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LC/CAR/L.61



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14-15 September 2005
Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago

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**REPORT ON THE EXPERT GROUP MEETING ON MIGRATION,
HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN**

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1. INTRODUCTION

The expert group meeting on migration, human rights and development was held on 14-15 September 2005 and was hosted by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean in Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago.

Present at the meeting were representatives of: Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Single Market and Economy (CSME); Centre de Technique de Planification et d'Economie Applique (CTPEA); Department of Public Health, Aruba; International Labour Organization (ILO), Pan American Health Organization/World Health Organization (PAHO/WHO), Office of the Caribbean Programme Coordination; the University of the West Indies (UWI), Mona Campus, Jamaica; the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI); ECLAC's Population Division (CELADE); the Population Division, Department of the Department for Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), United Nations; Displaced Nationals in Crisis Coalition (DNICC). The complete list of participants is available in the annex.

2. OPENING

Karoline Schmid, Population Affairs Officer, ECLAC subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean, opened the meeting and welcomed the experts from different countries and organizations.

Esteban Pérez, Economic Affairs Officer, ECLAC, greeted the participants on behalf of the Director. He stated that the general purpose of the meeting was to deepen the understanding of key conceptual and practical issues related to migration and to delineate a Caribbean perspective for the General Assembly High Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development scheduled for 2006. He pointed out that international migration was one of the main subjects on which the United Nations had to expand its knowledge, sharpen its focus and act more effectively. He then gave a brief introduction of the topic, stating that because there were almost 200 million migrants worldwide; migration had become a major social phenomenon with socio-economic implications for almost every society. The issue was of utmost importance to the Caribbean region, since this region had one of the highest net-migration rates worldwide. Major United Nations conferences over the past decade had also addressed migration as a critical issue. With a focus on population and development, the *International Conference on Population and Development* (ICPD) held in Cairo in 1994 touched on all aspects of internal and international migration such as smuggling and trafficking of persons, brain drain, returning migrants, deportations, border security and the orderly movement of people across international borders in recognition of their basic human rights.

Furthermore, he mentioned that a resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its fifty-eighth session on international migration and development - where it decided that in 2006 the General Assembly would commit to a *high-level dialogue on international migration and development* - played a significant role in this issue. The outcome of this expert group meeting would become a substantive part of the document on 'Migration, Human Rights and Development' that was being prepared by CELADE. The document would be presented at the next meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee at the ECLAC thirty-first session in 2006. The meeting was also expected to shed additional light on the kinds of analyses that would further the understanding of the multifaceted aspects of migration and should help to broaden public awareness on surrounding fundamental issues related to migration. Finally he thanked all participants for making the event possible and stated that ECLAC looked forward to two days of productive deliberations.

2.1. Migration in the Caribbean – What do we know?

The following is a summary of the document 'Migration in the Caribbean – What do we know? An overview of data, policies and programmes at the international and regional levels to address critical issues'.

Historically, migration has always influenced socio-economic development all over the world. Various international events had determined the flow of migrants, such as the oil-boom in the 1970s, the global crisis in the energy sector in the 1980s and growing tourism in the 1990s. Furthermore, globalization has been promoting the free movement of goods and people, which has led to a growing number of migrants worldwide. This was a special challenge to political organizations and governments, taking into consideration critical issues like brain drain and brain-gain, the spread of HIV/AIDS, drug trafficking and the need to protect the human rights of all migrants and their families. Most countries allowed the free movement of their citizens across national borders but apply rigorous mechanisms to control the inflow of foreign people.

The main sources for data on cross-border movements were, therefore, border statistics, population census and household surveys. The fact that data from various sources were often not fully compatible because of the application of different concepts of what constituted a migrant, made it almost impossible to provide a complete account of the in- and outflow of people across its borders. A particularly challenge was the monitoring of the cross-border movements of undocumented and irregular migrants.

The main push-factors for migrants in the Caribbean region were deteriorating economic and social conditions, high unemployment and little hope for improvement of living conditions, whereby migration could be understood intra-regionally – the movement to one of the more prosperous Caribbean Islands - or internationally, that was out of the region. Remittances sent by migrants provided important benefits to the immediate family members as well as to the national economy of the receiving country. However, many of the migrants remain temporary workers and when their visas expire or their status changed otherwise, they easily ran the risk of becoming deported at any given time or of losing access to health care services and education for themselves and their families. This was also a particular problem for undocumented migrants who, in fear of being expelled, often hide in inaccessible squatters and illegal settlements. Whereas some governments prefer the exodus of their laborers in exchange for desired remittances to boost their economies, many countries suffer tremendous constraints in their capacities to provide equal, qualitative and affordable social services to their populations.

Caribbean countries were source, transit and final destination of migrants. Depending on the specific aspects of migration affecting a certain country, generally determines how Caribbean Governments viewed the in- and outflow of people to and from their country. According to United Nations figures only five out of 16 countries reported in 2000 that they perceived immigration as too high and, in total, six countries reported that they wished to lower the inflow of non-nationals. With regard to the readiness to allow family members of migrants to join, the greater part of the countries in the region seemed to want to restrict the inflow of dependants of already recognized migrants. This was most probably a consequence of increasing demands of family members to be granted access to rather costly basic social services, such as health care and education in the host country.

While immigration seemed to affect only a select few countries, the loss of their people and its consequences appeared to impact on the majority of Caribbean nations. A closer look at the emigration of nurses from Trinidad and Tobago provided an example of the manifest consequences the brain drain had for the public health sector in that country. The lack of a sophisticated

human resources management system did not allow for the monitoring of the staff movements to and from the system. Apart from a lack of modern human resources management tools, there were other aspects that had contributed to the present crisis in nursing not only in Trinidad and Tobago, but also in the entire region. The main push-factors for the nurses were inadequate remuneration and benefits, unfavourable working conditions, lack of management and leadership and insufficient career perspectives.

The ongoing depletion of professionals deprived the region of its desperately needed qualified staff whose education and training were often at a considerable expense to its taxpayers. The need to address the present nursing crisis was crucial since with the ageing of the population and the emerging HIV/AIDS crisis the demand for nursing care will increase considerably in the foreseeable future in the Caribbean.

The history of Belize migration and its impact on the composition of the present society was rather unique. In spite of generally declining fertility rates over the past 20 years, the population of Belize had grown from approximately 145,000 people to an estimated 240,000 people. This was due to the immigration of people from Central America who fled social unrest and who were looking for economic opportunities in this, the only English-speaking country in Central America. These drastic changes and their impact on the demographic profile of the population were a serious challenge to the country in terms of social issues such as education, health, poverty level and discrimination. In the case of Aruba, the government was actively promoting immigration due to insufficient domestic labor force supply, caused by the rapid growth in the tourism sector.

The paper concluded that globalization, modern means of communication and fast travel would encourage even more people to migrate. Further, gaps between the rich and the poor would promote migratory streams across borders, quite often against the expressed will of the receiving countries. In order to protect all migrants and to safeguard basic human rights of those affected, sustainable partnerships among all stakeholders were indispensable so as to find viable solutions to the challenges that migratory societies face in the twenty-first century.

Discussion

The CELADE representative requested figures on the migration of nurses from Trinidad and Tobago and/or Jamaica. The representative of the PAHO/CPC office stated that her office had been tracking this information over the past years, monitoring and addressing the issue with an attempt to manage migration. Nevertheless, numbers varied and the calculations for the Caribbean also depended on which countries were considered. She informed that the work to date was conducted with the CARICOM member States in collaboration with the Regional Nursing Body (RNB), Caribbean Nursing Organization (CNO), PAHO and other partners.

ECLAC stated that some information was available, for example in 2004 an estimated 30 nurses had migrated from Barbados. Even though the absolute numbers might not seem significant, one had to take into consideration the size of the population and the region's capacity to fill these vacancies. The representative of UWI, confirmed that the problem not only existed regarding the number but also the qualification of the nurses. She further stated that due to foreign recruitment of experienced nurses there was a lack of more senior staff nurses that had to be replaced by younger and less-experienced staff.

After a presentation of data on migration for the Caribbean for 1990 and 2000 the representative of the Population Division, Barry Mirkin observed that figures for 2005 would soon be available from the United Nations Population Division. The representative of CELADE men-

tioned that his division, within the context of ECLAC, was currently collaborating with CARI-COM to improve the availability of quality data in a timely manner.

3. MIGRATION- WHAT DO WE KNOW? EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

3.1. Population projection model for small island countries, an illustration. Aruba 2003-2023

The following summary reflects the basic contents of the paper 'Population projection model for small island countries, an illustration. Aruba 2003-2023'.

The paper postulates that in the Caribbean, the size and composition of the population was often more determined by in and out-migration and only to a far lesser extent by levels of fertility and mortality, which are both considerably low with little fluctuation expected in the near future. This was due to the fact that the population of Aruba has already completed the demographic transition from relatively high birth- and death rates to lower levels in both rates.

The history of the small islands of the Caribbean shows that volume and direction of international migration depend almost entirely on the economic development of a given country. Countries with booming industries had traditionally attracted foreign labor while others in situations of economic, social and environmental distress had seen many of their people leave. As a consequence, the combination of fairly constant levels of mortality and fertility, an irregular age structure (due to either losses or gains of migrants of certain age groups) and very erratic patterns of migration (quite often a consequence of rapidly changing economic conditions in either the sending or receiving country) made it difficult to use the traditional cohort –component method¹ for population projections. As assumptions concerning levels of fertility and mortality had to be kept fairly constant, the assumptions on migratory movements in and out of the country are expected to almost completely determine the outcome of the population projections.

To prove these assumptions, the author presented the results of a regression analysis that showed a strong positive relationship between economic development (GDP growth rate) and population size for Aruba. The presenter concluded that, in order to model population projections for the year 2005 (t+5) based on the year 2000 (t), the labor force necessary to achieve a certain and predetermined level of GDP needs to be determined, taking into consideration labor productivity and domestic labor force available at a time t+5. Further, the natural increase of nationals and foreign born population, the labor force participation rates of local and foreign born persons, the international net migration of nationals and the number of foreigners already in the country need to be considered by the model.

Based on the assumptions outlined above, the expected natural growth rate (the balance between fertility and mortality) was expected to be rather moderate over the next 20 years in the case of Aruba. Therefore, in order to maintain the present level of economic growth, with considerable gaps between supply and demand for labor on the domestic labor market, the need for migrant workers will increase. As a consequence, Aruba has become a preferred destination for many migrants from Latin America, primarily from Colombia and Venezuela. Particularly the semi- and unskilled are attracted by the job-opportunities on the island and many are willing to put themselves to debt to afford the passage. According to the study, a total of 31,571 foreigners were living on Aruba in 2003 contributing almost one third to the population of that country. The model predicts that in order to realize a constant GDP growth of 4 per cent over the next two dec-

¹ The Cohort Component method was currently the most widely used projection model. It makes use of the balancing equation in which the population at time t+5 was equal to the population at time t plus the number of births and the number of immigrants and minus the number of deaths and emigrants between t and t+5. The calculation of the population at time t+20 was done in a segmented way, by using consecutive five-year age groups.

ades, a total of 69,312 foreign born workers would be needed. This would mean an increase of 120 per cent in the foreign population and diminish those born on the island to about one third of the resident population. While the sheer number of foreigners residing on the island was already a matter of concern for some, many more also begin to see the impact the age- and sex-structure of the arriving migrants has on the socio-demographic dynamics on the island. As was the case in many tourist destinations, the need for the influx of large numbers of women to work in the hotels and restaurants was considerably and quite often welcomed by the government. However, no consideration was given to look at the challenges such imbalanced flows pose on the societies in the receiving countries. The study on Aruba found a growing number of intermarriages between Aruban men and foreign women, which was not always well received by local women who see their chances to find a partner challenged.

Discussion

ECLAC asked if the GDP used in the model was nominal and the capital flow constant. The presenter explained that the model assumed a constant GDP and capital flows. He admitted that, due to the simplicity of his model, other aspects could not be taken into consideration in the model. Nevertheless, considering the constraints of the model and the lack of exact population figures, fairly reasonable results can be achieved.

The representative of the Population Division questioned the direct relationship between economic development and population growth by presenting the case of Europe where, in spite of the considerable high unemployment rates, there was still a need for a skilled workforce to meet specific labor force needs. The presenter responded that in the case of small economies, such as the Aruban, such a relationship seemed to be more stable and direct, since the performance of the domestic economy was mainly dependent on the tourist sector which again was dependent, to a large extent, on unskilled imported labor the country itself could not provide.

The PAHO representative added that the most mobile of the populations in the Caribbean appear to come from Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The majority of those migrants were undocumented and therefore did not have access to basic social and health services, and thus ran a greater risk of either being infected or further spreading contagious diseases, such as HIV/AIDS or dengue.

Going back to the proposed model, the CSME representative pointed out that the projections did not estimate the absolute labor force needed to meet the domestic labor market demands and suggested that this to be taken into consideration in order to make the model more realistic.

3.2. International Migration in Latin America and the Caribbean: Facts and findings

This summary is based on the document 'International Migration in Latin America and the Caribbean: Facts and findings'.

In the early years of the twenty-first century migration in Latin America and the Caribbean could be described in three patterns. The first relates to overseas immigration to Latin America, the second to intraregional migration and the third pattern was that of emigration by Latin American and Caribbean nationals, mainly to the United States. The first major inflow of migrants to Latin America in the second half of the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century was a consequence of the economic expansion of the region, which brought along attractive jobs and wages. Migration data for 1990 and 2000 suggest a slight increase in absolute

numbers of migrants moving within Latin America. While the first phase was characterized by permanent movements, recent studies had shown that now temporary movements without are now the dominating form of migration in the region. Data on migration within the Caribbean region show that the absolute numbers of intraregional migrants has increased as a result of better of living conditions and job opportunities in some countries in the Caribbean as the main pull-factors. Also a growing trend to migrate to destinations outside the region could be observed with almost three quarters heading for the United States with the majority of the migrants from the wider Latin American region originating in Mexico and in the Caribbean. The presenter highlights the fact that migrants are a rather diverse group, a fact not always recognized in the analysis of aggregate data. Asymmetries in development processes along with gaps in wage levels and labor opportunities are found to be the main driving forces behind migration. Globalization and the opening of internal markets and easier access to more affordable means of transportation and communication are beneficial to potential migrants. Further, the relaxation of labor- and recruitment laws in the United States since the early 1980s has considerably facilitated access for foreign migrants to its labor market. While the United States has been the major recipient of migrants from the region, many of those who head towards Europe choose Spain as their final destination, which was reflected in the Spanish population census for 2001 that enumerated 840,000 people of Latin American and Caribbean origin. Other preferred destinations for migrants from the region are Canada, other European countries, Japan, Australia and Israel.

The recognition of the need for managed migration was reflected in the growing number of intergovernmental platforms that are established to provide policy makers with an opportunity to discuss strategies to respond to the challenges migration poses in the twenty-first century to the international community.

4. MIGRATION POLICIES- GLOBAL AND REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES

4.1. International Migration Policies: An overview

The following is a summary of the paper 'International Migration Policies: An overview'.

Migration policies could be divided into seven groups, dependent on the specific aspect of migration they address: overall immigration levels, unskilled workers, family reunification, integration of non-nationals, the undocumented, regionalization of policies and policies in the wake of a post 11 September world.

With respect to immigration, the majority of the countries seemed to want to maintain their present level of immigration while recognizing a need to control and manage the inflow of people across their borders. A trend towards greater selectivity, favouring the admission of migrants with specific skills, such as qualifications in science and technology but also in education and health care, could be observed. However, while there was obviously a growing need for skilled labor, the changing age-structure and rising job-expectations by nationals are increasingly leading to labour shortages in low skilled sectors such as in agriculture, construction and domestic services. In order to fill these gaps, some countries had begun to informally tolerate undocumented migration and those who overstay their visa within their borders.

With family reunification traditionally being a major basis for immigration in a significant number of countries, particularly in Europe, a widespread debate has begun to focus on the cost of providing migrants' dependants with basic social and health services.

The fifth category of migration policies discussed in the document was that of integration of non-nationals, which address issues such as human rights standards for migrants and their dependants, guaranteeing religious freedom and acceptance of the use of foreign languages. In most countries today, migrants and non-nationals did not enjoy the same basic rights as nationals and thus were excluded from fully exercising their rights in the civil and political arena of the host-country.

Policies to control and reduce undocumented and irregular migration were currently formulated by many countries worldwide. For example since the mid-1990s, most Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries along with a number of developing countries had either introduced new laws or had enhanced the enforcement of existing laws to curb the flows of undocumented migrants and to penalize smugglers and traffickers and employers of undocumented migrants.

The seventh issue was the harmonization of immigration policies among governments. The establishment of regional and subregional processes facilitated information exchange and improved regional cooperation.

The last of the eight issues addressed border-control and immigration procedures. In the wake of the events of 11 September 2001 and the bombings in Bali, Madrid and London and their impact on migration policies, many governments had introduced more stringent requirements for granting visas and some had imposed new visa requirements for nationals of countries that in the past had consistently produced undocumented migrants.

The paper found that emigration creates both opportunities and challenges for developing countries. For most source-countries, worker remittances were an important source of foreign exchange earnings, and for some countries the predominant source of income. On the other hand, the brain drain deprived many countries of their human capital, the main driving force for sustainable development.

The paper called for a bi- and multilateral dialogue among the parties concerned to ensure that migrant flows take place in accordance with established rules, that the transfer of remittances was executed in a timely and safe manner and that the human rights of the migrants were protected at any time and place. Through its international conferences and meetings, the United Nations system offered governments and other critical stakeholders an additional platform for the development of norms and guidelines for policy formulation and migration management. The forthcoming United Nations General Assembly High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development in 2006 would provide a unique opportunity for the international community to establish a framework for enhanced international cooperation to address the various challenges facing the international community with respect to migration.

Discussion

The CELADE representative commented on the issue of political representation and the migrants' right to vote and brought up the example of Mexicans living in the United States, which has become there a critical issue in discussions of migration policies. He also referred to the Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR) agreement which should facilitate the mobility and residence for people of its member countries.

The representative from the Population Division underlined the importance of rising public attention to migration, which could be explained, for example, in Europe, according to Frank Eelens from NIDI by growing numbers of migrants arriving in Europe. The fact that each fourth migrant came to Europe for family formation rather than family reunification, could explain the tighter regulations in regard to family reunification in the Netherlands.

The PAHO representative drew the attention of the participants back to the Caribbean and raised the issue of financing the foreign recruitment of nurses from the Caribbean. She indicated that an aspect of the Caribbean strategy for managed migration was how to get the receiving countries to also contribute to the education of the nurses they would finally recruit, since for the source country foreign recruitment of their professionals was a lost investment. The representative from the Population Division mentioned that one such agreement had been reached between the United Kingdom and Malawi. As a consequence, salaries of nurses were raised and further the British Government contributed to training and educating nurses in that country.

The DNICC representative raised the issue of forceful repatriation of Caribbean nationals from their host countries, an issue she considered to be of utmost importance for the international community. According to her information, an estimated 180 000 people were deported yearly worldwide, with enormous and quite often traumatic consequences for the affected individuals and their families. She suggested that some deportees were not granted full legal rights in their host country. She further highlighted the fact that for many deportees, who in their majority were restrained from re-entering the country of deportation for at least a certain period of time, the only way back was to use the 'services' of smugglers and traffickers. The representative from the Population Division supported her call for more attention to this matter and suggested that this matter certainly needed more research, since presently little systematic evidence, apart from anecdotic reports, was available on deportation procedures and the nature of deportees.

4.2. Current trends and issues in Caribbean migration

The following text summarizes the paper 'Current trends and issues in Caribbean migration'.

To classify migration, various types of migration can be identified, such as the purpose of migration (be it work, education or an accompanying person), permanent or temporary migration, intra-regional or extra-regional migration and undocumented or irregular migration. It was important to note that the positive perception of migration as a personal solution often far exceeded the reality and was sometimes conditioned by deception. It was also important to recognize that the perspective of migration, from the point of view of the migrants and their families, was different from, and not necessarily in the interest of, the State and region.

With regard to destinations it was rather interesting to further analyse movements to the United States and Canada. Caribbean labor migrants contributed in absolute terms to the global total of all migrants in the United States far less than countries in other parts of the world. However, the Caribbean percentage of all immigrants to this country, including students, was considerable. Canada was the second most important destination of Caribbean migrants in the 1990s. Caribbean migrants in Canada possessed a high level of education since most persons enumerated in 1981 had 10 or more years of formal education. While out-migration from the region has continued, the 1990s had seen a large number of return migrants, especially from the United Kingdom.

Remittances accounted for substantial proportions of the GDP in some Caribbean countries. However, in the view of the author, this resource was not used as effectively as it possibly could be. With regard to intraregional movements, the recent years had shown a steady rate of increased movements to those islands with expanding economies, as was tourism in the case of most Caribbean islands. Issues of major concern with regard to irregular migration had been migrants and refugees from the wider Latin America and Caribbean region who attempt to enter a Caribbean country or the United States by boat. The boats were quite often not registered and, in many cases operated by smugglers and traffickers involved in the irregular movement of young women and girls destined for prostitution at locations within and outside the Caribbean, quite of-

ten islands and countries with a prosperous tourist industry. Trafficking in persons included the recruitment, transportation, transfer and harbouring for the purpose of exploitation by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person.

Deportees refer to those Caribbean nationals abroad who are involuntarily returned to their country of birth, following charges for offences committed in a country overseas in which they do not have citizenship status, notwithstanding the fact that they may have lived there for many years. Data for the years 1995 to 2002 indicated the predominance of the movement of deportees from the United States. The arrival of deportees in their country of birth caused a considerable strain on the national health and social services. Many deportees liked to obtain work and fit back into society, a rather difficult endeavour without the appropriate support at the destination. The paper suggested that this topic certainly needs to be examined in terms of human rights as well.

Another great challenge for Caribbean governments was the collection of data on migration. To define what constitutes a migrant was a rather difficult task, since, more and more patterns of migration have been evolving. Further, the movement of nationals generally was neither recorded nor restricted, thus neither complete datasets for stock- nor flow-data are available for the Caribbean region. Especially difficult was the collection of data on undocumented and irregular migration flows. However, in order to manage migration, governments in the region have begun to address the orderly cross-boarder flows of people and are in the process of designing and adopting various policies to this end. Selectivity was intended to attract those persons deemed to provide desirable temporary migrants but also, in some cases, ultimately citizens. The objective of such an approach had to be to optimize the opportunities of migration for socio-economic development, national and regional security and the protection of human rights. It was therefore of utmost importance in this context to reduce the vulnerability of Caribbean populations to the negative impacts of migration.

Elizabeth Thomas-Hope presented a number of critical issues which were not laid out in her paper. She highlighted the fact that quite often individual decisions in regard to cross-border movements were taken contrary to push and pull factors at home and abroad. She stressed the fact that while many migrants did move for economic reasons, there were many who were motivated by other driving forces, such as family reunion, marriage or retirement back home, even if this country did not provide the amenities the Diaspora offered.

Another issue of critical importance was the question of a Caribbean identity and a possible definition thereof. While it was a fact that Caribbean societies had been shaped by immigration of people from many parts of the world and most people in the Caribbean recognized the multicultural environment they lived in, the question arose to how much multi-culturalism would be a benefit and whether it would pose a challenge to the national identity of any Caribbean society.

In her presentation, the UWI representative emphasized the fact that due to the history of the region, the propensity to migrate in the Caribbean was so great and thus most people almost felt compelled to seek greener pastures abroad. She also stressed the fact that Caribbean societies had become rather vulnerable since changes in the demands of labor market either back home or abroad were themselves instantly impacting on migration flows to and from the region. She also emphasised the recognition of the negative impact emigration had on those who stayed behind, be it spouses or children or colleagues who had to cope with heavier workloads in strained professions, such as nursing and teaching. She also called the attention of the audience to internal mi-

gration, a phenomenon more often observed in the larger islands, where often qualified personnel tended to move to urban areas leaving rural and often poorer areas quite often in dire straits.

Agreeing on a joint definition of what constituted a migrant and assessing the scope and direction of migration flows had never been an easy task and the Caribbean was no exception to this. However, according to information available, cross-border movements of the unskilled constituted by far the majority of migrants, with students being the second and the highly skilled forming the smallest group of those who left. However, the departure of different types of migrants affected the sending country differently. The move of the unskilled was quite often welcome, since not enough work might be available and welfare expenditures could be kept low. Students quite often studied abroad to earn their academic qualification but then only a few returned. The emigration of the better educated was perceived differently, since their departure left considerable gaps in many public service institutions, such as health and education and increasingly also in the information technology (IT) sector.

Another topic the presentation touched upon was return migration. According to the presenter's experience in the case of Jamaica, the number of deportees arriving surpassed those who come back voluntarily. Trafficking of humans was increasingly growing into an area of major concern for the region. Persons moved as regular migrants and obtained a work permit issued by the receiving country. Very few countries had specific laws against smuggling and trafficking, which made the irregular movement of human cargo a low-risk highly lucrative business.

While many migrants decided to leave their home country for good, others considered coming back after having spent a number of years abroad. The author of the paper suggested that governments should provide more incentives for nationals abroad to invest in local projects and to assist those who returned with their reintegration.

The presenter further elaborated on the role of remittances for Caribbean development and the lack of specific knowledge on the origin and destination of such flows of resources. Her research has shown that quite often the amount of money remitted depended in many cases on permanent versus temporary migration as well as on the socio-economic status of the migrants. Not much is known about the scope and type of remittances of the skilled or where they go and for what they are used. Since among the skilled there were many young and single people, it could be assumed that they did not remit to the extent one would expect of groups of migrants.

In conclusion, she suggested that Caribbean governments should provide more attractive investment opportunities for those in the Diaspora as well as for returnees. Finally she suggested the establishment of a mechanism for coordination and exchange of research and knowledge on migration to avoid duplication of efforts and enhance collaboration of those involved and interested in the matter.

Discussion

In response to a question by the CSME representative on whether migrating to Canada was a better option for Jamaicans than migrating to the United States, it was stated that this was true for a certain group of migrants. Generally students were welcome in the United States and Canada and many were successful in obtaining scholarships to cover their expenses. The representative from the Population Division indicated that a number of small, private colleges in the United States seemed to be rather dependent on the presence of large numbers of foreign students, since many nationals seemed to chose larger and more prestigious colleges than foreigners with limited financial resources. Further, such institutions generally benefited from higher tuition fees charged to foreign than to domestic students. The UWI representative confirmed these observations and stated that there were similar practices in the United Kingdom. The PAHO representative alluded to the fact that such practices also seemed to be common in the Caribbean where, for

example, UWI charged higher tuition fees to foreigners than to nationals. Further, she brought to the attention of the group that presently foreign medical students were protesting at the UWI, St. Augustine Campus, a rise in their tuition fees.

4.3. Migration in the CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME)

The next summary was based on the document 'Migration in the CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME)'.

Thirteen CARICOM member States of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) have committed to deepen and strengthen the regional integration process by establishing the CSME. The focus of the Community was currently on establishing the Single Market with effect of 1 January 2006 or shortly thereafter. The other major component of the CSME, the Single Economy, must be completed by 31 December 2008 based on the revised Treaty of Chaguaramas.

The free movement of nationals from member and associate member States was one of the ultimate goals of the CSME. However, until today only the free movement of skilled labor, such as university graduates, artists, musicians, media workers and sportspersons has been implemented by almost all member States. Regarding the movement of services, the Revised Treaty includes the movement of services against remuneration other than wages. Referring to the third issue, the right of establishment, CARICOM nationals had the right to move to another member State on a more permanent basis to produce goods and services. This also includes bringing along technical, managerial and supervisory staff. The inclusion of other groups of workers into those who are allowed to move freely was discussed by the CARICOM member States in early 2005, but no final decision has yet been taken.

With regard to social security, the Treaty states that a wage earning CARICOM national must be insured in the member State where he or she was employed and is, therefore, required to contribute to the respective social security system, which then entitles him/her to the same benefits that nationals of the host country enjoy. The issue of spouses and dependants seems to be quite complicated. Although dependants of those who are allowed to move freely had the right to join the principal mover, most member States had not removed work permit restrictions for dependants.

In order to monitor labor movement within the CSME, the CARICOM Secretariat was currently discussing the establishment of a "Movement of Skills Database".

Discussion

The representative of UWI enquired if a person seeking employment in a night club would be granted a work permit under present CSME regulations. She was informed that that type of worker would definitely not fall into the free movement category but would possibly be eligible for a work permit. However, a person willing to establish a night club, bringing with him his national employees would neither need a work permit for himself nor for his employees. The comment was made that this was the point where trafficking of humans could be covered through a legal procedure. One representative from ECLAC sought clarification on the functionality of new procedures. The CSME representative explained that the destination country would issue a skill certificate to the persons in question, whereby after six months the individual would need to prove that he or she was indeed employed in the job for such skills certificate had been requested.

The PAHO representative raised the issue of acceptance of the free movement of people by Caribbean nationals and was informed that CARICOM has been undertaking considerable ef-

forts to educate its nationals on the benefits of the foreseen regional integration. She opined that an aspect of the challenge of the CSME was how nationals were interpreting the economic implications of the full implementation of the CSME, particularly the free movement of semi- and unskilled labor. The CSME representative pointed to the growing tensions between Guyana and Barbados as a consequence of the growing reluctance of the Barbadian administration to admit Guyanese nationals.

The ECLAC Population Affairs Officer noted that within the present framework, while allowing for the free movement of a few, the situation of family and dependants had not yet been addressed in the legal framework. She felt that issues such as the status of dependants in the host country after separation from the main migrant or reaching adult age in the case of minors, had not been dealt with sufficiently. This observation was confirmed by the CSME representative.

4.4. Managed Migration, Moving the Process Forward

The presentation, "Managed Migration, Moving the Process Forward" addressed the background, current situation, and considerations for revitalizing the strategy for managing the migration of nurses from the Caribbean. The Caribbean framework was defined as a "regional strategy for retaining adequate numbers of competent nursing personnel to deliver health programmes and services to Caribbean nationals". The strategy was based on the recognition that migration could not be stopped where principles of individual freedom are to be respected and in consequence also of the rights of individuals to choose where they wanted to work and live.

Discussion

The PAHO representative emphasised the fact that whilst there was a general deficiency of skilled workers in the health sector, the situation regarding nurses had become critical. While several factors, such as the status, roles and responsibilities of nurses at home and the aggressive recruitment by external agencies, could be drawn upon to explain the present mass exodus, the UWI representative added that overtime and the rising number of sick-days had increased the workload of those left behind. The NIDI representative informed the group that in Aruba the shortage of nurses and teachers was overcome by immigrants coming from the Netherlands who accepted significantly lower wages and less favourable working conditions than in their home country. He suggested that the prospect of life for some time on a sunny Caribbean island provided enough incentive for many nurses from the Netherlands to accept, at least temporarily, less favourable conditions at the workplace. The representative of PAHO suggested that in some countries working conditions for foreigners were different in so far as they only had to endure the hardships of working and living in a developing country for a certain period of time and always had the option of returning home, while for Aruban nationals such opportunities were not as easily accessible. She also provided information on strategies to cope with the growing shortage of nurses, such as international recruitment from other developing countries, as was the case in Barbados. However, as experience has shown, the retention of even foreign nurses was becoming increasingly a challenge since quite a few used an assignment in the Caribbean as a stepping stone to finding better jobs elsewhere. Frank Eelens of NIDI concluded that by losing their educated population, developing countries would be indirectly subsidising the developed world while losing human capital for their own development. Since the majority of the Caribbean countries did not intend to restrict the free movement of their nationals, "damage control" would continue to be a rather difficult task to accomplish. The PAHO representative acceded that this matter would need to be further negotiated between the parties concerned. The NIDI representative enquired if contracts existed to bond nurses. It was explained that such provisions would exist in many countries but their enforcement seemed to be a big challenge to the bodies concerned.

5. COUNTRY STUDIES ON MIGRATION IN THE CARIBBEAN

5.1. The Land of milk and honey? Recent Migration to Aruba

The following was a summary of the second document contributed by Frank Eelens: 'The Land of milk and Honey? Recent Migration to Aruba'.

As a consequence of the increased availability of technology to easily access information, transportation and communication and the enhanced liberalization of trade and capital markets, mankind has become much more mobile and seemingly no distance has become insurmountable and no risk too high in search for greener pastures abroad. The growing supply of migrants, which exceeds in many instances by far the national demand, has caused many countries to tighten their immigration procedures, with the negative consequence that many try to cross borders outside the law.

