

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION PAPERS

50

**Skilled Labour Migration from
Developing Countries:
Study on the Caribbean Region**

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INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION PROGRAMME

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE GENEVA

Table of Contents

	<i>Page</i>
Foreword.....	v
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. The Caribbean migration context.....	2
2. Scale and Magnitude of Skilled Migration.....	4
2.1. Outward movements.....	4
2.2. Replacement populations and compensatory flows.....	12
2.3. Mechanisms of migrant selectivity.....	15
3. Impact of the Movements.....	16
3.1. Measurement of impact.....	16
3.2. Conditions relating to the impact of skilled migration in the Caribbean..	17
3.3. The balance between the gains and losses.....	18
4. Perspectives and Current Debates on Skilled Migration.....	20
5. Policies on Skilled Migration.....	22
5.1. Current government policies.....	23
6. Policy options and Future Research.....	24
6.1. Policy options.....	24
6.2. Suggestions for future research.....	27
7. Conclusion.....	28
References.....	30
Annexure.....	32
Contributor.....	41

Foreword

This report forms part of a series of studies conducted by the International Labour Office under the DFID-sponsored project on “*Skilled labour migration (the ‘brain drain’) from developing countries: Analysis of impact and policy issues.*”

International migration of skilled persons has assumed increased importance in recent years reflecting the impact of globalisation, revival of growth in the world economy and the explosive growth in the information and communications technology (ICT). A number of developed countries have liberalized their policies for the admission of highly skilled professionals.

The problem lies in that this demand is largely met by developing countries, triggering an exodus of their skilled personnel. While some amount of mobility is obviously necessary if developing countries are to integrate into the global economy, a large outflow of skilled persons poses the threat of a ‘brain drain’, which can adversely impact growth and development. The recent UK government (DFID) White Paper on International Development, “*Eliminating World Poverty: Making Globalisation Work for the Poor*” has rightly pointed out the need on the part of developed countries to be more sensitive to the impact on developing countries of the brain drain. It was in this context that the Department for International Development, United Kingdom, approached the ILO for carrying out research relevant to the above issues.

Professor Elizabeth Thomas-Hope, the author of this study, points out that the small island societies of the Caribbean have always been part of a global network of production and labour transfer. Despite the losses in trained and professional personnel, migration is regarded as a desirable means whereby people, especially from small countries, can extend their opportunities and gain experience in a wider international setting. She finds that the scale and manner of recruitment of targeted groups of skilled persons especially in education and health sectors by host countries is still a matter for concern. Professor Thomas-Hope argues that the long-term efforts at raising confidence through economic growth, social stability, and increasing the capability to adequately resource sectors such as health and education, will create its own dynamics that will sustain human capital in the long run.

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Mr. Piyasiri Wickramasekara, Senior Migration Specialist, International Migration Programme, acted as the ILO Project Coordinator and technically backstopped all the studies. ILO is most grateful to Professor Elizabeth Thomas-Hope for her valuable contribution.

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Manolo I. Abella
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1. Introduction

The small island societies of the Caribbean have always been part of a global network of production and labour transfer. Indeed, they were created by global forces such as these. The development of modern technologies and rapid communications during the past half century have simply increased the speed and ease with which individuals can accommodate to and take advantage of the demands and opportunities of a changing world economy.

The Internet now provides a mechanism for the advertising and recruiting of skilled labour on a scale and at a speed that is unprecedented in the history of labour migration. The implications for international migration of a selective nature are therefore vast. Because this aspect of globalisation is so recent, its impact has not yet been fully realised, but the prospects for the migration of skilled human resources from the Caribbean must be taken into account in development planning and policy.

The volume of skilled migration does not of itself determine the extent of the impact of the movement, or indeed, its role as a 'brain drain'. The impact is relative to the wider social and economic environment and the existence of compensatory movements and processes. The outflow of skilled persons would not therefore necessarily drain the country of human resources unless: a) the inflows of people through return migration and new immigration are insufficient or inadequate either in quantity or quality to compensate for the outflows; b) the inflow of other forms of capital (financial and social) that are linked to migration do not compensate for the loss of human resources; c) the national or regional potential for skill replacement is less than the resource losses through out-migration; d) a larger or more specialised skilled labour force is being produced in individual Caribbean countries (or overall region) than can be absorbed by the country or region.

Whichever of these situations exist, it is essential for Caribbean countries to be fully cognisant of what they are so that policies may be developed to maintain the required balance. If skilled persons are leaving their countries without such policies being in place, the outward movement of human resources could constitute a drain that, if allowed to continue, could so erode the human resource capital stock that a critical threshold could be reached in terms of the viability or sustainability of small island states. The critical question to be addressed is whether or not the movement of skilled persons from the Caribbean constitutes so serious a drain of human resources to the extent that its impact is a significant constraint on development.

This paper will outline the movements involved in the migration of skilled workers and students and consider their overall impact. Students are included as they contribute significantly to the skilled and professional labour force in the countries to which they migrated for purposes of higher education. First, it is important to understand the nature and meaning of migration in Caribbean context since these factors significantly condition the extent of the impact of skilled migration and its role in terms of creating 'brain drain'.

1.1. The Caribbean migration context

The propensity for Caribbean migration has always been and continues to be high. This can be explained by historical factors as well as factors relating to the limitations of size and therefore of opportunities, in small island environments. Within this context, a strong reliance upon migration evolved and migration in various forms became an important part of livelihood strategies and societal aspirations, and an essential aspect of the relationship of Caribbean countries with the outside world. Much of the explanation of migration therefore, is of an endogenous nature. Nevertheless, the timing, volume and direction of migration flows have been driven by the extent and location of external metropolitan demand.

Despite the high propensity of Caribbean people to migrate, the movement was traditionally seen as a temporary measure to achieve a range of objectives. This was associated with an intrinsic intention to return at some time. The homeward orientation of migrants together with the obligations to household and family members who remain in the home country resulted in the maintenance of strong linkages between migrant and non-migrant individuals and communities. As travel and means of communicating have become increasingly easy and inexpensive throughout the twentieth century, so the opportunities for interaction and circulation of people, goods and information have increased commensurately.

1.1.1. Circulation and the transnational community

The contact between the Caribbean migrant and family in the Caribbean is generally strong for both long- and short- stay migration. The transnational nature of families and households are an important element in the significance and impact of out-migration in the Caribbean. For the impact of the migration is exerted not solely in terms of the migrants' absence but also, and often times, in terms of the nature of the linkage between the migrant abroad and family at home. This impact occurs at the level of the individual and household and also at that of the wider community, in various ways and degrees of influence. Thus the livelihoods of the migrants are not always nor necessarily bound to one location, and people conduct different aspects of their lives in different places at different times in their lifecycle. Commuting between Caribbean countries and North America is not uncommon and the Internet has now ushered in new opportunities of this nature. As a consequence, the migrant is not necessarily lost to the Caribbean even after having moved abroad. Even then, the contribution that can be made to the labour force and other aspects of national life are fundamentally changed and the impact felt in a number of ways. The implications for Caribbean countries are by no means simple nor can they be easily assessed.

It is not unusual for skilled workers to commute between the Caribbean and the United States, moving back and forth at various intervals of time. To this is added the recent impact of electronic forms of communication, whereby skilled persons in the Caribbean live in the USA or Canada and, through electronic media work from home and maintain their jobs full-time or part-time back in the Caribbean. The extent to which these activities can combine more than one location simultaneously is only likely to increase in the future and it will have the effect of ushering in new patterns of skilled migration with new implications for Caribbean development.

Caribbean migration has evolved over time with characteristics and a dynamic that tends to perpetuate the process rather than to exhaust it. These characteristics relate to the intrinsic circularity of the movements associated with migration and the existence of transnational communities. Mutual support and opportunity are extended through the transnational linkages at various levels of scale – national, family networks, household – therefore rarely lost to the Caribbean either at the level of the country its culture, society, economy and polity or at the level of the household.

The migration of skilled, as also the unskilled, includes a range of movements in terms of its purpose, duration and periodicity of return. The migrant therefore includes those persons who remain at the destination for varying time periods, and livelihoods that incorporate movements between countries in various ways, in some cases with workers variously commuting between countries, maintaining their domestic and social life in one and their work in another.

1.1.2. Regional context

The movement of people and capital within the Caribbean region is a further factor that makes the overall migration of skills and its impact more complex. The trends in the extra-regional movements are mirrored at the regional scale. The countries with the lower income levels are the net exporters of skilled migrants to the region. While regional skill exchange is regarded as a good thing, and policies are being developed to facilitate this, there has been reluctance on the part of some governments because of the disparities in regional development levels and the imbalance that could occur in an environment of the free movement of labour.

1.1.3. Data

Information regarding emigration from Caribbean countries is recorded by the countries of destination of Caribbean migrants, not in the countries of origin. While, in the case of return migration, there is some data for the countries of returnees. The quality is variable and inconsistent with some of the available data related to migrant stocks, other data to the flows. There are no databases with consistent information relating to the different aspects of migration or comparable statistics across all countries either of source or destination.

Despite the difficulties in capturing all aspects of migration in official data, the CARICOM 1991 Census for Population and Housing provides migration data, especially for return migration, for much of the region, excepting the Cayman Islands and the Turks and Caicos Islands. The Netherlands Antilles and Aruba maintain full data sets. Data for extra-regional movements are compiled as immigration statistics by the respective destination countries. This data does not 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 Britain, and Puerto Ricans to the United States.

Data for migration to the United Kingdom from the Caribbean cannot be readily obtained or calculated. In the case of persons destined for the labour force, access to information on the issue of work permits would be required. Data from the Passenger Surveys is not helpful with respect to migration from the Caribbean. Students are even more difficult to trace and, if the person migrated as a minor and later remained in the country some years later, that person would be unrecorded.

Return migration data present additional problems. The Eastern Caribbean Census records the stock of return migrants (records that persons had been previously abroad), but there is no systematic data on flows of returnees. Jamaica began collecting data on returning nationals in 1993 from the perspective of duty concessions given for the importation of personal goods. This data is therefore compiled by the Customs department and underestimate the real flow because it is based on the numbers of persons applying for duty-free concessions. The size of the household for which the application is made is not recorded nor are any details about the individuals, such as age, sex, occupation or educational levels. Therefore, the return of skilled migrants cannot be distinguished from the total number of returnees.

