

Current trends

AND ISSUES IN CARIBBEAN MIGRATION

1. INTRODUCTION

Caribbean migration includes a wide variety of movements which can be classified on the basis of the stated purpose for the movement, whether work, education, or as an accompanying person; or length of stay at the destination, whether permanent or temporary. Any of these migration types may be followed by return to the country of origin. While the great majority of migrations in all categories are documented and therefore legal, there are some which are undocumented and illegal.

A single migrant may engage in more than one type of migration in his or her life-time and certainly a single household may have members en-

gaged in any combination of types at the same time. Further, even migrations that are long-term do not necessarily reflect a total displacement of the individuals from their households and communities. Instead, they invariably became part of a transnational network of interactions and linkages that are associated with movements of people, money, goods and ideas in support of the expectations and obligations of the transnational household or family (Schiller *et al*, 1995; Thomas-Hope, 1986, 1988, 1992, 2002a).

In addition, in many cases return migration reflects a recurrent movement or circulation that is not recorded either in the censuses or in any systematic way through other types of migration statistics. It is an important form

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of mobility that includes a range of movements from legal, informal commercial activities of various kinds, to organized trafficking in drugs and people. This type of movement is not only significant in its societal impact in both source and destination countries but it is also part of the wider phenomenon of population movement, directly or indirectly associated with the international linkages established by the legal migration process.

The various types of migration are therefore incorporated into intra-regional, extra-regional and return movements, around which Caribbean migration trends and issues are here discussed.

2. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF CARIBBEAN MIGRATION

2.1. Migration propensity

The Caribbean continues to be a region characterized by high levels of migration and even higher levels of the propensity for migration. Opportunities for movement are readily taken by persons in a wide range of skills and education categories, not only workers but tertiary and secondary level students as well. This makes recruitment for migration, for almost any purpose, easy and increases the potential vulnerability of the persons who move.

2.2. Transnational households, livelihoods and identities

The establishment of transnational households and transnational communities in various parts of the world help to perpetuate con-

tinuing movement. There is a large reservoir of social capital that has been generated in association with migration, especially where the flows have been sustained over a long period. Social capital is reflected in the extensive networks of contacts, and is a major resource for the migrants themselves. Family members already abroad provide part of the incentive for the migration of others by providing both a reason for wanting to go and/or a means of obtaining a visa under the family reunification category for immigration.

Furthermore, a number of persons hold dual citizenship or residency rights in more than one country and they, with their households lead transnational lives-both in terms of their livelihood and identity.

2.3. Analytical perspective

To use the concept of 'pushes and pulls' which tends to be a dominant discourse relating to migration, is to use a metaphor that tends to mislead analysis and ultimately could misguide policy. It ignores the importance of the historical effect of corporate memory and the culture surrounding migration that evolved in the Caribbean. It also subsumes the importance of structural factors that condition thought and action as well as of the power of the transnational community and personal transnational identities. Further, it misleads the analysis into a notion of migration as a passive response to exogenous forces. Additionally, it suggests that migration is necessarily a uni-directional movement of individual from a negative to positive environment, irrespective of the multi-national network in

which most Caribbean people are embedded or indirectly influenced.

The migrants are in the overwhelming number of cases the agents of their own decisions and movements. Furthermore, it is not the poorest and least educated sectors of the population that migrate most, though it is their conditions that logically should 'push' them out hardest.

Important is the fact that the positive, and usually augmented perception of migration as a panacea or personal solution often far exceeds the reality, and is sometimes conditioned by deception (as in some aspects of trafficking). Yet even then, it does not diminish the role of the migrant as agent in the migration process.

It is also important to recognize that the perspective of migration from the point of view of the migrants and their families is different from, and not necessarily in the interest of, the state and region. For one thing, the individual and family will necessarily consider the short-term benefits of the movement - for themselves and their children; whereas governments need to consider the long-term implications for communities and states and, if development is taken seriously, it must consider not only the economic but also those many intangible, even subliminal, difficult to measure factors, as the profound political and deep societal and psychological impact of persistent dependency on the outside world.

Certainly, migration potentially extends the

opportunities for populations living in limited national spaces. When and where opportunities allow persons to extend their livelihoods into the wider global environment, and since people at all levels are pre-conditioned to associate the achievement of their goals with migration, then such an opportunity is immediately regarded as the desired option. The more the society depends on this option, the more it continues to do so until, as in the Caribbean, it becomes part of the normal consideration within the career of individuals and life cycles of households. Thus incentives are both direct and indirect, part of the ongoing opportunities within the individual's sphere of information, popular notions about conditions in various countries, as well as specific events.