Aruba, a small Caribbean island with a population of 96,000, was faced with a similar situation since it has been experiencing a large influx of foreign workers over the past decades. Its attempt to become a prime tourist destination has coincided with a worldwide growing demand for exotic tourist destinations. However, the rapid development of Aruba's tourism industry has led to a rapidly growing need for service workers in hotels and restaurants, which could not be satisfied by the domestic labor market. To meet the growing needs of the domestic labor market foreign labor-force needed to be imported which resulted in the fact that according to the 2000 Population Census, one third of the total population was foreign born. The largest group of migrants originated in Colombia while the second largest group were Dutch citizens from the mainland.

Since the mid-1990s, approximately 12,700 new jobs were created and natives could only provide 10 per cent of the labor force to meet this demand, while the remaining 90 per cent of the jobs had to be taken up by foreign migrants. It is worthwhile to mention that the majority of migrants, male and female, arrived with a job offer in their hands while all other migrants sought employment upon their arrival. On a general note, it can be said that it was still easier for men and even more so for men from developed countries, to find a job in Aruba, than it was for foreign women.

The study showed that even those who reached without a firm job-commitment seemingly found it relatively easy to find employment and settle down. Within a year, the majority of all migrants found some kind of employment and some even moved on to better jobs and enhanced working conditions. However, the conditions undocumented migrants found themselves quite often were similar to those in other parts of the world, as there was extortion, exploitation and abuse. To escape their destitute situation, some migrants would go to almost any length to obtain a residence permit, including paying a fortune to arrange a convenience marriage. In spite of the hardship experienced by a few, according to the results of the study, more than one third of all migrants intended to stay on the island for good, mainly due to the considerably high quality of life and their social and family network. Only one fifth of all migrants planned to return to their country of origin while the remainder planned to move on to other destinations in the future.

Aruba, like the majority of the countries in the region, was experiencing rapid changes in their population structure resulting in longevity and ageing of its population. At present, much of Aruba's rapid ageing was being masked through the arrival of foreign workers, typically members of younger age-cohorts. However, the present inflow of migrants seemed, at least to some extent; to soften the negative impact of the demographic transition on the country through their contributions to the national social security system. However, how sustainable the positive impact was depended pretty much on the ageing of the migrants themselves and on the numbers of foreign migrants to come.

As discussed earlier, a look at marriages on the island revealed that each second Aruban national was married to a foreigner. These marriages were often viewed with a certain prejudice particularly in the case of marriages between female migrants from Latin America and Aruban men.

In summary, if the Aruban economy continued to expand, the country would need to import more foreign workers to sustain it. However, growing tensions between migrants and nationals could be foreseen and need to be addressed in order to safeguard economic growth and social development to the benefit of all residents on the island.

Discussion

The representative of UWI wondered if marriage could be viewed as an easy way to obtain residence in Aruba. The NIDI representative responded that although he was not able to provide exact data, he understood from his interviews with migrants that there were cases where marriages were arranged in order to obtain residency. However, he stressed the fact that these were exceptions and that the majority of couples engaged in a regular marriage. The fact that the majority of the migrants were between 20 and 40 years old when they entered the country enhanced their chances to find a local partner. The CSME representative commented that relationships with a national could be a further incentive for many migrants to extend their stay on the island. With reference to growing numbers of internationally operating agencies that facilitate cross-border convenience marriages, the ECLAC representative confirmed that such agencies were also active in many countries in Europe but, at the same time, to avoid malpractice, the recognition of cross-border marriage has become increasingly difficult in many countries. The UWI representative informed the meeting that such marriages were rather common between Jamaicans and Cubans. Steven Mac Andrew informed the group that in the case of Bermuda, immigration procedures for foreign dependants of nationals were extremely strict; most probably with the intention of avoiding the inflow of dependants of arranged marriages.

5.2. International migration and regional economic development: Caribbean perspectives - Necessity of an intra Caribbean partnership

The following is summary of the paper 'International migration and regional economic development: Caribbean perspectives - Necessity of an intra Caribbean partnership.

As a result of its difficult socio-economic situation, Haiti experienced one of the highest emigration rates of all Caribbean countries. It was estimated that between 1999 and 2000 more than one million nationals had left the country to settle in other Caribbean islands or in the United States. These people contributed, quite often as cheap labor, to the economic, social and cultural development as well as to the production of wealth in their host countries. At home, due to the dire socio-economic conditions the rather young population had very little hope of finding employment. As a consequence of the present political instability, the country lacked the capacity to deal with the consequences of various migration flows from, to and through its territory, such as deportation, brain drain and the trafficking of its people within and across its borders. In order to address these matters, the authorities suggested the establishment of a cooperative partnership among Caribbean governments to find an intraregional consensus and to share best practices in dealing with various aspects of migration.

Discussion

The CSME representative stated that due to its unstable political situation, Haiti was certainly an exception regarding migration. He expressed his hope that after the elections later this year the country would regain political stability and that its membership with CARICOM would be fully reinstated. One participant enquired about who would bear the cost of the reintegration of returning migrants in the region while assuming that most governments would not be in a position to cover these expenses. The CSME representative answered that from a CARICOM point of view there was no common policy to address this matter. The PAHO representative suggested that all governments should work together to find a response to these particular challenges. Discussions followed concerning the positive contributions by migrants to the economy of the host countries. This was illustrated by the case of The Bahamas, where certain jobs that Bahamian nationals were reluctant to take were primarily filled by Haitians. Furthermore, she mentioned that the variety of languages spoken in the Caribbean region along with growing migration rates would require countries to adopt a more comprehensive approach to meet the challenges associated with migration and cultural integration. She expressed concerns about the increased hostility towards migrants of different socio-cultural backgrounds on some Caribbean islands.

5.3. Families in crisis: the inhumanity of deportation

This summary is based on the paper 'Families in crisis (inhumanity of deportation)'.

The presentation stated that in the years between 2002 and 2004 Trinidad and Tobago had received a yearly average of 340 deported nationals from the United States². Deportation was defined in the paper as the removal of a non-citizen who has entered a country, either legally or illegally and has violated a certain law in that country. A person can be removed because of entering illegally, overstaying or working illegally. With the United States migration law reformed in 1996, long-term legal permanent residents who had committed a relatively minor crime are now also at risk of being deported.

The author of the paper stressed the need to recognize the implications of deportations for migrants as well as for their families. She pointed out the fact that long-term permanent residents of the United States were affected by these laws as much as their American citizen children. Migrants are sent back to a country they might not have visited for several years or even decades. With no social or cultural ties established, in many instances, there was no support system in place. While some deportees left their families behind, others were returning with their dependants, who were often citizens of the country from which they were deported. Efforts by deportees from the United States to secure support for their United States citizen children had so far not achieved any satisfying results for the deportees and their families. The author further highlighted the possible negative impact deportation could have on an individual's physical and psychological well-being. The paper also pointed to a perceived violation of the basic human rights of deportees in so far as many claimed to not have been granted full access to the all formal and lawfully established deportation procedures in the country of deportation.

Discussion

At the end of her presentation, the representative of DNICC gave a vivid example of a deportation and presented her own case. The ECLAC representative thanked her for sharing her

² The paper mainly deals with deportations from the United States to Trinidad and Tobago. The views presented in the paragraph are exclusively those reflected in the presentation and do not reflect the views of the ECLAC.

personal experience with the meeting and thus reminded the group that behind each migrant was a human being with his or her individual biography. The ECLAC representative stated that deportees arriving in their country of birth without proper personal documents would often experience considerable difficulties in accessing the labor market and, thus, sometimes are seeing themselves compelled to accept informal and irregular work or employment offers. The UWI representative mentioned that in recognition of the difficulties with the absorption of deportees, some Governments such as Jamaica restricted the number of deportees they were accepting per month. The DNICC representative stated that it was difficult for her to understand how governments could agree to take back their citizens while hardly being in a position to provide support to facilitate their reintegration. The PAHO representative touched on the delicate issue of social and health risks with regard to deportations if deportees who were ill did not have a mechanism to access appropriate health care services. The ECLAC representative informed the group that the United States had already identified HIV/AIDS within migrants as a major risk for the United States health system.

6. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS: RAPPORTEUR'S REPORT AND DISCUSSION

The ECLAC representative provided an overview of the key issues discussed over the two days. She highlighted the major determinants for migration, which were socio-political upheavals, as was the case in Central America in the 1980s, socio-economic differentials, cross-border social ties and the opening of international markets with growing demands for labor in either neighbouring countries or other parts of the world. While migration was generally linked to the socio-economic development in the sending as well as receiving country, the decision to move was also determined by deliberations at a rather individual or immediate family level, often against national or regional economic development perspectives, simply driven by the desire to return home, to live with family and/or friends or to explore new ways of living abroad. The discussion further stressed the vulnerability of Caribbean mono-culture economies, as was the case for many tourist destinations in the Caribbean, where the in-and outflow of foreigners was a direct reaction to the evolution of the labor market. Further, the decision to migrate, particularly in the case of the movement of spouses and minor dependants, was often dependent on the availability of basic social and health care services at the desired destination.

Apart from socio-economic push and pull factors and considerations at the individual or family level, the development of demographic factors also played a role. Caribbean societies had experienced considerable fertility declines over the past decades and the majority of these countries had almost completed the demographic transition from high fertility and mortality levels to low levels in both components. With increasing quality of life, life expectancy had risen and consequently Caribbean people lived longer than before. Population ageing was a topic also discussed in the region and many islands, particularly those which experienced considerable inflows of migrants, were wondering if the incoming young labor force could offset the demographic ageing of their populations. Another area of concern was the inflow of significantly higher numbers of laborers of one sex, quite often in response to the needs of the labor market in the receiving countries. Service-intensive economies generally attracted many more young women than men to work in the tourism sectors, a fact that resulted in disequilibrium on the marriage market with women remarkably outnumbering men in some countries.

The discussion then focused on the issue of transnational households and the role of remittances in the development of the Caribbean region. While it was generally acknowledged that remittances played an important role to assist families to afford education and health care for their

minors, the experts also expressed a need for more research to better understand the origin and destination of such flows and the final use of remittances in the region.

Looking at the efforts undertaken by CARICOM member States to establish the CSME, the possible implications of the final free movement of its citizens needed to be further studied. While at present efforts were undertaken to finalize the procedures for the free movement of skilled persons, many countries hesitated at this point in time to open their doors to less qualified nationals from other countries. The reason being xenophobia, fear of pressure on domestic wages due to the availability of cheap foreign labor and a perceived threat to their national identity, particularly of migrants of Hispanic or Haitian origin.

A question that could not be answered by this meeting was the issue of a definition of a Caribbean or even national identity in a multicultural environment. While some people in the Caribbean seemed to be in acceptance of the influx of other cultures, many nationals had a deep desire to maintain their national identity and to distance themselves somewhat from the influence of people from other socio-cultural backgrounds. To find a satisfactory answer to these challenges was by no means an easy task. However, more education and information to destroy certain myths and misperceptions of migrants would definitely help to address xenophobia and racism in the region.

At almost all regional and global conferences called by the United Nations over the past decade governments supported the call for the orderly movement of people while respecting and safe-guarding their basic human rights. In addition, many Caribbean governments and regional bodies had been engaged in consultations with countries in the region but also at the global level to identify ways to successfully manage the movement of those who desire to leave. One example par excellence, in this regard was the effort undertaken by CARICOM/PAHO to manage migration of Caribbean nurses or the *Code of Conduct* adopted by the Commonwealth Secretariat to curb the recruitment of nurses and other health personnel from already deprived developing countries. While trying to manage the outflow of migrants, efforts should also be undertaken to benefit from their departure by establishing brain-gain networks and find other ways to solicit the support of those who lived in the Diaspora. Another area that could be further developed was the need to convince foreign governments who finally absorbed the majority of the skilled to share the expenses to produce qualified professionals.

Apart from the brain drain in the health and education sector, other incidences of pouching were discussed, such as the case of institutions for higher education in the United States that offering attractive scholarships Caribbean students, often only to secure their own survival. It was mentioned that the education provided was not always of the highest quality and many students only accepted these scholarships as they would not had otherwise the means to access higher education.

With regard to the forthcoming CSME questions arose around the issue of the free movement of the skilled and the rights of their dependants, particularly in the case of separation of families or divorce. Would a divorced spouse or an adult dependant of a free moving professional had equal rights as the main migrant or would he/she be forced to return? Also the governments in the region had not yet agreed on a timeframe to implement the free movement of other workers that were less qualified. Finally, the group expressed a consensus that more needed to be known on the impact of the free movement within the CSME member countries on the socio-economic development of the region.

While still a lot of people left the region, either temporarily or for good, many migrants were returning. This group could be divided in two groups, one that encompassed those who returned voluntarily, such as retirees or the younger generation who saw business opportunities in some of the prospering islands and a second group that included all those who were deported,

mainly from the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada. Returning either voluntarily or involuntarily to a country where one has not lived for many years was a challenge for the receiving societies since very few governments provided assistance to help with their reintegration. In the case of deportations the situation became rather difficult since many persons sent back had neither social nor cultural or economical ties with the country they were sent to. Further, along with stigmatization and being labelled as criminals, deportees often faced insurmountable difficulties to find their place in society.

With regard to respecting human rights of all migrants, the smuggling and trafficking of humans from, to and through Caribbean islands and countries had become an area of major concern to governments and other critical stakeholders in the subregion. While some people were smuggled and trafficked as undocumented migrants others were moved within the legal framework, being granted, for example, a work-permit for female 'service' providers or as dependants of an entrepreneur in the entertainment industry.

The final discussion elaborated on the way forward for the Caribbean on the issue of migration. The meeting echoed the earlier stated need for more accurate and timely data on various types of migratory movements within but also to and from countries outside the Caribbean region. It further stressed the fact that remittances played a critical role in the development of the Caribbean and more detailed information on the remittent but also on the scope and use of monetary and non-monetary resource flows would be needed to guide countries in their efforts to make better use of such resources. Finally, it was agreed that it would be desirable to establish a clearing house to collect, archive and share available data, research and documentation on migration in the region to enhance collaboration among various institutions, international agencies, academia and governments and to avoid duplication of efforts undertaken.

The PAHO representative sought clarification concerning the forthcoming meeting on migration to be held in Mexico and the role governments were expected to play. The ECLAC/CELADE representative explained that this meeting was hosted by the Mexican Government, supported by other United Nations agencies, such as ECLAC and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and thus was not to be considered an official ECLAC meeting.

The PAHO representative took the floor to thank, on behalf of all participants, ECLAC for convening this meeting. On behalf of the Director, Esteban Pérez formally closed the workshop, expressing ECLAC's pleasure at having hosted the meeting. In closing the meeting, Karoline Schmid thanked the group for their participation and their personal commitment to the fruitful and rich discussions over the previous two days.

7. ANNEXES

7.1. Annex 1

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

NGOs and civil society

Carline Duval Joseph, Etudiante en genie civil, Centre de Technique de Planification et d'Economie Appliquée (CTPEA), 49 Bicentenaire, Boulevard Harry Truman, Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Tel: 509-223-8491; E-Mail: djcarline@yahoo.fr

Frank Eelens, Demographer, Department of Public Health Aruba, NIDI-The Netherlands, Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS)-Aruba; Avendido A Tromp, Aruba, Netherlands Antilles. Tel: 297-582-4200; Fax: 297-586-3172; E-Mail: eelens@setarnet.aw

Marlene Jaggernauth, Chief Executive Officer, Displaced Nationals in Crisis Coalition (DNICC), 16 Gray Street, St. Clair, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago. Tel: 622-9377/747-3938; Fax: 868-628-9606; E-Mail: catamijo@tstt.net.tt

Steven MacAndrew, Specialist, Movement of Skills/Labour, CSME Unit, 6th Floor, Tom Adams Financial Centre, Church Village, Bridgetown, Barbados. Tel: 246-429-6064; Fax: 246-437-2689; E-Mail: stevenm@csme.com.bb or stevenm@caricom.org

Elizabeth Thomas-Hope, Professor of Environmental Management, Environmental Management Unit, University of the West Indies, Mona Campus, Kingston 7, Jamaica. Tel: 876-702-4152; Fax: 876-702-4152; E-Mail: elizabeth.thomashope@uwimona.edu.jm

United Nations

ECLAC System

Sandra Langjahr, Intern, Social Affairs Unit, Population and Development related issues, 1 Chancery Lane, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, Tel: 868-623-5595 Ext 2319.; Fax: 868-623-8485; E-Mail: Sandra.LANGJAHR@eclac.org

Christina Lengfelder, Intern, Social Affairs Unit, Population and Development related issues, 1 Chancery Lane, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago. Tel: 868-623-5595 Ext. 2319; Fax: 868-623-8485; E-Mail: Christina.LENGFELDER@eclac.org

Jorge Martínez Pizarro, Expert, CELADE, División de Población, CEPAL, Dag Hammarskjöld 3477, Vitacura, Santiago, Chile. Tel: 562-210-2095; Fax: 562-208-0196; E-Mail: Jorge.MARTINEZ@cepal.org

Oliver Paddison, Associate Economic Affairs Officer, 1 Chancery Lane, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, Tel: 868-623-5595 Ext. 2311; Fax: 868-623-8485; E-Mail: Oliver.PADDISON@eclac.org

Gaietry Pargass, Social Affairs Officer, 1 Chancery Lane, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, Tel: 868-623-5595 Ext. 2222; Fax: 868-623-8485; E-Mail: Gaietry.PARGASS@eclac.org

Esteban Perez, Economic Affairs Officer, 1 Chancery Lane, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, Tel: 868-623-5595 Ext. 2304; Fax: 868-623-8485; E-Mail: Esteban.PEREZ@eclac.org

Karoline Schmid, Population Affairs Officer, 1 Chancery Lane, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, Tel: 868-623-5595 Ext. 2223; Fax: 868-623-8485; Email: Karoline.SCHMID@ECLAC.org

ILO

Mary Read, Officer-in-Charge, International Labour Organization (ILO), Stanmore House, 6 Stanmore Avenue, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago. Tel: 868-624-9987; Fax: 868-627-8978; E-Mail: read@ilocarib.org.tt

WHO/PAHO

Veta Brown, Caribbean Program Coordinator, Pan American Health Organization/World Health Organization (PAHO/WHO), Office of the Caribbean Program Coordination (CPC), Dayrells Road and Navy Garden Roads, Christ Church, Barbados. Tel: 246-426-3860; Fax: 246-437-6763; E-Mail: brownvet@cpc.paho.org

Population Division

Barry Mirkin, Chief, Population Policy Section, Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), United Nations Headquarters, New York, NY 10017, USA. Tel: 212-963-3921; Fax: 212-963-2147; E-Mail: mirkin@un.org

7.2. Annex 2

PROGRAMME

Wednesday 14 September 2005

- | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|---|
| 8.30 a.m. – 9.00 a.m. | | Registration |
| 9.00 a.m. – 9.30 a.m. | <u>Item 1:</u> | <p><i>Opening Session</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Welcome by the Director, ECLAC Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean
<i>Esteban Pérez, ECLAC</i> • Migration in the Caribbean: Overview of data, policies and programs
<i>Karoline Schmid, ECLAC</i> |
| 9.30 a.m. – 11.15 a.m. | <u>Item 2:</u> | <p><i>Migration – what do we know? Empirical findings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Population estimates and projects: New methodological approaches to integrate migration
<i>Frank Eelens, N.I.D.I</i> • ECLAC/CELADE: Migration in Latin America and the Caribbean, facts and findings
<i>Jorge Martinez, ECLAC-CELADE</i> • Discussion |
| 11.15 a.m. – 11.45 a.m. | | <i>Coffee break</i> |
| 11.45 a.m. – 12.45 p.m. | <u>Item 3:</u> | <p><i>Migration policies – global and regional perspectives</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Migration policies at the global level and information on GA high-level dialogue on migration and development
<i>Barry Mirkin, United Nations Population Division</i> • Recent Trends and Issues in Caribbean Migration
<i>Elizabeth Thomas-Hope, UWI, Jamaica</i> • Discussion |
| 12.45 p.m. – 2.30 p.m. | | <i>Lunch</i> |

2.30 p.m. – 4.00 p.m. Item 3 (cont'd):

- Migration within CARICOM with reference to the CSME and its implications for CARICOM member States
Steven Mc Andrew, CARICOM-RNM
- Managed migration in the Caribbean
Veta Brown, PAHO-CPC
- Discussion

Thursday 15 September 2005

9.30 a.m. – 11.00 a.m.

Item 4:

Country studies on migration in the Caribbean

Aruba

- “Double or Quits”, Study on Migrants in Aruba.
Frank Eelens

Haiti

- International migration and regional economic development: Caribbean perspectives - Necessity of an intra Caribbean partnership
Carline Duval Joseph

Trinidad and Tobago

- Deportation to the Caribbean
Marlene Jaggernaut
- Discussion

11.00 a.m. – 11.30 a.m.

Coffee Break

11.30 a.m. – 1.00 p.m.

Item 5:

Summary and Recommendation: Rapporteur's Report and Discussion

- Identify major areas of concern and discuss possible strategies and recommendations

Caribbean Expert Group Meeting on Migration,
Human Rights and Development in the Caribbean
14-15 September 2005
Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago

LIMITED
LC/CAR/L.54
17 October 2005
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

**MIGRATION IN THE CARIBBEAN -
WHAT DO WE KNOW?**

*An overview of data, policies and programmes at the international
and regional levels to address critical issues*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Historically the nature, direction and magnitude of migration in the Caribbean have always been influenced by trends in global and regional socio-economic development. The slave trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries caused the first major immigration waves into the region. After Emancipation in the nineteenth century, workers began moving within the region in search of employment or better working conditions. In the twentieth century, the movement of labor to destinations within the region continued. The oil-boom in the 1970s attracted many migrants from the smaller and less developed islands to work in the oil refineries in the dependencies of the Netherlands and the United States, particularly the United States Virgin Islands, Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles. Also the booming energy sector in Trinidad and Tobago was a magnet for many in search of employment. With the global crisis in the energy sector in the 1980s the demand for labor declined and new employment opportunities were needed. The growing tourism sector in the Caribbean in the 1990s increased the demand for workers in the service sector which, in many instances, could not be supplied by the domestic labor force in some of the smaller Caribbean islands. As a consequence, workers from other islands and neighboring countries in Latin America, particularly Columbia and Venezuela, came to fill in the gaps.

With the move towards independence in the 1960s and 1970s, chances to easily move north decreased only temporarily. The growing demand for qualified labor in Northern America and, to a lesser extent in the United Kingdom, opened new windows for opportunities for the highly qualified. The United States, but also Canada and the United Kingdom, introduced legislation that favors the admission of skilled workers to fill the gaps in selected sectors of the domestic labor market which cannot be filled by nationals. As a consequence, a mass exodus of professionals, particularly skilled women in health and education has begun which threatens the already achieved accomplishments in health and education in the source countries.

This trend towards greater willingness to accept and even to promote the free movement of qualified professionals can also be observed in the Caribbean, where the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) has launched the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME) in early 2005. This agreement provides for the free movement of a certain group of highly qualified nationals within the CARICOM¹ region.

With the selection and recruitment of people who meet certain predetermined profiles, chances to migrate legally have increased for a few while many semi- or unqualified laborers find it more and more difficult to legally enter the labor markets in the developed world. The global economic crisis that began in the late 1990s along with a raising demand for national security has led to more restrictive immigration regulations at most destination countries. Nevertheless, regardless of tighter border controls, the continued and growing demand for cheap labor in the formal and informal sectors in Northern America and parts of Europe have continued to attract large numbers of migrants from poorer countries. Declining revenues for the corporate sector have increased the pressure to reduce production and labor costs, thus to hire cheap man-power is for many, the first step towards maintaining or even increasing their profits.

¹ CARICOM member States are: Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago. Associate members are Anguilla, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands and Turks and Caicos Islands.

This continued need for a low wage work force has increasingly become an incentive for illegal trafficking in human beings and unregulated and illegal employment and exploitation at the workplace. Undocumented and particularly vulnerable migrants work under unregulated conditions without access to protective recourse mechanisms and quite often in fear of being caught and deported. Consequently, a growing number of undocumented migrants in many instances are denied their basic human rights as, for example, liberty and security of person or discrimination to equal protection of the law.

In total over the last 50 years, the Caribbean, with a present population of about 37 million people (United Nations, 2003), has lost more than five million people. Based on the most recent data on migration provided by the United Nations Population Division (United Nations, 2002) the net-migration rate² for the Caribbean is one of the highest world-wide, with a great variation within the region itself. The countries that have experienced the greatest losses over the past decades are Guyana, Suriname, Jamaica and Saint Lucia. New trends in return migration suggest that these losses may be temporary since many migrants who spent their economically active lives in the Diaspora are returning to retire in their home countries.

The aim of this paper is to present an overview of migratory dynamics in the Caribbean and to highlight the critical challenges that various forms of migration pose to countries in this subregion. The study begins with an introduction to the framework of global and regional intergovernmental processes on migration. Chapter two provides an overview of the most recent migrant stock data for Caribbean countries. The third part of this analysis is devoted to a presentation of governments' policy responses at the national and regional level. The last part provides some insight into regional socio-economic integration mechanisms. It will elaborate on the possible impact the CSME is expected to have on the free movement of people in the region. It will further look at the interrelationship between in and out-migration and the national demographic and socio-economic development of two countries in the Caribbean for which detailed information was available, Aruba and Belize. Based on earlier research conducted by this Office, emigration of health professionals from the Caribbean will be the final topic of this chapter. The paper will conclude with a summary of the main findings of this study.

² *Net migration*: Net average number of migrants: the annual number of immigrants less the number of emigrants, including both citizens and non-citizens. *Net-migration rate*: The net number of migrants, divided by the average population of the receiving country. It is expressed as the net number of migrants per 1,000 population. Source: Population Division of the United Nations Secretariat, International Migration, Wallchart, 2002, ST/ESA/SER.A/219, Sales No. E03.XIII.3

2. MIGRATION IN THE FRAMEWORK OF GLOBAL AND REGIONAL INTERGOVERNMENTAL PROCESSES

2.1 Migration within the United Nations systems

Globalization and the need to open markets and national economies have been promoting the free movement of goods and people. While the movement of goods is at times easier to manage than the movement of people, the movement of people is a much more delicate issue to deal with. Regardless of regulative and, at times, rather restrictive measures put in place to control cross-border movements, people have been moving and will continue to move across national borders. The fact that almost all countries worldwide are affected by such movements has given growing political relevance to this topic. Brain-drain and brain-gain, the spread of Human Immuno-deficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS), drug trafficking and terrorism along with the need to protect and safeguard the human rights of all migrants and their families are only some of the key issues that have been addressed at various international gatherings at the global and regional level convened by the United Nations system³ in the 1990s.

Of particular importance to issues in relation to migration is the *Programme of Action (PoA)* approved by the international community at the *International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD)*, held in Cairo in 1994 (United Nations, 1994) within the outcomes of United Nations global summits. This document touches on all aspects of internal and international migration and its impact on the interrelationship between population, environment and development. Further it stresses the particular efforts the international community needs to undertake to guarantee access to basic health care services, including reproductive health and family planning to migrants and, in particular, to the vulnerable group of undocumented migrants. Also in the declaration, adopted at the intergovernmental meeting to review and appraise the implementation of the Cairo Programme of Action in the Caribbean (ECLAC/CDCC, 2003a) in November 2003, governments pledged to address the challenges arising out of migration within and outside the Caribbean. Matters of concern were the smuggling and trafficking of persons, especially of women and children, the brain-drain, returning migrants, deportations, border security and the free movements of people under the provisions of the CSME.

Other summits, such as the *World Summit for Social Development* held in Copenhagen in 1995 and the *Fourth World Conference on Women* (United Nations, 1995) have integrated the movement of people and its impact on international development into their respective action programmes. The *Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development*⁴ recognizes the need for intensified international cooperation and national attention to the situation of migrant workers and their families. It also addresses the needs of refugees, asylum seekers and undocumented migrants and calls on the international community for national protection and the safeguarding of the human rights of this particular vulnerable group. The Declaration further recognizes that, while the provision of basic social services to all migrants at their destination is critical for their well-being, the root causes of internal and international movements are economic pressure,

³ The United Nations has played a critical role in establishing legal norms and standards in relation to international migration (see Annex 1).

⁴ Report of the World Summit for Social Development, (Copenhagen, 6 – 12 March, 1995), A/Conf.166/9, 19 April 1995, Annex 1, accessible through the following web-site: <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/wssd/agreements/index.html>

environmental and natural disasters along with war and political distress, and the need to be better understood in order to provide a viable livelihood at home.

The *Platform for Action* approved by the international community at the Fourth World Conference on Women convened in Beijing in 1995 and draws particular attention to the situation of female migrant workers who often encounter gender-specific obstacles with regard to exercising their rights in the labor markets of the host country. The impact of emigration of men to make a living and the consequently rising number of female-headed households in many developing countries is, through this platform, finally gaining attention at the highest level.

Various United Nations bodies and specialized agencies have consistently undertaken efforts to address migration and its causes and consequences for the sustainable development at the individual, national and global levels. While the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) undertakes efforts to combat poverty by providing food security to refugees and internally displaced people, it also supports countries in their efforts to establish sustainable livelihoods, especially in rural areas, to make staying home a viable and attractive option. The International Labor Organisation (ILO) promotes social justice and internationally recognized labor rights and helps to forge an international consensus on the protection of migrant workers from discrimination and exploitation while promoting the orderly movement of workers.

The Millennium Development Goals adopted at the Millennium Summit at United Nations Headquarters in 2000 do not specifically recognize the impact of migration on sustainable development, neither its positive impact on development through brain-gain and remittances, nor the negative consequences in the form of brain-drain, trafficking, and the spread of infectious diseases. However, the growing number of mobile people worldwide and its evident impact on development calls for inclusion of all aspects of migration into national and global development agendas.

Of importance to the international community is a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its fifty-eighth session on international migration and development (A/RES/58/208) where it decides that in 2006 the General Assembly will convene a *high-level dialogue on international migration and development* (para. 9). In preparation for this event, on the occasion of the recent meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on Population and Development, held during the thirtieth session of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) (San Juan, Puerto Rico, 28 June-2 July 2004), member States commissioned ECLAC's Population Division Centro Latinoamericano y Caribeño de Demografía (CELADE) to prepare a document on 'Migration, Human Rights and Development' for presentation at the next meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on Population at the thirty-first session of ECLAC in early 2006. This present study on migration in the Caribbean is intended to be integrated into the regional background document to specifically reflect Caribbean aspects of migration.

To respond to the need for high-level consultations on this matter in the Latin America and Caribbean region, two initiatives have gained critical importance: First, the *Puebla Process* which was initiated in 1996 in Puebla, Mexico, with the objective of reducing irregular migration particularly with respect to the transit of irregular migrants from outside the region through Central America and Mexico to North America. Second, in November 2002, the CELADE organized, in collaboration with the International Organization of Migration (IOM), in Chile from 20-22 November 2002 the *'Hemispheric Conference on Migration: Human Rights and*

Trafficking in Persons in the Americas'. The objective of the conference⁵ was to strengthen cooperation among governments in the field of international migration; to help to identify mechanisms for protecting and promoting human rights of migrants; and to combat and prevent the trafficking in humans⁶. The officials present acknowledged the existence of a number of international instruments for the protection of human rights of migrants and the prevention of trafficking in persons and were encouraged to consider ratification of these instruments as well as implementation of those ratified to date.

2.2 Globalisation, integration and trade liberalization

The process of globalization has led to the establishment of a series of global and regional trade liberalization agreements which affect, either directly or indirectly, the economic and social development of the Caribbean Small Island Developing States (SIDS). Within the wider Americas as well as with key trade partners in Europe, a series of regional, subregional and bilateral free trade agreements (FTAs), such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR), the Central American Common Market (CACM) and the CSME within CARICOM, were signed or are being negotiated.

While the majority of such trade agreements determine in much detail the rules and regulations for the exchange of goods, trade in services is quite often only marginally considered and only short-term (generally less than a year) migration is addressed. This is understandable since such trade differs considerably in its nature from trade in goods in a sense that most service transactions require proximity between producers and consumers and thus imply that either consumer or producer change location for the transaction to go forward, requiring cross-border transactions as well as labor movements as forms of delivery. In various degrees, all of these agreements cover trade in services which includes the consideration of the free movement of persons, one of the most important areas of interest for developing countries.