With regard to assessing brain drain, the greatest problem with the data relates to human resource assessments and the projected needs of Caribbean countries themselves.

2. Scale and Magnitude of Skilled Migration

2.1. Outward movements

Throughout the early decades of the twentieth century, workers from various parts of the Caribbean provided labour for the expansion of European capital enterprises in the Caribbean and circum-Caribbean region. Much of this labour force was generally unskilled, but some also was skilled in a number of technical areas. This included construction operations. For example, many worked on the Panama Canal and the Central American railroads or in the sugar mills of the expanding sugar industry in Cuba. In some cases, Caribbean migrants provided the workforce for oil drilling as well as later developments in tourism. Thus the mobility of the Caribbean labour force has followed closely the pattern of foreign investment in the region. During and after the Second World War, skilled and semi-skilled technical workers were contracted to fill labour force deficiencies in transport, hospitals and industry in the post-War reconstruction in the United States and West European economies. After the War, nurses as well as semi-skilled and unskilled industrial and transport workers were added to the migration stream.

2.1.1. The 1960s

The mid-1960s saw further changes in metropolitan labour demands that immediately had an effect upon the characteristics of Caribbean migration. The reduced need for the kind of work that had been undertaken by Caribbean people in Britain led to the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act, followed in 1965 by a White Paper, which brought to an end the large-scale Caribbean migration to the United Kingdom. The continued colonial status of the Netherlands Antilles and Department status of the French Antilles precluded the possibility of reducing Caribbean migration to Holland and France, respectively, with the exception of Suriname after its independence in 1975.

The new restrictive immigration policies in the United Kingdom coincided with legislation in North America, which altered regulations of entry in favour of selectivity according to required skills, rather than on the previous grounds of nationality and race. Laws effected in Canada in 1962 stipulated that the entry of

foreigners would be based on educational and occupational criteria, and in the United States an amendment in 1965 to the Immigration and Nationality Act had a similar effect. The amendment stated that in addition to the entry of relatives and dependants of United States residents, selectivity would be on the basis of occupations and skills. Each country was allocated an immigration quota, which applied to each independent Caribbean state. (This legislation did not apply to Puerto Ricans who have had unrestricted entry facilities due to the special relationship of Puerto Rico with the United States.)

The legislative changes that occurred in the 1960s had a major impact on the subsequent pattern of Caribbean international migration. One effect was the change that occurred in the destination countries of the migrants, the focus shifting from Western Europe to North America; and the second was the dramatic shift in the occupational structure of the migration streams, with a very large increase in the proportion of the migrants who were highly skilled. For example, the number of technical workers and professionals from Jamaica entering the United States with permanent visas rose from 176 in 1965 prior to the amendment of the Act to 1,777 by 1968 (Planning Institute of Jamaica, 1972). Some 12.6% of the 13,942 migrants from the Caribbean to Canada and the United States in 1967 were professional and technical workers; in 1968, 10.17% of the 20,356 migrants were in the skill categories.

The United States was the chief destination, followed by Canada, of skilled migrations from the Caribbean in the second half of the 1960s and has continued to be so throughout the successive decades.

2.1.2. The 1970s and 1980s

The experience of Caribbean countries was similar throughout this period though with some countries experiencing disproportionately greater losses than others.

The percentage of professionals and skilled workers lessened throughout the 1970s and 1980s to be maintained at between 6% and 7% of the total number of emigrants each year. (National Planning Institute of Jamaica, various years and Thomas-Hope 1986)

In the case of Jamaica, migration from 1970 to 1980 to the United States and Canada indicated the continuing pattern of increase in skilled blue- and white-collar workers though the actual numbers declined over the period. Of the 5,000 emigrants from Guyana each year from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, some 255 were high-level skilled persons and professionals. (Sackey, 1978; Boodhoo and Baksh, 1981: 59).

In Trinidad and Tobago the proportion of skilled migrants in the migration streams of the 1960s was even higher. Rampersad and Pujadas (1970) estimated that the total emigration of workers in the 1962-1968 period was 17,200, rising slowly at first from 1,000 in 1962 and rising rapidly thereafter. Two-thirds of the migrants were classified as professional and managerial and the remaining number as 'other skilled and qualified'. This general trend continued from Trinidad and Tobago in the 1970s, the largest movements being of clerical and administrative workers and teachers, followed by nurses, physicians, dentists, engineers and architects (Harewood, 1983, 25).

2.1.3. The 1990s

Caribbean migration to the United States of America

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 labelled 'precision production craft and repair'. Haiti, on the other hand, chiefly contributed labour in the less specialised skill categories of 'operator, fabricator and labourer' 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. 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 (table 1a in statistical annexure).

Students are not specifically identified in the data but they constitute part of the 'no occupation' group (table 1b in statistical annexure). Overall, 24.37% of all Caribbean 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 (table 1b).

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 immigrants not in the US labour force, the category that includes students – was indeed higher than for any other region of the world, with 59.5% as compared with the global figure of 51.7%.

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 (Caribbean Community Regional Census Office, 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.

Age and sex. Data is not available for occupation groups by either age or sex, therefore it is not possible to differentiate between the skilled and unskilled migrants. Taking the overall (skilled and unskilled migrants) age and sex profile of the immigrant stock in 1990 demonstrated the predominance of persons in the 20 to 44 age group, except in the case of the Cuban migrants, for which the population was relatively old, with 56.4% aged 45 and over, and only 34.5 % in the 25-34 age band. This was accounted for by the large waves of migration prior to 1980. By contrast, the 20-44 age-group accounts for 53.8% of the British Commonwealth Caribbean

immigrant stock, 59.1% of the Dominican Republic and 60.6% of the Haitian (Caribbean Community Regional Census Office, 1994; ECLAC, 1998).

The age and sex distribution among the overall migrant population will serve to indicate the general trend, but one has to take into consideration the fact that the high numbers of Caribbean migrants in Services accounts for some of the excess numbers of females over males. 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 (Caribbean Community Regional Census Office, 1994). Although females are well represented in all skill categories as well as in service occupations, numerically they do not typically exceed males.

Caribbean migration 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 who 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 (table 2a in statistical annexure).

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 (table 2a in statistical annexure). Taking flow data for 1996, of the total of 3,275 from Jamaica 47% were destined for the labour 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 and 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 numbers was from Haiti; followed by the Dominican Republic and Cuba. Other Caribbean territories 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 (table 2a).

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 engaged in full-time or part-time study.

Age and sex. The age of Caribbean immigrant stock in Canada (1981) showed a concentration in the 25-29 age cohort for all countries. Of the total Jamaican immigrant population, 59.3% were in this age group; Trinidad & Tobago, 67.8%; Barbados, 74%; Haiti, 64.2%. In the case of Jamaica, there was a broader age band with significant numbers also in the younger groups (ECLAC, 2000). The figure fell off significantly for the group 60 and over, with 5.1% of the migrants from Jamaica, 3.5% of those from Trinidad & Tobago, 7.3% from Barbados and 6.5% from Haiti in

this age group. There is likely to have been an ageing of this migrant population since this data was recorded, a process that is likely to continue in the forthcoming two decades (unless there is a significant return movement, which at present appears unlikely).

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, especially students.

Caribbean migration to the United Kingdom

The movement of Caribbean people to the United Kingdom has been of a low volume since the 1970s following the removal in 1962 of open entry regulations for Caribbean Commonwealth citizens. Subsequently, only specific categories of migrants have gained entry, in particular the dependants of previous migrants and those on work permits in required occupations, or recruited workers, notably nurses and, more recently, teachers. Students go for tertiary education, not only from the British Commonwealth Caribbean, but also from other parts of the region.

The very high immigration of Commonwealth Caribbean citizens, at an average of 32,850 per annum between 1955 and 1962, mostly of unskilled workers and dependents, fell to some 15,000 by 1966, thereafter to 5,000 in 1971 and approximately 3,000 by 1984. Numbers peaked slightly to approximately 6,000 in 1986 and then fell again in 1987 to approximately 4,000, an annual volume that has been maintained to the present time (data from the British Migration Census Division, cited in Thomas-Hope 1994).

Although the immigration streams are not currently of great volume, whether of skilled or unskilled, the importance of the migration trend lies in the fact that the decline in immigration to Britain has been accompanied by an increase in the migration of Caribbean persons, resulting in a net negative migration balance. Some of those leaving Britain moved to Canada and the United States but increasingly they went back to the Caribbean, establishing what has now become a significant return movement.

Although the majority of workers from the Caribbean to the UK during this period were unskilled workers and their children, some of those children later became skilled and have contributed to the return flow of skilled migrants to the Caribbean.

2.1.4. Current trends (2000-2001)

The Caribbean is currently experiencing a new wave of recruitment of skilled persons and students. There is, as yet, no official data available on these migrations and evidence of the general trends is tentative and based on newspaper articles and personal interviews with a selection of key persons.

Information about vacancies is generally accessed by prospective migrants through the Internet, or through advertisements and inducements published in the local Newspapers. Once applications have been received, interviews and the recruitment sessions are arranged at local centres. In addition to the formal advertising process, a range of informal operators are also involved in identifying likely candidates for the relevant positions.

Notably, teachers and nurses destined for the United Kingdom and the United States have been recruited in these ways through local recruiters. Notices appear frequently in the Jamaican daily newspaper, as in the following case:

GUARANTEED TEACHING POSTS IN THE UK.

Interviews in Jamaica. We work in partnership with Local Education Authorities, as their preferred recruiter and can offer positions prior to departure. (*The Gleaner*, December 11, 2000, 2.)

The recruitment of nurses has also been taking place over many years and still continues. An example of an advertisement in Jamaica for nurses stated:

REGISTERED NURSES - FLORIDA U.S.

Salary from US\$36k - \$50k per annum, no state taxes. Permanent visa processing at no cost for nurse who passes an interview with our Florida Hospital clients. . . . Also, We need Registered Pharmacists. Starting salary for Pharmacists is \$60k+...Call for schedule of local interview soon. (*The Gleaner*, November 19, 2000, 13F.)