2.4. Incentives based on discrepancies within the 'World System'

While it is not feasible to examine all aspects of incentives for migration, some major elements are as follows:

- a) Those embedded in the historical-structural differentials of the 'world system' as reflected in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) levels, the Human Development Index (HDI), and wages;
- b) Those associated with the social capital embedded in the social networks of Caribbean people/society and the transnational communities that have developed;
- c) The demand-driven migration-specific incentives provided by advertisements and the recruitment of persons as well as the facilitating or restrictive nature of en-

try regulations and visa requirements at potential migration destinations.

The conditioning factors are based on the structural characteristics of the 'world system' that are social, economic and political, and that influence the nature of the division of labor. However, the conditioning factors are not entirely material in nature. Other conditioning factors are borne of historical experience, the role that migration has played in circumventing the constraints to social mobility of the post-slavery plantation system, and the ways in which social institutions, including social class mobility and gender roles have accommodated and, therefore, evolved to facilitate, even stimulate, mobility (Thomas-Hope, 1992). In combination, these have conditioned the meaning that migration came to assume within society both in terms of the material advantage and also the cultural value that is embedded within it. Besides, the 'world system' and the global material discrepancies reinforce the ways in which places are perceived, and personal opportunity assessed. Within this context, corporate memory, cultural traditions and the institutionalization of migration that has taken place are important. Whatever the context of the decision-making at the household and individual levels, and where such decisions favor the migration option, the propensity for migration may be high but the opportunity to enter another country may not be present. The migrants' resources as well as the regulatory environment at the prospective destinations are critical to ultimately determining who moves and when.

Added to this background is the fact that specific situations and events sometimes trigger a high volume of movement of a particular type and at a specific time. These include the activities of agents that facilitate and encourage movement, such as job recruitment, aggressive advertising and dissemination of information about opportunities in other countries, and agents that advertise to undertake all documentary requirements such as visa applications. Other conditions that trigger large scale movement relate to dramatic changes in conditions, such as devastation from natural disasters or from political upheaval, that spark refugee movements.

That Caribbean people respond to the real and perceived global differences by migrating, rather than by attempting to alter their situation where they are, is a further reflection of the influence of historical processes, the role that migration is seen to play, and the meaning it is ascribed at both the individual and societal levels. Thus, concerns relating to migration policy should be based partly on the issue of the persisting and pervasive nature of factors that are interpreted by societies as migration incentives. It should also focus on the ways in which migration reflects national and regional development disparities in social and economic levels and thus the vulnerability of states to virtually any new global labor demands. In addition to the economic and developmental issues involved, other issues relating to current migration trends lie in their implications for national security and peace, and the human rights of migrants.

3. CURRENT TRENDS IN MIGRATION

3.1. Long-term migration of skills from the Caribbean

3.1.1. Movement to the USA

Overall, there is considerable spread of occupational groups represented among those whose immigration status records that they are destined for the workforce. The largest percentage is of those in blue-collar and service groups. The second largest group, are in white collar occupations, some in administrative and sales and others in high level positions of a professional, managerial and executive nature.

The largest number of high level personnel entering the USA from the Caribbean during the decade of the 1990s was from the Dominican Republic. Immigrants from the Dominican Republic were also in the majority in the category of skills labeled 'precision production craft and repair'. Haiti, on the other hand, chiefly contributed labor in the less specialized skill categories of 'operator, fabricator and laborer' with 13,635 for the eight-year period, and dominated the 'farming, forestry and fishing' group with a total of 45,935 over the 1990-98 period (Caribbean Community Regional Census, 1994). Jamaica contributes most to the 'service' category but also has relatively large numbers of migrants in the Professional as well as the Executive and Managerial groups.

Students are not specifically identified in the data but they constitute part of the 'no occupation' group. Overall, 24.37% of all Caribbe-

an migrants over the eight-year period were in the Professional, Managerial or skilled technical categories. Trinidad & Tobago was higher than average for the Caribbean, with 35.43% skilled. Migrants from the Dominican Republic were 30.23% skilled and from the 'Other Caribbean' countries combined, 29.13% of immigrants to the U.S. were skilled (Ibid).

The extent, to which the Caribbean migrants contributed to the global total of all migrants to the United States in these occupational categories, was not as high as from other regions of the world. However, the Caribbean percentage of the US immigrants in the non-labor force, the category that includes students – was indeed higher than for any other region of the world, with 42.5% as compared with the global figure of 34.2% (Ibid).

Education. As would be expected from the occupation structure of the Caribbean migrants to the United States, the level of education is generally high. In 1990, 60.8% of those from the British Commonwealth Caribbean had been to a tertiary institution and a further 25.2% were high school graduates (CCPHC, 1994). Similar categories are not available for migrants from Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, but data for number of years of formal education show 54.1% of the Cubans, 41.8% of the Dominicans and 57.6% of the Haitians over the age of 20, had completed 12 or more years of schooling (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 1998). There was a very large discrepancy in the education of the average Caribbean emigrant as compared to the average

for the respective Caribbean national populations, as observed earlier, due to the highly selective nature of the migrations.