However, in reality none of them goes much further than the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)⁷, which provides a regulative framework for services trade. The GATS regulatory framework only speaks to temporary movements of highly qualified labor while low- and unskilled labor migration as well as long-term migration (over three months) are not included. Not surprising, since rules and regulations regarding the temporary or permanent admission of foreigners vary significantly from country to country and, dependent on present economic interests, labor market demands and national security concerns, governments are rather reluctant to hand authority over immigration to regional or even subregional bodies.

⁵ United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/56/203, ECLAC resolutions 590 (XXIX) and 592 (XXIX). More information on the conference can be found at the following web-site: <http://www.eclac.cl/celade/>.

⁶ The full conference report, titled: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), International Organization for Migration (IOM), Hemispheric Conference on International Migration: Human Rights and Trafficking in Persons in the Americas, Santiago, Chile, 20-22 November 2002, Report, Conference Room Paper DSC/1, 2002, can be downloaded from: http://www.eclac.cl/celade/noticias/noticias/513215/InformeCH_ING.pdf

⁷ For more information on the GATS rules and regulation please refer to the WTO/GATS Website: www.WTO.org. The WHO-website also provides further material on trade in services with a particular reference to trade in health services.

2.2.1 The Caribbean Single Market and Economy

Of particular interest to this region is the evolution of the CSME, which was established in 1989 by the Heads of Government of CARICOM through the Grand Anse Declaration⁸ with the intention of deepening their integration process and strengthening the Caribbean Community in all its dimensions. One of the main pillars of the CSME is the commitment to liberalize the movement of labor and to abolish the need for work permits for nationals from CSME participating countries. To facilitate its implementation, this free movement initiative was modified several times since its adoption to reach an agreement on a phased implementation. This phased approach with the ultimate goal of reaching free movement for all has so far agreed on the following⁹:

Free Movements of University Graduates:

So far (as of July 2005) 11 member States, with the exception of Montserrat and Suriname, have enacted legislation to give effect to this mandate. This implies that university graduates are able to work in the 11 countries without the need for work permits.

Free movement of artists, sports persons, musicians and media workers:

In July 1992 the categories of persons allowed to move freely for work purposes was expanded to include artists, sports persons, musicians and media workers. The legal framework to allow for the free movement of these categories has been amended and is now fully operational in the following eight member States: Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines and Trinidad and Tobago. St. Kitts and Nevis and Suriname have begun to partly implement the free movement initiative for professionals.

Free movement of the 'Protocol II categories':

Protocol II provides for the free movement of non-wage earners, either as service providers and/or to establish businesses, including managerial, supervisory and technical staff, and their spouses and immediate family members. None of the member States has so far adopted any legal framework to allow the free movement of such persons.

CARICOM Agreement on Social Security:

The CARICOM Agreement on Social Security, which came into effect on 1 April 1997, is to be considered a supportive measure for the free movement of people in the region. To implement this agreement, almost all the CSME member States (with the exception of Grenada and Suriname¹⁰) have already enacted domestic legislation. To enhance adherence in the region, the CARICOM associate members and observer countries¹¹ were invited to accede to the Agreement in 1998, but none has so far signed or ratified it.

⁸ Quote Anse Declaration, CSME et al.

⁹ Reference is made to the Status of the Free Movement of Skills and the CARICOM Social Security Agreement as of October 2002 (<http://www.caricom.org/expframes2.htm>)

¹⁰ Grenada has already signed and ratified the protocol, whereas Suriname currently does not have a security system which is similar to that of other member states.

¹¹ Anguilla, British Virgin Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands.

3. MIGRATION IN THE CARIBBEAN – WHAT DO WE KNOW?

3.1 Measuring migration - a global challenge

With globally growing numbers of people on the move, either caused by politically unstable environments in search of a safe livelihood or 'simply' for economic reasons for the survival of one's self and family, the issue of migration has gained greater importance on the political agendas of many source and destination countries. In order to be able to address the main causes of emigration as well as to deal with the needs of immigrants in the receiving countries, timely quantitative and qualitative data on migrant streams are indispensable. Various efforts undertaken to monitor migratory movements at the national and international level are by far incomplete and more needs to be done to assess the specific causes for and the implications of emigration and immigration. Most countries allow for the free movement of their citizens across national borders but apply rigorous mechanisms to control the inflow of people of foreign descent. Hence generally more information is available on immigration than on emigration. The main sources for data on cross-border movements are border statistics, population censuses and household surveys along with various administrative registers, with the latter quite often only providing information on specific professionals who need to register or pass an exam to be granted a work-permit or a license in the host country. However data from different sources are generally not fully compatible since various sources apply different definitions and concepts of what constitutes a migrant and often cover different time periods. With this in mind it becomes clear that, worldwide, no country is yet in a position to provide a complete account of the in- and outflow of people across its borders.

While flow data are even harder to get, stock-data (balance of immigration and emigration) as published by the Population Division of the United Nations are available for most countries that conduct population censuses on a regular basis. However, in countries with limited data collection and analysis capacity, as is the case for many Caribbean countries, the information available is quite often outdated and does not adequately reflect the situation at present. In the case of the Caribbean SIDS, which are in their majority affected by both flows, the stock data as the balance between in –and outflow of migrants is of little value for monitoring purposes since, quite often, considerable numbers of people moving in both directions is not reflected in these statistics

Efforts to measure international migration have also been hampered by the fact that no agreement has yet been reached at the global or even regional or subregional levels with regard to a common concept to define international migration (United Nations, 2002). This lack of consistency and conformity seems to be one of the greatest obstacles to obtaining accurate measurements. Many countries, in fact, apply their own definitions when collecting data and hardly make any adjustments to allow for international comparability. While some consider nationality as the decisive factor in defining a person as a migrant, others use variable concepts of residency. In order to take into account duration, the United Nations (1998) has recommended the definition of a long-term migrant as a person who moves to a country other than his origin or residence for a duration of more than 12 months', whereas a short-term migrant is a person who migrates for between three and 12 months.

In summary, the diversity of concepts and definitions applied by countries, research institutions and international organizations to measure migration and the rather narrow range of empirical evidence available continue to challenge not only demographers and population experts but, more so, policy planners and politicians who have to respond to these growing challenges.

3.2 Levels and trends in intraregional and international migration in the Caribbean

3.2.1 Migration within the Caribbean sub-region

For many people in the Caribbean, the search for a better life has quite often begun within the region. This has become evident through the fact that the absolute number of foreign-born nationals originating in the Caribbean present in another country in the subregion has steadily increased over the last two decades. Migrant stock data published by the United Nations (United Nations 2002) (see Table 1 below) confirm these trends. The data show clearly that the number of migrants has increased in the Caribbean. While the absolute migrant stock is comparatively small in the Caribbean, the migrant stock as percentage of the population is considerably high. According to the data available, on average, about 3% of the Caribbean population can be considered migrants. This, however, varies considerably from country to country, with the lowest percentage found in Jamaica, Guyana, Cuba and the Dominican Republic and the highest proportions reported for the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Anguilla, the Netherlands Antilles, Aruba and the United States Virgin Islands. The majority of migrants originate in just a few countries, mainly in the smaller member States of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), with the exception of Anguilla, but also Jamaica, Guyana, Suriname and Haiti. Deteriorating economic and social conditions, high unemployment particularly for younger people and little hope for improvements in the foreseeable future constitute the main push factors for those desperate to leave.

Table 1: DATA ON POPULATION AND MIGRATION FROM THE 2000 REVISION OF WORLD POPULATION PROSPECTS. DATA ON REFUGEES FROM UNHCR (Revised 10 September 2002)

<i>Country or area</i>	Population (thousands)		Migrant stock (thousands)		As percentage of population	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
World	5,254,820	6,056,715	153,956	174,664	2.93	2.88
More developed regions	1,148,365	1,191,429	81,424	104,119	7.09	8.74
Less developed regions	4,106,455	4,865,286	72,531	70,545	1.77	1.45
Least developed countries	514,605	667,613	10,992	10,458		
Latin America and the Caribbean	440,354	518,809	6,994	5,914	1.59	1.14
Caribbean	33,907	37,941	909	1,071	2.68	2.82
Anguilla	8	11	2	4	27.97	35.61
Antigua and Barbuda	63	65	12	16	19.18	24.47
Aruba	66	101	14	31	21.91	30.83
Bahamas	255	304	27	30	10.52	9.85
Barbados	257	267	21	25	8.32	9.16
British Virgin Islands	17	24	8	8	44.03	35.49
Cayman Islands	26	38	13	15	48.89	39.12
Cuba	10,629	11,199	100	82	0.94	0.73
Dominica	71	71	3	4	3.53	5.28
Dominican Republic	7,061	8,373	103	136	1.46	1.63
Grenada	91	94	4	8	4.70	8.50
Guadeloupe	391	428	66	83	16.88	19.44
Haiti	6,907	8,142	19	26	0.28	0.32
Jamaica	2,369	2,576	17	13	0.73	0.49
Martinique	360	383	39	54	10.74	14.21
Montserrat	11	4	2	0	18.76	4.86
Netherlands Antilles	188	215	38	55	20.48	25.35
Puerto Rico	3,528	3,915	322	383	9.14	9.79
St. Kitts and Nevis	42	38	4	4	9.64	11.19
Saint Lucia	131	148	5	8	4.06	5.45
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	106	113	4	8	3.79	6.66
Trinidad and Tobago	1,215	1,294	51	41	4.16	3.20
Turks and Caicos Islands	12	17	2	3	18.33	16.23
United States Virgin Islands	104	121	31	35	30.22	28.79
Central America	111,409	135,129	1,836	1,040	1.65	0.77
Belize	186	226	45	17	24.40	7.51
South America	295,037	345,738	4,250	3,803	1.44	1.10
Guyana	731	761	3	2	0.43	0.21
Suriname	402	417	9	6	2.13	1.49

Source: United Nations Population Division (2002)

A study initiated by this office (ECLAC/CDCC, 1998) to analyze the causes of migration and its impact on the receiving countries in the Caribbean found that immigration has tremendous impacts on the life of the national population of the receiving country. Another study (Oakes, 1992) on the situation of migrant workers in the British Virgin Islands portrays the implications

that the work-permit system has on the migrant and his legal status in that country. With the exception of a few naturalized citizens, most immigrants remain temporary workers for their entire stay and this holds even for those 'temporary' migrants, who have lived in the host country over extended periods of time (sometimes 15 years and longer). Being 'temporary' implies being subject to deportation at any given time and to have no access to basic health-care services and education for children.

A recent study (Mills, 2004) has critically analyzed possible consequences of the free movement of labor within the CSME and raises questions concerning its impact on the value of citizenship, sovereignty and nationality of independent Caribbean States. The paper suggests that these concerns would need to be further discussed to build common grounds and mutual understanding and support for this envisaged regional integration of presently independent and sovereign States. It also further points to a potential risk in so far as cheap labor migrants might compete with nationals for the same jobs, and would even accept work under less favorable conditions with the implication of decreasing wage and benefit levels for all on the long term. Another concern is the various languages spoken by immigrants and nationals. Seemingly, this has been affecting particularly the British Virgin Islands with a considerable number of Spanish-speaking migrants from the Dominican Republic and the use of Patois by Haitians in the Bahamas.

Regardless of the anxiety raised by many regarding a further move towards regional integration and the increased free movements of people within these countries, it is expected that the absolute number of foreign-born nationals living in the Caribbean countries will continue to grow in the foreseeable future.

In response to the needs of migrants, governments in the Caribbean have undertaken various efforts to provide access to basic social services, such as reproductive health and education services to migrants in their countries. For example the Bahamas, Antigua and Barbuda as well as Suriname have begun language training for their health and social workers in order to communicate with migrants from non-English speaking countries. However in spite of the efforts undertaken to improve apart from living and working conditions for migrants, a particular challenge faced is the supply of basic social and health services to undocumented migrants who in fear of being expelled quite often hide in inaccessible squatters and illegal settlements.

3.2.2 Extra-regional migration and its impact on the Caribbean

In their search for higher wages and better employment, skilled professionals are on the move worldwide. Caribbean countries like Jamaica, Cuba and Trinidad and Tobago are strong exporters of qualified labor, particularly teachers, nurses and other health professionals. Family ties, geographic proximity and the use of the same language make the United States and Canada and, to a lesser extent, the United Kingdom a preferred destination for migrants from the Caribbean. Increasing job opportunities in certain sectors of the labor market along with the hope of a prosperous life make moving north an attractive option for many Caribbean nationals. Based on data provided by the United States Bureau of the Census¹², of all foreign nationals living in the United States, 10 per cent are of Caribbean origin with the majority coming from Cuba (34 per

¹² Immigration Statistics were retrieved in April 2003 from the following web-site of the Department of Homeland Security in the United States:
<http://www.immigration.gov/graphics/shared/aboutus/statistics/index.htm>

cent) and the Dominican Republic (25 per cent) and more than 10 per cent are from Haiti and Jamaica. Of all migrants from South America, each 10th is originally from Guyana¹³.

Whereas some governments favor the exodus of their skilled in exchange for desired remittances to boost their economies, many countries suffer tremendous constraints in their capacities to provide equal, qualitative and affordable social services to their populations. Worse, the continued depletion of professionals deprives the region of its desperately needed qualified staff whose education and training were often a considerable expense to its taxpayers. Since qualified professionals play a critical role in sustainable development, this continuous loss threatens to paralyze progress underway in the economic and social sectors in the region. Therefore more needs to be done to alleviate the impact of the brain drain and to provide for attractive options at home for those who would otherwise seek greener pastures abroad. Research has shown that, for example, in the case of health workers an improvement in pay and working conditions could act as an incentive to stay. A raise in pensions, better child care, educational opportunities and recognition of the profession are also known to be important (WHO, 2002). With the negative consequences of the brain drain becoming more severe, the understanding in the developed world that the negative impact of a severe shortage of professionals in the developing world has begun to hamper global development efforts.

Significant progress in addressing the brain-drain in the health-sector has been made in the United Kingdom where, in 2001, a Code of Practice¹⁴ for ethical recruitment was put in place by its National Health Service. France has reached an agreement with the Maghreb countries to regulate the export of health professionals. South Africa has signed a pact with members of the South African Development Community (SADC), vowing not to hire health professionals from other SADC member States.

To contribute to the better understanding of the impact of the brain-drain on the public health system in the Caribbean and to assist the governments to develop policies to improve the situation, ECLAC has conducted a case-study on Trinidad and Tobago to assess the causes and consequences of the emigration of nurses from the Caribbean (ECLAC/CDCC 2003b). (See chapter V.3.3)

3.2.3 Remittances and other socio-economic benefits of emigration

Remittances and in-kind contributions sent by migrants provide important benefits to the immediate family members as well as to the national economy back home. Countries like Jamaica, the Dominican Republic and Haiti are among those that benefit worldwide most from the remittances received (UNCTAD, 2003). However, the measurement of remittances is extremely imprecise and the value of the flows of non-monetary goods has to be estimated in most cases. Since many Caribbean migrants do not have bank accounts, a significant amount of these flows moves unrecorded through informal channels. To increase the flow of in-cash remittances some countries have undertaken efforts to facilitate the transfer of monies by

¹³ The regional grouping applied by the Census Bureau differs from that applied by ECLAC in so far as Guyana and Suriname are part of South America, while ECLAC includes these two countries to the Caribbean.

¹⁴ The *Code of Practice for NHS Employers involved in the International Recruitment of Healthcare Professionals* was published in October 2001 to provide NHS employers with a more detailed explanation of the processes to be undertaken when recruiting internationally. More information is available on the Department of Health website: <http://www.doh.gov.uk/international-recruitment/agencycode.htm>

establishing remittance service companies (e.g. Western Union, Remittance Express, etc.) and by making efforts to negotiate lower fares charged for such services.

Apart from mere economic benefits, countries also profit from a wider array of returns. For example, health and education facilities have been strengthened through people-to people partnerships. Overseas based nationals, school alumni and professionals contribute time, technical assistance and equipment to support population and development services in their home countries. For example, teams of Jamaican physicians in the Diaspora periodically visit to perform operations, or donate much-needed equipment and supplies to support the health system back home. Similarly alumni of teachers' colleges provide scholarships for students. Last, but not least, Caribbean tourism revenues have also grown through these and other networks of nationals in the Diaspora.

Regardless of the efforts already undertaken, more research is needed to gain insight into the flow of resources to better understand the flow of remittances. It cannot be assumed that all migrants remit to the same extent. While male migrants with dependants back home generally remit more and more regularly, young professional women with neither children nor spouse most probably will remit much less. Also, the growing numbers of people who have indebted themselves by using the assistance of traffickers will be less in a position to remit much, at least until their debts will be paid off.

3.2.4 Irregular migration and the trafficking of humans

The magnitude of undocumented migration remains difficult to quantify and consequently the true dimension of this phenomenon is impossible to assess. It is widely believed that undocumented migration is on the rise, mostly as an outcome of increasingly restrictive admission policies in receiving countries in the developed world and social and economic instability combined with the occurrence of natural disasters and rising poverty levels in many less developed countries. As indicated earlier, the growing need for cheap labor in the northern hemisphere and at times the lax law-enforcement mechanisms against trafficking in many parts of the world are increasingly turning Caribbean countries into a thriving environment for this often rather lucrative business. Prostitution and trade in women and girls as sex-workers to tourist destinations in the region and also abroad have created a further market for undocumented labor world-wide.

Recent research on irregular migration in the Caribbean (Thomas-Hope, 2002) has shown that basically two groups of migrants are currently a matter of serious concern to the subregion. The first group consists of migrants who enter a country illegally, who over-extend their stay beyond the limits of their visas or whose residence or citizenship status has been altered due to changes in the legal framework. This also includes women and girls who are trafficked as commercial sex-workers mainly from the Dominican Republic to tourist destinations within the region and to major cities in North America and Europe. The second group includes deportees, who are involuntarily repatriated to their home country following a conviction of a criminal or civil offense. For example, in the four years between 1994 and 1998, 22,397 persons were deported from North America and the United Kingdom to the Caribbean. Many of these deportees have left their country of birth at a young age many years before their forced repatriation and therefore do not have any family or community network to help with their reintegration. In addition, to deportations to countries offering little opportunities to make a living quickly provide new clients to organized gangs of traffickers who offer their services to facilitate the move back to the country where the deportation originated.

4. GOVERNMENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF AND POLICIES ON MIGRATION

Over the past decades policies in the area of labor migration have evolved along four major paths (United Nations, 2002, p. 20): growing restrictiveness in the admission of labor migrants in developed countries; a significant increase in developing countries that became host to foreign workers; the rising recognition that the rights of migrant workers and their families need to be protected; and the adoption of regional agreements on the free movement of persons.

The following paragraphs intend to provide a brief overview of the perception of various aspects of migration at the national level. It will also give a summary of policies adopted to address these issues. The focus is on national policies to manage migration flows to and from a given country. The data presented are provided by the United Nations Population Division¹⁵ which, within the United Nations, has the mandate to monitor population policies at the global level.

When monitoring of population policies began in 1976, migration was not a top priority for most countries worldwide. However, over the last decades this view has changed and a growing number of countries has begun to recognize the importance of monitoring and managing migration.

4.1 General views and policies on migration

Caribbean countries are source, transit or final destination. How Caribbean governments view and address the in- and outflow of people to and from their country is reflected in the following table (Table 2).

Based on the information available for two points in time over a five-year period (1996 and 2000), only five out of 16 countries (Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Belize, the Dominican Republic and Suriname) report in 2000 that they perceive immigration as too high and, in total, six countries report that they wish to lower the inflow of non-nationals. While immigration seems to only affect a selected few countries, the loss of their people and its consequences appears to impact on the majority of Caribbean nations. This view was expressed by nine out of 16 countries in 1996 and six out of 16 countries in 2000. These views and the policies adopted seem to be a response to the pressing realities in the respective countries (see Table 1 on the migrant stock data).

A look at the views and policies adopted by the main destinations for Caribbean migrants in North America reveals that the United States and Canada are favouring immigration, while the United Kingdom perceives the inflow of foreign nationals too high and reports that it has begun to limit immigration.

¹⁵ Mainly two documents: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, International Migration Report 2002, New York, ST/ESA/SER.A/220; United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division; World Population Policies 2003, New York, ST/ESA/SER.A/230.

**Table 2: Governments views and policies on immigration and emigration, 1996 and 2000
(number of countries)**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Views</i>			<i>Policies</i>			
	<i>satisfactory</i>	<i>too high</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>maintain</i>	<i>no intervention</i>	<i>lower</i>	<i>total</i>
<i>CARIBBEAN</i>							
<i>IMMIGRATION</i>							
<i>1996</i>	12	4	16	8	1	6	15
<i>2000</i>	11	5 ¹	16	7	1	8	16
<i>EMIGRATION</i>							
<i>1996</i>	7	9	16	3	6	7	16
<i>2000</i>	10	6	16	2	10	4	16
<i>DEVELOPED COUNTRIES¹</i>							
<i>IMMIGRATION</i>							
<i>1996</i>	2	1	3	1	-	2	3
<i>2000</i>	2	1	3	2		1	3

1= United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Netherlands

4.2 Labor migration and immigration of family members

With regard to the readiness to allow family members of migrants to join, the greater part of the countries in this region seems to want to restrict the further inflow of dependants of already recognized migrants. This is most probably a consequence of increasing demands of family members to be granted access to rather costly basic social services, such as health care and education in the host country.

4.3 Integration of migrants

According to the information available, Caribbean countries seem to be generally rather reluctant to integrate foreign migrants into their societies. Only three (Dominica, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago) out of 10 countries have reported efforts to promote the integration of non-nationals. Similar levels of resistance were expressed towards permanent settlements of non-nationals, with four countries planning to reduce permanent immigration while two countries, Cuba and Guyana, want to maintain the present level of permanent settlements of foreign migrants.

The two main destinations for Caribbean migrants, Canada and the United States support the integration of non-nationals in their countries and have also expressed a desire to maintain present levels of permanent settlements. The United Kingdom is taking a more protective stance by favoring the integration of those already in the country but opposing a further increase in the intake of additional immigrants.

5. NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES AND INITIATIVES TO ADDRESS MIGRATION

5.1 National concerns on migration – Overview

After a global overview of trends in government views and policies on migration, this section will provide some insight into mechanisms designed at the national level to address migration. Some countries have found successful strategies to ease the pressure on their domestic labor markets by identifying employment opportunities for their nationals abroad. Saint Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines are supporting recruitment drives by the British Government for the enlistment of their young males into the British Armed Forces. Of a more temporary nature are agreements between Jamaica and Saint Lucia with Canada and the United States on the seasonal provision of farm-workers. Jamaica's tourism sector initiative is playing a critical role in facilitating temporary movements of labor abroad and programmes have been established by the Ministry of Education to train hotel workers for employment in international labor markets. To encourage the return of qualified nationals and to provide opportunities for retirees to spend the 'golden years' back home, various initiatives are underway. Tax breaks and investment opportunities along with economic citizenship programmes are used as incentives to attract foreign investment capital either through returning retirees or business people from the region and/or through foreign direct investment in the private sector. Several such programmes are being put in place in Barbados, Jamaica, Belize and Grenada. Jamaica even goes a step further to promote return migration of the skilled and their integration through an IOM supported programme which matches skills available in the Diaspora with open vacancies back home.

While some countries have identified areas where they can benefit from in- and out migration, others have struggled over the past decades with the negative side effects. The majority of the countries in the subregion, St. Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines along with Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago, have been losing a considerable number of their professionals in health and education. To address the brain drain, governments have begun to undertake efforts to develop policies and programmes to create and promote attractive career opportunities for their young and successful professionals. An example par excellence is a joint initiative undertaken by the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) and CARICOM to encourage nurses to stay and to promote Caribbean nurses in the Diaspora to return (ECLAC/CDCC, 2003). At a recent conference on the movement of nurses in the Caribbean organized by the Commonwealth Secretariat in Barbados, a Draft Framework of Action was designed to explore ways to manage migration of nurses more efficiently¹⁶. An area of growing concern for the entire region is the increase in human trafficking and deportations. While the trafficking of humans is not an unknown phenomenon for most countries, relatively new are the rising numbers of deportees¹⁷ call for the establishment of policies and programmes to cope with those who were deported on their own with no existing network of families and friends. Quite often young men, but increasingly also young women, are being deported as a consequence of a criminal conviction or any other collision with the law. Many of these deportees have left their country of origin a long time ago or even as early as during their childhood and consequently do not have any social or cultural ties. With their numbers rising, deportees are quite often stigmatized and made responsible for raising crime levels and petty cash criminality. However, in

¹⁶ The Commonwealth Secretariat also launched a study to assess possible avenues to manage temporary migration of nurses and teachers successfully. (Commonwealth Secretariat, A manage temporary movement programme for teachers and nurses, Barbados, 2005).

¹⁷ Forced return migration happens when an adult, regardless of their 'connection' with their country of origin' is being expelled and forcefully returned by the recipient country.

spite of these new trends, governments are rather reluctant to take action to cope with this challenge and only a few and small non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are facilitating the reintegration of deportees at present.

A matter of growing concern for most countries in the Caribbean is undocumented migration and the trafficking of humans, particularly of young women and girls to tourist destinations within and also outside the Caribbean. To address the need for protection of female migrants, the Dominican Republic has established an inter-institutional committee and has also put in place a shelter for returned women who were trafficked to and from the Dominican Republic. To manage the uncontrolled inflow of undocumented labor migrants from Haiti, the Bahamas has initiated dialogue with the Government of Haiti to agree on a limited number of Haitian workers to fill specific gaps in their labor market. With the assistance of the IOM, Cuba and the United States have agreed upon a Tripartite Memorandum of Understanding to regulate the treatment of Haitian refugees whose voyage to the United States quite often ends accidentally on the Cuban coast. To assess the scope of undocumented migrants and refugees in its country, Belize has launched an Amnesty Programme in 1999 for all its undocumented residents. (For more on Belize see Chapter 5.3.2). Caribbean countries on the South American continent, are increasingly complaining about the inflow of irregular migrant workers from neighboring countries who seek work in the resource based industries, such as the gold mines in Suriname.

5.2 Return migration and retention of the skilled

With the ageing of Caribbean migrants in the Diaspora and these growing numbers planning to retire back home, the need to address return migration and reintegration of older migrants has become more urgent. Quite a few of those retirees are economically well off and would be willing to invest in the region, provided that lucrative investment opportunities are being offered. The latter could provide many countries with additional revenues but, until today, only less than a handful of governments in the region have recognized this new potential.

5.3 Country studies

5.3.1 Double or Quits – A study on recent migration to Aruba 1993 – 2003

Socio-economic overview

Tourism is the mainstay of the small, open Aruban economy along with offshore banking and oil refining. The rapid growth of the tourism sector over the last decade has resulted in a substantial expansion of other activities. Construction has boomed, with hotel capacity in 2000 five times the level of 1985. In addition, the reopening of the country's oil refinery in 1993, a major source of employment and foreign exchange earnings, has further spurred economic growth. Aruba's small domestic labor force is not in a position to meet the growing demands of the labor market for more workers. Consequently, despite sharp increases in wages, many positions remain vacant. To fill these gaps, labor from abroad has become indispensable.

Aruba, with an estimated one third of its population being foreign born, is one of the countries in the Caribbean with the highest percentage of migrants (see Table 1). While the economy is dependent on the influx of foreign workers, the impact on the socio-demographic structure of the population has become a matter of serious concern. In 2003, The Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) of Aruba undertook an in-depth analysis to assess the situation of migrants. The results of this assessment are published in a study entitled 'Doubles or Quits' which is a

quantitative and qualitative evaluation of the living conditions of migrants that have come to Aruba over the last decade.

Main findings of the study

Demographics

An interesting finding of the study is the fact that source countries for immigrants are no longer only neighboring Dutch islands or the Netherlands, but increasingly Latin America and other Caribbean islands. The study shows that the main sending countries for migrants are Colombia and Venezuela in Latin America, and the Netherlands Antilles and the Dominican Republic in the Caribbean. Only one third of the foreign born population today originates in the Netherlands.

While the majority of the male migrants, who are generally occupying higher qualified jobs, are of Dutch origin, most of the female migrants come from neighboring countries in Latin America and are filling in for less qualified jobs in the service sector, particularly in tourism and domestic services. According to the most recent census data, over the past 10 years more women than men found their way to Aruba. It was further found that the majority of all migrants have already had friends and/or family (67 per cent) in the country prior to arrival, a fact that facilitates access to housing and entrance into the labor market. The existence of social and family networks also makes it more understandable that the greater part of foreigners came to Aruba with the intention of settling down permanently.

Intermarriages between migrants and Aruban nationals have become a rather common phenomenon in the country with a growing number of mixed couples (more than 50 per cent of all marriages). A study undertaken by the CBS based on census data, found that a larger share of Aruban men marries foreign women while Aruban women to a far lesser extent seem to select men from abroad. The fact that considerably more female than male migrants who come to Aruba are single might provide an explanation for this phenomenon. While marriages between Aruban women and foreign men are generally accepted, the opposite seems not to be the case. This might be so since Aruban women tend to prefer men from developed countries, since such a marriage is considered a move up on the social echelon, while the case of Aruban men marrying foreign women (mainly women from Latin America) is only reluctantly accepted. Further, a closer look at the age and sex distribution of the native Aruban population points to a gender bias towards women in almost all age-groups between ages 20 – 49, which makes it even more difficult for Aruban women to find a partner, while opportunities for Aruban men improve. The imbalance on the marriage market is, in demographic terms, “marriage squeeze”, an experience which particularly Aruban women undergo and is reflected in the various ways marriages between national women and foreign men, on the one hand, are positively sanctioned, while this cannot be said for the opposite, when the husband is Aruban and the wife, a ‘Mamasita’¹⁸, is a foreigner. The study reports that Mamasitas are accused of being ‘seducers’ of Aruban men, luring them into marriage, regardless of their marital status, educational background or age in order to get their work permits and/or Dutch nationality.

In response to the question why female migrants selected Aruban nationals, various motives such as emotional and sexual attraction, but also economic reasons and motives related to legal status and immigration were listed.

¹⁸ ‘Mamasitas’ is a general term used for women from Latin America who is actively looking for a husband in order to obtain the necessary permits and/or the Dutch nationality.

Legal status of migrants

Undocumented migration is a matter of serious concern for the Government of Aruba. While after a period of time most migrants obtain legal status, a large number initially enters the country either as an undocumented migrant or simply overstays a tourist or visitors visa. About two thirds of the migrants interviewed report to have spent at least six months in Aruba without proper immigration documents, but the majority of all migrants (64 per cent) has been awarded residency within the first 12 months of their stay and after three years only eight per cent were still not legalized. The fact that the majority of the migrants seem to have entered the country as undocumented migrants and yet have a good chance to gain citizenship can be taken as an indication of the desperate need for foreign labor in the country.

Labor market

In response to the question why they came to Aruba, the majority of the migrants answered that they intended to settle permanently. However, this is only possible given the fact that immigration is an option and the labor market provides sufficient opportunities for those who come. The study found that migrants who came to Aruba started to work as soon as possible and almost one third of those who came had already a job offer prior to their arrival. An interesting finding is the fact that more men than women from developed countries and more women than men from developing countries had a job waiting for them upon arrival. Particularly those migrants from developing countries with a job offer benefited from an already existing network of family and friends who provided the necessary contacts and help to find employment. Among the group that started to seek employment after arrival, the vast majority succeeded fairly quickly in finding work. After two months, 50 per cent of the men and almost 40 per cent of the women had found a job. After six months less than one fifth of all men were still unemployed but more than one third of all women were without a job. In total over the past nine years approximately 12,700 jobs were added and natives could only contribute to a limited extent (10.8 per cent) to the growing labor force. With the tourist sector booming, the majority of the migrants from developing countries are employed in hotels and restaurants, also in 'whole sales' and construction. Foreigners from the developed world in their greater part provide highly skilled labor and occupy positions in real estate, renting and business activities as well as in public administration, defense and social security. With regard to working hours and pay, the general notion is that women from Latin America work the longest hours and seem to be drawing the smallest salaries of all foreign workers in the country.

Remittances

Remitting money home is important for most foreign laborers in Aruba. More than half of all migrant men and women remit money on a regular basis, quite often even on a monthly basis. Most of the money is sent to parents or children to cover education costs and medical bills.

