discuss ways in which the government can help them, as well as avenues through which they can make a greater contribution to the development of the St. Lucian economy.

When asked whether the government of their respective home country contacts them in relation to any investment, trading or employment opportunities, all of the HTAs noted that they have never been contacted by their respective government regarding these activities; the HTAs had a similar response regarding being contacted by the private sector in their home country with such opportunities. All the HTAs confirmed that they supported the activities and functions of other HTAs in the host country especially their fund raising activities.

When asked about some of the avenues through which they can make a greater contribution to the home country, the majority (75%) of HTAs admitted to being able to make a greater contribution to the home country through education, health supplies for the local community, community development through collective remittances for the building of roads and beautification of the community. A minority (10%) also admitted that they can contribute to the home country by investments in various business initiatives in the home country. Some (15%) of the HTAs indicated their interest in contributing to elderly homes

and orphanages in the home country as well as the development of local community schools. A very important point which stood out is that there are no incentives for the diaspora to contribute to the home country or to invest in the home country. The Haitian HTAs expressed the view that there should be more Haitian ownership of Haitian enterprises and activities.

Notwithstanding, the HTAs believe that some of the key factors which will allow them to make these contributions to their home country include funding, information on the assistance that the home country needs with respect to certain projects and support from the government and private sector in the home country. A major factor which affects many of the HTAs is the lack of assistance in shipping supplies to the home country. Many of the HTAs are faced with the challenge of shipping expenses. Although they may want to contribute to their local community in a bigger way, they are faced with high shipping cost and receive no support from the government in the home country; hence they are unable to make significant contributions.

One HTA from Haiti proposed that there is a need for the leaders and stakeholders in the home country to host forums where they can engage the diaspora on issues as well as the needs of the home country and those of the members of their diaspora. Through such forums, they can arrive at solutions which will benefit both the home country and the diaspora. The Presidents of some of the Haitian HTAs also admitted that one of the main problems that they face is the issue of illegal immigrants. Given the fact that a large share of the Haitian diaspora is illegal in the host country, they may be unwilling to participate in certain activities in the host country as well as activities to support the home country.

Conclusions and policy recommendations

It is evident that Caribbean HTAs are willing to contribute to the development of their respective economies; however, the right mechanisms are not in place to facilitate this contribution. It is important for the respective stakeholders and decision makers to recognise the importance of these diaspora groups as part of their development plan. Hence, they should create policies which will allow the respective countries to tap into the resources of these diaspora associations.

This paper therefore argues that there is a need to form closer relationships with Caribbean HTAs. This can be initiated and facilitated by the respective governments who need to pay closer attention to supporting these associations. Therefore, the respective stakeholders in the home country will be able to call on these associations to assist them in different areas of development in the home country. Without an existing relationship, there would be no incentive or need for these HTAs to make a greater contribution to the home country.

The governments of the various CARICOM member states need to set up a small unit or department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to deal specifically with diaspora relations. Some Caribbean governments (namely Dominica and Jamaica) have already initiated this unit, while others are lagging behind. It is important for all the Caribbean countries to achieve consensus on the importance of the Caribbean diaspora to the region. These units will be charged with the responsibility of creating programs geared towards increasing education, health, sports, housing and shelter, community and infrastructural development. Governments should target these HTAs as stakeholders in the delivery of such programs.

Given the large number and range of Caribbean associations, it is essential to establish an umbrella association such as a union that governs all these HTAs; this will make the HTAs less informal as well as give them more leverage, both in the home and host countries. This will also allow for greater recognition of these Caribbean associations and would make communication much easier and faster as the respective countries can communicate directly with the umbrella association for the dissemination of relevant information to member associations.

Given the close proximity of Caribbean embassies to Caribbean diaspora associations, the respective governments need to assign roles to these embassies regarding these HTAs. The embassies can serve as the intermediary between the HTAs and the home country and can be the liaison for both parties. The embassies will be the mechanism through which the members of the Caribbean diaspora will stay in touch with the home country. Caribbean embassies in serving as a facilitator between the Caribbean diaspora and the home country would allow the members of the Caribbean HTAs to make a greater contribution to the development of their home country through economic transfers, direct diaspora investment, community development, political involvement, charity and the development of social services and infrastructure.

It is crucial to establish a skill database of all the HTAs and their membership. This database will provide information on the size and compositions of these HTAs as well as their pool of skills and expertise. The availability of such data on the Caribbean diaspora and its groupings is a very important factor for the successful engagement of these HTAs. This will allow the home country to network and collaborate with these HTAs as well as identify

local needs and set programs according to these needs. Similarly, these embassies and Foreign Service units must facilitate more opportunities for trade, investment, skill and knowledge transfers to the members of the Caribbean HTAs, thereby stimulating growth and development in the region.

It is also important for the governments of the respective Caribbean countries to arrange meetings and conventions where they can meet with the representatives of the different Caribbean HTAs. At these meetings or conventions the representatives of the HTAs can discuss the issues faced by their nationals abroad and the help and support that they require from the respective stakeholders in the home country. The government officials can also discuss the help and support that they would need from these associations. These meetings and discussions can be the stepping stone in building and strengthening the relationship between the governments of the respective Caribbean countries and the various HTAs in the USA and Canada.

The region also needs to scale up its research efforts to better understand the Caribbean diaspora, their interest, their location and the help and support that they need in order to effectively contribute to the development of the region. Such research can also investigate non-financial influences, gender differences in remittance behaviour, and other issues related to diaspora and development. This research can be supported by the respective governments as well as collaborative partnership between the diaspora and the private sector.