Gender. In each decade since the 1950s, there were between 43% and 47% of Caribbean migrants to the U.S. male and 53% and 57% female (CCPHC, 1994). Although females are well represented in all skill categories as well as in service occupations, numerically they do not typically exceed males.

3.1.2. *Movement to Canada*

Canada was the second most important destination of Caribbean migrants in the 1990s. Jamaica ranked highest with a total of 17,522 destined for the workforce over the period 1990-1996 and a further 11,087 students plus others, some of whom will later either become students or in the case of spouses, will enter the workforce, in many cases with skills. Trinidad and Tobago ranks second in numbers of migrants to Canada in the 1990s. Over 11,000 entered the workforce over the same six-year period and 4,562 as students, some 2,957 others (Statistics Canada, 1996).

The large numbers of students in the migration streams to Canada reflect the trend in Canada's immigration policy to encourage the entry of persons at that stage. Taking 1996 as an example, of the total of 3,275 from Jamaica only 47% were destined for the labor force, while 52.6% entered as students (the remaining 0.4% in miscellaneous categories). In the case of Trinidad, 2,199 entered, of which 55.7% were entering as workers 30% as students. From Haiti, 1,935 arrived, 45.3% for the labour force and 36% as students. The

remaining persons entered included accompanying spouses and children and others not classified. (Statistics Canada, 1996).

The third largest group of Caribbean migrants to Canada in terms of number was from Haiti; followed by the Dominican Republic, Cuba. Other Caribbean territories individually sent small numbers of migrants as well and these in combination amounted to 4,843 destined for the workforce, over 2,000 as students and a further 1,000 spouses, children and persons not classified (Ibid).

Education. Caribbean migrants in Canada demonstrate a high level of education as indicated by the fact that most persons enumerated in 1981 had received ten or more years of schooling. Besides, as already indicated a large proportion of the migrants to Canada in the 1990s entered as students and thus engage in full-time or part-time study.

Gender. In all the major groups of Caribbean nationals in Canada and for each decade of their arrival, females have been larger in number than males. The percentage male and female in the immigrant stock (1981) were for Jamaica, 43.7% male and 56.3% female; Trinidad & Tobago, 47% male, 53% female; Barbados, 44.7% male, 54.4% female; Haiti, 45.6% male, 54.4% female (ECLAC, 2000). This would be accounted for by the preponderance of females in clerical and service occupations and the opportunities for work in this sector among Caribbean migrants in Canada. As observed in the US case, so in the Caribbean migrant populations to Canada, males account for a larger percentage than females

in the skill worker categories but females are well represented in all occupations, and especially students.

3.1.3. Trends since 2000

The trend in movement since 2000 is that of a new wave of recruitment of skilled persons and students. There are, as yet, no data available on these migrations and evidence of the general trends is tentative and largely based on newspaper articles and personal interviews (Thomas-Hope, 2002b).

Information about vacancies is generally accessed through the Internet. Some employers target relevant populations through advertisements and inducements that are published in the local Newspapers followed by interviews and the recruitment sessions are arranged at local centers. In addition, the process takes place through a range of informal operators, most of whom are Caribbean nationals.

Teachers for the United Kingdom and the United States have been employed through local recruiters. The New York Educational Authority is currently (April 2001) engaged in the employment of teachers through a recruitment centre set up at specific locations in the region. The recruitment of nurses has also been taking place over many years and still continues. The trend in the recruitment of College and High School students has also continued.

Part of the problem of the teacher and nurse migration has been the nature of the recruitment itself, but also the rate of the movement. Both these aspects had negative psychologi-

cal impacts on those remaining in the sectors. But it is also the case that the quality of service is affected and that through the process of internal promotion, it is the schools and health clinics that serve the poorest sectors of the society that suffer the most. A recent study has concluded that the quality of teaching in Jamaican schools has been negatively affected by the recent teacher migration (Sives, Morgan and Appleton, 2005)

3.2. Return migration

The chief source country of returnees to the Caribbean in recent years has been the United Kingdom. Second has been the United States, and third, Canada. Other countries have been the sources of small numbers of returnees also. Since the peak of return migration in the 1990s the trend has been one of declining numbers in recent years. The large numbers of nationals that returned to the region in the 1990s has shown a declining trend in recent years.

Contrary to general assumptions, the return is not confined to the period of retirement even though there are many persons that return permanently at that stage of their life-cycle. The demographic and occupational characteristics of returning residents have not been monitored by the official agencies but research based on select samples reveal a wide range of age, occupational and educational groups included (ECLAC, 1998a; 1998b; Thomas-Hope, 1999a; 2002a).