Integration

Integration into a new society has various dimensions beginning with acquiring the national language to be granted citizenship. With the majority of Arubans speaking several languages (Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish and English) and most migrants from Latin America quickly acquiring Papiamentu, language seems to be less a barrier to integration than in other parts of the world. While generally mixed marriages enhance intercultural exchanges and integration into the new society, the study has shown that migrant men seem to feel more

accepted and less discriminated against than women. In spite of this about 87 per cent of male and 79 per cent of female migrants state that it is easy to integrate into the Aruban society and the vast majority of all migrants seem to be content with their life.

The final formal step towards integration and naturalization was considerably easy to accomplish until the recent past when requests for naturalization were generally granted within a year's time. However the situation has begun to change with decreasing numbers of granted requests for naturalization and generally longer waiting times for those who apply.

5.3.2 The impact of migration on the socio-economic and ethnic stratification of Belize

The demography of this most sparsely populated nation in Central America has been greatly affected by various immigration streams over the past centuries and even more so, since its independence in the early 1980s. Immigration and, to a lesser extent, emigration have transformed the socio-ethnic composition of the population significantly. Consequently, in spite of generally declining fertility rates over the past 20 years the population of Belize grew from approximately 145,000 people to an estimated 240,000 people.

In the early 1980s, Belize became a safe haven for people from Central American countries such as Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras in search of security for those who fled the civil war or who were on the look-out for economic opportunities. With very little formal education in many cases, these migrants moved mainly into the rural communities to work in the agricultural sector. According to the 1991 population census, approximately 30,000 to 40,000 immigrants were living in Belize, while other sources have quoted a total of over 60,000 immigrants, representing about one fifth of the total population. Estimates based on the 2002 Census are more conservative and suggest that about 15 per cent of the entire population in the country is of foreign origin.

The continued influx of Spanish-speaking Mestizos has shifted the ethnic composition of the population. According to 1980 Census figures over the following 10 years Mestizos contributed an estimated 30 per cent to the national population which grew by about 50 per cent to a high of 44 per cent in 1990. Over the same period, the English-speaking Creoles experienced a serious drop from a recording of 39.7 percent in 1980 to less than one third only 10 years later. Other, by far less numerous, ethnic groups that live in Belize are Mayas, Garifuna and Hindu.

These far reaching changes in the ethnic composition of the population can only be partly attributed to immigration. Of greater importance than actual large immigration flows are the significantly higher fertility rates of Belize's foreign born population. While fertility rates for the entire country seem to have continuously declined over the past decades, fertility patterns for distinct ethnic groups vary significantly. Data derived from the 1980 and 1991 censuses show for the entire population declining Total Fertility Rates (TFR) of 6.0 and 4.7, respectively. These findings are also confirmed by survey data for the mid-1990s that point at a further decline with about three children born to each woman in 1995 (Arias Foundation, 2000). A closer look at fertility data by ethnicity reveals considerable variations with higher fertility for foreign-born mothers, who seem to have on the average 1.4 children more than native women (see Table 3 below). The highest fertility rates are found for women from Central America where most of the migrants originate. The following table shows the fertility rate broken down by country of origin:

Table 3
Fertility rate by country of origin

Group	TFR
Total:	4.68
Native:	4.42
Born in other countries:	5.83
Central Americans born outside the country:	6.29
Other born outside the country:	2.19

Source: Statistics of Belize, in Arias Foundation (2000), p. 7

These rather rapid and drastic changes and their impact on the demographic profile of the population have been posing a set of serious challenges to the country:

- (a) The influx of migrants into rural areas has caused an increase of solid and liquid wastes which have negatively impacted on the environment;
- (b) Competition over access to basic infrastructure, such as water, education, health and sanitation;
- (c) Increase of unsustainable agricultural practices by immigrants;
- (d) Rising poverty level as a consequence of environmental degradation;
- (e) Particularly in rural areas, migrants working in agriculture add pressure to the natives by accepting work under less favorable conditions and are consequently seen as unequal competitors to be blamed for overall declining salary and benefit schemes;
- (f) Anti-immigrant sentiment expressed by parts of the native population.

In recent years the government has undertaken considerable efforts to address these issues. Legislation was put in place to allow for permanent residency or citizenship if the migrant meets certain requirements. A Refugee Department was established to process the large number of refugees and the Labor Department increased the number of employment permits granted. In 1999 an Amnesty came into effect allowing undocumented migrants and recent arrivals to apply for permanent residency given that a set of conditions was fulfilled by the applicant.

While the government is undertaking efforts to respond to the challenges that past immigration flows have posed on the country over the last 20 years, new migration trends are emerging. On the one hand, more and generally higher qualified people from Asia and North America are now showing an interest in settling in urban areas in the country while, on the other hand, highly qualified natives seek greener pastures in the United States and Canada. Of importance, is the fact that also in Belize more and more qualified women, particularly in teaching and nursing, are successfully gaining employment abroad.

5.3.3 The brain drain in the health sector: Emigration of nurses from Trinidad and Tobago – A case study¹⁹

The analysis of the nursing situation in Trinidad and Tobago has shown that the present nursing crisis is the result of a variety of push and pull factors. However, with very limited information available the study identified a number of critical aspects that have contributed to the present crisis.

A general weakness in the Caribbean is the lack of timely and reliable data. Particularly difficult is the task of gathering information on migrating nurses from various sources in the source and destination country. Data collection systems are weak and the available data do not allow for further in-depth analysis. No systematic system to monitor the in- and outflow of migrants has been established and only scattered information is available on the emigration of nurses. No data are available on return migration, which would be essential to systematically trace return and recurrent migrant flows. Also no coherent data have been collected to analyze the outflow of nurses over the past 20 years.

Data from the early 1970s already point at the main weaknesses in the public health system which built the main push factors for people to leave. These were:

- (a) Inadequate remuneration and benefits;
- (b) Unfavorable working conditions;
- (c) Lack of management and leadership;
- (d) Insufficient training and professional development;
- (e) Insufficient career-perspectives;
- (f) Under-utilization of acquired skills;
- (g) Burn-out due to increased workload as a consequence of resignations;
- (h) Lack of recognition of profession

Over the years some efforts were undertaken to improve the situation and the information available suggests that the implementation of selected policies along with the worldwide economic recession in the 1980s seems to have slowed down global international recruitment for a short period of time. The growing shortage of nurses in the developed countries and the emerging gaps in the public health sector can be seen as the main driving force for renewed efforts by the developed countries to enhance international recruitment of nurses. International initiatives to control recruitment and to stop poaching from already drained countries seem to have had only a temporary impact, since international recruitment has resumed from all countries and fast track immigration procedures have been put in place in the United States and the United Kingdom.

¹⁹ This is a summary of the findings of a study on nurse migration published by this office in 2003 (ECLAC, 2003b).

Similarly, with the growing nurse shortage in the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom, attractive job offers are made by those in need and consequently the pull factors identified earlier have become stronger over the past decades:

- (a) Attractive payments and benefits;
- (b) Modern human resources management;
- (c) Professional work-environment;
- (d) Possibility of permanent residency in the receiving country (Green-card in the United States);
- (e) Financial support for registration and immigration procedures provided by foreign employers;
- (f) Supportive network of family and friends;
- (g) Opportunities for professional development and career advancement;
- (h) Professional Recognition;
- (i) Improved quality of life for self and family.

To ease the pressure on the public health system in Trinidad, the government has begun to recruit nurses from Cuba and the Philippines. While this is not a viable long-term solution, it provides immediate relieve for those in need of health services.

Outlook

The need to address this eminent shortage of nurses comprehensively and to come up with a viable solution respecting the interests of various stakeholders at the national, regional and international level has risen to a global challenge. The international recruitment and placement of nurses and other health professionals is a fairly economic process, which inflicts costs on the sending as well as the receiving countries. Presumably only such approaches which integrate the various interests of all stakeholders will create a win-win situation for all parties concerned and will be sustainable in the long term. The credibility, strength and universality of possible solutions will directly depend on the political will of health sector stakeholders at all levels.

Whatever approach will be chosen, the need to address the present nursing crisis is critical since with the ageing of the population and the emerging HIV/AIDS crisis the demand for nursing care will grow considerably in the near future.

6. SUMMARY AND OUTLOOK

In a world of 100 million migrants, migration is a major social phenomenon, as it has been for thousands of years and the Caribbean is by no means an exception. While the absolute numbers of migrants in this region might be small, the impact of the in- and outflow of people in these countries is by no means negligible.

The present study has shown that in the case of the Caribbean, migration has many faces, forms and expressions. People migrate seasonally over a certain period of time within the region, while others leave their home country on a long-term basis to find work abroad. People move documented and undocumented; sometimes those who start off as regular migrants remain in the receiving country after their visa has expired and thus become irregular. While historically more men migrated among the islands, female migration is growing steadily, with many new windows of opportunities opening for young and highly qualified women who seek employment in the health and education sectors in North America and the United Kingdom. The less qualified hope to find work in the less favourable sectors of the economy, such as agriculture and construction. In the case of women and girls, this also includes prostitution in tourist destinations in the Caribbean and abroad.

Not all Caribbean countries are affected in the same way by migration. While some, particularly the smaller Eastern Caribbean islands, have been mainly source countries for migrants, other economically more prosperous countries have attracted streams of laborers from the region but also increasingly from South and Central America. A third group of countries experiences considerable inflows while at the same time their own nationals seek greener pastures abroad.

Research worldwide has shown that such movements are strongly related to the socio-economic development in the source, as well as in the destination, countries. The availability of jobs, reasonable pay and acceptable working conditions along with personal security make some countries a rather attractive destination for many; while social and political unrest along with economic instability and high unemployment rates build the basis to push people across their national borders to seek economic prosperity elsewhere.

Some countries, particularly those with high unemployment, do favor the departure of their surplus labor, quite often in order to benefit from remittances, which in many cases provide the desperately needed resources to poorer families to make ends meet. However, this analysis has also shown that remittances are by no means sufficient to compensate for the losses incurred as a consequence of the brain drain that is affecting particularly in the health and education sectors in the region.

Other issues in relation to migration in the Caribbean are the growing number of trafficked persons and deportations. With regard to return migration, new windows of opportunities are opening with retirees coming back from the Diaspora. To benefit from their prosperity and quite often willingness to invest in the region, more should be done to facilitate such endeavors.

While the brain drain is a matter of serious concern for almost all countries in the Caribbean, the region, in collaboration and in support of regional and global institutions, as a joint effort by the Regional Nursing Body (RNB), CARICOM, PAHO and the Commonwealth

Secretariat, have begun to seek solutions to maximize the benefits and minimize the losses encumbered. Laudable initiatives have been launched in the area of nursing to promote nursing, to retain qualified professionals and to encourage the return of those already living abroad.

More needs to be done to improve the monitoring of migration flows since very little data are available on the in- and outflow of people from and to Caribbean countries. Also the in- and outflow of resources (in cash and kind) from and to the region needs more attention. While in some countries the balance of payments can give a reasonable indication of the level of remittances received in the case of resource flows in both directions, a balance does not provide much insight. While most of the research on remittances focuses on the receiving end, more detailed information is needed to better understand those who remit.

The discussion of migration in the Caribbean has clearly shown that migration in this region does not happen in isolation. Caribbean islands and countries are geopolitically sandwiched between the North American continent and Latin America, a fact that along with historic cross-border family ties and, in many cases, a common language encourages mobility within the American continent. Economic development determined by global and regional trade agreements are setting the socio-economic, but also legal, framework for migratory movements within and also outside the American hemisphere.

Migration over the past thousand years has changed and will continue to change the world. Globalization, modern means of communication and fast travel will encourage even more people to make a move. Further, gaps between the rich and the poor will promote migratory streams across borders, quite often against the expressed will of the receiving countries. In order to protect all migrants and to safeguard basic human rights of those affected by migration, sustainable partnerships among all stakeholders are indispensable to find viable solutions to the challenges migratory societies are faced within the twenty-first century. The credibility of these partnerships, their strength and universality will directly depend on the political will of all those involved.

7. ANNEXES

Annex I

The following two paragraphs have been copied from the following document:

United Nations General Assembly, International migration and development, Report of the Secretary-General, Fifty-ninth session, A/59/325, 2 September 2004; section IV: Action-oriented options of the United Nations for addressing the issue of international migration and development, para 52 and 53.

The United Nations has played a critical role in establishing legal norms and standards in relation to international migration. The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, adopted in 1990, entered in force on 1 July 2003 and has been ratified by 26 States. It is a key instrument with respect to the setting of standards for the treatment, and protection of the welfare and rights, of migrant workers, in conjunction with two ILO conventions, namely, the Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97), and the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143), ratified, respectively, by 42 and 18 States. In addition to monitoring the application of the 1990 Convention among States parties, the United Nations will continue to promote its ratification and raise awareness about the importance, in regard to fostering the benefits of international migration, of safeguarding the rights of migrants.

The United Nations has made major strides in advancing a legal framework to prevent and combat the trafficking and smuggling of persons. The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, and the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, both adopted in November 2000, have been signed by more than 100 States.

Annex 2

OUTCOMES DOCUMENT

Draft Framework of Action for a Programme of Temporary Movement of Nurses Agreed at the Caribbean Conference Temporary Movement: Towards a Trade and Development Approach

30-31 March 2005, Sherbourne Conference Centre, Barbados

Stakeholders concerned with health, trade and development issues pertaining to nursing services met in Barbados from 30-31 March 2005, and following the various presentations, reviewed the Commonwealth Secretariat and CARICOM/PAHO studies on temporary movement of nurses.

Stakeholders recognized the force of the arguments made as follows:

- The Caribbean is losing approximately 400 nurses per annum through out-migration to Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States.
- The cost of training these nurses is estimated to be US\$ 15 to 20 million per annum and loss of trained nurses is a significant transfer of resource from Caribbean countries. Remittances only partly go into national budget while the cost of training is in some cases fully financed from government sources.
- The demand for nurses is expected to rise rapidly in developed countries in the next 15 years as the 'baby boom' generation in OECD countries ages and requires greater levels of medical care.
- In addition to the fiscal loss Caribbean countries also suffer by not having adequate nursing personnel to ensure the delivery of quality health care.
- Continued emigration in the current form will further undermine the sustainability of Caribbean health care systems and the relatively advanced health indicators in the region.
- A failure to address the underlying causes of emigration will mean that the number of nurses leaving the Caribbean to seek economic and professional opportunities elsewhere, will only accelerate in the coming years.
- A vital component of addressing the net losses incurred by Caribbean countries is to channel migration into temporary movement arrangements that maximize the connection between those seeking overseas employment and their home country.
- Notwithstanding the move to the Caribbean Single Market and Economy any option must take into account the specific needs of countries.

Stakeholders reaffirmed that managed migration is defined as a regional strategy for retaining adequate numbers of competent nursing personnel to deliver health programmes and services to Caribbean nationals. It also involves respect for the individual's right to choose where they wish

to work and live. Stakeholders further accepted that there are six critical areas of managed migration, namely: recruitment and retention; terms and conditions of work; education and training; utilization and deployment; value and recognition; and, management practice and policy development.

Stakeholders agreed that a balance needs to be struck between the temporary movement of nurses and ensuring that the capacity and quality of the health care system and related services delivered in Caribbean source countries is not unduly compromised.

Stakeholders endorsed the proposal to establish a system for the temporary movement of nurses from the Caribbean as part of a trade and development approach to managing the high social and economic cost of emigration of health care professionals.

Stakeholders also endorsed the wider approaches for managed migration consistent with the recommendations of the Caribbean Commission for Health and Development that take into account the range of initiatives that are being undertaken by the governments, the Regional Nursing Body, professional nurses organizations and in the private sector.

Stakeholders further endorsed the recommendation that regardless of the option being pursued the region must establish partnerships and develop its strategy for resource to expand the capacity of current and future training programmes.

Stakeholders recommended the establishment of a steering committee, chaired by a Minister of Health and comprising CARICOM, Health, education and training bodies (including RNB), Trade Labour and Immigration officials, the CNO and the CARICAD, coordinated by CARICOM for the development of implementation of a coherent structure for managing the temporary movement of nurses. The steering committee shall also meet the stakeholders in the destination countries to initiate a fact finding mission in the Caribbean and brainstorm on the opportunity within the framework of a managed migration process.

Stakeholders also agreed that CARICOM in collaboration with Commonwealth Secretariat and other relevant stakeholders should follow up on the initiatives resulting from the Commonwealth Secretariat and CARICOM/PAHO studies.

Stakeholders recommended that CARICOM works with the Canadian Government and other governments, to undertake a pilot project that would provide technical and other forms of cooperation to Caribbean Nursing Schools and Caribbean public nursing system, to expand and upgrade capacity to supply nurses for the local and Canadian markets and work towards accrediting the regional nursing examinations. This pilot project should also examine the feasibility of providing market access for Caribbean nurses on a temporary basis.

Stakeholders also called on multilateral and international institutions including the World Bank, PAHO/WHO, IOM among others to support this initiative.

Stakeholders recommended that there be a review mechanism to evaluate follow-up action and to assess the sustainability of the effort.

Stakeholders thanked the Commonwealth Secretariat for the offer of continued assistance to advance the recommendations from the meeting and invited stakeholders including governments, universities and RNB, among others to support the initiative.

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THE LAND OF MILK AND HONEY? RECENT MIGRATION TO ARUBA

Frank C. Eelens
Netherlands Interuniversity Demographic Institute

Monique Plaza Maduro
CBS-Aruba

Martijn Balkestein
CBS-Aruba

Introduction

During the last twenty five years modernization and globalization have thoroughly changed the economic entities of most countries on earth. Globalization involves the modernization and integration of international economic systems through international trade, foreign investments and the temporary and permanent movement of people. The economic mechanisms which have led to this globalization have been lubricated by two important phenomena: a) the rapid increase in information, transportation and communication technology and b) the enhanced liberalization of trade and capital markets¹. Globalization has had some major consequences for current global migration patterns. At the moment, some 175 million persons are living outside the country in which they were born².

Within the context of the globalization of financial, economic and human resources it is not only the mere magnitude of migration streams that has altered. The motivation for and consequences of migration have grown more complex. For instance, the distinction between political refugees and economic migrants has become increasingly vague in many countries³. Countries are no longer strictly sending or receiving people. Also, a group of migrants does not migrate for purely economic reasons. Because of demographic growth and the enormous differences in economic opportunities and quality of life between rich and poor countries, the supply of potential migrants is many times higher than the demand. As a result resistance has grown among many governments to further accept large groups of immigrants. Asylum seekers nowadays fight an uphill battle to find a refuge country, and immigration laws have become stricter. Consequently, non-documented migration has increased drastically and has given rise to a complete migration industry. Against payment, migrants are provided with the necessary paperwork, can lend travel and entry money or can even be smuggled across international borders. In return, many governments have taken serious steps to curb illegal immigration and try to stop human trafficking.

Aruba is a small island (180 km²) in the Caribbean, close to the coast of Venezuela and forms part of the kingdom of the Netherlands. Citizens carry the Dutch nationality. It has its own self-governing status within the kingdom of the Netherlands. In 2003, the population was about 96,000, which constitutes an increase of about 44 percent compared to the population census of 1991⁴. Aruba is a new nation. In 1985 it gained its 'status aparte' within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. As such, it is a country which is in full development in terms of its economic, political and social entity.

Aruba is one of a few countries in the Caribbean that has net immigration. Most countries in the region have significant numbers of emigrants; Aruba is faced with a large influx of foreign workers. Although the absolute number of migrants who have entered Aruba

¹ Tatyana P. Soubbotina (2004), *Beyond Economic Growth An Introduction to Sustainable Development*, p. 83, the World Bank, Washington D.C.

² World Institute for Development Economics Research, United Nations University (2002), *2002 WIDER Annual Lecture. Winners and Losers in Two Centuries of Globalization*. Website: <http://www.wider.unu.edu/newsletter/angle2002-2.pdf>.

³ Christina Boswell, Jeff Crisp and George Borjas (2002), *Migration Matters*, in Newsletter 2002-2, United Nations University.

⁴ Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba (September 2004), *Demographic Profile 2003*, p.1, Aruba.

is small compared to many other large countries, the impact of migration on the local society has been considerable. In this article we will look at some important aspects of labor migration to Aruba. First, we will briefly explain the methodology of the Aruba Migration and Integration Study (AMIS). Next to a description of the migration streams and its connection to economic developments, we will go deeper into some of the consequences of migration on Aruban society.

Methodology

Data for this article were taken from the Aruba Migration and Integration Study (2003)⁵ and from the Fourth Population and Housing Census (2000). Migration studies require a special methodological approach. To begin with, the place of residence of the target population of migrants is seldom known. In Aruba, the data derived from the Census 2000 provided information about the regional distribution of migrants as of October 13th, 2000. However, in the three years between the Population Census and AMIS, many migrants had moved or left and new migrants had settled on the island. Therefore, specialized sampling techniques were required to draw a probability sample in which each respondent had a known, non-zero chance of being selected. Enumeration blocks of the 2000 Population and Housing Census were used to draw the sample for AMIS. For the Census, Aruba was divided into 1,034 enumeration blocks, each consisting of 25 to 35 addresses.

Sampling for AMIS followed the methodology set out by Bilsborrow, Hugo, Oberai and Zlotnik⁶. The number of migrant families in each enumeration block was estimated on the basis of the 2000 Census. According to the Census 2000, a total 13,034 family units on Aruba included at least one member who was a recent migrant, i.e. a person who came to Aruba in the last ten years. In order to obtain a self-weighting sample, the probability of selection of each Census enumeration block was made proportional to the number of migrant family units living within that block. This type of sampling is widely used and generally known as 'probability proportional to estimated size' (PPES). We used a systematic sample to select Census blocks⁴. First, the Census enumeration blocks were ordered according to the number of migrant family units in the Census block, and then accumulated. It was estimated that some 80 enumeration blocks would have to be selected to obtain about 1,100 migrant family units.

In each migrant family, one person was interviewed with a Long Form, which took about an hour to complete. To avoid excessive interviewing time, information about all other members of the family was noted on shorter questionnaires. In this way, we also avoided obtaining duplicate information from different persons within one family. The migrant interviewed with the Long Form was called the 'Main Migration Actor'⁶ (or MMA). The MMA was selected as follows: the MMA was born outside Aruba, and had been living on the island for one year or longer. If the person had been living on the island for less than one year, he/she intended to remain on the island for at least one year; the MMA had established himself/herself on the island less than 10 years ago, i.e. had migrated to Aruba after April 30th 1993; if more persons were eligible to be the MMA, the person who had established himself/ herself on the island first was selected as the MMA⁷. If there was still more than one candidate, the oldest was chosen. A total of 1,677 family units comprising at least one recent migrant were counted in these Census blocks in 2000. Ultimately, 679 family units were successfully interviewed during the fieldwork of AMIS in 2003.

⁵ Central Bureau of Statistics (2004), *Double or quits. A study on recent migration to Aruba, 1993-2003*. Oranjestad, August 2004.

⁶ R.E. Bilsborrow, Graeme Hugo, A.S. Oberai and Hania Zlotnik, *International Migration Statistics, Guidelines for improving data collecting systems. A study published with the financial support of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)*. International Labour Office, Geneva. p. 268-274.

⁷ This methodology was used in the project Push and pull factors of international migration, executed by the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) in collaboration with Eurostat under auspices of the European Commission. A description of their methodology can be found in Jeannette Schoor I, Liesbeth Heering, Ingrid Esveldt, George Groenewold, Rob van der Erf, Alinda Bosch, Helga de Valk, Bart de Bruijn (s.d.), *Push and pull factors of international migration A comparative report*, Eurostat.

Fieldwork for the Aruba Migration and Integration Study 2003 took place during the months of May, June and July 2003. It started on May 9th and finished on July 4th. In this period twenty interviewers personally visited a total 2,620 addresses in the selected census blocks. In this study the unit of analysis is not the household, but the family unit. In each family unit one MMA was interviewed with a Long Form. All other family members were interviewed with a Short Form. Interviewers were instructed to make all reasonable efforts to obtain interviews with the eligible members of the family in question. During the interviews, each MMA was asked whether he or she would agree to participate in an in depth interview. After the survey, 70 MMAs who had agreed to participate in such interview were selected. Fourteen students from the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA) each conducted five case studies of migrants. These qualitative data were used in the AMIS-report to further enrich the information gathered in the survey.

International migrants

During the last decades, falling prices in air transport together with increased information about far away places and improved communication opportunities have resulted in a fast growing international tourist market. Aruba's attempt to become a prime tourist destination coincided with a growing demand for exotic tourism destinations and has become highly successful. However, in a way Aruba has become victim of its success. The rapid development of Aruba's tourism industry, and the accompanying growth in the construction and service sectors, led to an overheating of the economy at the end of the 1980's and the beginning of the 1990's. For instance, in 1987 the percentage growth of the GDP (nominal) was 20.3. In the period 1987-1994, the GDP grew from Afl. 872.8 million to 2,229.8 million. This means an increase of no less than 155.5 percent.

Another consequence of the rapid economic development was that the local labor market was far too small to provide the necessary manpower to fill all the vacancies in the construction, tourism and service sector. According to figures from the Civil Registration, 15,691 foreigners settled on the island from the beginning of 1987 to mid 1992. In addition to these legal migrants, the island started to attract more and more undocumented migrants. The construction sector in particular has been plagued by large numbers of illegal workers. At the time of the 1991 Census, the largest contingent of foreign workers originated from the Dominican Republic: a total 1,638 women from this country were living on the island. They had been drawn by the increased demand for domestic servants caused by the higher participation of Aruban women in the labor market. In 1972, the employment rate for women in Aruba was 28 percent. By 1991, this had increased to 53 percent⁸. Many Aruban and foreigners' households hired women from surrounding developing countries to work as housemaids.

During the 1990's the demand for foreign labor on Aruba continued. This led to some spectacular growth rates. Between the end of 1989 and the end of 1992, the population increased by more than 10,000 persons. In 1990, the population growth rate was no less than 5.3 percent. A comparison with data from the Demographic Yearbook (United Nations, 1990) reveals that, during 1990, Aruba was probably the fastest growing country on earth. The 2000 Population and Housing Census showed that of the 90,506 people living on Aruba, 30,104 were born elsewhere. This amounts to 33.26 percent of the total population⁹. At the end of the 1990's, net migration started to come down gradually. Net migration rates in the beginning of the decade were well above 30 per thousand. At the end of the decade the net migration rate had come down to less than 5 per thousand. However, since 2000 the level of immigration has picked up again and in 2003, net migration was 15.5 per thousand.

⁸ M. Balkestein & F. Eelens (1996), *Labor Force Survey*. Aruba, October – November 1994. Labor Dynamics in Aruba. Central Bureau of Statistics, Oranjestad. p. 25.

⁹ Central Bureau of Statistics (2001), *Fourth Population and Housing Census Aruba. October 14, 2000. . Selected Tables*. Oranjestad.

The influx of foreign laborers during the last fifteen years is different from the immigration during earlier periods. Migration to the island of Aruba has become much more globalized. Table 1 presents the foreign born population as recorded in the 2000 population census by continent and subcontinent in which they were born, with the number of countries within each subcontinent.

Table 1. Foreign-born persons living on Aruba by continent and subcontinent in which they are born, with number of countries in each subcontinent.

Continent	Subcontinent	No. of countries	No. of persons
Africa	Eastern	5	8
	Middle	1	2
	Northern	4	15
	Southern	1	18
	Western	6	11
	Subtotal	17	54
Asia	Eastern	5	696
	South-central	5	215
	South-eastern	6	847
	Western	9	76
	Subtotal	25	1,834
Europe	Eastern	6	24
	Northern	5	9
	Southern	7	233
	Western	9	4,037
	Subtotal	27	4,304
Latin America and the Caribbean	Caribbean	24	9,833
	Central America	7	132
	South America	14	13,171
	Subtotal	45	23,137
Northern America	Northern	3	756
	Subtotal	3	756
Oceania	Australia/New Zealand	2	16
	Melanesia	2	3
	Micronesia	0	0
	Polynesia	0	0
	Subtotal	4	19
Total		123	30,104

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Note: persons for whom country of birth was not reported are not presented in the table.

It is remarkable that residents of a small island, which is no larger than 180 square kilometer, represent 79 different nationalities and have no fewer than 124 different countries of birth. Although the majority of migrants have come from Aruba's neighboring countries, people from all over the globe have come to live on Aruba. In recent years, large groups of migrants from as far afield as India, China and the Philippines have migrated to the island. And although one would not perhaps expect people from Africa to live on an island in the Caribbean, in fact, people born in eighteen different African countries currently reside on Aruba: Guinea, Liberia, Kenya, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Seychelles, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, United Republic of Tanzania, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Gambia, Ghana and Congo¹⁰.

The largest contingent of foreign-born persons on Aruba originates from South America and the Caribbean, and represent respectively 14 and 24 different countries. A total of 13,171 persons on the island originated from South America. By far the largest group of foreigners comes from Colombia. Although Colombia is South America's oldest democracy,

¹⁰ Central Bureau of Statistics (2001), *Fourth Population and Housing Census Aruba. October 14, 2000. Selected Tables*. Oranjestad.

the country is currently plagued by organized crime, political violence, drug trafficking and a waning economy. This has prompted a growing number of Colombians to leave their country in search of a better life. A sizeable group of Colombians have found their way to Aruba: in 2000, 7,191 persons born in Colombia lived on the island. This represented an increase of no less than 255 percent on the Census of 1991. In 1981, only 945 Colombians were living on Aruba.

In addition to Colombia some other South American countries also have a large representation on the island: Venezuela (2,914), Suriname (1,301) and Peru (960). The fastest growing group of migrants comes from Peru. In 1991, only 157 Peruvians were living on the island; this had increased by 511 percent in 2000. At present, Aruba is deciding what its position is with respect to the European Union. The island has various options to determine its degree of integration within the Union. Through its colonial history, Aruba has political, demographic and cultural ties with the Netherlands and with other European countries. Traditionally, Aruba has relied on Dutch citizens to compensate its shortage in workers in education, health and other sectors, a trend that continues up to today. The 2000 Population and Housing Census counted 3,692 European Dutch citizens, the second largest group of foreign-born persons on the island. A total of 602 citizens from 26 other European countries also reside on the island. The second largest group of European migrants originates from Portugal (195). Many of these Portuguese immigrants have come to Aruba since the 1940's. Most did not come from mainland Portugal, but from Madeira. They were driven from their island because of poverty and tried to find a better life in Venezuela and the Netherlands Antilles¹¹.

Before the *Status Aparte*, Curaçao was one of Aruba's partners within the Netherlands Antilles. In 2000, 2,271 persons living on the island were born in Curaçao. However, compared to most other countries of origin, the number of persons from Curaçao has increased far less dramatically during the last ten years (+18.2 percent). Another very important group are the Haitians (1,023). Like the group from the Dominican Republic, immigrants from Haiti consist of more than twice as many women as men. Many of them either work as housemaids or as low skilled workers in the tourist sector.

In the 2000 census, 1,834 persons born in Asia were living on Aruba. The largest group of migrants from the Asian continent comes from the Philippines (768). At the beginning of the 1990's a number of Filipinos were hired in the hotel sector. Currently, they have diversified their economic activities and are also active in other industrial sectors. The Chinese entered Aruba's commercial sector in the 1940's. They specialized in the food sector and restaurants. Currently, practically all major supermarkets on the island are owned by second or third generation ethnic Chinese. Since 1991, the number of persons born in China has increased significantly. In 1991, 275 first generation migrants from China were living on the island, in 2000 their numbers had increased to 636¹².

From the onset of Aruba's oil industry in the late 1920's, Americans played an important role in this sector. The majority of management positions were in the hands of American expatriates. Most of them worked for the refinery on a contract basis and only stayed on the island for a limited period of time. In 1948, 2,197 Americans and Canadians were living on Aruba¹³. The automatization process within LAGO had an effect on the number of American employees. By 1960 the number of Americans on the island had decreased to 1,426 persons¹⁴. Their number fell further to 307 in 1981¹⁵. However, with the development of the tourist industry and the reopening of the oil refinery, the number of Americans settling on the island started to grow again, and in 1991 their number had increased to 469. In the course

¹¹ L. Alofs & L.Merkies(1990), o.c., p.75.

¹² Central Bureau of Statistics (2001), *Fourth Population and Housing Census Aruba. October 14, 2000. Selected Tables*. Oranjestad, p. 69 and Central Bureau of Statistics (1992), *Third Population and Housing Census Aruba. October 6, 1991. Selected Tables*. Oranjestad, p. 71.