In addition, visiting teams of recruiters assisted by local institutions and individuals recruit students annually. The annual United States 'College Fairs' that are held in some countries of the Caribbean, have created a marked increase in the number of top Caribbean students applying to study in the US. These events are publicised in the local press, as indicated by the following advertisement in Jamaica:

US COLLEGE RECRUITERS COMING

Several United States college recruiters will be heading for Jamaica within the next two months, to scout top local students at the U.S. Embassy's 2001 College Fair. . . . More than 3,500 Jamaican students flocked to last year's fair which saw over 40 American, Canadian, British and local colleges participating. ...U.S. Secretary of State, in his statement on International Education Week 2001, says international students enrich American communities with their academic abilities and cultural diversity. (*The Sunday Gleaner*, September 9, 2001, 11C.)

Local hotels were also reported as being adversely affected by the migration of skilled persons in this industry. A report in the Jamaica press stated:

LOCAL HOTELS HIT BY INT'L RECRUITMENT SURGE

Hoteliers say they are losing their best workers to a government sponsored overseas employment programme. . . . Last year 4,204 workers went on the programme, almost double the 2,454 in 1999, which

in turn was again double the 1,297 employed in 1998. (*The Gleaner*, August 29, 2001, D1.)

Other persons leave on temporary visas in order to have a look around for employment opportunities where it is known that the prospects are good. There are also some skilled persons that commute between Jamaica and the United States, maintaining homes in both places.

There are a number of personal accounts that illustrate various aspects of the current trend in the migration of skilled workers and students. The following two accounts were given by persons in Jamaica.

1. Fifteen young professionals

This professional couple has 15 close friends or relatives who are migrating or have migrated to Canada in the first six months of 2001. Those that are still to go will, later in the year, be joining spouses who have preceded them.

In all cases, these persons were in high positions in their respective work. Most were/are in the public sector, a few in the private sector. Two have their own businesses (wholesale) and their spouses were employed in the public or private sector. Two of these persons had been made redundant due to restructuring of the firm or department in which they worked, but most were/are still employed. They are Accountants, Scientists and Economists and all have held Executive and Managerial positions.

They are all in the age group late 20s to mid 40s, all under 45. They are all graduates of the University of the West Indies and most have a second degree (at Master level). Some of them obtained their second degrees in Canada, others in Jamaica. Some of them own houses in Jamaica and in this sense they are very comfortable and well established. Others were still renting their house/apartment. With the exception of only one couple, those who are homeowners will not sell their house immediately and those with businesses will not sell either but will leave someone else in charge to manage it. Most of the couples have young families.

Factors propelling the movement

Most of these persons do not really want to leave Jamaica, so they go reluctantly. Some are leaving top-level jobs and highly responsible positions and good salaries. However, they all expressed their feelings of insecurity in Jamaica in terms of their careers. There is a sense of unease as to what the future will bring in this regard. One (female) had previously experienced being made redundant from her job and although, as an accountant, she found another job soon after, she has no assurance that this could not happen again.

All of these professionals indicated their lack of confidence in the economy even though all of them had faith in the Jamaican ability to remain resilient in the face of hardship, so no one envisaged an actual collapse of the system. The aim was to avoid becoming one of the victims of hardship during the difficult periods. Most particularly, they were concerned about their children's future in Jamaica. The concern about crime in Jamaica also contributed, in a general sense, to their anxieties.

None of them had jobs arranged in Canada prior to moving, so all would be searching for work on their arrival there, but all of them had confidence that they would find jobs in their respective fields because they had already checked the Canadian manpower needs listings. The main determining factor was the widespread knowledge of the current immigration opportunities for going to Canada.

The opportunity to migrate

Everyone knew that it was now easy to gain entry to Canada if you were highly educated and skilled. Propelled by the fact that should the opportunity be missed now, one never knew whether the opportunity would arise again, and at a time when they might really need to go. More than anything else, migration provided a perceived insurance measure.

2. A nurse

Female, in her mid- forty's, married with two children, Mrs. Rush [not her real name] commutes to her full-time position as a State Registered Nurse in a hospital in Florida from her home in Jamaica. She travels back and forth once a month. As she is permitted to combine all her monthly working shifts into a block of time, she works for 10 days on a stretch in Florida and then returns to her home and family in Jamaica. Her husband works in Jamaica and, until recently, their two children attended a high school with a high standard of education. They own a large house in Jamaica and enjoy a good standard of living and comfortable life-style.

The distribution of time and the activities between Jamaica and Florida has recently changed with a greater emphasis on Florida. This is due to the fact that the two children, having completed high school, are both in college in Florida. Mrs. Rush now spends more and more time in Florida and commensurately less at home in Jamaica. At present the household is still transnational but they are now raising questions as to whether the husband should also move to Florida and try to find work there. If the family becomes established in Florida the nature and extent of the contact with Jamaica would certainly change and the return likely to be confined to periodic returns to visit relatives, and possibly an eventual return to live in Kingston on retirement. Whether or not the children would ever return to live and work in Jamaica is questionable in this kind of circumstance. If they remained in Florida and the parents returned to Jamaica, the family would retain its transnational character even though it would have entered a new phase in terms of the distribution of activities between both countries.

3. A student

James [not his real name] grew up in a poor, very 'rough' inner city community in Kingston and had been sponsored by a local company to attend High School. He later applied for and was offered a place at the University of the West Indies (UWI) with the aim of studying Physics. However, he became very frustrated when he could not obtain the necessary finances for his university education. It was in that very year that the system for obtaining student loans was being administered directly by the banks and not by UWI. The banks passed him over, given his inner-city home address, as they would not extend credit to persons from such locations.

Coincidentally, a lady visiting Jamaica through a Church organisation in the United States was doing social work in the young man's community and met him. On returning to the U.S. she took his school record with her and shortly afterwards he was offered a scholarship to attend a college there.

Within months of his first year, he was sponsored to return to Jamaica along with members of the University administration. Other Kingston schools were contacted with the assistance of the local company that had been his first benefactor, and other students were recruited and accepted places for the following academic year. In the second year, nine students were recruited and offered scholarships; in the third year, 24, all to traditional black colleges. One of the colleges gave 12 full and 10 partial scholarships. The total value of the full scholarships being US\$52,000 per student for the 4-year programme.

Some students who had been made offers of places declined, as they wanted to study Hospitality Management that was not available in the US institutions involved and, instead, took up places at the University of Technology, Jamaica, where this degree was offered. The recruiters even returned [in 2001] to find out more about the programmes being offered in Hospitality Management at UTECH and UWI with the view of developing similar courses at their own university in the U.S.

In March 2001, the company that had initially supported James organised and hosted a College Fair at the National Conference Centre in Jamaica. All high schools in the country were invited to send students and most were represented or asked to be kept informed of future activities. Some 800 high school students attended. A second conference was held by the same group of recruiters in Montego Bay to reach the schools in the western part of the island. These events were principally intended to be for raising awareness. With this, and similar activities organized by other groups, all high school students in Jamaica were becoming highly sensitised to the idea of pursuing tertiary education in the United States.

The colleges that were involved were all traditionally 'black colleges' in South and North Carolina and Florida. There were 7 recruiters from 7 colleges and some staff from UTECH and UWI also attended as hosts to the visiting college staff and were assisted in the recruiting process. Apart from the President,

other critical decision-makers in these universities and colleges are, themselves, Jamaican migrants in the United States. In another case, the Dean of one of the colleges is Trinidadian and recently recruited 50 students from Trinidad & Tobago.

The visiting US college staff were very impressed and commented frequently upon the good behaviour of the young people attending. Comments were made about their tidy appearance in school uniforms, their orderly lining up and waiting quietly. They indicated that had it been a similar kind of fair in the USA, the students would be noisy and lacking discipline and order, and dressed in all sorts of inappropriate outfits. They further stated that the way the Jamaican students are performing in the US is 'mind-boggling'. Most of the American students in these particular colleges do not even pass the United States' Scholastic Aptitude Test (S.A.T.) and colleges are rated nationally according to the performance of their students. The recruiters were also interested in students with athletic and musical talent.

After completing his four-year programme majoring in Computer Science and Physics, James' objective is to obtain internships with large companies in the US so as to gain the work experience he needs before returning to Jamaica.

The combination of extensive advertising and information on labour force requirements, locally-assisted recruitment drives, open or selective immigration regulations at the prospective migration destinations, provide the final inducement, coupled with opportunity, that influences people with an already high propensity for migration to make the actual move. The propensity for the migration of skilled personnel is highest at times when there is a lack of confidence in the economic or social stability of their country. Yet, as illustrated by the personal stories cited, the intention to return is still an intrinsic part of the initial move in the case of the student. In the case of the young professionals, the intention is clearly to retain the opportunity to return to Jamaica by not selling their houses, and also to maintain transnational linkages, even transnational livelihoods, by retaining their businesses and leaving them in the hands of managers. Commuting is another way employed by some persons to maintain transnational livelihoods and transnational households. Overall, the migrations reinforce and extend the scope of the transnational networks involving migrants and non-migrants. This has the effect of facilitating future migration and perpetuating the high propensity for migration that exists in the region.

2.2. Replacement populations and compensatory flows

2.2.1. Return migration

It is common for migrants to return to their Caribbean country of origin for periodic or regular visits over a prolonged time before remaining abroad indefinitely. Even then, many such persons continue to go back to the country of former residence for varying periods of time.

Trends in the movement

The source of the returnees to Jamaica since 1993 has been predominantly the United Kingdom. The second largest number was from the United States and third, Canada. In 1998, for example, 43.8% of the return migrants to Jamaica had come from the United Kingdom, 38.1% from the United States, 11.3% from Canada and 6.8% from other sources, including the Caribbean (Planning Institute of Jamaica, 1999). The countries from which migrants returned to Barbados are likewise, the U. K., the USA and Canada. The 1990 population census recorded 60% of the return migrants to Barbados coming from the UK, 27% from the USA and 13% from Canada. In the case of St Kitts most returning migrants are also from the UK, USA and Canada but with

38% from the US Virgin Islands. In contrast, large numbers of returnees to the Eastern Caribbean states were intra-regional, the U.S. Virgin Islands and Trinidad being the major sources (table 3 in statistical annexure).