The sending of remittances and financial transfers are not necessarily part of the return

movement, but it is most certainly associated with the transnational nature of households and families and in many cases, with the intention or idea of a subsequent return. Remittances account for substantial proportions of the GDP of some Caribbean countries (for example, in Jamaica contributing more than the traditional export sector). Remittances, however, are not being used as effectively as they potentially could be. The point has been made that the volume of remittance flow to the Caribbean is far lower than would be expected by comparison with other migrant societies, for example, in Asia, and that the flow is currently too unpredictable to be used for national investment projects (Samuel, 2000).

3.3. Temporary out-migration from the Caribbean

Overseas temporary employment contracts are negotiated by the Ministries of Labor of the respective Caribbean countries and workers are recruited by these Ministries following interviews of the prospective candidates from which the selections are made. Currently short-terms temporary work programs include: Farm Worker Program to the USA, Hotel Worker Program in the USA, to include waiters and chambermaids, Farm Worker Program to Canada, Factory Worker Program to Canada, Programmer of miscellaneous workers to Guantanamo Bay.

The majority of temporary contracts are for seasonal agricultural work or hotel services. Mexicans vastly outnumber those from the Caribbean but the movement, nevertheless, has been important for the countries involved.

In Jamaica, for example, numbers to the USA declined dramatically over the same period as compared with previous years. In 1989, 1990 and 1991, the farm workers recruited for the USA were well in excess of 10,000 in any year. In 2001, 2002 and as suggested by the data from the first half of 2003, numbers recruited for US farms fell below 4,000 each year. Numbers to Canada of farm and factory workers combined have remained steady and greater than 4,000 in any year (Compiled from, Government of Jamaica, Ministry of Labor Statistics).

3.4. Intra-caribbean migration

3.4.1. Legal labor migration

The intra-regional movements in recent years have shown a steady rate of increased movement to those islands where tourism expanded over the past decade, such as Antigua- Barbuda, the British dependent states of Anguilla, the British Virgin Islands and Cayman Islands and the Netherlands Antilles, especially Curacao, and Aruba.

In the absence of the relevant data from the 2001 Population Census, it is not possible to ascertain the rate of emigration in the intercensus decade 1991-2001. Nevertheless, it is known that emigrants from Guyana have been settling throughout the Eastern Caribbean, especially in islands with significant tourism sectors, such as Barbados, Antigua and St. Kitts and Nevis. Likewise, persons from the Dominican Republic have been settling in St. Kitts and Nevis under citizenship entitlements based on the nationality of their grandparents who had migrated from

St. Kitts-Nevis to the Dominican Republic as labor migrants in the 1920s and 1930s. Jamaicans have been moving to the centers of tourism development in Antigua and Barbuda, Anguilla, the British Virgin Islands and the US Virgin Islands. Unlike the Guyanese and Dominican communities that have become established in the Eastern Caribbean, the Jamaicans tend to form a mobile community engaged in a considerable degree of circulation back to Jamaica periodically for periods of varying duration.

Migrants establish or move into niche occupations in response to the opportunities afforded by the economic and social structure of the host country. The distribution and concentrations of immigrants in specific occupational categories thus reflect the economic growth sectors that encourage immigration. For example, in the Bahamas and the British Virgin Islands, most non-nationals are involved in unskilled work. However, the second most significant category is professionals, followed by craft and service activities. This is a consequence of the thrust of the developments in tourism in which the migrants obtain work and indeed, have established a niche. By contrast, most of the non-nationals in Jamaica are in the professional (45.9%), managerial (16.3%) and technical (12.0%) categories. This is to large extent a replacement population for Jamaicans in these occupations who had migrated to North America (Caribbean Community Regional Census, 1994).

The intra-Caribbean migration situation is highly dynamic. There are the possibilities of change in the migration pattern depend-

ing upon any emerging foci of growth in any of the islands and the attendant need for an increased workforce of a particular type. An additional factor that underlines the migration dynamic is that any major environmental hazard could lead to out-migration. This is exemplified by the situation in Montserrat. The migration pattern changed dramatically in the second half of the 1990s due to the volcanic eruptions. In 1990, this island had an immigration rate of 13.7 and emigration rate of 18.6. Currently, although data are not available, it is known that the immigration has virtually ceased and the emigration rate has increased significantly (CCPHC, 1994).

3.4.2. Irregular migration

As with documented or legal migration, so too undocumented or illegal migration includes different types of movement. Illegal migrants leave from the Caribbean countries direct to destinations outside the region, mainly the USA, Canada and countries in Europe. Other movements are intra-Caribbean, while still others involve Caribbean destinations in the first instance and then on to locations outside the region. Estimates of the volume of illegal migrants entering countries can only be made on the basis of those that are identified by the authorities, which is on the basis of numbers interdicted at sea, numbers of asylum seekers and persons entering without inspection and subject to deportation.