¹³ L. Alofs & L.Merkies(1990), o.c., p.68.

¹⁴ A.H.Hawley (1960), o.c., p. 4.

¹⁵ Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (1985), *Tweede Algemene Volks- en Woningtelling. Toestand per 1 Februari 1981. Serie B. Censusesresultaten, Enige Kenmerken van de Bevolking van Aruba. Demografische kenmerken, nationaliteit en geboorteplaats, taal, handicap, religie*. Census publicatie B.5, Willemstad, Curaçao, p. 14.

of the 1990's their numbers grew further to 695 in 2000¹⁶; these numbers are still significantly lower than during the heyday of the oil refinery, though.

Migrants on the labor market

The total number of employed persons rose by an impressive 43 percent during the intercensal period. In 1991, the number of employed persons totaled 29,220. The last Census (2000) revealed that almost 42,000 persons had a job. In the 1990's, the new jobs created by Aruba's growing economy were increasingly filled by foreign workers. In the last nine years, approximately 12,700 jobs were added to the labor force. Natives represented only a small share of this labor market growth: 10.8 percent. The rest of the growth (32.6 percent) can be attributed to new immigrants.

Between 1991 and 2000 the number of employed immigrants increased by 124.5 percent, compared with a mere 14.7 percent for natives. Immigrants increased their share of the labor force from 26 percent in 1991 to 41 percent in 2000. Moreover, despite the fact that the economy failed to grow during the latest recession, immigrants continued to seek employment on Aruba. Immigrants are still Aruba's primary source of new labor. Table 2 summarizes some key employment indicators. A division was made between Aruban born persons and migrants born in developed and developing countries.

Table 2 shows clearly the differences between the three groups. Migrants from developing countries work most hours and have the lowest average monthly salary. Migrants from developed countries are often here for specialized, high skilled labor and consequently have the highest mean salary. Notwithstanding Aruba's expanding labor market, unemployment has remained relatively high throughout the 1990's. In 2000, about 7.0 percent of active persons were out of work.

Migrants who come to Aruba to work try to get a job as soon as possible. Table 3 shows that the majority of men (86.4 percent) from developed countries already had a job offer at the time of arrival in Aruba; 65.2 percent of women from developed countries knew where they could start work. The percentages of migrants who have a job offer are smaller for people from developing countries: 50.8 and 57.7 percent of migrant men and women respectively have a job offer at the time they arrive in Aruba. Overall, 57.9 percent of migrants had a job offer when they arrived on the island. This means that 42.1 percent of all migrants simply enter the island as tourists and start their search for a job after arrival.

¹⁶ Central Bureau of Statistics (2002), *The People of Aruba. Continuity and Change. Fourth Population and Housing Census Aruba*. October 14, 2000, p.73.

Table 2. Key employment indicators by type of country of birth, 1991, 2000

	Type of country of birth							
	Aruba		Developed		Developing		Total	
	1991	2000	1991	2000	1991	2000	1991	2000
Activity rate (% population aged 15-65)	45.0	43.9	40.5	45.6	55.1	66.3	46.0	49.2
Employment rate (% population aged 15-64)	62.1	62.3	59.6	65.5	68.0	72.8	62.8	65.5
Unemployment rate (% population aged 15-64)	6.3	7.0	5.0	4.7	5.8	7.6	6.1	7.0
Youth unemployment rate (% labor force 15-24)	12.5	16.1	10.9	11.9	10.1	17.7	12.0	16.3
Average number of hours worked per week	42.6	41.9	44.1	43.2	45.3	44.5	43.2	43.1
Self employed (% total employment)	6.4	9.5	13.6	15.7	6.9	7.6	7.1	9.5
Average monthly gross salary (Aruban fl.)	1,719	2,597	2,528	3,693	1,160	1,556	1,677	2,346
Average age of the employed persons	36.4	40.6	41.0	40.3	37.6	38.5	37.0	40.0
Total employed (absolute)	21,397	24,469	2,449	3,694	4,952	13,230	28,799	41,395
Total unemployed (absolute)	1,431	1,839	130	183	306	1,087	1,867	3,102
Total inactive (absolute)	11,620	12,951	1,533	1,759	2,020	1,759	15,173	18,736
Total population aged 15-64	34,448	39,258	4,112	5,635	7,278	18,163	45,838	63,233
Total population	50,777	59,886	6,361	8,503	9,549	21,601	66,687	90,506

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

Table 3. Percentage of MMAs who came to Aruba to work by whether they had a job offer when they came to Aruba by type of country of birth and sex.

	Nat. of developed country		Nat. of developing country		Total	No. of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Had a job offer	86.4	65.2	50.8	57.7	57.9	264
Did not have a job offer	13.6	34.8	49.2	42.3	42.1	192

Source: AMIS 2003

Especially among migrants from developing countries, chain migration plays a predominant role. More than half of all migrants who had a job offer when they arrived on Aruba obtained this offer through relatives or friends already on the island. The figures in table 4 again show the large difference between migrants from developed and developing countries. Both for men and women from developed countries getting a job via relatives or friends is only the third most important way. Among women from developed countries only 6.7 percent got a job via relatives or friends. By comparison, 68.1 percent of women from developing countries relied on relatives and friends to find work. Migrants from developed countries rely much more on direct contact with the employer. They either contact the employer directly for work (34.2 percent of men; 60.0 percent of women) or are contacted by the employer (26.3 percent of men; 26.7 percent of women). Professional recruitment agencies only play a minor role in attracting people to come to Aruba.

Most migrants who came without a job offer found a job fairly quickly after arriving on the island. In their first month on the island, 20.8 percent of men and 16.9 percent of women had found a job. After two months, these percentages are respectively 54.9 and 37.0. Women, on average, seem to have more problems finding work than men. After six months on the island, 16.7 percent of men and 32.8 of women who came to work without a job offer were still looking. By that time these migrants had long exceeded the maximum duration of three months a tourist may stay on the island.

Table 4. Percentage of MMAs who had a job offer before they came to Aruba by way they got job offer, sex and type of country of birth.

	Developed country		Developing country		Total	No. of cases
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Through friends/relatives in Aruba	18.4	6.7	56.1	68.1	53.0	140
Through recruitment agency	5.3	0.0	2.0	1.8	2.3	6
Applied directly to employer	34.2	60.0	9.2	12.4	17.0	45
Was contacted by employer	26.3	26.7	26.5	15.9	22.0	58
Other, specify:	15.8	6.7	6.1	1.8	5.7	15
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	264

Source: AMIS 2003

Table 5. Employed population by major branch of industry and type of country of birth, 1991 and 2000

Major branch of Industry	Type of country of birth							
	Aruba		Developed		Developing		Total	
	1991	2000	1991	2000	1991	2000	1991	2000
Agriculture, hunting and forestry, fishing	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.0
Mining and quarrying	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Manufacturing	5.7	6.0	6.0	6.2	6.7	5.6	5.9	5.9
Electricity, gas and water supply	2.0	1.9	0.7	0.5	0.2	0.1	1.6	1.2
Construction	11.2	7.0	11.0	7.0	12.6	14.5	11.4	9.4
Wholesale and retail trade, repair	18.4	18.2	17.2	14.9	13.1	15.7	17.4	17.1
Hotels and restaurants	17.1	13.1	19.6	15.3	33.0	29.1	20.1	18.4
Transport, storage and communications	9.5	9.9	7.5	6.0	2.7	1.9	8.1	7.0
Financial intermediation	4.7	5.1	4.0	3.6	1.1	0.7	4.0	3.6
Real estate, renting and business activities	4.0	8.8	5.3	11.0	2.5	8.7	3.9	9.0
Public administration and defence; social securi	10.3	12.3	5.7	10.8	1.0	0.7	8.3	8.5
Education	4.1	3.8	7.0	8.8	1.8	1.3	3.9	3.4
Health and social work	5.6	6.0	5.6	6.5	1.8	2.0	4.9	4.8
Other community, social and personal services	5.7	7.3	6.0	8.0	3.8	5.1	5.4	6.7
Private households with employed persons	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.2	18.1	13.6	3.5	4.5
Extra territorial organizations and bodies	0.6	0.0	3.4	0.7	0.8	0.1	0.9	0.1
Not reported	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Population and Housing Censuses 1991 and 2000.

The largest industrial sector in Aruba is 'Hotels and Restaurants'. In 2000, about 60 percent of all persons born in developing countries were either working in the sector 'hotels and restaurants', 'wholesale and retail trade, repair' or the sector 'construction'. The distribution of foreigners from developing countries over the industrial branches displays only slight changes between 1991 and 2000. During the period 1991 – 2000 the number of migrants has surpassed those of local workers in this sector. In 1991, 62.8 percent of all jobs in the hotel were held by Aruban workers. In 2000 this had dropped to 42.0 percent. The absolute numbers of Arubans in the hotel sector has decreased from 3,541 in 1991 to 3,215 in 2000. These figures show that the motor which drives the Aruban economy is more and more fueled by foreign laborers. Also the construction sector saw a similar trend during the 1990's. Table 6 shows the position migrants take in the Aruban labor market.

Undocumented migrants

Discrepancies in the distribution of wealth between rich and poor countries, together with much improved mass media communication in many developing countries have created a sheer infinite pool of potential migrants. Many poor people are willing to take considerable risks to find a better life abroad and often move overseas without proper documents. Much to

the discomfort of many developed countries, the poor and middle classes from developing countries have found their proper niche in the globalization of the world economy and of international migration streams.

In the Caribbean region, undocumented migration by boat from Haiti and Cuba to the US has drawn the attention of the international press. In recent years, dramatic losses at sea and spectacular rescue operations of migrants in distress regularly made news headlines. However, these spectacular forms of undocumented migration account for only a small part of the movement of undocumented migrants throughout the Caribbean. In her paper on irregular migration in the Caribbean, Elisabeth Thomas Hope¹⁷ discerns three general types of undocumented movement:

1. The illegal entry of migrants from other parts of the world. In the whole region, many of these migrants come from China and are in a sort of transit. Most of them eventually try to enter the United States.
2. Migrants originating from Caribbean countries who enter the US, Canada or the European Union directly.
3. A third type of migrants consists of Caribbean migrants who enter other countries in the region illegally

The position of undocumented migrants is one of vulnerability to extortion and abuse. The position of undocumented migrants in the region is a major concern for international organizations such as the International Labour Office (ILO) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). In their ILO paper for the Hemispheric Conference on International Migration: Human Rights and the Traffic in Persons in the Americas (20-22 November 2002), Patrick Taran and Eduardo Geronimo¹⁸ from the International Labor Office voice serious concerns about the position of undocumented migrants:

'An especially frightening aspect is a surge in official and public associations of migrants and migration with criminality. These include frequent news reports that attribute both particular incidences and rising general crime rates to foreigners or immigrants, putting immigration control in the same category as crime, arms and drugs control, and the generalized use of the terminology 'illegal migrants' or 'illegal alien'. Legally and semantically, the term 'illegal migrant' is an oxymoron – a contradiction- by any reading of human rights values. It contradicts the spirit, if not directly violates the letter, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which clearly establishes in Article Six that every person has the right to recognition before the law, and in Article 7, that every person has the right to due process.'

Many countries in the Americas deal very strictly with undocumented migrants. 'US legislation deals with illegal immigration in such a way as effectively to treat any undocumented worker as a criminal'¹⁹. In other countries, migrants are expelled in defiance of the proper procedures and sometimes in violation with the law. For instance, Dominican migration officials admit that they focus their efforts to catch undocumented migrants on Haitians who are wandering or panhandling in the streets, and that they summarily find Haitians not in possession of identification to be in the country illegally²⁰.

The problem of unregistered migration to Aruba is quite complex. Without doubt a large group of migrants live on the island without the necessary documents. The special police unit *Warda nos costa* (Coast Guard) arrested 1,488 foreigners for suspected violations

¹⁷ Elisabeth Thomas Hope (s.d.), Irregular migrants and asylum seekers in the Caribbean. s.l.

¹⁸ Patrick Taran and Eduardo Geronimo (2002,) *Globalization, Labor and Migration: Protection is Paramount. Conferencia Hemisférica sobre Migración Internacional: Derechos Humanos y Trata de Personas en las Américas* (Santiago de Chile, 20-22 November 2002). International Migration Programme, International Labor Office, Geneva.

¹⁹ Iván González Alvarado & Hilda Sánchez (2003), *Migration in Latin America and the Caribbean: A view from the ICFTU/ORIT*. ICFTU/ORIT.

²⁰ Human Rights Documentation Centre (2003) *Special Weekly Edition for the Duration of the 59th Session of the Commission on Human Rights* (Geneva, 17 March 2003 - 25 April 2003). DOMINICAN REPUBLIC . Ratify the MWC; it's a fair deal.

of immigration laws (*Landsverordening Toelating en Uitzetting*)²¹ in 2003. Among those detained 149 were caught when they tried to enter Aruba illegally by boat. A total of 1,024 were sent back to their country of origin; 397 were released because they could prove they possessed the necessary permits and 67 were given duty to report back. Among all those arrested, 718 had the Colombian and 128 the Venezuelan nationality.

There is evidence that of these undocumented migrants were enumerated during the 2000 Population Census. The exact number of such migrants is, however, unknown because no question was related to legal status on the island. The AMIS comprised a special question for the MMA about the time it took to obtain a residence permit. Two special response categories were included: a) Respondent does not need a residence permit; and b) Residence permit is in progress. It is obvious that 'in progress' could mean many things.

Table 6. Percentage of migrants by duration to obtain residence permit (MMA) and by duration of settlement.

Duration to get residence permit	Duration of settlement				Total	N.of cases
	less than 1 year	1-4 y.	5-9 y.	Not rep.		
Less than 1 month	0.9	5.2	8.1	0.2	14.3	94
Less than 6 months	0.5	11.7	14.0	0.3	26.4	174
6-12 months	0.6	11.2	16.4	0.6	28.9	190
1- 2 yrs.	0.0	4.2	4.4	0.2	8.7	57
More than 2 yrs.	0.0	2.0	4.1	0.0	6.1	40
Does not need a residence permit	0.8	2.3	2.1	0.0	5.2	34
Residence permit is in progress	4.3	5.3	0.8	0.2	10.5	69
Total	7.1	41.6	49.8	1.4	100.0	658

Source: AMIS 2003

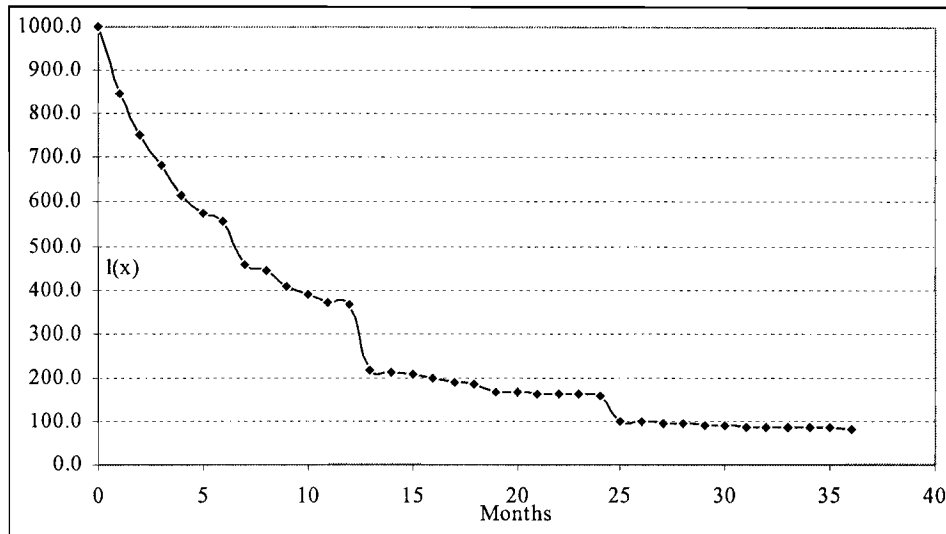
Under Aruban law, a person may only live on the island if his/her residence permit is ready. Table 6 shows that only a very small proportion of migrants comply with this law. Only 14.3 percent receive their permit within one month of arriving on the island. About 60 percent live on the island for more than six months without the proper documents. This means that strictly speaking the majority of all persons who come to Aruba are 'illegal' for at least some time. About 15 percent live on the island for more than a year without a residence permit; 10.5 percent were still in the process of obtaining a permit.

As soon as a migrant is on the island the race for permits begins. To look into how long it takes to obtain a residence permit we did a life table analysis on the basis of the data from the AMIS. Figure 1 shows the number of persons in the life table (l_x) who -given the month specific probability of obtaining a permit- have not got a permit at exact duration x .

Our life table analysis shows that –among all migrants who need a permit- only about 15 percent got their residence permit in their first month on Aruba. After two months on the island one in four migrants had obtained a permit. Between the sixth and seventh month of residence on the island, 50 percent have the necessary papers. After twelve months, some 36 percent of migrants have yet to receive their permits, after 24 months 16 percent and after 36 months, 8 percent still have no permits. Migrants who come to Aruba, and obtain their permits during the first three years have to wait on average 10.2 months. It is interesting to see that the waiting time in the life table does not decrease over time as one would expect. Migrants who have been without a permit for 20 months still have to wait on average 10.5 months before obtaining their papers. This indicates that it is not easy for an undocumented migrant who has been on the island for an extended period of time to find someone 'to sign' for him/her. In the case of Aruba illegality is most often not a permanent state. Many migrants move in and out of 'illegality'.

²¹ Amigoe, January 17th 2004, p.5.

Fig. 1 .Number of migrants in the life table analysis who did not obtain a residence permit at month x.



Source: AMIS 2003

Some migrants will go to almost any lengths to obtain a residence permit. In one of our case studies we interviewed a woman who admitted that obtaining a residence permit was a serious consideration to marry her Aruban husband. The topic of 'marriages of convenience' is a regular news item on Aruba. Others make use of brokers to help them secure their papers. These are private persons who have - or claim to have - the experience and contacts to handle the paperwork without delay.

Not having a permit causes stress and anxiety for many migrants. One of our female informants was on the island without the necessary papers for about five years. She said she was very afraid of being caught by the immigration department. *'There were many times I hid from them under the bed, in the closet etc'*. She said it was a sacrifice she had to make for her children. Another female migrant from Peru put it this way: *'If I don't have my papers I am afraid to go out in the street because there are many people who do round-ups. I am not at ease in the street, or anywhere'*.

Migrants change Aruba

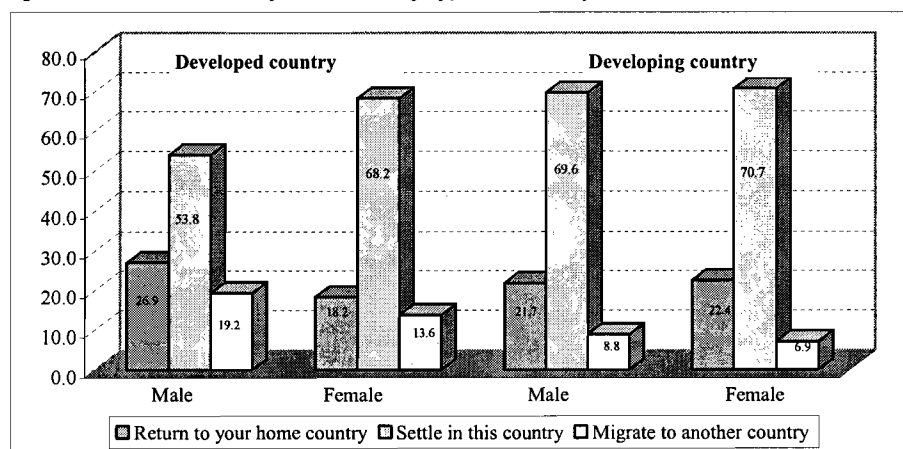
For policy purposes it is important to know whether people who migrate to another country intend to stay for a relatively short period, or whether they plan to settle on the island. The intention to settle, to return to his country of origin or to move on to another country is influenced by the migrant's expectation of what he/she can achieve in the receiving country in terms of economic, social and emotional welfare, compared with the other alternatives. Some people's intentions may be vague and undetermined; others' may be resolute and firm. In both cases, intentions remain intentions. They are no straightforward predictors of future migration behavior.

The Aruba Migration and Integration Survey included a question on how long foreigners - arriving on Aruba after 1994 - intended to stay on the island. It is interesting that such a high percentage of migrants (68.7 percent) intend to stay on the island indefinitely. Only 22.3 percent of all MMAs plan to go back to their country of birth and only 9 percent want to leave Aruba to go and live in another country. This percentage is higher than in 1994 and 1997 when respectively 48.8 and 64.4 percent of migrants indicated they wanted to settle on Aruba²². Figure 2 shows the percentage of migrants who intend to stay on Aruba, return to

²² Central Bureau of Statistics - Aruba: *Labor Force Survey 1994. Oranjestad* and Central Bureau of Statistics - Aruba: *Labor Force Survey 1997. Oranjestad*

their own country or want to migrate to another country. We made a division between migrants originating from developed and developing countries.

Figure 2. Intention to stay on Aruba by type of country of birth and sex.



Source: AMIS 2003

For all MMAs who indicated they wanted to stay on Aruba, we asked why they wanted to settle on the island. The interviewers were instructed to probe for as many reasons as possible. Table 3 presents the reasons why respondents want to settle on Aruba, by sex. For this table we made a division between persons who were born in developed and developing countries. When looking at the figure, one should take into account that in the survey the absolute number of men and women from developed countries, who want to settle on Aruba is quite small (30 men and 34 women). The number of men and women from developing countries is much higher; respectively 167 and 234. In general we can see that the reasons to settle on the island for both people from developed and from developing countries have a lot to do with the quality of life on Aruba and with the migrant's family situation. The main reason for all migrants is 'family lives here'. This includes migrants who have come here with their family, who have joined family already living here and those who have married someone on the island. Of the 30 women from developed countries who intend to stay on Aruba, 11 indicate that their partner is Aruban (36.7 percent). About 10 percent of women from developing countries give this as a reason. The simple reason 'likes it here' is mentioned by about 30 percent of all respondents who want to stay. More migrants from developed than from developing countries see this as a reason to settle on the island. This is especially important for women from developed countries. A good social environment is a very important factor for people to decide to stay; 30 percent of all respondents who want to stay say this is an important reason, with little difference between people from developed and developing countries. One would expect economic motives to be very important for migrants from developing countries. 'Having a good job' is an important reason for many migrants to stay. Men from developing countries attach much importance to having a good job; 54.5 percent mention this as a reason to stay. On the other hand, other economic reasons such as 'enough income', 'health insurance/pension here' and 'save more money' are important reasons for only about 10 percent of migrants from developing countries who want to stay. This would appear to indicate that, in addition to pure economics, quality of life is a very important motive to settle on Aruba. Lastly, just under 20 percent of people from developing countries indicate that the situation in their own country is too bad to return.

It is interesting that such a high percentage of migrants (68.7 percent) intend to stay on the island indefinitely. Only 22.3 percent of all MMAs plan to go back to their country of birth and only 9 percent want to leave Aruba to go and live in another country. The effect of migrants on the population of Aruba is obviously more important if more migrants settle permanently on the island.

The large influx of so many migrants, from all over the world has had some serious consequences for Aruban society. Below, we will briefly go deeper into some of these consequences.

Demographic composition:

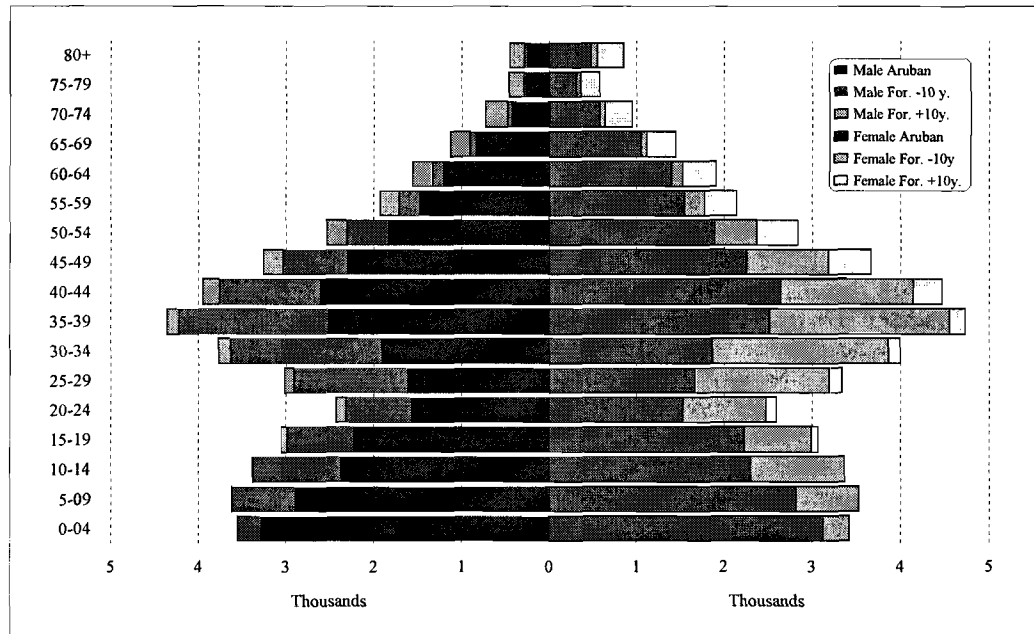
A first important impact of the large scale migration is on the age structure of the population living on Aruba. Figure 2.1 shows the population distribution of the population living on Aruba at the time of the 2000 Population Census by five-year age groups, sex and migration status. Three main migration categories were discerned: Aruban-born persons, foreign-born persons who had lived on the island for less than ten years and foreign-born persons who had arrived on Aruba more than ten years ago. The figure shows the effect of recent migration on the size and composition of the population currently living on Aruba. No fewer than 23,958 persons living on the island at the time of the 2000 Census had arrived after October 1990. More women (12,832) than men (11,126) found their way to Aruba during this period. There are many more recent than long-term migrants. Respectively, 2,670 migrant men and 3,840 migrant women had lived on the island for more than ten years.

The age structure of the foreign-born population is the direct result of past migration trends to the island. There is a significant group of older foreign-born people on the island, many of whom came to Aruba in the heyday of the LAGO refinery before the 1960's. There is a large group of recent migrants between ages 25 and 45. Many of these migrants brought young children to Aruba.

Aging is an important factor in Aruba's population dynamics. Currently, 8.1 percent of all persons living on Aruba are older than 65. According to the medium population projection scenario of the Aruba Central Bureau of Statistics, in 2023 this percentage will have increased to 13.0 percent²³. The number of persons older than 75 years will almost triple in the course of the next twenty years from 2,614 in 2003 to 7,339 in 2023. However, if we look at the local born population we see that the percentage of persons aged over 65 is currently 9.5 but will increase to 17.7 by 2023: an increase of 86 percent. Much of the rapid pace of aging will be masked by the arrival of foreign workers, who are typically in their twenties and thirties. Much will depend on the future contribution of migrant workers to the social system, to determine whether migration offsets the negative consequences of the rapid ageing of the local population.

²³ Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba (2004), *Population Projections Aruba 2003-2023*. Oranjestad, p.16.

Fig. 3. Population pyramid of Aruban and foreign born population, 2003



Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

Globally, in the 1970's the typical migrant was a male breadwinner who moved to another country to find better employment. In the 1980's, women started to take on a role as independent migrants. Often these women were married and better educated than men. In the proceedings of a UN-Expert Meeting (1990) on female international migration, the Population Division of the United Nations gave a rough estimate of female migrants as a percentage of the total migrant stock. According to their figures, women accounted for over 44 percent of the migrants present in most countries²⁴. Currently, according to the ILO, flows of migrants are larger for women than for men. However, women's opportunities to migrate legally have been more limited than those for men in many countries. Undocumented migration is therefore more frequent among women than among men. Consequently, they are also more vulnerable to discrimination, abuse and violence²⁵.

In Aruba, sex ratios²⁶ among the foreign-born population have always been very low. Table 7 shows the sex ratios among Aruba's foreign-born population by broad age-groups. The data for 2003 (AMIS) refer to recent migrants. Data in the other columns refer to the foreign population, irrespective of the period they settled on Aruba. In the foreign-born population on Aruba in 1960, only 58.6 men were present per 100 women. No data were available in the Census tables of 1972. In 1981, the sex ratio was 64.5 percent. The low sex ratio among the foreign-born population in the 1981 Census is caused by the large number of women who migrated to Aruba to work as housemaids in private houses²⁷. Most of these women came from other Caribbean Islands. In the period 1975-1981, 704 women from other islands migrated to Aruba. In the same period, only 81 men moved to Aruba. During this

²⁴ Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis. Population Division. (1995), *International Migration Policies and the Status of Female Migrants*. Proceedings of the United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration Policies and the Status of Female Migrants. San Miniato, Italy, 28-31 March 1990. United Nations, New York. p.78.

²⁵ Gloria Moreno Fontes Chammartin (s.d.), *The feminization of international migration. General Perspectives*. International Migration Programme, ILO.

²⁶ The sex ratio is the number of males per 100 females. A sex ratio smaller than 100 thus indicates that the number of women in a specific group is greater than the number of men.

²⁷ Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (1985), *Tweede Algemene Volks- en Woningtelling. Toestand per 1 Februari 1981. Serie B. Censuseresultaten, Enige Kenmerken van de Bevolking van Aruba. Demografische kenmerken, nationaliteit en geboorteplaats, taal, handicap, religie*. Census publicatie B.5, Willemstad, Curaçao, p. 30.

period, the number of male and female migrants from Europe and North- and Central America were almost equal.

Table 7. Sex ratios among Aruba's foreign population by broad age-groups, 1960-2003

Age-categories	1960	1981	1991	2000	2003
0-14	-	101.2	106.1	97.0	96.8
15-29	-	45.5	86.5	86.7	77.9
30-39	-	43.2	75.8	85.1	75.4
40-54	-	67.4	71.5	71.8	82.7
55-64	-	78.7	84.3	72.9	72.7
65+	-	74.0	78.8	70.8	140.0
Total	58.6	64.5	82.7	81.6	81.6

Source: Population censuses 1960, 1981, 1991, 2000 and AMIS 2003.

Between 1981 and 1991, the sex ratio among Aruba's foreign-born population increased considerably from 64.5 to 82.7. The boom in the construction sector during the late 1980's contributed to this increase. Foreign workers dominate the sector 'Craft and related trade workers' in Aruba. According to the 2000 Census, 2,497 migrants worked as craftsmen on Aruba, compared to 2,309 native men. The construction sector in particular has attracted a lot of foreign workers since the end of the 1980's. For instance, in 2000 the number of foreign-born masons was 584, compared to 331 Aruban masons. Between 1991 and 2003 the overall sex ratio among foreign-born persons has remained quite constant.

Marriage and the family

In Aruba, marriage and migration have long been linked. Arubans were already marrying people from the South American mainland and from other Caribbean islands at the beginning of the 19th century²⁸. In the LAGO period, migrant workers generally came without their families and stayed only for a limited time. Some opted to stay longer and sent for their spouses. Frequently this involved marriage migration where spouses were chosen from the country of origin (or another foreign country) and brought to Aruba. West Indian migrants sometimes married by proxy with a 'hometown girl'. The import of spouses was attached to certain conditions: the migrant had to prove he/she had appropriate housing and sometimes even had to pay a deposit²⁹. According to Green³⁰, marriages between West Indians with local women were not very popular at that time. Color differences and the lower economic position of the Aruban population were important factors which prevented intermarriage. However, some married local girls. This certainly had certain benefits: the Dutch nationality and a residence permit.