Characteristics of the returnees

Occupation and Employment status. As there is no available data on return migration by occupation, the following information is derived from Census data and relates to return migrant stocks.

The occupations of return migrants in Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent & the Grenadines, Antigua and the British Virgin Islands show a strong tendency for the return of high-level occupational groups, with a general association with the occupational structure of the outward migration with which these return flows are associated. In the British Virgin Islands, the return population at the time of the 1990 Census was comprised of 54.6% in white-collar occupations (legislators/managers, professionals, technicians and clerks) and 27.8% in high-level managerial and professional occupation categories. In Antigua, 42.7% were in white-collar occupations, in St. Lucia, 31.5% and St. Vincent & the Grenadines, 32.7%. (Caribbean Community Regional Census Office, 1994). There were also considerable numbers of returnees who were unskilled workers as well as craft, agricultural and service workers. Overall, therefore, there is a wide range of occupations represented among the returnee populations that should have positive implications for the countries that they return to.

Age and sex. Contrary to general assumptions, the return is not confined to the period of retirement, even though many do return permanently at that stage of their lives. The figures for Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent & the Grenadines, Antigua and the British Virgin Islands show that in none was there as much as half the returning population aged 50 or over. In contrast to the out-going migrants, the age profile was higher, as would be expected, but in each of these countries, considerably more than 50% of the population returned to enter the labour-force either as waged labour or as self-employed (Caribbean Community Regional Census Office, 1994).

Information on the age and sex of return migrants is not available for many of the Caribbean countries. For the Eastern Caribbean countries where data is available, it is evident that females generally outnumber males in all the professional and skilled categories as well as in other sectors, excluding 'plant and craft workers' (table 4 in statistical annexure).

Remittances. The return, the intention to return and the transnational linkages established by the migration involves not just the movement of people but also the movement of remittances in the form of financial capital as well goods of various kinds (Thomas-Hope, 1999). These are typically transferred back to the Caribbean country through formal and informal channels occurring prior to, along with or following the return of the migrants themselves. The period of remittance transfer invariably continues for many years and is directly or indirectly associated with the intention to return. Not all returning migrants remit their savings to the Caribbean country, many preferring other countries perceived by them to be safer for investment. Professionals returning to work in the home country are able to earn sufficient to

maintain themselves and families without repatriating most, all or even any of their savings, whereas those persons returning to retire in the Caribbean typically repatriate savings. Besides, they also continue to be in receipt of pensions and social security payments and other retirement benefits for the rest of their lives. This means that in many cases, returnees receive pensions from abroad in excess of twenty years following their return.

Remittances to Jamaica rose dramatically in the 1990s. The foreign currency received by the Bank of Jamaica through personal transfers between 1991 and 1997 exceeded the foreign currency earned in some of the traditional economic sectors (Planning Institute of Jamaica, 1998).

Likewise, in the Eastern Caribbean countries, large sums relative to their GDP are remitted in association with the return and intention to return. By 1990, the transfers of pensions alone were estimated at approximately one million US dollars (North and Whitehead, 1991). The sums have greatly increased through the 1990s not only from the United States but also from the United Kingdom. Almost 6 million pounds sterling of pension payments were transferred to Barbados from Britain in 1997; more than two million to St. Lucia and almost two million to Grenada (United Kingdom Department of Social Security, Pensions and Overseas Benefits Directorate, 1999).

The pattern and timing of the remittance flows reflect the pattern of the migration with high levels of remittances received in those countries of highest migration. The ratio of net remittances to GDP reflects their significance in the economies of the respective Caribbean countries (table 5 in statistical annexure). Despite the amounts remitted, it has been suggested that they are lower than might be expected for the volume of migration that has occurred (Samuel, 2000). Furthermore, the flows of capital are not consistent and thus do not provide a solid basis for investment planning by the national bank and development planning by the country. In addition to the transfers of capital from abroad through the formal banking system there is still an important informal system of money transfers. These involve a number of private arrangements of a reciprocal nature.

Associations of return residents. In Jamaica returnees (from the United Kingdom in particular), have formed a number of associations of returning residents that provides the returnees themselves with a social network of persons with whom they share a common experience. In addition to providing a support group for the returning migrants, the Associations are active in channelling funds and materials from abroad to assist in various local social welfare projects. This type of activity, as well as the involvement in other aspects of voluntary work by the returning nationals, serve to indicate the extent of their commitment to development in the local communities to which they return.

2.2.2. Immigration of non-nationals

Non-nationals in Caribbean countries are an important category of replacement population. The figures for Jamaica show that the vast proportion of immigrants (non-nationals) are in the professional, managerial and technical skill categories. In 1991, 73.3% of the total immigrants were in these occupational groups, 75.4% of which were male. The numbers of highly skilled persons among the immigrants to the country is disproportionately high by comparison with the national population. The

Managerial/Legislator plus Professional and Technical occupational groups in the national population account for only 19.3% of the total labour force (table 6 in statistical annexure). These figures reflect the extent to which the immigrant population in Jamaica provides a replacement population in the Managerial, Professional and Technical labour force.

In the Bahamas, by contrast, only 26.6% of the non-national labour force in 1991 was in the professional, managerial and technical groups; this compares with 20.8% of the national population in these occupations. In the British Virgin Islands also, only 6.9% of the non-national population are professionals as compared with 6.7% of the national population. A greater proportion (13.2%) of the national labour force is comprised of technical workers than is the case among the non-national population (8.4%).

2.2.3. Internal skill replacement

There is no shortage of young persons applying to enter tertiary institutions in the Caribbean and there is a great demand in general for education and training at all levels. The greatest constraint is the cost. Education is subsidised by Government at all stages through grant-aided schools and national vocational colleges as well as a national university, the University of Technology, in Jamaica and a regional university, the University of the West Indies, supported by all territories in the English-speaking Island Caribbean. The potential for skill replacement through local training is therefore high in a general sense though not to the same extent throughout the region. The economic cost to Caribbean countries of educating persons for migration is, therefore, considerable.

2.3. Mechanisms of migrant selectivity

Against the background of a high propensity for migration in the Caribbean of a historical as well as current social, economic and political nature, a range of factors condition which groups of skilled persons actually go, as well as the volume and timing of their departure. Within the particular occupational groups, the movement is further triggered by personal, domestic or career motivations,

Caribbean people have always sought opportunities to go abroad. The most proactive in identifying opportunities are those with relatives and friends already in the prospective destination countries and access to information. Information pertaining to employment and career opportunities are particularly effective in influencing decisions to migrate and access to the Internet now plays a significant part. Caribbean people currently use the Internet to obtain information on teaching and nursing jobs overseas, information technology and electronics jobs and increasingly also jobs in skills such as welding, plumbing, carpentry.

In addition to the rise in access to the knowledge of opportunities for migration, immigration legislation in the United States and Canada in particular, prioritise the entry of skilled workers and students. These policies are conveyed at the level of the public by the ease with which visa and other entry requirements may be obtained.

There has also to be the preparedness or appropriateness of the population in the prospective sending countries that are able to fill the human resource needs at the

destination. There needs to be therefore a combination of factors conducive to stimulating, directing and enabling international transfers of labour for them to occur at the scale that is currently taking place.

Advertising, inducement and recruitment have always played a key role in the initiation of the major migrations from the Caribbean. This was the case in the decades of the early twentieth century with respect to the exodus of unskilled and semi-skilled workers from the Anglophone Caribbean countries to the Hispanic islands, Central America and Panama. The pattern was repeated in the 1950s with the recruitment drives from Britain for nurses and workers for the transport industry. The trend that is in process at the beginning of the twenty-first century is that of major recruitment drives not only for skilled workers but also for students.

The overall effect of recruitment drives has always been to bring a steady out-flow of migrants to a virtual flood. Each phase of recruitment has generated a frenzied preoccupation with obtaining information about the opportunities at the potential destinations. This has served to exacerbate people's outward orientation and countries' external dependency, focussing upon North America and Western Europe.

3. Impact of the Movements

3.1. Measurement of impact

Measuring impact is difficult partly because of the paucity of data but also because of the complexity of the outward movements and counter flows and the associated circulation of human and other resources within the context of the transnational household. Furthermore, as the transnational community is the context within which the outflow of skilled and other persons takes place, it must also be the framework within which those flows are evaluated.

The flows also have to be understood in terms of the way in which they relate to wider developmental goals. For example, while the cost of skill replacement is an important element in assessing the impact of the movement, the opportunities foregone for capacity building based on human resources, is also a major factor. Migration losses and gains (human and monetary) must be assessed and planned for in terms of national targets not just for replacement but more so for capacity building.

A further difficulty of measuring impact of migration of persons and students, relates to the fact that demographic statistics do not readily reflect the variability in the levels of qualifications and experience among the migrants. People migrate at various stages in their careers and the following three critical stages when migration typically takes place, may be readily identified:

- 1) on completion of high school education;
- 2) on graduation from tertiary level education with one or more qualifications but without work experience; and
- 3) with tertiary-level qualifications and extensive work experience.

The costs of migration to the sending country and the gain to the receiving country are both quantitatively (in terms of cost of the educational and health facilities already received) and qualitatively (in terms of value of contribution foregone), different in each case. Likewise, in situations where the migrant later returns to the home country, the same principle applies in reverse in terms of the stage at which the return takes place. The return may occur following basic education or skill training abroad; after qualifications gained without work experience; after both qualifications and experience have been obtained in the host country. The impact of the movement in terms of potential losses and gains to the two countries respectively varies accordingly.

3.2. Conditions relating to the impact of skilled migration in the Caribbean

3.2.1. Scale of the movement and process of migrant selectivity

The rate at which the outward migration of skills takes place significantly affects the implications of the movements for the economies and societies in the countries of origin. Besides, as already indicated, the more usual processes of selectivity are intensified by campaigns of advertisement, inducement and recruitment. As a result of such programmes to target and select skilled workers and students, an on-going migration process, with a well-balanced dynamic, rapidly becomes transformed into a frenzy of activity oriented towards outward movement with a host of secondary and continuing ripple effects. Prospective return nationals re-think or postpone their intention of returning and new immigrants are very difficult to attract. Perceptions of Caribbean countries from the outside become overshadowed by negative information. As confidence in the respective countries declines, so the volume of remittances sent back for investment purposes decreases.