The pattern of movement. The direction and volume of irregular movements reflect two interrelated hierarchies of opportunity based upon economic conditions and distance. At one level, irregular migrants constitute the

materially poor from the poorest countries to other nations within the Caribbean, and affect destinations within the shortest distances from the point of origin, as financial costs are generally commensurately lower for these places than more distant locations.

In addition to transport cost, opportunity cost is highest for the USA. The risk of being intercepted is lower in those countries of the region that can afford less intensive coast-guard surveillance. For example, entry into the Turks and Caicos Islands since 1994 has been relatively easier than into the Bahamas. In other territories where there is cooperation with the US Coastguard based in San Juan, surveillance is tight, as is the case for the US Virgin Islands. The selection of a destination, therefore, reflects a compromise on the part of the migrant between lower risk and costs versus preferred location. The main flows of irregular migration are given below.

Migrants move from Caribbean countries to the USA and the European Union (EU) go direct or via transit points (some of which become their final destinations). Regular airline routes and the use of false documents provide the means of entry.

Chiefly because of the large numbers involved, the main concern relating to irregular migration in the Caribbean in recent years has been on the migrants who attempt to enter a Caribbean country or the USA by boat. The boats are usually undocumented and in many cases operated by smuggling rings. Large boats are used if direct travel to the USA is intended, but to reduce the risk of being observed and

intercepted by the Coastguard, the final leg of the journey is made in small boats, usually from archipelagos of the Bahamian, or Turks and Caicos Islands.

Haiti, Cuba and the Dominican Republic are the major sources of these irregular movements. Haitians chiefly travel to the Bahamas or the Turks and Caicos Islands, many with the intention of relocating to the USA, while Cubans prefer to travel directly to Florida. Smaller numbers of Haitians and Cubans travel by sea to Jamaica or Cayman and later attempt to move from there to the USA. Between mid-February and May, 2004, over 500 Haitians arrived in Jamaica by boat (The Jamaican Ministry of National Security unpublished data). The majority filed applications for asylum whereas 116 sought voluntary repatriation to Haiti, assisted by the International Organization of Migration (IOM) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

The route of irregular migrants from the Dominican Republic has traditionally been, and continues to be, across the Mona Passage to Puerto Rico with the aim of moving on to the USA. More recently, there has been movement from the Dominican Republic to the various Eastern Caribbean islands. This movement is also characterized by smuggling rings involved in the trafficking of young women and girls destined for prostitution at locations in the Caribbean itself, especially those islands with a prosperous tourist industry, such as Antigua, the British Overseas Territory of Anguilla, the French Departments of Martinique and Guadeloupe and the Nether-

lands Antilles, as well as countries of Central and South America, or in Europe (Kempadoo, 1999).

The scale of the movement. Migrants Interdicted at sea

The movement of irregular migrants destined, either directly or through transit points, for the USA was dominated by Haitians over the period 1982 to 1994, and numbers peaked in 1992 with 31,438 persons interdicted, followed by a decline after 1995 to less than 2,000 in any year (USA, Alien Migrant Interdiction, 2002; see Thomas-Hope, 2003). In 1990 and 1991, there were over 1,000 Dominicans interdicted and in 1995 and 1996, there were 4,047 and 5,430 interdicted, after which numbers once more fell off to 1,463 in 1997 and less than 1,000 each year thereafter. Between 1991 and 1994, the number of Cubans interdicted was also much higher than previously recorded and increased from less than 4,000 in 1993 to more than 37,000 in 1994, after which numbers again declined (USA, Alien Interdiction, 2002).

In addition to the interdictions carried out by the US Coastguard, the security forces of the Bahamas and the Turks and Caicos Islands also apprehended irregular migrants. The former reported that in the year 2000, 4,879 Haitians were intercepted, 6,253 in 2001, and during the first eight months of 2002, 4,077 Haitians were detained (Bahamian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, unpublished data, 2002). The migrants were taken by the Coastguard to a location on the southern island of Inagua,

where they were handed over to immigration authorities for processing and repatriation.

Over the same period, authorities in the Turks and Caicos Islands apprehended 806 persons in 2000, 2,038 in 2001 and 845 during January to July 2002 (Turks and Caicos Islands, unpublished data, 2002). The trend of increasing volume is similar to that seen all over the region. Whether the increases in numbers apprehended represent greater vigilance by the authorities or whether they reflect an increase in the volume of flow of Haitian irregular migrants is an open question.