Restrictions on the free entry of new migrants in the receiving country may have a positive effect on marriage migration. In this way marriage may become an interesting alternative to gain admittance to a country. According to the authors of *'Marriage Migration: Just another case of positive assortative matching?'*³¹, most countries in Western Europe are facing increases in marriage migration. *'Marriage migration is by far the most common type of marriage pattern among many non-Western immigrant groups in Europe. And even though marriage migration has always existed, its relative importance has increased extensively until the 1990s where the rules were tightened'*. In 1998, 18 thousand of the 81.6 thousand immigrants in the Netherlands, came to join a partner. And more than half of all Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands came for family formation³². This is not surprising

²⁸ Alofs, L. & Merkies, L. (2001), *Ken ta Arubiano? Sociale integratie en natievorming op Aruba, 1924-2001. Tweede herziene en uitgebreide druk, VAD/ De Wit Stores, Aruba.*

²⁹ Alofs, L. & Merkies, L. (2001), *Ken ta Arubiano? Sociale integratie en natievorming op Aruba, 1924-2001. Tweede herziene en uitgebreide druk, VAD/ De Wit Stores, Aruba, p.73.*

³⁰ Green, V. (1969), *Aspects of interethnic integration in Aruba, Netherlands Antilles. Tucson; Ann Arbor University of Arizona.*

³¹ Aycaan Çelikaksoy, Helena Skyt Nielsen (2003), *Mette Verner Marriage Migration: Just another case of positive assortative matching?, August 13, 2003 (A paper investigating two aspects of the marriage behaviour of Turkish, Pakistani and Ex-Yugoslavian immigrants in Denmark).*

³² Han Nicolaas and Arno Sprangers (2001), *Migration motives of non-Dutch Immigrants in the Netherlands. Joint ECE-EUROSTAT Work Session on Migration Statistics. Submitted by Statistics Netherlands. Joint ECE-*

because as Schoorl et al. point out, the restrictive migration policies in many countries do not leave much room for other types of migration³³.

In 2000, 30,174 persons were in the married state and living together with their spouse on Aruba. According to *The people of Aruba, continuity and change*, the number of marriages between native partners has been declining during the last decade. Of all marriages conducted in 1992 (where both partners were still together in the 2000 Census), 35.8 percent were between native partners. The Census 2000 showed that among 646 couples who married in 1999 and who were still living together on the island in October 2000, only 188 (29.2 percent) were marriages where both partners were Aruban. Another 28.5 percent were Aruban men married to foreign-born women and in less than 15 percent the wife was Aruban and the husband foreign-born³⁴.

Table 4 shows the total married population living together on October 14th, 2000 by the partners' type of country of birth. A total of 15,087 couples indicated they were married; 7,515 of these consisted of two Aruban partners, accounting for 49.8 percent of all married couples³⁵. It is interesting to note that more or less equal percentages of Aruban women marry men from developed and developing countries, respectively 8.8 and 8.0 percent. On the other hand, Aruban men show a distinctly higher preference for women from developing countries (20.6 percent) to women from developed countries, (5.9 percent). Among Aruban husbands younger than 40, 64.9 percent are married to Aruban wives and 28.1 percent to women from developing countries. Accepting 'mixed' marriages has been a serious issue on the island, especially in the last decade. These marriages are often viewed with a certain prejudice.

Table 4. Married couples living together by type of country of birth of partners

Country of birth husband	Country of birth wife									
	Aruba		Developed countries		Developing countries		Unknown		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Aruba	7515	83.2	604	41.5	2101	46.0	4	14.3	10224	67.8
Developed countries	795	8.8	711	48.8	340	7.5	3	10.7	1849	12.3
Developing countries	726	8.0	141	9.7	2121	46.5	2	7.1	2989	19.8
Unknown	1	0.0	1	0.1	3	0.1	20	67.9	25	0.2
Total	9036	100.0	1456	100.0	4565	100.0	29	100.0	15087	100.0

Country of birth wife	Country of birth husband									
	Aruba		Developed countries		Developing countries		Unknown		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Aruba	7515	73.5	795	43.0	726	24.3	1	4.2	9036	59.9
Developed countries	604	5.9	711	38.4	141	4.7	1	4.2	1456	9.7
Developing countries	2101	20.6	340	18.4	2121	71.0	3	12.5	4565	30.3
Unknown	4	0.0	3	0.2	2	0.1	20	79.2	29	0.2
Total	10224	100.0	1849	100.0	2989	100.0	25	100.0	15087	100.0

Source: Fourth Population and Housing Census 2000, Aruba.

Native-born women who choose foreign partners on average choose much younger ones than native women who marry partners born on Aruba. The mean age difference is smallest between both partners in this category. 11.7 percent of native women are more than

EUROSTAT Work Session on Migration Statistics organised in cooperation with the UN Statistics Division (Geneva, 21-23 May 2001). UN STATISTICAL COMMISSION and UN ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE STATISTICAL OFFICE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES (EUROSTAT).

³³ Jeannette Schoorl, Liesbeth Heering, Ingrid Esveldt, George Groenewold, Rob van der Erf, Alinda Bosch, Helga de Valk, Bart de Bruijn (s.d.), *PUSH AND PULL FACTORS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION.. A COMPARATIVE REPORT. This report was compiled on behalf of the European Commission.* p.87.

³⁴ Central Bureau of Statistics (2002), *The People of Aruba. Continuity and Change.* Fourth Population and Housing Census Aruba, October 14, 2000.

³⁵ This percentage covers all persons married at the Census moment. In *People of Aruba, continuity and change* the author used as total population the persons who married in 1999 and were, still living together at the time of the Census.

5 years older than their foreign husband; only 4.1 percent of those married to an Aruban are more than 5 years older. The number of local women who marry a foreign-born man who is more than 5 years older is relatively small (346). Most of their spouses come from Colombia (68), Venezuela (67) and the Dominican Republic (47).

Conclusion

From the beginning of its history, the population of Aruba has been molded by consecutive waves of international migrants. The globalization of Aruba's economy, which triggered the influx of so many foreign workers in the last twenty years, has further expanded the multicultural character of Aruban society.

Alofs and Merkies³⁶ indicated that in 1985 there was still a clear distinction between residents who came before and those who arrived after the LAGO refinery. Although economically the two groups were not separated, there was no real social, political and cultural integration. In 2003, we see that the social distinction between the two groups, which lived on the island between 1924 and 1985, had become more unclear. The fight for the *Status Aparte* in 1986 was the fire which welded both groups together to one nation. Migrants from other South American countries who came to Aruba before 1985 have generally been assimilated in Aruban society.

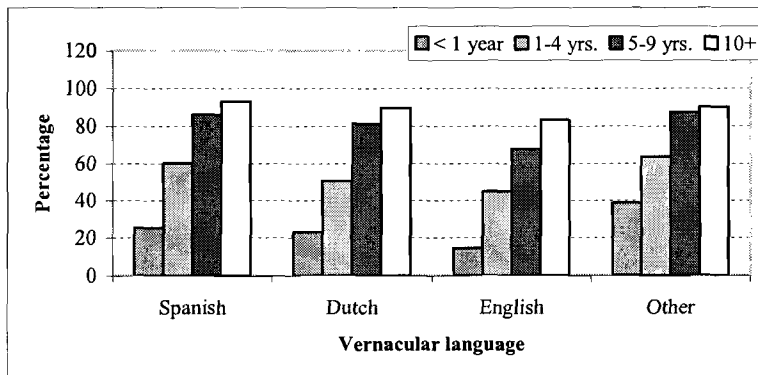
The globalization of the world's economy has had its effect on the small island of Aruba. International investments in Aruba's tourism industry created a shortage on the local labor market and have triggered an impressive immigration wave. This immigration wave has been different from the ones before as it has attracted migrants from such a large variety of countries and cultures. Because of the influx of large groups of foreign workers, a new division has grown within society: between the Aruban population from before 1985 and the migrant population who have settled on the island more recently. In a way, a new process of integration and assimilation has started. Some of these new migrants stay on the island only for a limited period of time, while many want to settle indefinitely.

There is no doubt that current migration to Aruba has had some serious effects on the entity of Aruban society. At the moment Aruban society is still in the process of getting to terms with this new wave of new citizens. A part of the population resents the high influx of foreigners to the island. In the Aruba Migration and Integration Study 59.6 percent of women from developing countries complain they are sometimes or often discriminated. For men from developing countries this figure is around 50 percent. Migrants from developed countries feel much less frequent discriminated; respectively 41.5 for men and 27.3 percent for women³⁷. The position of part of the Aruban population towards new migrants is influenced by the observation that important changes in society have taken place because of the immigration of so many foreigners. Three types of resentments can regularly be heard about the new migrants: a) especially foreign women cause the break up of marriages; b) foreigners take jobs away from local people and are willing to work for less salary and c) because of the new migrants crime has gone up. Each of these accusations is partly true. But as is so often the case the negative image people have about migrants is based on the misdemeanors of just a few. As one migrant put it: 'because of the actions of a few, the rest must suffer'.

³⁶ Alofs, L. & Merkies, L. (1990), *Ken ta Arubiano? Sociale integratie en natievorming op Aruba*. Leiden. p. 215.

³⁷ Central Bureau of Statistics (2004), *Double or quits. A study on recent migration to Aruba, 1993-2003*. Oranjestad, August 2004, p.149.

Figure 4. Migrant population (20-64 yrs.) who speak Papiamentu by vernacular language and duration of settlement.



Source: Fourth Population and Housing Census 2000, Aruba.

On the other hand, there are clear signs that the newly arrived migrants have started the process of integration into the Aruban society. First, speaking the language of the country in which you live is a first prerequisite for integration. Figure 4 shows the percentage of migrants who speak the local language (Papiamentu) by vernacular language and duration of settlement. After being on the island for more than 5 years, more than 80 percent of all migrants speak Papiamentu.

Another sign of integration is the high degree of intermarriage between local persons and migrants. Intercultural marriages are often used as an indicator to define the success of integration among different cultures within a country. Qian³⁸ denotes inter-ethnic marriage as the final stage of immigrant assimilation. In a paper presented at an OECD³⁹ conference (2003) the following meaning is given to the marriage indicator: *'The higher the rate of intermarriage, the more diverse a society becomes by breaking down barriers between communities, and the greater the benefits for cohesion'*. Earlier in this paper we saw that marriages between local and foreign partners were very high.

A third sign that the new migrant population is highly motivated to integrate is shown by the high numbers of persons who are applying for the Dutch nationality. Especially migrants from developing countries show a high propensity to obtain the Dutch nationality. Quite a few migrants had already successfully applied for citizenship; 12.3 percent of men and 11.0 percent of women. It is interesting to see that such a high proportion of migrants from developing countries wanted to apply for a Dutch passport. About one in four migrants indicated that they had already applied to change their nationality. The largest group comprised those who had not taken any steps but intended to do so in the future. No less than 41 percent of all migrants (both men and women) from developing countries indicated their intention to obtain the Dutch nationality.

It has been shown that if the economic growth of Aruba will continue in the future, a major consequence will be that Aruba will have to continue importing foreign workers. One scenario, assuming a yearly growth in GDP of 4 percent - which is about the average growth during the last ten years - would lead to an impressive growth of the number of foreigners on the island. Between 2003 and 2023 the Aruban born population would grow from 64,531 at present to 74,065. Because of the growth in jobs for which no local laborers are available the number of foreigners will grow from 31,571 to 69,312 foreign born persons by 2023, if an average growth of 4 percent in GDP would be maintained. An important aspect is that because of the ageing of the population, less local workers will be available on the labor

³⁸ Qian, Z. (1999) Who Intermarries? Education, Nativity, Region, and Interracial Marriage, 1980 and 1990." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 30(4): 579-597.

³⁹ Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD Conference Jointly organized by The European Commission and the OECD Brussels, 21-22 January 2003, p.14.

market. Currently, the ratio between local persons and foreign born persons is 2.05. By 2023 it would have dropped to 1.07. This would mean that almost as many foreigners will live on Aruba than locals⁴⁰. It will be interesting to see how the further globalization of the economy and the labor market will have an effect the patters of integration and nation building on Aruba.

⁴⁰ Central Bureau of Statistics (2004), *Population Projections Aruba 2003-2023*. Oranjestad, August 2004, p.17.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: FACTS AND FINDINGS⁴¹

Jorge Martínez Pizarro
(ECLAC/CELADE)
Santiago, Chile
September, 2005

Introduction

This document presents the trends and patterns of migration throughout Latin America and the Caribbean until the early 2000s. Most of the information was obtained through the processing of census microdata available at the data bank of the Project on Investigation of International Migration in Latin America (IMILA Project), conducted by the Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE) (www.eclac.cl/celade) of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). The information about extraregional host countries was obtained from diverse sources.

There are three broad migratory patterns. The first relates to overseas immigration to Latin America, which has declined in recent decades; non-renewal of flows, return movements and the effects of mortality having combined to reduce the stocks of immigrants. The second pattern, intraregional migration, has been fuelled by structural factors, such as unequal economic and social development, and short-term factors like the stock of migrants stabilizing in the 1980s, after doubling in the previous decade. The third pattern is that of emigration by Latin American and Caribbean nationals, mainly to the United States, where the stock of immigrants from the region more than tripled between 1980 and 2000; this third pattern has shown a great dynamism in the past decades, since emigration to host countries outside the region intensified, the destinations diversified and the percentage of women that emigrated became more significant. It is estimated that in 2000, a little over 20 million people from Latin American and the Caribbean lived outside their country of birth; this amount is equivalent to nearly 10% of international migrants in the world.

1. Main patterns in the migratory map of the population of the region

Information from the IMILA project concentrates on census data from Latin America. CELADE seeks to obtain data on Latin Americans enumerated in the censuses of countries outside of the region, especially the United States and Canada. Records of people born abroad are used to generate special tabulations that include bio-demographic characteristics—sex, age, fertility, child mortality—, as well as socio-demographic data—marital status, education and employment— of such people. In addition to providing inputs for the preparation of population projections, the information from the data bank of the IMILA project is used in numerous studies on international migration in Latin America that analyze the possible determining factors as well as the eventual consequences of migration (ECLAC-CELADE, 1999a; Martínez, 2003a, 2003b and 2000; Pellegrino, 2000, 1995 and 1993; Villa, 1996).

1.1. Immigration from overseas

From the second half of the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century migrants flowed into the region in intense, albeit varied movements that had a decisive influence, both quantitative and qualitative, on the national societies in the region. This applied especially to the countries on the Atlantic coast, where immigrants who had originated mainly in southern Europe, found conditions favorable to their social and economic integration. European immigrants settled mainly in the zones most closely related to the international economic circuits which, in addition to having ample “open spaces” available for agricultural production, were undergoing rapid modernization of their productive base

⁴¹ This document is a revision of a paper previously prepared for OECD (DELSA/ELSA/WP2(2004)10), and presented to the Seminar *Latin America and International Migration*, organized by the OECD and the Spanish authorities (Xunta de Galicia and Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs) with the participation of the University of A Coruña, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, 8-9 June 2005.

(Pellegrino, 2000); the economic expansion of these zones contributed to the creation of better jobs and wages than those existing in the countries of southern Europe, a fact that contributed to rapid upward social mobility.

In the years following the Second World War, Europe was the scene of a vigorous economic transformation that began in the northern and western countries and later spread —by virtue of integration mechanisms— to southern Europe. These transformations helped to retain the population in their home country. Concomitantly, the gap between the degree of socio-economic development of the European nations and that of the Latin American and Caribbean countries was widening. This led to a substantial reduction in migratory flows to the region and simultaneously stimulated a return movement of migrants to the old continent.

Starting in the 1960s and owing to scant inflows of new immigrants, the profile of immigrants from outside the region reflected a steady rate of ageing, mortality and return migration resulting in a gradual decline in the stock of such immigrants from some four million people in 1970 to less than two and a half million in 1990 and less than two million in 2000. Due to this decline, the proportion of people born overseas in the total stock of immigrants counted in censuses in Latin American countries decreased from just over three fourths of the total amount in 1970 to a little over half of the amount in 1990 and to 41% in 2000 (see tables 1 and 2 and figure 1).

Table 1
LATIN AMERICA: IMMIGRANT POPULATION BY ORIGIN
1970 - 2000

Origin	Census rounds ^{a/}				Annual growth rates		
	1970	1980	1990	2000	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000
Rest of world (immigration from overseas)	3873420	3411426	2350441	1935499	-1.3	-3.7	-1.9
Percentage	76.1	63.1	51.2	39.4			
Latin America and the Caribbean (intra-regional migration)	1218990	1995149	2242268	2971888	4.8	1.2	2.8
Percentage	23.9	36.9	48.8	60.6			
Total	5092410	5406575	4592709	4907387	0.6	-1.6	0.7
Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			

Source: Estimates prepared on the basis of IMILA data banks developed by ECLAC/ CELADE.

a/: For 1970, 16 countries were included; for 1980, 1990 and 2000, 14, 13 and 14 countries were included, respectively.

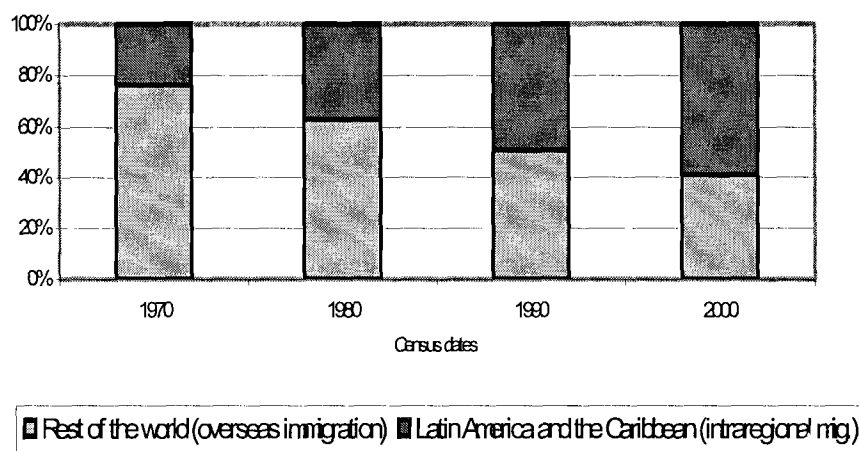
Table 2
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: STOCKS OF POPULATION BORN ABROAD
PER COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND SEX. 2000

Country of Birth	Born abroad				Born in Latin America and the Caribbean			
	Total	Men	Women	SRa/	Total	Men	Women	SRa/
Argentina	1531940	699555	832385	84.0	1041117	477985	563132	84.9
Belize	34279	17517	16762	104.5	29305	14804	14501	102.1
Bolivia	95764	49299	46465	106.1	76380	38853	37527	103.5
Brazil	683769	365915	317854	115.1	144470	78800	65670	120.0
Chile	195320	94677	100643	94.1	139082	64693	74389	87.0
Costa Rica	296461	149495	146966	101.7	272591	136055	136536	99.6
Ecuador	104130	52495	51635	101.7	74363	36569	37794	96.8
Guatemala	49554	22180	27374	81.0	39515	16891	22624	74.7
Honduras	27976	14343	13633	105.2	20097	9915	10182	97.4
Mexico	519707	261597	258110	101.4	91057	43071	47986	89.8
Panama	86014	43719	43264	101.1	53322	25259	28063	90.0
Paraguay	171922	89453	82469	108.5	158276	81901	76375	107.2
Dominican Rep.	96233	58069	38164	152.2	79494	48303	31191	154.9
Venezuela	1014318	508958	505360	100.7	752819	363115	389704	93.2
Total countries	4907387	2427272	2481084	97.8	2971888	1436214	1535674	93.5

Source: IMILA Project, CELADE.

a/ Sex ratio.

Figure 1
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANT
POPULATION PER ORIGIN 1970-2000



Source: IMILA Project, CELADE.

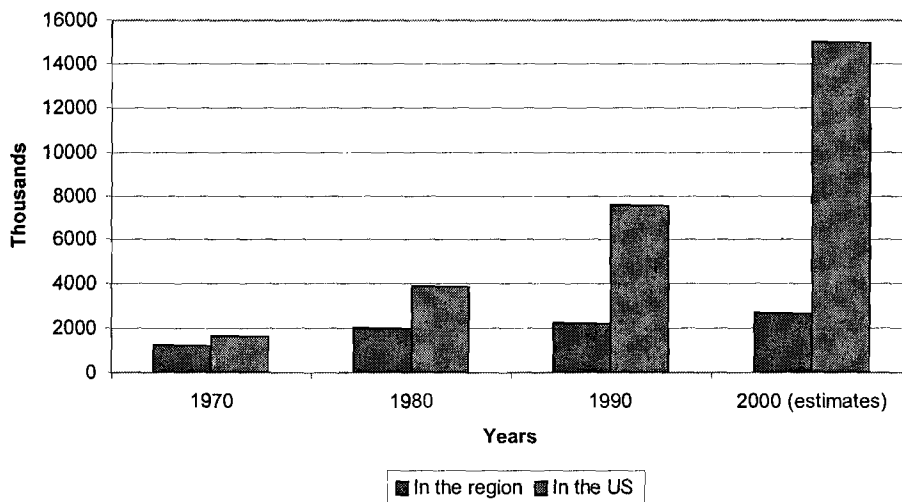
1.2. Intra-regional migration

A characteristic feature of Latin American and Caribbean countries is the frequency of population movement across national borders, a trend deeply rooted in the historical economic and social heterogeneity of the countries in the region. Facilitated by geographical

and cultural proximity, intraregional migratory movements tend to be towards those countries where production structures are more favorable to job creation and where generally, there are higher levels of social equity. In addition to structural factors, the development of this migratory pattern has been influenced both by cycles of economic expansion and contraction and by socio-political developments (Pellegrino, 2000, 1995 and 1993). Thus, for example, the periods of social violence, disruption and restoration of democratic forms of government have resulted in virtual waves of exiles and return migrants between nations with common frontiers.

Although migration originating in the region accounted for almost 60% of all immigrants registered in 2000 (see figure 1), the stock of that year was only slightly higher than the one observed in 1990 (see figure 2). Additionally, the distribution of this stock of immigrants from the same region varied in different countries during the 1990s, increasing significantly in Costa Rica and Chile and stabilizing in Argentina and Venezuela.

Figure 2
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN INTERNATIONAL
MIGRANTS REGISTERED IN THE REGION AND IN THE UNITED
STATES 1970- 2000



Source: IMILA Project, CELADE.

In the 1970s, migration within Latin America increased substantially; the persistence of structural factors in conjunction with socio-political changes brought the number of migrants to almost two million people in 1980 —twice its former level. On the other hand, the migrant stock in Latin America showed a more modest growth throughout the 1980s as a result of the economic crisis and subsequent structural adjustment programs —which were particularly drastic in the principal host countries—. Following the return to democratically elected governments in many countries, the cumulative total increased to only 2.2 million people. During the 1990s, a decade characterized by considerable economic volatility and severe social lag in most countries, the stock of intraregional immigrants reached a total of 3 million people in 2000.

While the census data from 1990 and 2000 suggests a slight increase in the absolute number of migrants moving within Latin America, there are some signs of intensification in the trend towards partial replacement of traditional migration by other forms of mobility. They include temporary movements for different periods that do not involve a permanent change of residence, a trend consistent with the new patterns of economic development emerging in the region.

Changes in the socio-economic and political context notwithstanding, the origins and destinations of the migratory flows within Latin America have not changed substantially, revealing a consolidation of the geographical pattern of this migration. In 2000, almost two thirds of Latin Americans who were living within the region but outside of their native country were concentrated in Argentina and Venezuela. Argentina has been the traditional host country of large contingents of Bolivians, Chileans, Paraguayans, and Uruguayans, as well as a significant number of Peruvians since the 1990s. In general, these groups have been drawn by job opportunities in agriculture, manufacturing, construction and services, and have become more conspicuous with the decline in European immigration. The migrants pouring into Venezuela in the 1970s, following the economic upturn triggered by the oil boom, were for the most part Colombians, followed by people from the Southern Cone forced to take refuge outside of their countries of origin.

Since the so-called "lost decade" of the 1980s and the following "decade of lights and shadows" of the 1990s, the rate of migrant inflows into Argentina and Venezuela has decreased sharply: census data from 1990 and 2000 reveal a decline in total immigrant stock in both countries. However, inflows from other Latin American countries increased slightly; according to indirect estimates for the 1980s, Argentina and Venezuela recorded a net gain in immigration from their neighboring countries.⁴² During the same period, some countries that had traditionally been sources of outflow populations, recorded an important rate of return migration. The economic upturn in Paraguay in the 1970s, associated with the construction of major hydroelectric works and an intense land-settlement program, prompted a return of Paraguayan migrants from Argentina and an increase in immigration into Paraguay from neighboring countries. In the 1990s Chile registered an important immigration from other South American countries in addition to return migration; in absolute numbers, this immigration is higher than any one received in Chile during its recent history, but its relative incidence is small (it is only equivalent to 1% of the country's population, Martínez, 2003b). In Central America, peace agreements, repatriations and democratic stability have not changed the subregional migration map. Belize and Costa Rica –with very different absolute immigrant magnitudes, but with similar relative trends and effects on the demographic, social and economic areas– are still the nodes in that map. In Belize, foreigners – mainly from El Salvador and Guatemala mainly – amount to 15% of the country's population and this number does not include temporary workers or migrants in transit (SIEMCA, 2002). Costa Rica is the host country of large contingents of Nicaraguans (who accounted for 83% of regional immigrants to this country in 2000), attracted by the demand of labor in the agricultural and service sectors; in all, immigrants from the rest of the isthmus accounted for 8% of the country's population in 2000. Mexico also became an important recipient of flows originating in Central America, especially in Guatemala and El Salvador.

Colombians accounted for the highest absolute numbers of migrants in intraregional emigration in the early-1990s and 2000s: slightly over 600 thousand and 700 thousand, respectively, were registered in the censuses of other Latin American countries –almost 90% in Venezuela; the fact that an internally displaced population seek refuge in neighboring countries has been one of the factors influencing this intense migration. Chilean and Paraguayan emigrants, with a total of almost 270 and 360 thousand, respectively - most of them registered in Argentina - shared the second place among Latin American emigrants. Notwithstanding their absolute numbers, except in the case of Paraguay, these figures account for less than 3% of the population in the countries of origin.⁴³

Migration within the English-speaking Caribbean Community bears a peculiar stamp: transfers of residence account for a relatively small portion of the mass movement of people. Largely encouraged by geographic proximity among the countries of the subregion, recurrent types of movement are more common (Simmons and Guengant, 1992). Some of the latter imply the immediate return to the countries of origin while others occur in stages, including a

⁴² Calculations made on the basis of intercensal survival relationships by sex and age for the period 1980-1990 indicate a net balance of 147,000 and 60,000 immigrants, respectively, for Argentina and Venezuela.

⁴³ Uruguayan emigration, mainly to Argentina, is a special case: in the early 1970s, the rate of emigration was similar to the rate of mortality in Uruguay (Fortuna and Niedworok, 1985).

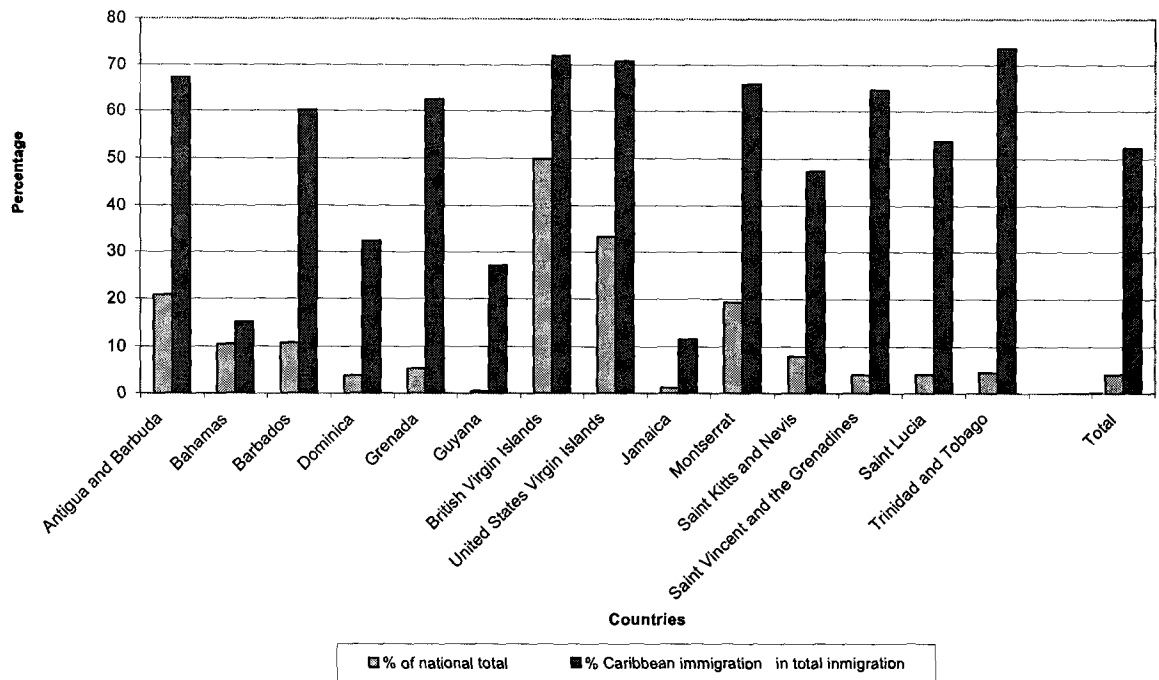
temporary stay as part of a process of transfer to a destination outside of the subregion.⁴⁴ Migration within the community has escalated to new peaks as a result of the rise in the standard of living and the increase in the demand for labor in some countries -fuelled in part by the strong expansion of tourist activity- and the lack of employment opportunities in others. As a result, slightly more than half of the immigrants in the Community in 1990 came from within the subregion itself and accounted for almost 4% of the total combined population of the member countries (Mills 1997).

The situation described above is not common to all countries in the Caribbean. In Trinidad and Tobago, United States Virgin Islands and Barbados —which are among the five countries with the highest migrant stocks— immigrants came predominantly from the subregion; on the other hand, in Jamaica and the Bahamas —the other two countries with the highest migrant stocks— immigrants from outside of the subregion were in the majority (see figure 3). In general, international migration exerts a fundamental impact on population dynamics in the countries of the Caribbean. Haitian migratory flows to the Dominican Republic constitute a movement that has deep historical roots, regardless of transformations in their situation; the flows registered in recent years are characterized by the high incidence of undocumented migrants, informal insertion in the labor market, a clear educational selectivity and increasing economic participation of women (Silié, Segura and Dore, 2002).

According to the data gathered by the IMILA Project, intraregional migration has shown an increasing female predominance since the 1980s (see figure 4). This characteristic is also highlighted in the main stocks of intraregional immigrants accumulated in 2000. This is the case of Colombians in Ecuador and Venezuela (91,4 and 89,2 men per 100 women, respectively), Chileans and Paraguayans in Argentina (73,3 and 91,9 per cent) and Peruvians in Chile (66,5 per cent). However, there are important exceptions, evidenced by the male majority among Bolivians in Argentina, Argentineans in Brazil and Chile, Colombians in Panama, Peruvians in Venezuela and Uruguayans in Brazil. Variations in the gender compositions of flows are closely related to how among labor markets of countries of origin and destination, the labor demand in service areas and the effects of family reunification are related. Thus, the slight predominance of women among interregional migrants in the Caribbean, identified in the 1990 round of censuses, is related to the high incidence of jobs in the tourism sector (Thomas-Hope, 2002). The analysis of available data makes it possible to state that migration of women has specific characteristics: they not only migrate for labor reasons, but also for family and personal reasons.

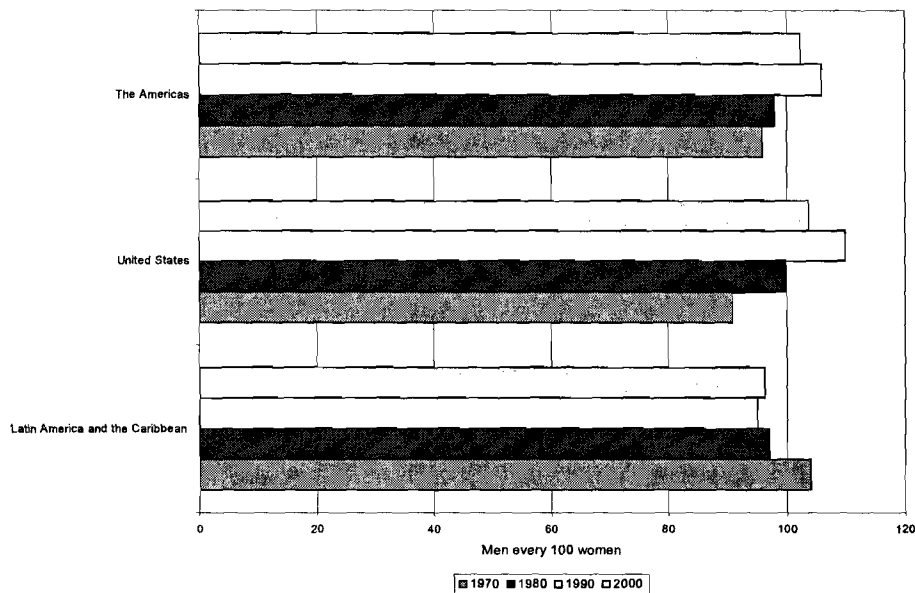
⁴⁴ The Bahamas, in addition to receiving a sizable contingent of immigrants for purposes of residence, is a stop-over point for a large number of people from the rest of the Caribbean basin, in particular, Haitians.