3.2.2. Size of source countries

It is realistic to assume that size of the total skilled labour force in the country influences the extent of the impact of the losses and gains experienced at either source or destination. The loss is therefore greater to the small Caribbean country than is the gain to the larger industrialized country in terms of the person's contribution to the country's economic activity. The impact of the loss of one trained science teacher from a school in a small Caribbean state is very much greater than the impact on the gain to the New York City Education Authority or the London Education Authority. Likewise, the loss of a State Registered Nurse with years of experience, working as the Matron of a small island hospital, cannot be compared to the gain her migration will bring to a hospital in Florida. Thus although available data does not permit the development of a model to quantify the impact of such skill migration, nevertheless, the relativity of scale between source and destination countries underlines the extent to which the loss per individual has to be measured with regard to the impact on the Caribbean.

These examples highlight also the variation in impact according to the object of that impact. The implications for the individual teacher or nurse of migrating to North America or Europe are usually very positive in terms of income. Furthermore, many such migrants remit part of their earnings to their home country. The impact thus varies depending on whether it is assessed at the national, local, household or individual levels. These various levels of scale at which the impact occurs are

reflected in the relative gains and losses that occur as a result of the skilled migration process.

3.3. The balance between the gains and losses

3.3.1. Labour force/human resources

The high emigration rate of skilled persons has undoubtedly had some adverse effects upon development in the countries of origin. This has been specifically indicated in the case of Jamaica where the Planning Institute of Jamaica was of the view that the skilled migration taking place in the 1970s was of such proportions that the implementation of externally funded projects in the public sector suffered in subsequent years from the lack of managerial personnel.

Certainly, the reduction in the managerial and professional sectors in Guyana and Jamaica in the 1960s and 1970s respectively, as a result of emigration, had a negative impact and a long period of recovery or partial recovery. Internal replacements occurred and ultimately, those positions not easily or quickly replaced locally, because of the need for many years of training and experience, were filled by new immigrants.

The case of nurses in Jamaica demonstrates a situation that has occurred in a number of occupational sectors. At the beginning of the decade of the 1970s, there were approximately 3,000 nurses in the health system, including all scales. By 1988, numbers had declined to fewer than 1,000. Studies have shown that the nurses who migrated have not returned to work in Jamaica. The efforts to re-build the sector have been based on internal replacement through training, but the attrition rate is constant as young, trained nurses pay off their government bond and migrate. However, if their migration occurs soon after graduation the loss is regarded as minimal since they take with them little experience. Other strategies to increase numbers and in particular to replace the ongoing losses through migration have included the recruitment of nurses from Cuba through an agreement with the Cuban authorities. Cuba, by contrast with Jamaica, has a surplus of nurses since they have fewer migration opportunities. The total numbers in Jamaica are now back to a figure in excess of 2,000 but the accelerated rate of migration, associated with the recent recruitment campaigns, makes the earlier complement of 3,000 a difficult, if not impossible target to achieve.

There is always a time lag between the period when the losses are sustained and the gains are experienced. Even where positive impacts are later experienced from the migration, those impacts are not fed back into the particular sectors from which the human resources were initially lost. Where those sectors are public sector organizations, the effects on national services and income levels remain depressed for long periods of time until (or if) recovery takes place. In the private sector some firms ultimately closedown while many more find recovery difficult to achieve. Despite the significant returns to the country by way of remittances, the impact of those flows has not been channelled into sectors that had lost out through migration. Besides, the cycle (in some cases, repeated cycle) of human resource loss and recovery tends to have a net negative effect on Caribbean countries both in an economic and social sense.

While entire Caribbean countries are affected by losses in human resources, as for example in health and education, such stresses in the systems inevitably have a disproportionately negative impact upon the poor. At times of shortages of nurses or teachers, the public sector facilities in poor communities compete unfavourably for the best trained and most experienced staff.

3.3.2. Economic effects

Remittances undoubtedly provide a major potential source of revenue for national development. Part of the problem of remittances in national planning however, is the fact that the money is not received by the national banks in amounts and in a time frame that is predictable (ECLAC, 1998).

At the local level the impact is more reliable and of a positive nature. The construction industry has greatly benefited from the large houses that returnees tend to build, and much of this revenue circulates in the local area and jobs are also created locally. The inflationary effect these injections of funds have on the local economy has a negative impact on the residents with low incomes or subsistence livelihoods, but the degree of this effect is not known.

The wider interpretation of the benefit of migrant financial resources is that it is of benefit to the Caribbean countries whether spent in the Caribbean region or in the host countries because much is expended on Caribbean trade through produce and services in one form or another (Henry, 1990). This cannot be quantified nor even reasonably estimated in a quantitative sense, but it is clear that Caribbean goods abroad and the promotion of Caribbean culture and its export are directly linked to the existence of large and active Caribbean communities in the host countries in particular the USA, Canada and the U.K.

3.3.3. Social capital

The contacts that are facilitated by the transnational communities associated with the migration process have been alluded to. In addition, professional and skilled migrants that return to the Caribbean, take back work habits and experience and attitudes that have benefited from the wider international professional exposure. These have a potentially significant, though unquantifiable, positive impact. As in the case of economic capital however, the potential in terms of social capital is not usually effectively utilized, partly because they are not fully recognized as resources or because of systemic factors that reduce their value.

On the negative side of the balance relating to skilled migration, is the lack of confidence in the system at home that is encouraged by high rates of outward movement. As a consequence a chain of further migration is put in motion. The lack of confidence in a future in the Caribbean for young persons is perpetuated by the hype that accompanies high rates of migration itself. Parents, who had never felt worried about the future for their children in Jamaica, have recently begun to worry. As an insurance against possible future failures, transnational household arrangements are being put in place. However, the impacts of such precautionary activities are themselves perpetuating the mood of uncertainty.

The outward orientation of entire national populations is fostered by skilled migration, especially when it occurs at a high rate over a short period of time. This is currently

occurring with respect to the high school students who are being exposed or even subjected *en mass*, to U.S. awareness programmes. For students as also for workers, such activities start a new trend and an outward orientation based on opportunities for work or study that will decline or end abruptly when the need for the specific human resources at the destination is reduced. Meanwhile, the danger is that no provision and planning or policy for capacity building is made in the Caribbean itself. In addition to subliminal effects of high rates of skilled and student migration, the real negative impact of the process lies in the extent of the opportunities for building capacity for better absorption of skills in the future, that will be forgone.

The time frame within which impact is measured or assessed is a critical factor in determining the conclusions at which one arrives. For the positive impact for an individual in the short run invariably translates in direct or indirect ways into being negative in the long run. The reverse situation also pertains and immediate negative impacts of skilled migration can open opportunities for upward mobility of the remaining labour force, for the entry of new immigrants into the system, and the subsequent benefits of remittances and return. It is therefore essential in assessing the impacts that the parameters of the movements under discussion be clearly identified.

4. Perspectives and Current Debates on Skilled Migration

The following perspectives were based upon interviews conducted by the author in March-April 2001; with a selection of key persons in Jamaica as well as reports in the Caribbean press about the on-going migration debate.

The perceptions that people generally have in relation to the impact of skilled migration are largely based upon anecdotal evidence as well as upon a received view of migration, skilled and unskilled. In particular, people's views are conditioned by the migration experience of themselves and their families. There is then a tendency to extrapolate from the benefits derived to the individual and family to assumptions about the wider national benefit. There is not enough data to provide any strong evidence to the contrary. Overall, therefore, notwithstanding the known negative effects of losses of human resources in professions such as nursing and education, the positive impacts are felt to far exceed the negative.

Migration has also traditionally been viewed in the Caribbean as the proverbial 'safety valve' that allows any surplus of people in the labour force to leave the country in search of work rather than cause an unbearable build up of societal tensions. This view that used to be current in relation to the unskilled labour force is now being applied to skilled migration, notably in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

Restructuring and attendant staff redundancies in the public sector and the inability of the local economy to absorb graduates of the tertiary institutions in the country or those returning from studying in institutions abroad make migration the only real option for these groups. From the perspective of government officials, managing directors of companies and heads of tertiary institutions alike, migration provides critically needed opportunities for skilled persons and students.

There is also certain inevitability about the way in which migration is perceived by people, even those in planning and decision-making positions. In the words of a Government Minister interviewed, “One has to accept migration as part of the way of the world. Countries are seeking international human capital and some can pay for it”. Perspectives on policy solutions reflect the view of migration as either having a net positive effect or being an inevitable consequence of globalisation.

Some reflected a mood of resignation to the inevitability of the unequal competition. Recently, a group of universities in the United States interviewed candidates locally and awarded scholarships to some of the best school leavers from Jamaica. The inequality in the competitiveness of even the best Caribbean institutions is reflected not in terms of the academic programmes on offer, but in the fact that the combined monetary value of these scholarships exceeded the annual academic operational budget for the Mona campus of the University of the West Indies.

Generally, however, the more positive view of migration and the free movement of skills prevailed. The notion that to do otherwise and restrict migration would be to reduce Caribbean involvement in international opportunities. As one Jamaican government minister put it:

“If we can contribute to the development of the world – and there is one world – then we are making a useful contribution . . . We need to do the best we can to retain our skills but neither is it possible nor desirable to put restrictions on recruiters or those who wish to take advantage of opportunities abroad. In any event, the people who go elsewhere are still part of the Jamaican community”.

In contrast to the notion that this should be an unregulated process, given the fundamental inequalities in the competition with the large, developed countries for trained persons, the view was expressed that a formal arrangement should be agreed. Reference was made to a model that was proposed some time ago whereby a state such as Florida, which needs nurses, could have an agreement for them to be trained in Jamaica. This would be mutually beneficial to both the Florida Health Authority and Jamaica since the cost of training nurses in Jamaica would be much less than in the USA, even though the standards of training in Jamaica are high.