Asylum seekers

Caribbean persons seeking asylum in recent years in the USA have chiefly been Haitian nationals, with numbers amounting to 4,257 in 2000 and 4,938 in 2001. In addition, small numbers of Cubans, 157 and 160 in 2000 and 2001 respectively, have sought asylum in the USA. In the case of Canada, there were no large numbers from any one Caribbean country seeking asylum but small numbers from several countries. Haitian nationals were in a majority in 2000 and 2001 and Cubans second. However, there were also in excess of one hundred asylum seekers from Grenada, Jamaica and St. Vincent and the Grenadines (UNHCR, 2003).

3.5. Deportees

Deportees refer to those Caribbean nationals abroad who are involuntarily returned to their country of birth following charges for offences committed (most criminal and some

civil) in a country overseas and in which they have no citizenship status, notwithstanding that they may have lived there for many years.

The case of Jamaica will be cited to illustrate the scale and nature of the movement. With the number of deportees rising to well over 3,000 in 2002, it is evident that this category of returning national now far exceeds that of the returning residents.

Data for the years 1995 to 2002 indicated the predominance of the movement of deportees from the United States. Over the period 1995-2002 the United States was the source of 63.5% of the total number of deportees to Jamaica. The United Kingdom deported 19.69% of all those returned to Jamaica over the same period, Canada deported 12.45% and other countries, 4.36%. In each year from 1995 to 2002, at least 1,699 deportees arrived in Jamaica and it is also to be noted that the numbers have risen through this eight-year period, with 1,582 arriving in 1995 and 3,306 in 2002, reflecting an increase in excess of 100%. This increase was due to the rising numbers arriving from the United Kingdom. The numbers of persons deported from Canada decreased significantly over the period, those from the United States increased gradually but those from the United Kingdom increased dramatically especially in 2002, when 1,462 were returned (The Planning Institute of Jamaica, 1970-2002).

The regular arrival of deportees in some countries is causing considerable strain on the national health and social services. Many deportees would like to obtain work and fit back into society but without the appropriate

support, this becomes very difficult. Other deportees are to be found among the homeless and also those persons involved in local crime and international criminal networks, increasing the national security problems. The practice is one that also needs to be examined in terms of human rights.

3.6. Trafficking in persons

The definition of trafficking in persons provided in the *United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*. It states that, "Trafficking in persons includes the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation" (UN Protocol, Article 3).

The movement is now so widespread in the Caribbean that most countries are involved as source, with numbers from the Dominican Republic tending to be largest. The chief destinations are the major tourist centres of the region, principally for the commercial sex trade. This now involves most states though to varying extent. There is also evidence that some of the intra-Caribbean movements of persons trafficked subsequently end outside of the region, with many other countries used as transit points. Likewise, the source of persons trafficked into the Caribbean include China, India and the Philippines (IOM, 2004).

The trans-border movements are chiefly undertaken using the legal migration mechanisms. In addition to the trans-border movement, studies have shown the extent of trafficking in women and children within Caribbean countries (See for example, Dunn, 2000; 2001).

4. DATA

Circularity in the pattern of movement between places of origin and destination make the collection of and consistency in the data difficult, even with respect to documented or legal movements. Caribbean countries implement regulations and thus record the immigration of non-nationals but do not generally record the movements of nationals except for a few countries in recent years, with respect to returning nationals. The absence of data about the movements of nationals is partly because of the difficulty in identifying them as migrants versus persons temporarily departing their country for various reasons, and partly because their movements have not traditionally been regarded of major significance to the policies of Caribbean states.

4.1. Legal migration

4.1.1. South-North migration

Information regarding emigration from the Caribbean is maintained by the countries of destination of Caribbean migrants as a record of immigration. These data do not, therefore, include those national groups that, due to their citizenship, require no visas for entry; for example, people from the French Antilles moving to France, British Commonwealth

migrants to the UK up until the new requirements of visas in 2003, citizens of British dependent states, Netherlands Antilleans to the Netherlands and Puerto Ricans and US Virgin Islanders to the USA. Moreover, not only is there no regional database, but there is a lack of databases at the level of individual states containing information relating to all the migration streams pertaining to the respective countries.

With regard to the data derived at the destination, it must be noted that the year of admission to immigrant status is not usually the year of entry into the country. In the case of the USA, a number of persons recorded as being granted immigrant status in any particular year had arrived in the country previously, on a temporary basis, during which time they had filed for permanent status and adjustments had been made. Thus, for example, in Fiscal Year 1999, 71,683 persons were admitted into the USA from the Caribbean, of which only 48,274 (67%) were new arrivals in the 1998-1999 fiscal year; of the 88,198 admitted in 1999-2000, only 50,108 (less than 56%) were new arrivals (USA, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2001). Additionally, immigrants to a country are in some cases recorded in terms of their last country of residence and at other times in terms of country of birth, thus adding to the inconsistencies that arise in the data collected by different countries.