Figure 3
CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY: PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANTS IN TOTAL POPULATION AND
PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANTS OF CARIBBEAN ORIGIN. Around 1990



Source: Mills (1997).

Figure 4
SEX RATIO IN LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN STOCKS OF MIGRANTS PER
REGION WHERE PRESENT. 1970-2000



Source: IMILA Project, CELADE.

1.3. Emigration outside of the region

Together with the decline of overseas immigration and the relative stabilization of movements within the region, emigration to destinations outside of the region has taken prominence. Although these emigration flows are directed towards various destinations — increasing numbers of people born in the region are migrating to Canada, various European countries and Japan— almost three fourths converge to the United States. Thus, this pattern exemplifies a case of South-North migration, having numerous implications for the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, the most noticeable being the loss of qualified human resources and the exposure of undocumented emigrants to various risks (ranging from non recognition of their human rights to deportation). This migration has also implied the organization of transnational migrant communities and the generation of a potential for economic growth derived from remittances that emigrants send to their place of origin.⁴⁵

a) Migration to the United States

Emigration to the United States by people born in the region, especially those from Mexico and the Caribbean, is by no means a new phenomenon⁴⁶ —and, moreover, has fluctuated due to economic and socio-political conditions as well as to changes in the United States' immigration legislation—; what is new is the sharp increase in recent years in the number of migrants from Central and South America, that originally started to gain momentum in the middle of the twentieth century. The stock of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants in the United States doubled between 1980 and 1990, to reach a total of nearly 8,4 million people, or 43% of the total foreign population registered in the country in 1990.⁴⁷ The information provided by the Current Population Survey of the United States puts the number of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants at 14,5 million in 2000 and 18 million in 2004. These figures account for just over half of the total stock of immigrants in this country and mean that immigration from the region increased by 100% between 1990 and 2004 (Lollock, 2001; www.census.gov). This source suggests that Mesoamericans account for 68% of the total, followed by Caribbeans who amount to 19% (see figure 5 and table 3). In particular, Mexicans accounted for more than 50% of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants; although numbering less than 1 million people, in each case, Cubans, Salvadorans, Dominicans and Colombians, were the other main groups of people born outside of the United States and informed by the Current Population Survey.

The Latin American and Caribbean immigrants to the United States are a very heterogeneous group, a trait that sometimes is lost in regional averages. For example, the average sex ratio of these immigrants shows a predominance of men, resulting from the high proportion of people from Mexico and Central America; however, the analysis of the data reveals that women are a majority among immigrants from the Caribbean and South America. Something similar happens in the case of other socio-demographic characteristics: among Mesoamericans, the economically active-age population represents the majority and their schooling profiles are clearly lower than those of Caribbeans and South Americans. In addition, participation by women in the labor market is clearly higher among Caribbeans and South Americans, although in all groups it is higher in their countries of origin. Finally, there are more professionals among those immigrants from the Caribbean and South America (Martínez, 20003a).

The main factor behind Latin American and Caribbean migration to the United States lies in the asymmetries of development processes as it is clearly shown by the substantial differences in GDP per capita, wage levels and labor opportunities. In the case of Mexico, historical links with the southwest of the United States and different kinds of mechanisms to

⁴⁵ In studying these repercussions, it should be borne in mind that emigrants form a heterogeneous lot in terms of their characteristics and migratory status. For example, some are legal residents in the recipient countries and other lack the documentation required for setting up residence or entering the job market; furthermore, the emigrants counted in the censuses include temporary workers, refugees and displaced people.

⁴⁶ The Hispanic community in the United States, made up of old and new immigrants and their descendants, constitutes at present the first ethnic minority in this country.

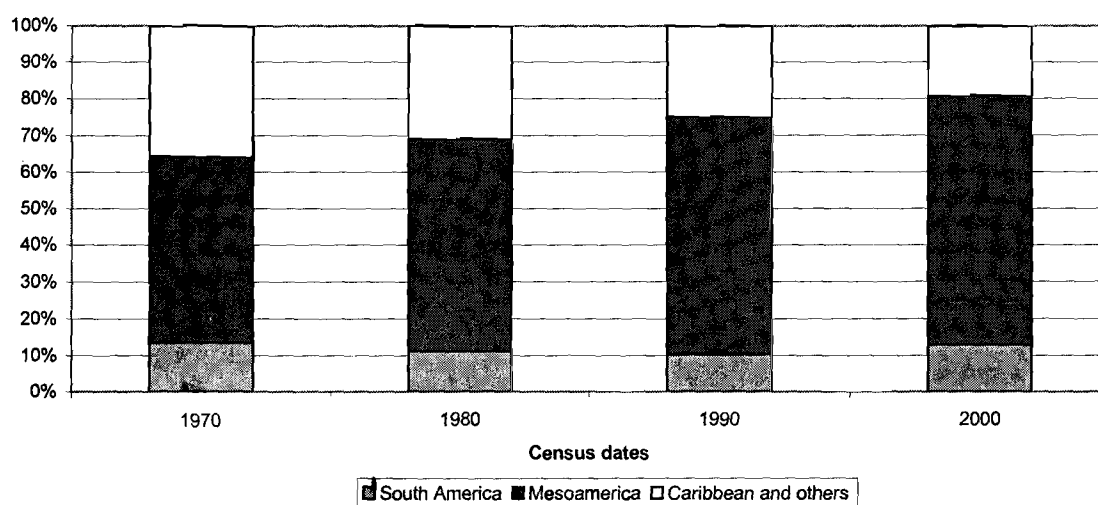
⁴⁷ It should be noted that the sharp increase in the stock of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants in the United States in the 1980s was partly due to the amnesty granted under the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) adopted by that country in 1986.

hire workers gave rise to a long-lasting system of interactions. It was since the 1960s that the permanent flow of Mexican workers created a *de facto* labor market between both countries (Bustamante, 1997); this market has been subject to the fluctuations typical of periods of economic prosperity and contraction that led to changes in the rules for the generation of jobs in the different sectors (ECLAC-CELADE, 1999b). Regarding Central America, emigration to the United States increased in the 1970s. The rigidities in the isthmus' economies and crisis leading to socio-political exclusion, coupled by the persistence of deep social inequalities, resulted in severe underemployment and the escalation of social violence in many countries. Emigration from Central America was extremely varied and comprised of refugees, displaced and undocumented migrants, families and professionals. In the 1990s, despite the restoration of democratic regimes, the gradual recovery of economic growth, the application of institutional reforms and the changes in the international environment, the possibilities of establishing favorable conditions to retain the population were limited by the persistence of an acute lag regarding social equity.

During the last few years, emigration of the Latin American and Caribbean population out of the region, especially to the United States has been stimulated by different factors. The opening of internal markets to world trade and the implementation of new technologies in the transportation and communication sectors, have contributed to reduce the cost of distances. Also, the scarce possibilities for the creation of steady jobs, the high incidence of poverty and deep inequalities in income distribution have an effect on people that emigrate in search of possibilities outside the countries in the region. Transnational social networks, created or strengthened during the 1980s and 90s contribute to overcome obstacles to migration. All these factors, among others, have led to a rapid response of increasing sectors of the population in Latin America and the Caribbean that react to the information received and the prospect of opportunities far away (CEPAL, 2002; ECLAC-CELADE, 1999b).

It should be added that since the 1980s, significant changes were introduced in the profiles of labor demand in the United States. These changes resulted in a generalized flexibilization in the ways of hiring workers, which might have strengthened the attraction of migrants; under such condition, the adoption of new restrictive regulations for migration seem to be working against the interest of labor demands (ECLAC-CELADE, 1999b). Paradoxically, increasing immigration trends followed the pace of successive revisions and amendments of migratory rules and policies in the United States, which have been aimed at controlling undocumented migration and the smuggling of migrants. Currently, the migration of Latin Americans and Caribbeans is a very important social phenomenon in the United States. The debate on its repercussions at different levels makes it a leading issue in that country's relation with the nations of the region (CEPAL, 2002). The organization of transnational communities, the flow of remittances and the steady increase thereof, the labor insertion of immigrants in strategic sectors of the economy and their contribution to the competitiveness of the United States are some of the significant aspects of migration to that country.

Figure 5
UNITED STATES: PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANT POPULATION FROM
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1970-2000



Source: Villa y Martínez (2002), based on IMILA data. For 2000 the information was taken from the Current Population Survey. Mesoamerica comprises Mexico and Central America.

Table 3
UNITED STATES: STOCKS OF IMMIGRANT POPULATION FROM LATIN AMERICA
AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000

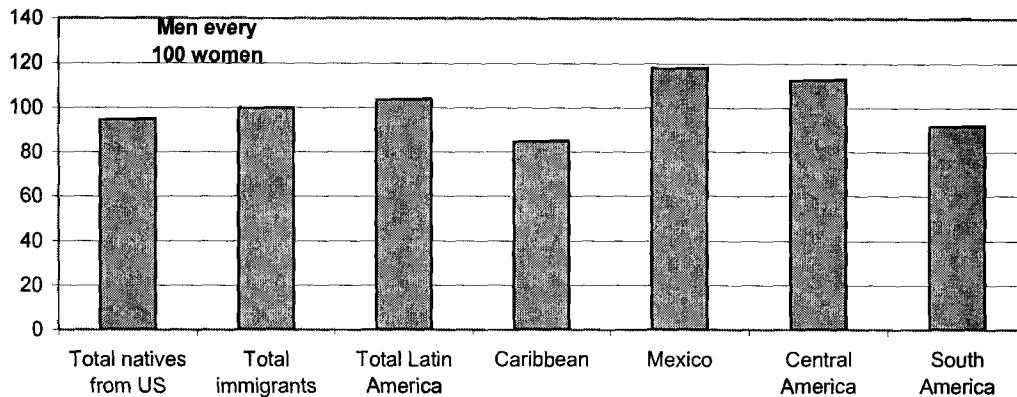
Origin	Census dates a/				Growth rates		
	1970	1980	1990	2000	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000
South America	234233	493950	871678	1876000			
Percentage	13.6	11.3	10.4	13.0	7.5	5.7	7.7
Mesoamericab/	873624	2530440	5391943	9789000			
Percentage	50.6	57.7	64.4	67.6	10.6	7.6	6.0
Caribbean	617551	1358610	2107181	2813000			
Percentage	35.8	31.0	25.2	19.4	7.9	4.4	2.9
Total	1725408	4383000	8370802	14478000			
Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	9.3	6.5	5.5

Source: IMILA Project, CELADE.

a/: 2000 corresponds to the Current Population Survey.

b/: Comprises Mexico and Central America.

Figure 6
UNITED STATES: SEX RATIO OF NATIVE AND IMMIGRANT POPULATION. 2000



Source: Schmidley (2001), based on the Current Population Survey, 2000.

b) Migration to other extraregional destinations

Migration to other destinations involved nearly three million people in 2000 (see table 4). Canada, some European countries (especially Spain and the United Kingdom), Japan, Australia and Israel are the most important countries of destination. In some European countries and Japan, the number of Latin Americans and Caribbean increased with the return flow of old overseas immigrants and of those who obtained recognition of their right to citizenship of the countries of origin of their relatives and ancestors.

Spain recently became the second host country of regional emigration. The 2001 census enumerated 840 thousand people born in the region, especially in South America. The majority of these immigrants are women (see table 5). Although this female predominance has been decreasing, possibly due to family reunification, women have been pioneers in this flow (Izquierdo, López and Martínez, 2002). Besides the differed return migration of earlier generations, the migration of Latin Americans to Spain offers other interpretations. For example, cultural proximity has facilitated their acceptance by the host society, as the opinion of the people shows. In addition, these immigrants play a vital role in the provision of care to elderly people and domestic service. Also, their economic participation has positive effects on the financing of the social security system in a society undergoing rapid demographic ageing. Another important factor is the role of migratory networks that have facilitated the access of new contingents within a changing and often restrictive regulatory frame (Martínez, 2003a). Several studies coincide when they point out that the qualification of Latin Americans in Spain is high; although their labor insertion is concentrated in specific sectors, their work experience and links to social and family networks allow many of these people to reach a rapid social and occupational mobility (Anguiano, 2002; Martínez Buján, 2003).

Canada has an important program for the permanent admission of immigrants based on a points system that helps their incorporation according to the ability of people to integrate themselves in the Canadian economy and society. The number of immigrants from the region has increased from just over 320 thousand people in 1986 to almost 555 thousand people in 1996. Their most distinctive characteristics are that Caribbean nationals –most of them Jamaican– are the majority and that women predominate within the group. Likewise, the United Kingdom gave priority to immigrants from the Caribbean Commonwealth, although the policy of free admission has not been practiced for decades. In 1980, 625 thousand

Caribbean were registered, but this number decreased to less than 500 thousand in 1991 (Thomas-Hope, 2002).

Table 4
LATIN AMERICANS AND CARIBBEANS REGISTERED IN EUROPEAN AND OTHER COUNTRIES. CIRCA 2000

Country where present	Total
Australia	74 649
Austria ^a	2 308
Belgium	4 962
Canada	575 955
Denmark	865
France ^a	41 714
Germany	87 614
Israel	78 259
Italy	116 084
Japan	284 691
Netherlands	157 745
Norway	14 937
Portugal	25 531
Spain	840 104
Sweden	19 930
Total Europe	1 811 794
United Kingdom ^b	500 000
Total countries with information	2 825 348

Source: IMILA Project, CELADE.

^a: 1990 data. ^b: Rough estimate by Thomas-Hope (2002).

In the case of Japan, immigration made up mainly of Brazilians and Peruvians has directly benefited from the provisions adopted in the 1990s that made it easier to obtain an entry and temporary stay visa for direct Japanese descendants (*dekasseguis*) of immigrants that arrived in Brazil and Peru in the first decades of the twentieth century (*nikkei*). In 2000, more than 300 thousand non-native residents in Japan were Latin Americans (Brazilians accounted for more than 80% of the total). The majority of these immigrants are men who work in the manufacturing industry, although there is a progressive increase of female participation (Martínez, 2003a).

Table 5
SPAIN: STOCKS OF RESIDENT POPULATION BORN IN LATIN AMERICAN AND THE CARIBBEAN
PER COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND SEX. 1991 and 2001

Country of birth	Total		Men		Women		SRa/	
	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
Mesoamerica and the Caribbean								
Caribbean	42880	131383	18544	50467	24336	80916	76.2	62.4
Cuba	24059	50753	10659	22185	13400	28568	79.5	77.7
Dominican Rep.	7080	44088	2331	13264	4749	30824	0.0	43.0
El Salvador	...	2754	...	1014	...	1740		58.3
Honduras	...	3498	...	1212	...	2286		53.0
Mexico	11776	20943	4980	8899	6796	12044	73.3	73.9
Other countries	7045	9347	2905	3893	4140	5454	70.2	71.4
South America								
Argentina	160499	708721	75185	324943	85314	383778	88.1	84.7
Bolivia	53837	103831	25486	51690	28351	52141	89.9	99.1
Brazil	...	13184	...	5987	...	7197		83.2
Brazil	13673	33196	6048	12224	7625	20972	79.3	58.3
Colombia	...	174405	...	73099	...	101306		72.2
Chile	...	18083	...	8468	...	9615		88.1
Ecuador	...	218351	...	106601	...	111750		95.4
Paraguay	...	2113	...	822	...	1291		63.7
Peru	...	53621	...	22164	...	31457		70.5
Venezuela	42344	67150	20116	31526	22228	35624	90.5	88.5
Uruguay	...	24626	...	12291	...	12335		99.6
Other countries	50645	161	23535	71	27110	90	86.8	78.9
Total Region	203379	840104	93729	375410	109650	464694	85.5	80.8

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, at www.ine.es.

a/ Sex ratio.

2. Exploring migration beyond statistics

2.1 Some impacts of migration

Persistent economic tensions, exacerbated by a deep and prolonged crisis, the short-term effects of the structural adjustment programs –which seriously affected labor markets– and the adverse social conditions derived from the long-lasting incidence of poverty and inequality may have contributed to the diversification of demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Latin American and Caribbean migrants. No less important was the impact of the serious socio-political convulsions and violence leading, in some cases, to the militarization of conflicts, and the rupture of the rules of peaceful coexistence in society. Another significant factor was the change in the policy-making provisions of the host countries, which, whether deliberately or not, had an effect on the qualitative make-up of migratory flows.⁴⁸

Skilled migration can be considered as one of the most important results of emigration. In specialized literature, it is frequently stated that the basis for international migration is essentially an economic one, linked to the inequality in the distribution of job opportunities, income and material living conditions between countries. This not only operates

⁴⁸ The rigorous application of these rules seem to have given greater visibility to undocumented immigration, having resulted in an increase in family reunification; it may have also led to some itinerant and recurrent movements' becoming definitive transfers.

in relation to potential migrants, but also to the supply that exists in the recipient countries; both continuous technological innovation and the search for increased competitiveness –for which labor flexibility is considered a prerequisite– are a factor in attracting migrants (ECLAC-CELADE, 1999b). Thus, in developed countries, there is a growing interest in importing human capital. For that reason, measures are promoted to attract immigration; in addition, wage levels are substantially higher than those offered in the countries of origin (CEPAL, 2002, Iredale, 1998).

In many Latin American and Caribbean countries, emigration seems to have helped to alleviate tensions between population trends and job creation as well as those arising from socio-political, ethnic and religious conflicts or from acute forms of environmental degradation. At the individual level, emigration was one option for seeking employment opportunities and personal training outside of the country of birth. In this connection, this type of emigration is a source of currency – through remittances – for the home communities and, moreover, makes it possible to establish links that favor the incorporation of technology and productive investment. Notwithstanding the above, one of the effects of emigration is erosion of human capital, which can have a negative impact on the economic and social development of the countries of origin. In some cases, emigration may have also meant an increase in economic dependency with respect to external savings-remittances. Similarly, on the individual level, emigration can be a source of instability, frustration and discriminatory treatment.

Countries of immigration have faced problems, such as that of undocumented immigrants, a situation arising from the legal regulations governing their entry and stay in the country; this usually causes difficulties in the condition of individuals and in relations with the immigrants' countries of origin. Moreover, in some of the receiving countries negative perceptions arise vis-à-vis the costs of the use that immigrants make of subsidized social services such as health, education and social security. Even so, these countries benefit from immigration in a number of ways, including the availability of cheap labor or the employment of highly skilled people trained elsewhere and thus investment by the receiving country is unnecessary. In the United States, immigration of undocumented Latin American and Caribbean nationals seems to have given the country the necessary labor market flexibility to consolidate the competitiveness of its economy (ECLAC-CELADE, 1999b); the sustained demand for cheap labor, even in periods of recession, is interpreted as a demonstration of the functionality of that immigration (Bustamante, 1994). The immigration to Spain reveals a historical relationship with the metropolis, a fact that may suggest the possibility for the countries in the region to work together towards the exercise of a common responsibility in the governance of international migration.

2.2. Governance of international migration⁴⁹

The governance of current migration is a necessity for all countries, and its bases go beyond the merely quantitative dimension, since they involve recognition of the fact that migrations are part and parcel of social, economic and individual processes and acceptance of the need to progress towards more objective and modern forms of management (Mármora, 1997).

Most of the countries of the region actively participate in intergovernmental forums on migration, which shows their political will to agree on a concerted strategy in this matter. Such forums —especially the Regional Conference on Migration and the South American Conference on Migration— form the core of a strategy of shared governance, so their consolidation can help in the establishment of mechanisms which are binding on all parties. In order to progress in this direction, various measures need to be taken, including:

- promoting the deliberate incorporation of migration and its governance into the agenda of the international community in order to reach increasingly broad agreements on this matter;
- signing and ratifying the international instruments on the protection of migrants and also taking steps to ensure that the provisions of those instruments are effectively fulfilled;

⁴⁹ Based on CEPAL (2002).

- consolidating and extending the areas of authority on migration in the various regional and subregional multilateral agreements;
- establishing explicit bilateral agreements both between Latin American and Caribbean countries and between those countries and others outside the region which are recipients of migration flows from the region.

With regard to policies on migration, globalization will make it increasingly necessary to progress from "migration control" to "migration management" in the broad sense, which does not mean that States must give up their right to regulate the entry of foreigners and their conditions of residence, but rather that they should agree to formulate reasoned admission policies (CELADE, 1995; Meissner, 1992) which cover residence, return, family reunification, restoration of links, cross-border transit and the transit of people to third countries. A global agreement on migration policies could serve as a framework for general agreement on the international movement of people, establishing general principles and guidelines on various aspects that require international consensus (CELADE, 1995). A global agreement of this type calls for successive rounds of negotiations and means progressing from unilateralism to international consensus.

Ratification of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families is imperative for all the governments of the region, because of its inclusive and comprehensive nature. Likewise, on the basis of the strength deriving from the commitment thus established, those governments could also call upon the countries that receive migration from the region to ratify that instrument as well.

Multilateral consensus initiatives include integration blocs, intergovernmental forums on migration, and other mechanisms of a subregional nature. The integration blocs — MERCOSUR, the Andean Community, the Central American Integration System, the Central American Common Market, and the Caribbean Community— have already made substantial progress towards extending their field of operations beyond specific agreements on matters of trade and are beginning to advance in matters connected with their social agenda, which must include specific recognition of the importance of migration. In this sense, the subregional integration agreements offer opportunities that must be taken, since they represent particularly suitable spaces for dealing with migration as a vital component of partnerships between members whose asymmetries are smaller than in the case of developed countries. The main intergovernmental forums on migration are the Regional Conference on Migration —set up in 1996 by the countries of North America and Central America— and the South American Conference on Migration, which was established more recently and is made up of 11 South American countries.

The participants in these forums must maintain an ongoing exchange of experiences in order to gain a full understanding of the phenomenon of migration and strengthen the benefits derived from it. Action must also continue to be promoted in order to address common problems and make determined progress towards the achievement of consensus, forms of cooperation —as for example in the areas of management and legislation— and binding commitments, with their fulfillment being evaluated in light of each country's needs. The governments of the region must give their fullest backing to these initiatives, which should be copied by the Caribbean countries. There are also other subregional-level mechanisms (such as the Puebla-Panama Plan, the South American Community and the Rio Group) which emphasize concern with matters of migration; in this case links should be established with the appropriate specialized forums (the Regional Conference on Migration and the South American Conference on Migration), which can provide fundamental background information for debates and initiatives which complement their own fields of operation.

Another area of multilateral initiatives is the Summit of the Americas. In the Declaration of Quebec City, signed in April 2001 in Canada by the heads of 34 States of the Americas, countries recognize the economic and cultural contributions made by migrants to receiving societies as well as to their communities of origin and commit themselves to ensure

dignified, humane treatment with appropriate legal protections, defense of human rights, and safe and healthy labor conditions for migrants, as well as to strengthen mechanisms for hemispheric cooperation to address the legitimate needs of migrants and take effective measures against trafficking of human beings. The Plan of Action includes explicit commitments on migration, human rights and equity, which the countries assume as their responsibility for the coming years. This Plan calls for the strengthening of cooperation among States to address, with a comprehensive, objective and long-term focus, the manifestations, origins and effects of migration in the region; it also provides for close cooperation among countries of origin, transit and destination in order to ensure protection of the human rights of migrants (www.summitamericas.org).⁵⁰

The multilateral agenda of the region must include efforts to systematically address questions of migration in other processes, such as those relating to cooperation programs between the European Union and Latin America; it is worth recalling that these programs include six areas recognized as having close links with migration: development, the environment, democracy, regional integration, education and humanitarian aid. The Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State and Government is likewise a suitable forum for the consideration of these matters, as at its eleventh meeting (held in Lima in 2001) it not only recognized the contribution made by migrants both to their countries of origin and of destination but also declared that it is necessary to strengthen bilateral and multilateral dialogues in order to address the question of migration in an integral manner and take measures to ensure equal treatment for migrants, fully respecting their human rights and eliminating all forms of discrimination that affect their dignity and integrity (www.oei.es).

Likewise within the context of multilateral initiatives, the countries of the region must make a determined effort to secure a review of the conditions and limitations that, under the terms of the General agreement on Trade in Services, affect the temporary movement of qualified personnel. The aim is to secure genuine, effective liberalization of labor markets by eliminating the factors that restrict such movement: the imposition of standards regarding qualifications which favor the mobility of people among the developed countries but hamper that of nationals of developing countries is a restriction which is incompatible with the opening of markets. In this respect, the World Trade Organization could be an appropriate forum for promoting more flexible movement of qualified personnel at the global level, benefiting from the comparative advantages that the Latin American and Caribbean countries have in various specific branches (such as construction and tourism). Within the region, a new appraisal must be made of the limitations affecting their own horizontal commitments (such as the requirement that foreigners must be registered in professional associations and their subjection to certain provisions of the laws on migration); the integration agreements are a suitable option for progressing in this respect.

Bilateral agreements cover matters of mutual interest for countries, such as cross-border transit, circulation of workers, social security, and the recognition of courses of study and professional qualifications; although the negotiation of these agreements is usually less complicated than in the case of multilateral agreements, the aspects covered are dealt with in greater depth. Although there are many examples of bilateral agreements in the region, many are not operational or are currently out of date; redoubled efforts should therefore be made to renew their validity. To this end, countries should seek to strengthen their arrangements for bilateral dialogue, following the principle of seeking policy convergence —such as the harmonization of rules and procedures— on international migration.

⁵⁰ Among other actions included in the Plan of Action are: establishment of an inter-American program for the promotion and protection of the human rights of migrants, including migrant workers and their families; cooperation and exchange of information among States concerning trafficking networks, including the development of preventative campaigns on the dangers and risks faced by migrants; and the establishment of linkages with subregional processes, such as the Regional Conference on Migration and the South American Conference on Migration (www.summit-americas.org).

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INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION POLICIES: AN OVERVIEW

Barry Mirkin
Population Division
Department of Economic and Social Affairs
United Nations

Introduction

Given the current high visibility of issues related to international migration, it is perhaps surprising to note that migration has not always featured so prominently in national and international agendas. When the United Nations began monitoring government views and policies on population in 1976, international migration had not been a topic of major concern for most Governments. Quinquennial inquiries and periodic assessments by the Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat reveal noticeable shifts in government policies since 1976. Substantial changes in government perceptions of migration trends took place in the second half of the 1970s and the early 1980s, as Governments' concerns with the demographic, economic, social and political consequences of immigration grew. While in 1976, only 7 per cent of Governments viewed immigration levels as too high, the proportion of countries which expressed that view has been hovering at around one in five countries since the mid 1980s.

1. National migration policies⁵¹

Immigration policies

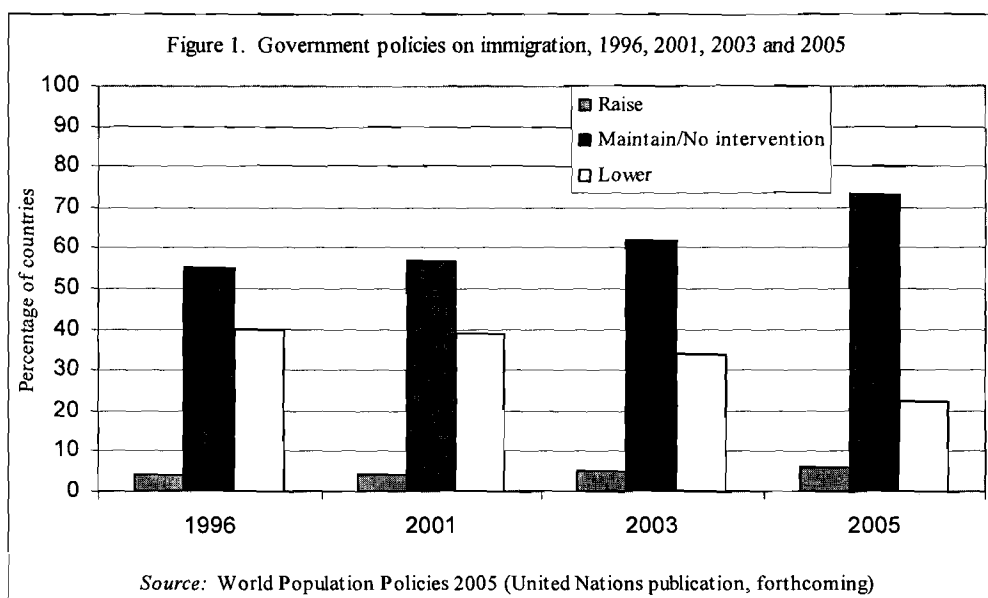
Analysis of immigration policy can usefully be organized around eight leading issues: overall immigration levels, skilled workers, unskilled workers, family reunification, integration of non-nationals, the undocumented, regionalization of policies and policies in the wake of a post 9/11 world.

1. Overall immigration levels

The first and most basic issue is the overall level of immigration. The overall trend during the last quarter of the twentieth century had been for a declining proportion of countries to report their immigration policy as one of "no intervention" or one of maintaining the prevailing level – from 86 per cent in 1976 to 55 per cent in 1996 (figure 1). However, there was an upturn in the proportion seeking to maintain/not intervene in the first years of the twenty-first century and by 2005, almost three quarters of countries either maintained or did not intervene with respect to immigration levels. Countries not intervening with respect to immigration are for the most part, countries in Africa with negative migration balances and/or borders which are difficult to supervise.

More significantly is the finding that countries are increasingly likely to encourage immigration and less inclined to restrict it (World Population Policies 2005, forthcoming). As of 2005, only 22 per cent of countries want to lower immigration. In contrast, some 40 per cent pursued lower immigration in 1996. This policy change away from restricting immigration has been underway since the late 1990s and can be attributed to a number of factors, including an improved understanding of the consequences of international migration; the growing recognition on the part of Governments for the need to better manage migration, rather than limit it; the smaller than anticipated migration movements from the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Eastern Europe in the wake of the political changes of the early 1990s; the persistence of labour shortages in certain sectors; an expanding global economy; and long-term trends in population ageing. Of the 65 countries which wanted to lower immigration in 2003, 31 shifted policies by 2005.

⁵¹ Based on the United Nations Population Division publication, *World Population Policies 2005*, provisional results.



The trend towards fostering immigration is even more pronounced among developed countries, where the percentage of countries with policies to lower immigration fell from 60 per cent in 1996 to 12 per cent by 2005. Only six developed countries now want to reduce overall immigration; Denmark, Estonia, France, Italy, the Netherlands and Romania. Despite the goal of lower immigration, three of the countries, Denmark, France and the Netherlands hope to increase the migration of skilled workers, while Italy promotes the migration of workers on a temporary basis. Four developed countries, namely Australia, Canada, the Czech Republic and the Russian Federation, now actively promote immigration with the aim of increasing overall immigration in line with national needs.

In the less developed regions, the proportion of countries with policies to lower immigration also declined, from one third of countries in 1996 to one quarter in 2005. Asia is the most restrictive region, with the highest proportion of countries reporting policies to lower immigration; more than one third of Asian countries seek to lower immigration. Within the region, policies to restrict immigration are prevalent among the member States of the Gulf Cooperation Council. These countries have pursued a policy of "indigenization" of their labour forces, as a means of reducing reliance on foreign workers, while creating greater employment opportunities among the national population. Foreign-born workers comprise over one half of the labour force in these countries. While policies to achieve lower immigration have been in effect in these countries for a number of years, they have been largely ineffective in reducing the large number of resident foreigners. In contrast, in Latin American and the Caribbean, few countries wish to restrict migration (only Bahamas, Belize, Ecuador and Panama do so).

2. Skilled worker migration

The second immigration policy issue is the recruitment of skilled workers. Migration policy in receiving countries reflects an evolution towards greater selectiveness, favouring the admission of migrants who meet specific labour needs such as those in science and technology, those with skills considered in short supply and those with capital to invest. By means either of preferential categories as in the United States, or of point systems as in Australia and Canada, by the early 1990s, countries of permanent immigration had enacted legislation placing greater emphasis on migrant skills. The recruitment of foreign labour based on skills has had a significant impact on the origin and nature of overall migration flows.