Despite the agreed desirability or inevitability of Caribbean skilled migration, there was some difference of opinion in terms of the role and activities of agents engaged in recruitment campaigns. Some views favoured the idea of freedom of operations for those who wished to engage in the competition for skilled labour. The minister of Education in Jamaica is reported in the Press to have said that his Ministry “was not opposed to the recruitment of hundreds of local teachers for posts in New York schools’. He referred also to the fact that many of the children in the schools to which the Jamaican teachers were going were, “our own children of Caribbean origin”. However, he added, “That is not to say we are actively encouraging it”. (*The Gleaner*, June 4, 2001, A1.)

Some reports from Trinidad and Tobago were in similar vein. In an article entitled, “Nurses leaving Trinidad for greener pastures”, The Health Minister of that country was cited as having stressed the point that, “If they go, their departure will affect the

quality of health care in the nation's hospitals. But", he continued, ". . . we have a lot of students on the wards at various levels of training who can pick up the slack." (*The Gleaner*, April 27, 2001, A9).

Others have responded quite differently to the situation and there has been at least a minority voice signalling indignation and alarm in relation to the recruitment drives that has been occurring. A former Government Minister in Dominica in an interview with the Caribbean News Agency (CANA) was reported as saying:

"Now the very core of the region's potential for development is being gutted by cities to the north, our human resources, and our teachers who have the vital responsibility of preparing the next several generations of Caribbean people for functioning in the informatics age of the 21st century...when we realise that our human resources is the final stand that we can make against globalisation, and that too is being gutted" (*The Gleaner*, April 26, 2001).

There is a growing sense in some quarters that there would be more equity in relation to the free movement of skills if they involved South-South exchanges. For example, it was regarded as laudable that Jamaican teachers had been going to Botswana and people with technical skills to other developing countries to assist them in their crises of human resource shortages. It was regarded as even more a priority that there should be the free movement of skills within the Caribbean. It was pointed out by one of the interviewees in Jamaica that the West India Commission had indicated that freedom of movement of skilled workers within the Caribbean was important for Caribbean regionalism. This would be seen as providing one type of migration opportunity but would not be endorsed as an alternative to south-north and north-south migrations. There was also a clear view expressed that Jamaica has benefited from receiving teachers from abroad, from developing countries and from countries of the North. "We would therefore, wish to keep the options open".

In the last analysis, the overwhelming perspective on the situation was that focus of policy should not be on skilled migration *per se*, and certainly not to impede freedom of movement or migration-related activities, but that the focus should be on improving the environment within which the migration occurs. "We need to entice people to remain or return" was the view expressed by one interviewee, who further stated, "Our duty - that of entrepreneurs and government agencies - must be to try to make the environment here more attractive".

5. Policies on Skilled Migration

Data collected by governments on migration strongly reflect their policy perspectives relating to the various aspects of the movements. There is an open and *laissez faire* approach to out-migration, thus no figures are recorded. Immigration of non-nationals is carefully recorded in the Caribbean as also in the USA and Canada. There are however, exceptions to this. For example, immigration to Britain is not systematically recorded in the case of the entry of Commonwealth Caribbean citizens.

Until the mid-twentieth century, the occupations of migrants – whether leaving or entering Caribbean territories - were hardly alluded to in the records. Further, only rarely did island governments take migration seriously since the loss of labour was invariably regarded as more of an advantage than a problem. There were occasional sounds of alarm raised at the apparent excessive losses of artisans from time to time, including the period of high migration to Western Europe in the 1950s. Finally, it was only from the 1960s from Guyana and the 1970s from Jamaica, when the migration of middle-class, white-collar workers and professionals increased dramatically, that migration figures were more systematically disaggregated according to occupational categories.

5.1. Current government policies

In the case of Jamaica, the realization on the part of the government that the returning population had a potentially major contribution to make, led to the establishment of a Returning Residents Programme. This was introduced to encourage the return of nationals from abroad through public information in the countries of major concentrations of Jamaicans, together with tax concessions on the importation of household goods. A Returning Residents Facilitation Unit was created within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, headed by a Chief Executive Officer at Ambassadorial level (Government of Jamaica, 1998). An information guide was published and made available at consular missions in London, Toronto, Ottawa, Washington D.C., Miami and New York. A similar programme to assist returning residents was initiated in St. Kitts/Nevis.

A further initiative in Jamaica was to establish an Efficiency and Reform Directorate in the Office of the Prime Minister under the Administrative Reform Programme that was a Structural Adjustment Programme to search for and recruit persons with skills for the public sector. In May 1994, a Skills Bank Facility was established as part of the Returning Residents Programme in order to try to match demand and supply. In addition, the Government of Jamaica included in its National Indicative Programme under the 7th Protocol of the LOME IV Convention, a two-and-a-half year Return of Talent Programme, sponsored by the International Organization of Migration (IOM) in association with the Government of Jamaica. The programme assisted the return of some 50 persons from 1996-98, to work in the public sector where there was a need for qualified persons (Williams, 1998). This was an attempt to reverse some of the perceived ‘brain drain’ that had occurred.

The return of talent programme

The Return of Talent Programme was implemented by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Jamaica, in two phases. The first phase, from February 1, 1994 to June 4, 1997, recruited and facilitated the return to Jamaica of thirty-nine highly qualified professionals to fill vacant positions in the public sector. Candidates were recruited from the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Guyana, the Bahamas, the Czech Republic and Belgium. Applications were also received from candidates in Switzerland, Saudi Arabia, Hungary and Lesotho. Of the total number of applicants, 42.5 per cent were female, 57.5 per cent male. Phase two of the programme, June 5, 1997 to June 4, 1998, mandated the recruitment of twenty persons. This was against a background of 118 requests from the public sector for filling vacancies (IOM documents).

Financial incentives were offered through the programme by way of one-way air-fares for the candidate and immediate family members; up to fifty per cent of the cost of shipping household goods; a one-time re-entry subsidy; two-year full medical and accident insurance; monthly salary subsidy; equipment including literature and equipment required for the candidate's work. The aim was that, given the financial incentives, the persons recruited would remain in their assigned positions in the public sector for a minimum of the two years of the project, during which time the required transfer of knowledge and technology should have taken place. Thus the programme was at least in part based on the view that the permanent return of the skilled migrants was not essential to the success of the programme and that the re-migration of some persons would be expected. Further, it reflected an awareness of the importance of flows of ideas and expertise through the migration and return migration process that is not necessarily conditional upon the duration of stay of the individual migrant.

6. Policy options and Future Research

6.1. Policy options

International migration in Caribbean context has always been associated with freedom and the sense of freedom. Besides, it has been regarded by Caribbean people to be the means of extending the limited opportunities of small countries. The imposition of restrictions on movement cannot therefore be recommended. Nor is any kind of direct reparation (such as a tax) to be paid by prospective destination countries, either desirable or feasible. This implies that the freedom of choice to work or study in any country of the world to which persons gain legal access, should be protected without any penalties or charges imposed on either the migrant or the prospective employers. The exceptions are those cases where a government bond or other form of sponsorship for previous training is first to be paid by individuals. Although there is no suggestion that restrictions should be placed on Caribbean international migration in the source countries, nevertheless, it is critical that the traditional *laissez faire* approach to migration and its consequences be replaced or modified by strategic policies aimed at the more effective management of human capital overall.

A number of options have been suggested or even tried in other parts of the world. These are based upon cooperation from both developed and developing countries and include the following general strategies:

- Encouraging the return of migrants to their source country;
- Retaining nationals through educational sector policies or, more generally, through economic development;
- Establishing bilateral and multilateral arrangements for meeting skills needs;
- Managing the recruitment of migrants;
- Supporting expatriates in the diaspora. (See Lowell and Findlay, 2001).

The appropriateness of these options to the Caribbean, are discussed below.

6.1.1. Return of migrants to the source country

This is a highly relevant option in the case of the Caribbean since there is an inherent propensity for return at the time of the initial migration and in many cases migrants have already returned to live in the Caribbean. Migration rarely represents a total displacement of migrant from the home country on the outward move, or from the destination country on the return. Most migrants are part of a transnational system of outward movements and reciprocal flows of capital - economic, social as well as human. The transnational households of migrants and non-migrants thus provide the context for facilitating the return. The return is to some extent facilitated by the reciprocity of the activities that occur between migrants and non-migrants in the household and wider family. However, the transnational nature of the migrant's livelihoods also facilitates their remaining at the destination while supporting the household at home and being involved with many aspects of family life, without actually returning to work and live in the Caribbean. Any policies relating to the return of skilled nationals must take into account the transnational character of the networks and the movements. These networks facilitate return to be sure but equally, they facilitate re-migration. The retention of returnees must therefore be an important corollary of policies relating to return.

As indicated above, efforts have already been made in some Caribbean countries to attract expatriates with skills to return. Other factors, not yet incorporated into existing programmes, need to be considered. The time in the migration cycle at which the return is encouraged, is important. A five-year period of living abroad is estimated to be optimal for the return of skilled persons to the Caribbean. Thereafter, the migrant becomes more fully committed in terms of career and domestic responsibilities at the destination and not only does the return become more difficult but so do the chances of re-adaptation in the home country. A similar situation applies to students who enter countries in North America and Europe for a few years in the first instance. Those who later extend their stay indefinitely become a significant component of the loss of skills through migration.

The most important factors that not only encourage the return of nationals but that also persuade them to stay once they have returned, are those that relate to improving the conditions of the wider social and economic environment. There is considerable variability within the Caribbean in terms of the social and economic conditions that migrants experience on the return, thus policies need to be adjusted accordingly. In those countries where the levels of social capital are low, where there is little trust, especially in the institutions, policies need to be directly aimed at the building of confidence. For those Caribbean countries with the lowest levels of social and economic capital, policies require long-term objectives.

Above all, migration has not been adequately included in development policy. As a consequence, data relating to labour force and optimal human resource capacity in the context of sustainable development is sadly lacking. Caribbean governments need to be encouraged to seriously study and plan their nation's human resource needs.

Human resource needs should be listed, updated on a continuous basis and posted on the Internet. In this way, employers in the Caribbean as well as Caribbean people living in the Caribbean or abroad would be able to access information about the opportunities in the labour force more effectively. Further, tertiary institutions would

be able to make projections and plan more systematically than is currently possible, for the national and regional labour market.