4.1.2. Intra-Caribbean migration

The data from the CARICOM Census 2001 are not yet available for the region in such a form that migration figures could be extrapo-

lated or computed. Each Caribbean state is responsible for the conduct of their respective population censuses and collation of the data. Until the work is completed in each state the regional agencies cannot establish a database. This means that the most recent Caribbean regional migration data currently available are from the CARICOM 1991 Census for Population and Housing (CCPHC, 1994). This census provides migration data for much of the region up to that year but, even then, this is with the important exceptions of Jamaica and Haiti, as well as the non-CARICOM countries of the Dominican Republic and Cuba and island dependencies.

4.1.3. Return migration

The data on return migration are only recorded in some Caribbean countries, therefore it is not possible to develop a comprehensive dataset or to obtain a full picture of the movement as it pertains to the region. Those countries that currently record the number of migrants returning are the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Barbados and St Kitts-Nevis. The data that are collected on return migration are generally not comprehensive or inclusive of details about the populations involved. The Jamaican Customs Department began collecting data on returning nationals in 1993 on the basis of numbers applying for duty concessions with respect to the importation of personal goods. These data substantially underestimate the real flow of migrants because they are based on applications for duty-free concessions made by one member on behalf of the entire household. The size of the household for which the application is made is not recorded nor is any detail about the individ-

uals, such as age, sex, occupation or educational level. The numbers of return migrants with particular skills, or those who are still in the labor force versus those who were retired cannot be distinguished, therefore, from the total number of returnees. Barbados and St. Kitts-Nevis have also taken an active interest in the return of migrants in recent years and although some effort is currently made to collect data pertaining to numbers, like the Jamaican data they are based primarily on applications for customs concessions. Furthermore, in all cases, a number of returnees continue to circulate between the Caribbean and their previous migration destinations in North America or Europe and those who re-migrate are never recorded to have done so.

4.1.4. Temporary migration

The data on legal temporary migration are carefully maintained by the governments of the respective countries that have negotiated the contracting of their nationals under the provisions of short-term labor contracts. The relevant governments have responsibility for recruitment of the workers.

4.2. Illegal migration

The data on illegal, irregular or undocumented migration are, understandably, impossible to generate with any degree of accuracy. The USA records of aliens subject to deportation in fiscal year 2002, showed a total of 9,602 and, of this number, 5,100 had entered the country without inspection and were therefore undocumented or illegal migrants (USA, Immigration and Naturalization Services, 2003). The absence of data for previous years

in the USA and for Canada and European countries, prevent the identification of the trend over time or a comparative evaluation of the movement from the Caribbean to other countries of the North. Nevertheless, an idea of the extent of the movement is obtained by a) the numbers interdicted at sea, b) numbers of asylum seekers and c) persons entering without inspection and subject to deportation. None of these sets of data provide reliable indicators of illegal migration, though they can be used, with caution, as the only available surrogates.

Using numbers of persons interdicted at sea as an indicator is unreliable on account of the fact that there is no way of estimating how many persons actually successfully reach their destination, not is it possible to know how many use their first location of landing as a transfer point from which they subsequently depart as they move on to another country. Numbers of asylum seekers, likewise, are not reflective of the total numbers crossing a border without the required entry documentation. The data for numbers entering without inspection, relate to those persons who are identified by the authorities, and because illegal migrants avoid documentation, including census enumeration, the figures can only relate to known illegal entries. In the case of the USA, fiscal year 2002 was the first year for which data were available on the categories of aliens identified as being deportable. The data on deportable aliens in previous years only specified whether deportation was due to criminal or non-criminal offences and not whether the persons were undocumented

and illegally within the country, so that their migration status remained unstated.

5. 'MANAGING' MIGRATION

5.1. Incentives

Policies' regarding the immigration of replacement populations in specific occupations has usually been the means of filling the labor force gaps in the region. This currently pertains in the nursing sector of some Caribbean countries, whereby recruitment methods (for example, of Cuban nurses to Jamaica) are used.

Incentives to remain in the region also provide the possibility of retaining skills but there needs to be caution that the poorer states do not become further depleted of skills. The debate about policy regarding the increasing trend in teacher and nurse migration has led to initiatives to 'manage' the situation by training these professionals in numbers that would supply both the local and overseas demands. There are a number of underlying concerns: first about both the way in which this would work in practice, in particular, which trained persons would be selected for migration and which not; and second, about the societal implications of training persons for export.

5.1.1. *Incentives to return*

The return involves not just the movement of people but also the movement of remittances in the form of financial capital as well as goods of various kinds (Thomas-Hope, 1999). These are typically transferred back to the

Caribbean country of origin through formal and informal channels either prior to, along with or following the return of the migrants themselves.