REFERENCES

- Alarcon, R. (2000) 'The development of the hometown associations in the United States and the use of social remittances in Mexico',

- in de la Garza, R.O. and Lowell, B.L. (Eds.): *Sending Money Home*, New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Alvarez, S., Dagnino, E. and Escobar, A. (1998) *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures: Re-Visioning Latin American Social Movements*, Westview Press, Boulder.
- Attz, M. (2008) *Natural Disasters and Remittances: Exploring the Linkages between Poverty, Gender and Disaster Vulnerability in Caribbean SIDS*, Research Paper No. 2008/61.
- Baiocchi, G., Heller, P. and Silva, M.K. (2008) 'Making space for civil society: institutional reforms and local democracy in Brazil', *Social Forces*, Vol. 86, No. 3.
- Burgess, K. and Tinajero, B. (in press) 'Collective remittances as non-state transnational transfers: patterns of transnationalism in Mexico and El Salvador' in Brown, S. (Ed.): *Non-State Transnational Transfers*.
- Crowell, D. (2003) *Presentation at Roundtable at The George Washington University*, 12 November 2003, Washington, DC.
- Delgado-Wise, R. and Rodriguez, H. (2001) 'The emergence of collective migrants and their role in Mexico's local and regional development', *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*.
- Fagen, P.W. (2006) *Remittances in Crises: A Haiti Case Study*, Published by Humanitarian Policy Group at the Overseas Development Institute, London.
- Fagen, P.W. (2009) *Migration, Development and Social Services*, Policy Brief #6 February 2009.
- Fajnzylber, P. and López, J.H. (2007) *Close to Home: The Development Impact of Remittances in Latin America*, World Bank, Washington, DC.
- Fox, J. (1997). 'The difficult transition from clientalism to citizenship: lessons from Mexico', in Chalmers, D., Scott, M. and Piester, K. (Eds.): *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Fox, J. and Xochitl, B. (2008) 'Migrant organization and hometown impacts in rural Mexico', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, Vol. 8, Nos. 2 and 3, April and July 2008.
- Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J. (1997) 'Culture, power, place: ethnography at the end of an era', in Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J. (Eds.): *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, Duke University Press: Durham and London.
- Goldring, L. (1998) 'From market membership to transnational citizenship? The changing politicization of transnational social spaces', *l'Ordinaire Latino- American*, pp.173-174 .
- Hamilton, K. (2003) *Migration and Development: Blind Faith and Hard-to-Find Facts*, Migration Policy Institute, 1 November 2003.
- Hirabayashi, L.R. (1993) 'The politicization of regional identities among mountain Zapotec migrants in Mexico City', in Altamirano, T. and Hirabayashi, L.R. (Eds.): *Migrants, Regional Identities and Latin American Cities*, Society for Latin American Anthropology Publication Series, 13, American Anthropological Association: Washington, DC.
- Itzigsohn, J. (2000) *Immigration and the Boundaries of Citizenship: The Institutions of Immigrants' Political Transnationalism*, *International Migration Review*.
- Latapi, A.E. and Janssen, E. (2006) *Migration, the Diaspora and Development: The Case of Mexico*, International Institute of Labour Studies, Discussion Paper DP/167/2006, Decent Work Research Programme.
- Levitt, P. (2001) *Transnational Villagers*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Mishra, P. (2006) 'Emigration and brain drain: evidence from the caribbean', *International Monetary Fund Working Paper*, WP/06/25.
- Mountz, A. and Wright, R. (1996) 'Daily life in the transnational migrant community of San Agustín, Oaxaca, and Poughkeepsie, New York', *Diaspora*, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp.403-428.
- Nun, J. (2003) *Democracy: Government of the People or Government of the Politicians?* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Nurse, K. (2004) *Migration, Diaspora and Development*, Universidad Autonoma de Zacatecas & Canadian Foundation for the Americas, Zacatecas, Mexico, October 2004.

- Orozco, M. and Welle, K. (2000) *Hometown Associations and Development: A Look at Ownership, Sustainability, Correspondence and Replicability*, Inter-American Development Bank.
- Paul, A. and Gammage, S. (2004) *Hometown Associations and Development: The Case of El Salvador*, Destination D.C. Working Paper, Number 3, Women's Studies Department, George Washington.
- Putnam, R., Robert, L. and Nanetti, R. (1994) *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rueschemeyer, D., Evelyne H. Stephens and John D. Stephens. (1992) *Capitalist Development and Democracy*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Roberts, K.D. and Morris, M.D.S. (2003) *Fortune, Risk, and Remittances: An Application of Option Theory to Participation in Village-Based Migration Networks*, The International Migration Review.
- Smith, R.C. (2006) *Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Somerville, W., Durana, J. and Terrazas, A.M. (2008) *Home Town Association: An untapped Resource for Immigrant Integration*, July 2008.
- Serrano, P. (2003) 'Remesas familiares y colectivas de los emigrantes centroamericanos en los Estados Unidos', *Comercio Exterior*, Vol. 50, No. 4.
- Villacrés (2008) *From Subjects to Citizens: Migrant Hometown Associations as Vehicles for Deepening Democracy*.
- Walzer, M. (1992) 'The civil society argument', in Mouffe, C. (Ed.): *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship, Community*, London, New York, pp.89-107.
- Williams, H. (2008) *From Visibility to Voice: The Emerging Power of Migrants in Mexican Politics*, George Mason University: Global Migration and Transnational Politics Series, Working Paper #4, March 2008.
- Zabin, C. and Escula, L. (2002) *From Civic Association to Political Participation: Mexican Associations and Mexican Immigrant Political Empowerment in Los Angeles*, *Fontera Norte*, Vol. 14.

NOTE

- ¹ This involves groups of migrants that maintain relationships and connections with home and host societies'. These dynamics of migrant cross-border engagements encompass a range of activities including but not limited to: remittance sending, social networks, economic relationships, cultural practices, and political participation.