6.1.2. Retention of nationals

There is no need in small countries to regard non-migration as being necessarily beneficial to the country. In small countries as those of the Caribbean, there is much to be gained by both individual and community from the mobility of persons, especially students or persons early in their professional lives. Policy needs to focus upon the propensity of migrants to return and emphasis placed upon the creation of the opportunities and the environment conducive to retaining them after they return. The policies that are likely to be effective in the long run are those that provide long-term stability and confidence in the institutional systems of all Caribbean countries. This is particularly relevant in relation to the many persons leaving the Caribbean primarily because of their lack of confidence in the future of most countries of the region.

The regional dimension is also important in the development of migration policies relating to the retention of nationals. The free movement of skilled persons is already an objective of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). There is a danger that the larger or more prosperous countries within the region will serve as magnets to the most highly skilled persons thus creating 'brain-drains' from the smaller or least developed states. Policies of encouraging the return of nationals who have migrated within the region is one option but another option is to encourage other Caribbean nationals – especially those with skills specifically required – to the less developed regional locations. This would entail policies of regional skill exchange in order to retain skills within the region.

6.1.3. Restrictions placed on international mobility

Bilateral and multilateral agreements (between governments in the Caribbean and those in North America and Europe) could be used to establish arrangements for contracts of specific duration, after which the skilled worker would be required to return to the source country. This works effectively with respect to farm workers and would probably work for teachers and nurses on contracts extending over periods of two to three years. It is likely that there could be high levels of 'leakage' from such a scheme as migrants found other criteria (such as family re-unification) whereby they could extend their stay in the host country. Nevertheless, it would contribute to the objective of facilitating short-term migration followed by return.

Other bilateral or multilateral agreements could explore the possible delivery of training programmes in the Caribbean, in fields such as nursing. This could involve the training in the Caribbean of students from the USA, Canada and other countries as appropriate. This could be an attractive, cost-effective method of supplying nurses to fill needs in North America without depleting Caribbean resources. At the same time, it would provide economic resources for the health or educational sector, thus enhancing its attractiveness to nationals working in the sector and the likelihood of retaining them in larger numbers than is currently the case

6.1.4. Managing the recruitment of Caribbean nationals

There is a need for mechanisms that control the types of recruitment campaigns that lead to the mass exodus both of skilled persons from select professions and of

students entering tertiary institutions. This could be implemented in various ways, and discussions need to take place to assess the strategies that would be most effective in each country. Options could range from the establishment of strict guidelines at one end of the scale to the issuing of information about concerns and expectations at the other, and thus appealing to a sense of national loyalty. Should countries opt for regulation, this could entail requirements such as the need for recruiting agents to apply to the relevant public sector authority or professional association for permits to recruit, based on a system of accreditation. Should the option of non-regulation be preferred, a public education programme could be mounted to raise the awareness of those national groups that assist the recruitment process at the local level, alerting them to the potential damage of recruitment campaigns.

6.1.5. Support of expatriates in the diaspora

Supporting Caribbean national associations and organizations in the centres of Caribbean settlement in North America and Europe would be of potential benefit to the Caribbean in at least two ways. First, resourcing groups of expatriates abroad, has the effect of increasing the transfer of social capital that is located in the migrant communities abroad, to the Caribbean countries themselves. (The ‘resourcing’ should be considered in terms of ‘kind’.) With an increase in such trans-nationalization of social capital, the prospects for the movement back to the Caribbean of other forms of capital – human and material- would undoubtedly increase.

A second effect of supporting the expatriate communities in the diaspora is to build the potential market for Caribbean goods and services abroad. The expansion of niche markets in food and other ‘ethnic’ items as well as the development of a wider market for literature, the visual arts and the performing arts, will vastly enhance the export of Caribbean products and culture. The expansion and reinforcement of such markets would have the additional value-added effect of increasing the market for the tourist industry within the Caribbean.

6.2. Suggestions for future research

6.2.1. Establishment of national human resource databases

Data on migration from different parts of the Caribbean region and to different destinations varies widely in the categories used for their compilation. This renders them of limited value in comparative research concerning the characteristics of the migrants and the migrations, whether from the perspective of the source or destination countries. Such a database would need to be part of a wider programme of compiling human resource needs and capacities within the Caribbean region. This would facilitate the development of relevant policy to better manage skill losses and the evaluation of skill replacement priorities.

6.2.2. Impact of the outward and return movements of skilled migrants

The impact of the emigration of skilled persons has not been systematically researched at either national or community levels. The consequences range from those affecting human capital supplies and needs at national and regional levels to the implications for specific groups or sectors within countries. These are areas in which greater knowledge is essential so that policies can be informed and thus developed in such a way that they are appropriate to the specific conditions of individual countries.

Research into the impact of emigration on sectors, such as health and education, would greatly assist the process of determining the most appropriate policies for managing the current situation of net skill losses through migration. The impact of the emigration of skills from other professional groups from the public and private sectors would also be valuable for assessing human resource supplies and needs.

Knowledge about the effect of the emigration of skilled persons on specific groups within society is also minimal in the Caribbean case. This includes the effect on poor communities and on the conditions of poverty. There has also been little research conducted into the economic, social and cultural impacts of the return of skilled migrants at either the country scale or at the level of the community or specific economic or social sectors.

7. Conclusion

The migration of skilled labour as a proportion of total migration from the Caribbean has risen in response to immigration policies in the United States and Canada since the 1960s. The total number of unskilled labour migrants still far exceeds the numbers of those with skills, but when the loss of skilled labour is measured in relation to the total stock of skills within the individual Caribbean countries, the implications are considerable. Although the full extent is not known because of the lack of relevant data, it is evident that there is a generally adverse effect on the labour force, particularly in certain sectors.

Despite the losses in trained and professional personnel, migration is regarded as a desirable means whereby people, especially from small countries, can extend their opportunities and gain experience in a wider international setting. Attention has to be placed therefore on strategies to sustain the human resource capacity of Caribbean countries without preventing or significantly limiting outward movement. Some constraints are however required in the scale and manner of recruitment of targeted groups of skilled persons and students.

The shock that has to be absorbed by small countries, following the loss of a significant percentage of the stock of skills over a short time period and with little or no notice served to employers, are having potentially damaging effects both in the immediate and the long term. Apart from the losses of skills sustained in the affected sectors – notably health and education but also in the hotel and other industries - recruitment campaigns bring other problems. In particular, they generate various degrees of mass hysteria based upon the sense of compulsion felt by large numbers of people to become part of the movement. This is invariably accompanied by a rise in the negative feelings about local opportunities and a reduction in levels of confidence in the Caribbean, and these feelings spread throughout the society.

There are compensatory flows of new immigrants and returning nationals already taking place that should be encouraged by policy. Short and medium-term strategies to attract expatriates, other Caribbean persons and nationals, may prove beneficial in filling the immediate gaps in skilled and professional labour. However, the long-term efforts at raising confidence through economic growth, social stability, and increasing the capability to adequately resource sectors such as health and education, will create

its own dynamic that will sustain human capital in the long run. Paradoxically, migration itself could be a major part of the solution, especially if the social capital that has been created through migration networks could be more effectively transnationalized to benefit the Caribbean, and if the diaspora were to become a greater resource for the region.

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Annexure

Table 1. Caribbean Immigrants to the US over the Period 1990-1998

1.a. By Major Occupation

Countries	Professional Specialty or technical	Executive Administrative and Managerial	Sales	Administrative Support	Precision production Craft and repair	Operator fabricator and Labourer	Farming forestry and Fishing	Services	No Occupation	Total
Cuba	4874	1530	2801	3539	5908	27348	451	8818	74798	130067
Dominica Republic	12107	4695	5619	6615	14566	33748	14810	11594	204376	308130
Haiti	5237	1531	2424	2992	7653	13635	45935	8221	95035	182663
Jamaica	8109	2361	2335	7330	5433	8514	7181	29369	101152	171784
Trinidad & Tobago	3499	1254	870	2265	2285	2198	2224	5272	31842	51709
Other Caribbean	-	-	1047	2345	2558	2262	1450	9549	27772	46983
C'bn Total	33826	11371	15096	25086	38403	87705	72051	72823	534975	891336
G'bl Total	513749	236032	133030	208380	332563	707086	1241674	619780	4266355	8258649
C'bn Total as % of G'bl Total	6.58	5.35	11.35	12.04	11.55	12.40	5.80	11.75	12.54	89.36

Based on data from US Immigration and Naturalization Services, Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Services, 1997 and 1998.

1.b. Skilled, Unskilled and Unemployed Migrants to the US, 1998

Country	(1) Total immigrants in the US	(2) Total in US labour force	(3) % of (1) in US labour force	(4) Total not in US labour force	(5) % of (1) not in US labour force	(6) Total skilled of (2)	(7) % skilled of (2)	(8) Total non skilled of (2)	(9) % unskilled of (2)
Cuba	130067	55269	42.5	74798	57.5	12312	22.28	42957	77.72
Dominica Republic	308130	103754	33.7	204376	66.3	31368	30.23	72386	69.77
Haiti	182663	87628	47.9	95035	52.1	14421	16.46	73207	83.54
Jamaica	171784	70632	41.1	101152	58.9	15903	22.52	54729	77.48
Trinidad & Tobago	51709	19867	38.4	31842	61.6	7038	35.43	12829	64.57
Other Caribbean	46983	23498	50.0	27772	50.0	6845	29.13	16653	70.87
C'bn Total	891336	360648	40.5	534975	59.5	87887	24.37	272761	75.63
G'bl Total	8258649	3992294	48.3	4266355	51.7	1082344	27.11	2909950	72.89

Note: Changes have been made to the original titles of the columns by a consultant.

Based on data from US Immigration and Naturalization Services, Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Services, 1997 and 1998.