The realization on the part of some Caribbean governments that the Diaspora constitutes or contains human and economic resources that would be of value to national development and that the returning population has a potentially major contribution to make, has led to the establishment of programs in Jamaica, Barbados and St. Kitts-Nevis to facilitate and encourage return.

5.1.2. Incentives for investment, collaboration in development projects

This is an area where more attention needs to be paid. However, the overall environment relating to personal safety and financial security will be the main basis on which any investment and project partnership from the Diaspora will succeed.

5.2. Regulations

Although migration incentives are high, the regulatory controls of the prospective receiving countries, both in the countries of the North (in this case the countries of North America and Europe) as well as in the countries of the Caribbean itself, carefully guard their borders through the enforcement of regulations of varying degrees of stringency and selectivity. Selectivity is intended to attract those persons deemed to provide desirable immigrants and ultimately, citizens. The regulations thus differentially facilitate or deter movement by establishing various entry reg-

ulations, including those relating to duration of stay, for various categories of person. This section outlines the regulatory framework pertaining to the entry of Caribbean citizens to the USA, Canada, the UK as well as into the CARICOM states themselves.

5.2.1. Immigration regulations of intra-Caribbean migration

The free movement of skills within the Caribbean applies only to CARICOM member states and to specific categories of skills. The purpose of policy on free movement of skilled labor is to optimize the utilization of human resources within the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME). While the movement of artistes and professionals was agreed in 1992, Caribbean states have been reluctant to move quickly in the direction of free movement of all categories of labor within the region; thus while laws were enacted variously throughout the decade following 1992, their full implementation has still not been achieved (Caribbean Community, 1996). The objectives of the CSME are that fully integrated goods, services, capital and labor markets will result in a more dynamic economy. The main difference between the Common Market and the CSME is that the Common Market provided only for the free movement of goods, while the achievement of the objectives of the CSME would necessarily involve the free movement of not only goods, but also of services, capital and labor.

Throughout the Caribbean, all skilled and unskilled labor immigrants require work permits in order to work in the host country. Work permits have to be requested by the

company or organization hiring the migrant. Requests are considered mainly when it has been proven that there is no qualified/competent national available for the post. There is usually the requirement of a fee to be paid upon application for a work permit.

6. CONCLUSION

In summary, the recent migration trends show increases in:

- The loss of professional skills through the recruitment of professionals – in particular teachers and nurses for work abroad;
- Irregular migration;
- Human trafficking;
- The return of ‘deportees’ to the region;
- Return migration, remittances and transfers of funds.

All of these trends constitute important issues to be addressed. Thus, how to ‘manage migration’ so as to reduce the vulnerability of Caribbean populations to the negative impacts of migration can be identified as the overarching issue that needs to be addressed.

The objective of such an approach has to be to optimize the opportunities of migration for socio-economic development, national and regional security and the protection of human rights.

Implicit in developing policies to improve the management of migration are the additional issues of:

- The ways in which migrations of various types are conceptualized and contextualized so that the fundamental issues, and

not just the obvious symptoms, can be identified.

- Data quality.

On the basis of the trends and patterns of Caribbean in- and out-migration, an important issue for policy is the recognition of the potential value of the free movement of people, both for individuals and countries of source and destination. Migration has long been a means of extending the opportunities, and overcoming some of the limitations, of small, developing Caribbean states and, overall, has enriched the region in a variety of ways. However, such positive assessments have to be tempered with the concerns about the excessive emigration of skilled persons especially when this occurs over short periods of time. Not only does this create immediate gaps in the labor force which is damaging to productivity but also, the resources invested in education and training may never be recovered. The free movement of labor between countries of the Caribbean Community as proposed, with a view to establishing a single market for human resources, could serve to reduce the negative effects of skill loss from the region by a common pool of workers at the regional level.

The trends have shown that Caribbean migration is highly responsive to occupational and educational opportunities in other countries, yet there is also a strong tendency to return to the native country later on. In terms of financial capital, there are already strong indications of the potential flows through remittances back to the original source countries associated with the migration process. The

transnational household and return migration are of particular value in the generation and direction of these flows. The creation and publicizing of incentives for investment are not only an imperative but must be of such a kind that they are sustainable in their impact. This is especially important given the uncertainty of the period over which large remittances will be received, for they will only be sustained for as long as migrants continue to return, or intend to return, to their countries of origin.

Strategies for harnessing the potential human capital at all points of the migration trajectory, as well as the financial and other material generated by and available through migration, are necessary so that these potential assets are not wasted. While specific programs may be launched to capitalize on the benefits of migration, and these are important initiatives, the trends show that there is much spontaneous positive feedback through the migration process and this too needs to be encouraged. For undoubtedly, in the long run, the existence of a social, economic and political environment conducive to productivity and social development is the essential prerequisite for a reduction in illegal movements and a positive net impact of all aspects of legal migration and return.

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