Table 2. Caribbean Immigrants to Canada Over the Period 1990 - 1996**2.a. By Major Occupation**

Countries	Entrepreneurs / investors	Professional Speciality & Technical	Executive, administrative and managerial	Sales	Administrative Support	Precision Production, Craft & Repair	Operator Fabricator and Labourer	Farming Forestry & Fishing	Service	No Occupation or Not Reported	Sport & Recreation	Material Handling & Related	Total Destined to the work force
Cuba	0	274	11	19	131	28	116	4	74	940	4	7	1'642
Dominican Republic	2	71	22	44	95	10	129	9	182	1'097	5	10	1'674
Haiti	3	419	79	67	430	40	875	36	393	5'306	1	37	7'338
Jamaica	4	1'038	342	704	1'743	243	3'148	571	2'397	7'239	17	74	17'522
Puerto Rico	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	10	0	0	13
Trinidad & Tobago	34	853	435	364	1'422	189	1'627	93	715	6'585	4	79	11'076
Other Caribbean	21	302	122	115	275	32	407	49	810	2'872	7	41	4'843
Total Caribbean	65	2'958	1'011	1'313	4'096	542	6'303	762	4'571	24'049	38	248	44'108

Table 2.a. Cont'd

Countries	Spouse	Children	Students	Not Classified	Total
Cuba	129	112	334	43	3'250
Dominican Republic	151	228	894	139	3'350
Haiti	469	1'609	5'876	1'301	15'024
Jamaica	1'034	1'848	11'087	1'060	35'042
Puerto Rico	5	0	7	0	26
Trinidad & Tobago	1'474	686	4'562	799	23'476
Other Caribbean	236	258	2'034	332	9'896
Total Caribbean	3'498	4'741	24'794	3'674	90'064

Source: Statistics Canada, Information and Technologies Branch, 1996

2.b. Skilled, Unskilled and Unemployed Migrants to Canada, 1996

Country	(1) Total Destined to Canadian labour force	(2) Actual total in Canadian labour force	(3) Actual total as % of (1)	(4) No Occupation or Not Reported	(5) % of (1) not in Canadian labour force	(6) Total skilled of (2)	(7) % skilled of (2)	(8) Total unskilled of (2)	(9) % unskilled of (2)
Cuba	1'642	657	40.0	940	60.0	313	47.6	344	52.4
Dominican Republic	1'674	562	33.6	1'097	66.4	103	18.3	459	81.7
Haiti	7'338	2'339	31.9	5'306	68.1	538	23.0	1'801	77.0
Jamaica	17'522	10'186	58.1	7'239	41.9	1'623	15.9	8'563	84.1
Puerto Rico	13	2	15.4	10	84.6	1	50.0	1	50.0
Trinidad & Tobago	11'076	5'698	51.4	6'585	48.6	1'477	25.9	4'221	74.1
Other Caribbean	4'843	2'112	43.6	2'872	56.4	456	21.6	1'656	78.4
Total Caribbean	44'108	21'556	48.9	24'049	51.1	4'511	20.9	17'045	79.1

Note: Changes have been made to the original titles of the columns by a consultant.

Source: Statistics Canada, Information and Technologies Branch, 1996

Table 3. Select Countries: Percentage Distribution of Return Migrants by Country Last Lived, 1990

Country from which Migrants returned	Antigua	BVI	Grenada	St. Lucia	St. Vincent	Barbados	St. Kitts/Nevis	Jamaica
Antigua /Barbuda	----	2.89	0.34	1.62	1.14	----	0.00	0.00
Barbados	2.27	2.83	2.82	12.98	12.88	----	0.00	0.00
St. Lucia	1.04	0.40	1.08	----	2.01	----	0.00	0.00
Trinidad	3.07	1.21	38.25	2.59	35.60	----	0.00	0.00
St. Croix	15.09	2.36	0.25	7.51	0.96	----	0.00	0.00
St. Thomas	11.41	44.89	0.25	1.11	0.10	----	0.00	0.00
Aruba	6.47	0.20	3.47	0.43	2.90	----	0.00	0.00
Martinique	0.07	----	0.03	12.91	0.17	----	0.00	0.00
Canada	6.54	1.01	6.79	4.70	6.87	13.00	8.00	11.30
United Kingdom	10.70	3.16	22.08	18.86	14.73	60.00	34.00	43.80
USA	27.15	27.32	11.64	13.30	8.99	27.00	20.00	38.10
Venezuela	0.04	----	3.35	0.56	0.23	----	0.00	0.00
US Virgin Islands	----	----	----	----	----	----	38.00	0.00
Not Stated	0.69	----	1.82	0.14	0.10	----	0.00	0.00
Other Countries	21.63	13.73	7.84	20.23	13.32	----	0.00	6.80

Based on data from Caribbean Community Regional Census Office, 1994

Table 4. Occupation by Sex Distribution of Return Migrants

Occupations	St. Vincent and the Grenadines			Grenada			St. Lucia (HH)			Antigua and Barbuda			British Virgin Islands		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Legislators	10.3	11.5	10.7	9.2	4.6	7.6	8.4	12.3	9.8	10	6.8	8.7	15.9	16.4	16.1
Professionals	6.5	7	6.7	5	5.8	5.3	7.8	8.5	8	9.7	11	10.2	9.3	15	11.7
Technicians	6.5	11.6	8.2	13	18	14.8	6.5	9.4	7.5	11.5	13.6	12.4	11.4	20	15.1
Clerks	2.3	17.1	7.1	3.1	17.7	8.3	1.9	14.6	6.2	4.5	21.4	11.4	3.6	22.6	11.7
Service Workers	6.9	16.9	10.1	13	20.7	15.8	7	17.8	10.7	11	23.1	15.9	5.9	16.2	10.3
Agricultural Workers	18.1	4.4	13.6	12.3	3.1	9	27.1	8.1	20.6	3.4	0.5	2.2	8.6	0	4.9
Craft Workers	23.5	6.6	18	23.7	6.3	17.5	21.7	6.5	16.5	25.2	2.5	16	22.5	1.7	13.6
Plant Workers	8.7	1.3	6.3	6.6	1.6	4.8	8.4	5.2	7.3	9.3	1.3	6.1	12.9	0.2	7.4
Elementary Occups.	17.1	23.5	19.2	12.4	20.7	15.4	10.8	17.1	13	14.3	19.1	16.3	10	7.6	9
Armed Forces	0	0	0	0.1	0	0.1	0	0	0	0.6	0.3	0.5	0	0	0
Not Stated	0	0.1	0.1	1.5	1.4	1.5	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0	0.2	0.1
TOTAL	99.9	100	100	99.9	99.9	100.1	99.9	99.9	100	100	100.1	100.2	100.1	99.9	99.9

Source: United Nations, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 1998^b

Table 5. Net Remittance for Selected Caribbean Countries

(Percentage of GDP)

COUNTRY	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Anguilla	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	3.6	1	1.6	1.8	1.8
Antigua & Barbuda	NA	3.9	3.2	2.7	4.8	3.1	1.2	0.5	0.1	0.7
British Virgin Islands	NA	NA	NA	NA	-7.1	-8.3	-7.6	-7.4	-10	NA
Dominica	NA	1	6.1	6.2	6.6	6	5.9	5.7	6.1	4.6
Grenada	NA	6.2	8.7	9.2	8.7	7.7	7.6	7.3	6.7	8.8
Montserrat	NA	22.4	22.7	21.5	68.3	20.8	14	12.9	8.9	8.7
St. Kitts/Nevis	NA	8.3	8.7	8.9	10.7	6.8	6.8	6.5	5.7	6.8
St. Lucia	NA	5.4	7	3.7	3.4	2.8	3.7	2.4	0.9	2.6
St. Vincent/Grenadines	NA	7.7	6.1	5.3	5.8	6.2	4.9	4	3.8	5.6
The Bahamas	-0.8	-0.7	-0.8	-1.1	-0.6	-0.3	-0.3	-0.4	-0.4	NA
Barbados	1.6	1.8	1.8	2.2	2.1	2.3	2	2.6	1.6	NA
Belize	9.1	6.8	6.5	7.3	5.7	4.6	3.6	3.7	2.9	2.6
Guyana	2.4	1.9	3.2	3.1	3.7	3.3	3.6	3.7	3.3	NA
Jamaica	9.1	5.5	4.6	4.5	4	4.8	6.1	12.9	10.5	16.2
Suriname	-0.4	-0.2	0	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4	-0.3	-0.1	NA
Trinidad & Tobago	-0.5	-0.6	-0.4	-0.5	-0.4	-0.4	-0.3	-0.3	-0.1	NA
The Dominican Republic	NA	4.4	6.9	6.5	4.5	5.5	4.2	3.9	3.8	NA
Haiti	2.4	2.3	2.8	3.2	2.8	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.3	1

Source: United Nations, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 1998^a

Table 6. Occupational Status By Nationality in Selected Caribbean Countries 1991

Occupation	Bahamas				Jamaica				British Virgin Islands			
	Nationals		Non-nationals		Nationals		Non-nationals		Nationals		Non-nationals	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
Total	89'744	100.0	15'715	100.0	673'007	100.0	1'202	100.0	3'330	100.0	5'319	100.0
Legislator/Manager	4'543	5.1	1'062	6.8	33'028	4.9	196	16.3	399	12.0	422	7.9
Hospitality	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0.0	0	0.0
Professional	6'054	6.7	2'202	14.0	36'460	5.4	552	45.9	223	6.7	365	6.9
Technical/ Assoc. Prof	8'043	9.0	906	5.8	33'478	5.0	144	12.0	439	13.2	445	8.4
Clerk	15'041	16.8	980	6.2	56'557	8.4	112	9.3	596	17.9	409	7.7
Services and sales	20'705	23.1	1'211	7.7	89'501	13.3	44	3.7	431	12.9	1'133	21.3
Skilled agri.& fisheries	3'245	3.6	1'765	11.2	121'761	18.1	33	2.7	142	4.3	135	2.5
Craft & related	13'790	15.4	2'060	13.1	115'916	17.2	48	4.0	493	14.8	1'280	24.1
Plant/Machine operators	4'573	5.1	381	2.4	49'941	7.4	17	1.4	219	6.6	224	4.2
Elementary	13'750	15.3	5'148	32.8	136'365	20.3	56	4.7	387	11.6	10	17.0

... - Denotes that no data was available

Based on data from Caricom Regional Census Office, Commonwealth Caribbean Population and Housing Census, 1991

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