Labour migration has become increasingly complex, as the skills that migrants possess to a large extent determines the likelihood of their being admitted in receiving countries. Provisions for skilled workers differ significantly between countries of permanent settlement and labour-importing developed countries. In countries of permanent

migration, skilled workers are usually granted only temporary residence, while in labour importing developed countries; they are frequently contracted for a period that may significantly exceed the length of time granted for other types of work. Some 30 countries now have policies in place favouring the migration of skilled workers (United Nations, forthcoming). Significant labour shortfalls in a number of sectors due to skill shortages, population ageing and population decline have fuelled an increase in the intake of migrant workers in most European countries, albeit an intake that is limited to highly skilled workers and is typically effected on a temporary basis. While one third of developed countries seek to increase the immigration of the highly skilled, only 8 per cent of developing countries pursue such a strategy.

3. Low-skilled migration

The third issue is the recruitment of low-skilled workers. Although receiving countries have emphasized the need to attract highly skilled workers, population ageing and rising job expectations are also producing labour shortages in such low-skilled fields as agriculture, construction and domestic services. The educational attainment of migrants in Western Europe and North America is lower than that of the native population, while in Southern Europe, migrants tend to be better educated (United Nations, 2003a).

Several countries have responded to these labour supply gaps by tolerating undocumented migration and visa overstayers, although this is not often widely acknowledged by Governments. Others countries have entered into bilateral agreements to recruit foreign workers from Poland, Romania and the Ukraine. Germany, Switzerland and the United States offer visas for seasonal workers (SOPEMI, Continuous Reporting System on Migration, 2004).

4. Family reunification

The fourth issue is the promotion of family reunification. For a number of countries, family migration or family reunification is the predominant mode of legal entry. Most migrant-receiving countries have some basic provision for family reunification, which allows individuals to join family members already in the country. Not only are such provisions viewed as being consistent with the values of liberal democracy, but they are also an effective mechanism for encouraging migrants to adapt to their new society. Although no international instrument universally establishes family reunification as a right, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that families are entitled to protection by society and the State. At the same time, family reunification is not universally accepted. Many contract labour arrangements preclude admission of family members. In many labour-importing countries, widespread debate has focused on the cost of providing migrants' dependants with health, education and welfare benefits.

Although labour migration into developed countries had been limited for over 25 years, the foreign labour force significantly increased during this period. This apparent paradox stems from the fact that large numbers of foreign-born workers have been entering the host country as family members, who are now responsible for the greatest share of migration flows in countries members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Since the 1980s, family reunification has become a major reason for immigration in a significant number of countries, particularly in Europe. In OECD countries as a whole, migration for family reunification accounts for the largest share of migrant intake, in large part as a consequence of the restrictions imposed on labour migration in the mid-1970s. Along with asylum, family reunion has become the main legal justification for migration.

Not considering themselves countries of immigration (Stalker, 2002), several countries in Western Europe halted labour recruitment in the mid-1970s, as a means of achieving zero immigration (Kasasa, 2001; Commission for the European Communities, 2003). Thus, the surge in immigration for family reunification during the 1990s took many Governments by surprise. It was only during the second half of the 1990s that the issue of migration for family reunification was formally addressed. High levels of migration for family reunification remain a contentious issue in many European countries. Most migrants to Canada, Denmark, France, Norway, Sweden and the United States are now admitted on family reunification grounds.

Within the borders of the EU, the right to family reunification for European citizens has been in effect since 1998. While family reunification ensures the integrity of the family unit and constitutes a human right, it is a type of migration that is difficult to manage. It is open to potential abuse through sham marriages that use family reunification provisions as a means of trafficking. Such abuses have led some countries to place conditions on immigration of spouses.

5. Integration of non-nationals

The fifth immigration policy issue is the integration of non-nationals. To facilitate migration, receiving countries are increasingly adopting policies that focus on the integration of migrants. In 2005, 75 countries reported programmes to integrate non-nationals, up from 52 countries in 1996 (United Nations, forthcoming). Such programmes are more commonly found in more developed regions, where most countries (84 per cent) have such programmes in place. Integration can be pursued even in the presence of policies to lower immigration. For example, programmes to integrate non-nationals are in effect among the developed countries which wish to lower immigration (Denmark, Estonia, France, Italy, the Netherlands and Romania). In contrast, less than one half of developing countries have such programmes. While assimilation has been the accepted means of integration, many developed countries now recognize and promote the benefits that diversity brings to their society. To ensure that minimal human rights standards are respected, many countries have adopted non-discrimination provisions to protect religious freedom and the use of other languages. These protections are also applicable to migrants in most instances. The integration process has not always been smooth, particularly in countries where the foreign-born population is more prone to unemployment than nationals, thus leading to welfare dependency.

In most countries, non-citizens do not enjoy the same basic rights as are enjoyed by citizens; thus they are prevented from participating fully in the civil and political life of the country in which they live. In addition, they are often not able to receive social welfare benefits. Only upon becoming a citizen do migrants fully share the same responsibilities and enjoy the same privileges as nationals. Many Governments have historically not regarded themselves as countries of permanent immigration and thus have not encouraged non-citizens from seeking permanent residence and eventual citizenship.

Increasing levels of migration have induced a growing number of countries of origin to offer dual citizenship. Such provisions reflect migrants' loyalties, and enable countries to benefit from their diaspora (Martin and Aleinikoff, 2002). Most OECD countries recognize dual citizenship, allowing migrants to continue maintaining links with their country of origin as well as contribute to their adopted society. Some countries have changed their legal provisions with respect to granting citizenship to immigrant children so as to enable them to hold the citizenship of both their parents' country and their birth country. However, in some countries, female migrants are discriminated against in this regard, with the father's citizenship, and not the mother's, determining that of the child. Lack of human rights protection may make migrants vulnerable in their adopted country. Women all too frequently suffer in such circumstances. Victims of domestic violence, for example, often feel that they need to remain with the abuser to avoid deportation.

6. Undocumented migration

Reducing undocumented migration (including trafficking/smuggling) is the sixth issue of immigration policy of concern to most receiving countries. Undocumented migrants are those who have either entered a country without proper authorization or stayed beyond the legal time period. The upward trend in undocumented migration reflects, among other things, the growing selectiveness of admission policies in receiving countries, increasing population displacement within sending countries, and the relaxation of emigration controls in Eastern Europe and the successor States of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Developed countries have generally pursued a law-and-order approach to dealing with the inflow of undocumented migration, largely because of the transnational nature of undocumented immigration and the smuggling syndicates that support them. Undocumented

migration frequently occurs through smuggling⁵² and trafficking⁵³, serving nearly half of all undocumented migrants (International Organization for Migration, 2003). Smugglers and traffickers range from small-scale operators who provide transport across borders to, increasingly, international criminal networks that provide an entire range of services, including bogus documentation, transportation and assistance in crossing borders, and residence and illegal employment in receiving countries.

A major development has been the criminalization of smuggling and trafficking which, until recently, were not crimes in many countries. Trafficked women, for example, frequently find themselves trapped: forced into prostitution, marriage, domestic work, work in sweatshops and other forms of exploitation. Increasingly, sanctions also target any third person who assists undocumented migrants. A growing number of receiving countries have negotiated readmission agreements with countries of origin, obliging them to readmit their nationals who lack proper documentation in order to facilitate their expulsion.

Efforts to counter undocumented migration have also included bilateral agreements between transit and receiving countries. Transit countries such as those of the Maghreb, Caribbean island States, Estonia, Mexico and Turkey, which serve as a bridge between the main origin and destination countries, have had to strengthen procedures to stem the flow of undocumented migrants across their borders. The agreements between Morocco and Tunisia and some of the EU member States, for example, require these two Maghreb countries to readmit foreigners who, having transited through them, and were residing in the EU without authorization (SOPEMI Continuous Reporting System on Migration, 2004)

Since the mid-1990s, most OECD countries, as well as some developing countries, have either introduced new sanctions or increased the penalties for undocumented migrants, smugglers and those employing undocumented migrants. In recent years, large numbers of undocumented migrants have entered countries using bogus documents—counterfeit or altered documents, as well as forged unissued passports stolen from consular facilities. To combat this problem, countries have introduced counterfeit-proof visa stamps, passports with enhanced security features, and machine-readable travel documents, reflecting a technology that is believed to offer strong safeguards against tampering with official travel documents. Other innovations include microchips with which to store biometric data such as fingerprints and iris images in passports. EURODAC, the first European automated fingerprint identification system, was launched in early 2003 to register the fingerprints of asylum-seekers and certain categories of illegal immigrants arriving in the member States of the EU, Iceland and Norway. An evaluation of EURODAC conducted in 2005, two years after its implementation found that 13 per cent of the cases processed were multiple asylum applications (eGov monitor, 2005).

Information campaigns, aimed at deterring undocumented migrants, have been launched by major receiving countries in both source and transit countries. Such campaigns are generally limited in their effectiveness and have largely been futile in deterring people (International Organization for Migration, Office of Programme Evaluation, 1999). Information is considered particularly important in the case of trafficking in women for sexual exploitation. In this context, there is evidence that information about the situation in the receiving countries can have a considerable impact with respect to deterring trafficking in women and also on the migration of women generally. Other measures include carrier sanctions, increased patrols of territorial waters, and heightened border controls, as well as sanctions against undocumented migrants, smugglers and employers.

Although many countries have recently enacted measures restricting the entry of undocumented migrants, other countries have largely ignored the problem, most commonly those experiencing labour shortages in sectors such as agriculture and the service industries,

⁵² Smuggling of migrants is the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or permanent resident.

⁵³ Trafficking of migrants is the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons by improper means, as force, abduction, fraud or coercion, for an improper purpose, like forced or coerced labour, servitude, slavery or sexual exploitation.

where both the skills required and the wages are comparatively low. A substantial number of Governments have offered amnesties to regularize undocumented migrants. There is some evidence to suggest that regularization programmes encourage additional undocumented migration (SOPEMI, Continuous Reporting System on Migration, 2003).

7. Regional and subregional harmonization

The seventh issue is harmonization of immigration policies among Governments. The establishment of regional and subregional processes (including bilateral agreements), which exist in virtually all regions, has facilitated information exchange and improved regional cooperation.

Consultative processes have been established at the regional and international levels to stem the flow of undocumented migrants. These include the Puebla Process covering Canada, Central America, Mexico and the United States and the consultations being carried out as a follow-up to the Bali Ministerial Conference on People Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons and Related Transnational Crime to further strengthen ties across the Asia-Pacific region. In addition, two international protocols supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized crime, namely the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air and the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children recently came into force. These issues are further elaborated upon in section II.

8. Changing approaches to migration in the wake of 9/11 and other events

In the wake of the events of 11 September 2001 and bombings in Bali, Madrid and London, many countries are according high priority to the monitoring of those entering their jurisdiction. Increased emphasis is placed on scrutinizing the background of visa applicants for security reasons. Concerned by the threat of international terrorism, Governments have extended their legal competencies. In addition, there is now greater intelligence-sharing on suspected individuals among countries, as well as enhanced cooperation in the field of border control (SOPEMI, Continuous Reporting System on Migration, 2004).

Many Governments have introduced more stringent requirements for granting visas in the aftermath of 11 September 2001, and some have (re)imposed visa requirements for nationals of countries that consistently produced undocumented migrants. Many other countries or areas are following suit. A number of countries have introduced body-recognition technology, or biometrics, to enhance security procedures. Several countries have tightened their visa-issuing procedures and enhanced their vigilance at border entry points. Electronic screening of airline passengers entering countries has also been introduced.

Emigration Policies

Despite the significant increase in the number of migrants, the proportion of countries wanting to lower emigration has remained steady at about one quarter since the 1980s. In 2005, some two thirds of countries viewed their level of emigration as satisfactory and one country in four had policies to lower emigration. Only 6 per cent of countries aim to raise their level of emigration. In Latin America and the Caribbean, for example, the proportion of countries with policies to reduce emigration has declined, in part owing to the importance of migrant remittances.

In 2005, 11 countries reported policies to increase emigration (United Nations, forthcoming). Other Governments tolerate the departure of large numbers of their citizens, although concerns are often raised about the loss of talented and highly skilled human resources. Some countries have established government units to manage emigration flows. Several countries of emigration assist their citizens abroad, for example, with respect to preventing abuse, and, inter alia, offer services to facilitate and reduce the costs of transferring remittances. A number of countries of emigration have entered into bilateral agreements with receiving States to ensure minimum labour standards. However, the monitoring is left to consular officials who at times lack the resources to carry out all their activities. Others countries have policies to encourage migrants to remit and invest in their country of origin. These programmes have had mixed results (Waddington, 2003).

Emigration creates both opportunities and difficulties for developing countries. For most countries of origin, worker remittances are an important source of foreign exchange earnings, and for some countries, the predominate source of income. At the global level, worker remittances now exceed official development assistance (ODA). On the other hand, the loss of skilled manpower—or the brain drain—places strains in critical areas, and may hinder the development process. The provision of medical care in Africa has been particularly hard-hit, as a result of the emigration of significant numbers of medical workers. As of 2005, more than two thirds of developing countries either did not intervene with respect to emigration or aimed to maintain the current level of emigration.

The sharp rise in emigration of skilled workers has prompted countries to address the challenges posed by the brain drain through initiatives to encourage the return of skilled workers living abroad. Overall, 71 countries had policies and programmes in place in 2005 to encourage their nationals to return, up from 59 countries in 1996. Of the 71 countries promoting the return of nationals, 58 were developing countries (United Nations, forthcoming).

Encouraging nationals to return is motivated by a belief in their potential positive impact on the home country through the transfer of knowledge and technology, as well as through investments and trade. In some countries, policy makers have tried to tap into these feedback effects, especially through Diaspora networks and policies to attract return migration.

II. Multilateral policy initiatives

Bilateral approach

Bilateral arrangements, which date back to the late 18th century, are a useful means of responding rapidly to changing migration trends or to specific issues. By 2000, 173 bilateral agreements on international migration had been signed by member States of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (International Labour Office, 2004). Similarly, 84 bilateral agreements were signed in Latin America between 1991 and 2000, of which more than one half were with countries in other regions (Mármora, 2003).

Bilateral agreements in the area of international migration aim to ensure that migrant flows take place in accordance with established rules and under conditions that are mutually beneficial. Countries enter into such arrangements to manage a wide range of issues including temporary labour migration, control of irregular migration, the return of migrants, as well as border and remittance management.

A number of countries have entered into bilateral agreements to regulate temporary labour migration. The Republic of South Africa, for instance, concluded treaties with Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique and Swaziland to oversee the temporary migration of foreign workers to be employed in the gold and coal mines (Adepoju, 2000). Other countries that have entered into such bilateral agreements are Germany and Malaysia (Stalker, 1994 and United Nations, 2003).

A growing number of receiving countries have negotiated readmission agreements with countries of origin, obliging them to readmit their nationals who lack proper documentation in order to facilitate their expulsion. Recent examples include agreements between Germany and Albania, and between Spain and Mauritania (SOPEMI (Continuous Reporting System on Migration), 2004). Other bilateral agreements have been concluded between receiving and transit countries. Agreements between Morocco and Tunisia and some of the European Union (EU) member States require these two Maghreb countries to readmit foreigners who, having transited through them, were residing in the EU without authorization (ibid.).

Lastly, some countries are entering into bilateral agreements to promote the safe and timely transfer of remittances. The programme developed by Mexico and the United States represents a pioneering effort in this respect (International Organization for Migration, 2003).

Regional approach

The management of cross-border movements of people has become a high priority for regional and sub-regional bodies as well. In particular, the drive towards economic and, in some cases, political integration has resulted in regional agreements among member States concerned with the free movement of their citizens and the harmonization of migration policies and practices.

The EU has achieved the most progress in this regard. From the onset, the free movement of workers within its borders has been one of the cornerstones of the EU's efforts to promote a common market. As of May 2004, 10 new countries, mostly from Eastern Europe, joined the 15 member States of EU. Although currently there are some restrictions, it is expected that the free movement of workers from the new member States will be fully achieved by 2011. Bulgaria and Romania are expected to join the EU in 2007.

In addition to regulating the free movement of people and workers within its borders, the EU has also been forging partnerships with countries of origin; formulating a common European asylum policy; and fostering the equitable treatment of third country nationals in EU member States. Most recently, the draft EU Constitution has defined the respective responsibilities in the field of international migration and migrant integration of the EU governing bodies and member States. Rejection of the Constitution by electorates in France and the Netherlands in 2005 has cast some doubt on the future of the Constitution.

Agreements to facilitate the movement of persons or workers have been part of the regulatory framework for establishing common markets or free trade groups in other regions as well. Examples of such regional initiatives are the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC), the Asia and Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC), the Southern Common Market Pact (MERCOSUR) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (International Labour Organization, 2004). The Central American – Dominican Republic Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA-DR) has not yet entered into force. So far, none of these groups have achieved the level of economic integration similar to the EU and thus international migration between member States adhering to the various initiatives continues to be restricted.

Besides these regional agreements, a number of regional and sub-regional consultative processes have also emerged during the last decade. Examples of such process are the Inter-Governmental Consultations on Asylum, Refugee and Migration Policies in Europe, North America and Australia (IGC), the Manila Process and the Puebla Process (International Organization for Migration, 2003). The fact that these processes are less formal and their conclusions and recommendations non-binding may to some extent account for the high visibility of these fora in recent years.

International approach

International migration has been increasingly recognised as a priority issue for the international community. In the 2002 report on "Strengthening of the United Nations: an agenda for further change" (A/57/387 and Corr. 1), the Secretary-General identified international migration as one of the main issues on which the organization had to deepen its knowledge, sharpen its focus and act more effectively. As a result, a wide array of multilateral activities has been undertaken within the United Nations system.

The United Nations has been active, for example, in the establishment of international legal norms and instruments related to international migration (see table 1). These have dealt with a wide array of issues including the rights of migrant workers, the prevention of smuggling and trafficking, and the protection of refugees.

There are three principal instruments dealing with the protection and treatment of international migrant workers. The oldest such instrument, the ILO Convention No. 97, contains provisions designed to proscribe inequalities of treatment with respect to the

employment of international migrants. Although 56 years have passed since the adoption of this convention in 1949, it has only been ratified by 43 countries.

In 1975, the ILO adopted Convention No. 143. This Convention establishes that migrant workers should not only be entitled to equal treatment, but also to equality with regard to access to employment, trade union rights, cultural rights and individual and collective freedoms. Only 18 countries to date have ratified this convention.

The third international instrument related to migrant workers—the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families—establishes the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms that all migrant workers and their family members should enjoy, regardless of whether they are living in a regular or irregular situation in the receiving country. The Convention officially entered into force in 2003 and has been ratified by 31 State parties as of August 2005. The Convention has not yet been ratified by a major receiving country.

Table 1. Legal instruments relevant to international migration

Instrument	Year adopted	Parties to United Nations instruments	
		Number of countries	Percentage of countries
Migrant workers			
ILO Convention concerning Migration for Employment (Revised 1949) (No. 97)	1949	43	22
ILO Convention concerning Migration in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and the Treatment of Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) (No. 143)	1975	18	9
International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families	1990	31	16
Smuggling and trafficking			
Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children	2000	87	45
Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Air and Sea	2000	78	40
Refugees			
1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees	1951	142	73
1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees	1967	142	73

Note: As of 11 August 2005.

Two international instruments focus on the smuggling and trafficking of international migrants, namely, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, and the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air. These have been ratified by 87 and 78 countries, respectively, and entered into force in 2003 and 2004 respectively. The first protocol aims to prevent and combat trafficking in persons, to protect and assist victims of such trafficking and to promote cooperation among State parties to meet these objectives. The second protocol provides an effective tool to

combat and prevent the smuggling of human cargo, reaffirming that migration in itself is not a crime, and that migrants may be victims in need of protection. The large number of countries that have become parties to these protocols is evidence of the importance that member States attach to the issue of irregular migration and to the need for cooperation within a well-defined international framework.

Lastly, there are two key international instruments which seek to protect refugees. The 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees established legal protections and a clear definition of the status of refugees. It also prohibited the expulsion or forcible return of persons accorded refugee status. The 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees extended the application of the 1951 Convention to persons who became refugees after 1 January 1951. Unlike the other instruments in table 1, these two humanitarian instruments have been ratified by the large majority (about three-fourths) of countries worldwide.

International conferences and meetings organised within the United Nations system have offered an additional platform for the development of norms and guidelines for policy formulation and migration management. The outcome documents adopted by these conferences, albeit non-binding, have frequently shaped the normative framework around which country activities have developed.

All inter-governmental conferences on population convened by the United Nations have dealt with international migration issues; moreover the attention given to this subject has been increasing over time. In particular, the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and development (United Nations, 1995, chap. I, resolution 1, annex), held in 1994 in Cairo, devotes a whole chapter to the topic and provides a comprehensive set of objectives in relation to international migration. A major objective of the Programme of Action is to encourage cooperation and dialogue between countries of origin and countries of destination so as to maximize the benefits of migration and increase the likelihood that migration will have positive consequences for development

Since the International Conference on Population and Development, there has been a call for an international conference on international migration and development, an issue that the Second Committee of the General Assembly has been considering since 1995. In the interim, the General Assembly, in its resolution 58/208 of 23 December 2003, called for a high-level dialogue on international migration and development to be held in 2006. The purpose of the dialogue is to discuss the multidimensional aspects of international migration and development in order to identify appropriate ways and means to maximize its development benefits and minimize its negative impacts (see section III).

A number of international organizations outside the United Nations system have also undertaken activities in this area, among these the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the Working Party on Migration of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC).

Another important initiative was the creation of the Global Commission on International Migration. Established in December 2003, the Commission is an independent body of 12 eminent persons from all regions of the world. The Commission's objective is to provide the framework for the formulation of a coherent, comprehensive and global response to migration. The Commission organised a series of regional hearings and will present a report to the Secretary-General in October 2005.

III. High-level dialogue on international migration: an update

Subject, purpose and content of the high-level dialogue

In resolution 58/208 of 23 December 2003, the General Assembly decided to devote a high-level dialogue to the theme of international migration and development during its sixty-first session in 2006 and requested the Secretary-General to report to it, at its sixtieth session, on the organizational details of the high-level dialogue. In resolution 59/241 of 22 December

2004, the General Assembly reconfirmed this request. The report (A/60/205) provides the organizational details of the high-level dialogue, bearing in mind that, as General Assembly resolution 58/208 stipulates: "a) the purpose of the high-level dialogue is to discuss the multidimensional aspects of international migration and development in order to identify appropriate ways and means to maximize its development benefits and minimize its negative impacts; b) the high-level dialogue should have a strong focus on policy issues, including the challenges of achieving the internationally agreed development goals; c) round tables and informal exchanges are useful for dialogue; d) the outcome of the high-level dialogue will be a Chairperson's summary, which will be widely distributed to Member States, observers, United Nations agencies and other appropriate organizations." (para. 10, resolution 58/208).

In resolution 59/241, the General Assembly recognized the important contributions that international and regional efforts, including by the regional commissions, can provide to the high-level dialogue. The Assembly also invited appropriate regional consultative processes and other major initiatives undertaken by Member States in the field of international migration to contribute to the high-level dialogue. Annex I provides a list of activities at United Nations Headquarters leading up to the high-level dialogue. In particular, the General Assembly took note of the establishment of the Global Commission on International Migration. The report of the Global Commission will be available in October 2005. The General Assembly may wish to take into account the recommendations made in that report in finalizing the arrangements for the high-level dialogue.

At the request of the General Assembly (resolution 59/241), the Secretary-General will prepare a comprehensive overview of studies and analyses on the multidimensional aspects of migration and development, including the effects of migration on economic and social development in developed and developing countries, and on the effects of the movements of highly skilled migrant workers and those with advanced education. This report will serve as substantive input for the high-level dialogue.

The organizational details for the high-level dialogue on international migration and development proposed in this report are largely based on the established practices of other recent high-level meetings of the General Assembly.

Outcome of the high-level dialogue

As stipulated in resolution 58/208, the outcome of the high-level dialogue will be a chairperson's summary (that is, the President's summary), which will be widely distributed to Member States, observers, United Nations agencies and other appropriate organizations.

IV. Conclusions

National and international issues related to migration such as brain drain and brain gain, remittances and undocumented movements have intersected with national concerns of low fertility and population ageing, unemployment, human rights and States rights, social integration, asylum, xenophobia, trafficking and national security. All together, these concerns have led to a re-examination of international migration policies and the potential benefits and disadvantages accruing to origin, destination and transit countries. As a result, more Governments are adopting policies and measures to better manage migration, tailored as precisely as possible to national needs. Receiving countries are increasingly recognizing the need and benefits accruing to international migration. As a result, lower immigration is the goal of only six developed countries in 2005. Countries are becoming more selective; they are seeking to alleviate labour shortages by promoting the migration of certain categories of migrants, particularly the highly skilled. For many receiving countries, family reunification remains the foundation for accepting migrants.

Policies for the integration of non-nationals are more prevalent in the receiving countries of the more developed regions than in those of less developed regions. Despite the increased volume of migration, the proportion of countries that aim to lower emigration has remained at about 1 in 4 since the mid-1980s. International migration is increasingly being viewed as making an important contribution to the socio-economic development of countries

of origin by, among other things, providing a major source of foreign exchange through remittances. At the same time, countries have become more inclined to encourage the return of nationals living abroad. Countries of origin are also creating Diaspora links with their nationals abroad.

Since the adoption of the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development in 1994, there has been growing recognition that international migration and development are inexorably linked and are of key relevance to the global agenda. Disseminating widely the international norms that already exist on migration such as the Cairo Programme could facilitate the migration process. It is becoming apparent that to reap the benefits and minimize the adverse consequences of international migration, greater international cooperation will be necessary. This requires the establishment of safe, orderly and rule-governed migration within a framework where States understand their obligations and protect the rights of migrants, and migrants recognize their rights and responsibilities, as well as respect national and international laws.

The growing scale of international migration flows and complexity of the issues involved have forced Governments to look beyond the traditional unilateral and bilateral mechanisms. Consequently, Governments have been exploring new ways of collaborating and cooperating in the management of international migration.

Since the 1990s, a large number of countries have entered into bilateral and regional agreements. Regional consultative processes of an informal nature have also become a key component of migration management and now exist in virtually all regions of the world. Over the past decade, the number of State parties to several international instruments concerning international migration has increased. However, many of these instruments still lack adequate worldwide support. Campaigning for broader support of these agreements would help in closing the normative gap.

Given that the saliency of international migration in the global agenda is likely to increase due to economic disparity among countries, conflict and political instability, and the growing security concerns arising from international terrorism, there is a need for further international cooperation in this area.

The high-level dialogue on international migration and development will provide a unique opportunity for the international community to create the foundation for enhanced international cooperation in addressing the multifaceted issues raised by the international movement of people.

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**Annex I. Schedule of major events at United Nations Headquarters
leading up to the high-level dialogue on international migration and development**

6 - 8 July 2005	United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development, organized by the Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs
14 - 16 September 2005	High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly
5 October 2005	Report of the Global Commission on International Migration presented to the Secretary-General
25 October 2005	Report of the Secretary-General on International Migration and Development introduced in the Second Committee
26 - 27 October 2005	Fourth Coordination Meeting on International Migration organized by the Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs
3 - 7 April 2006	Commission on Population and Development meets with international migration and development as its theme
26 - 28 April 2006	International Symposium on Migration and Development, organized by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Turin, Italy
14-15 September 2006	High-level dialogue on international migration and development (proposed date)

CURRENT TRENDS AND ISSUES IN CARIBBEAN MIGRATION

Elizabeth Thomas-Hope
University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica

1.0 Introduction

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

A single migrant may engage in more than one type of migration in his or her life-time and certainly a single household may have members engaged in any combination of types at the same time. Further, even migrations that are long-term do not necessarily reflect a total displacement of the individuals from their households and communities. Instead, they invariably became part of a transnational network of interactions and linkages that are associated with movements of people, money, goods and ideas in support of the expectations and obligations of the transnational household or family (Schiller *et al*, 1995; Thomas-Hope, 1986, 1988, 1992, 2002a).

In addition, in many cases return migration reflects a recurrent movement or circulation that is not recorded either in the censuses or in any systematic way through other types of migration statistics. It is an important form of mobility that includes a range of movements from legal, informal commercial activities of various kinds, to organized trafficking in drugs and people. This type of movement is not only significant in its societal impact in both source and destination countries but it is also part of the wider phenomenon of population movement, directly or indirectly associated with the international linkages established by the legal migration process.

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

2.0 CONCEPTUALIZATION OF CARIBBEAN MIGRATION

2.1 Migration Propensity

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

2.2 Transnational households, livelihoods and identities

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

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

2.3 Analytical perspective

To use the concept of ‘pushes and pulls’ which tends to be a dominant discourse relating to migration, is to use a metaphor that tends to mislead analysis and ultimately could mis- guide policy. It ignores the importance of the historical effect of corporate memory and the culture surrounding migration that evolved in the Caribbean. It also subsumes the importance of structural factors that condition thought and action as well as of the power of the transnational community and personal transnational identities. Further, it misleads the analysis into a notion of migration as a passive response to exogenous forces. Additionally, it suggests that migration is necessarily a uni-directional movement of individual from a negative to positive environment, irrespective of the multi-national network in which most Caribbean people are embedded or indirectly influenced. The migrants are in the overwhelming number of cases the agents of their own decisions and movements. Furthermore, it is not the poorest and least educated sectors of the population that migrate most, though it is their conditions that logically should ‘push’ them out hardest.

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

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

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

2.4 Incentives based on discrepancies within the ‘world system’

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

- a) Those embedded in the historical-structural differentials of the ‘world system’ as reflected in gross domestic product (GDP) levels, the human development index (HDI), and wages;
- b) Those associated with the social capital embedded in the social networks of Caribbean people/society and the transnational communities that have developed;
- c) The demand-driven migration-specific incentives provided by advertisements and the recruitment of persons as well as the facilitating or restrictive nature of entry regulations and visa requirements at potential migration destinations.

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

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

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

3.0 CURRENT TRENDS IN MIGRATION

3.1 Long-term Migration of Skills from the Caribbean

3.1.1 *Movement to the USA*

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

The largest number of high level personnel entering the USA from the Caribbean during the decade of the 1990s was from the Dominican Republic. Immigrants from the Dominican Republic were also in the majority in the category of skills 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 (Caribbean Community Regional Census, 1994). Jamaica contributes most to

the 'service' category but also has relatively large numbers of migrants in the Professional as well as the Executive and Managerial groups.

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

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

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

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

3.1.2 Movement to Canada

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

The large numbers of students in the migration streams to Canada reflect the trend in Canada's immigration policy to encourage the entry of persons at that stage. Taking 1996 as an example, of the total of 3,275 from Jamaica only 47% were destined for the 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 30% as students. From Haiti, 1,935 arrived, 45.3% for the labour force and 36% as students. The remaining persons entered included accompanying spouses and children and others not classified. (Statistics Canada, 1996).

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

Education. Caribbean migrants in Canada demonstrate a high level of education as indicated by the fact that most persons enumerated in 1981 had received ten or more years of

schooling. Besides, as already indicated, a large proportion of the migrants to Canada in the 1990s entered as students and thus engage in full-time or part-time study.

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

3.1.3 Trends since 2000

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

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

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

Part of the problem of the teacher and nurse migration has been the nature of the recruitment itself, but also the rate of the movement. Both these aspects had negative psychological impacts on those remaining in the sectors. But it is also the case that the quality of service is affected and that through the process of internal promotion, it is the schools and health clinics that serve the poorest sectors of the society that suffer the most. A recent study has concluded that the quality of teaching in Jamaican schools has been negatively affected by the recent teacher migration (Sives, Morgan and Appleton, 2005)

3.2 Return Migration

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

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

The sending of remittances and financial transfers are not necessarily part of the return movement, but it is most certainly associated with the transnational nature of households and families and in many cases, with the intention or idea of a subsequent return. Remittances account for substantial proportions of the GDP of some Caribbean countries (for

example, in Jamaica contributing more than the traditional export sector). Remittances, however, are not being used as effectively as they potentially could be. The point has been made that the volume of remittance flow to the Caribbean is far lower than would be expected by comparison with other migrant societies, for example, in Asia, and that the flow is currently too unpredictable to be used for national investment projects (Samuel, 2000).

3.3 Temporary out-migration from the Caribbean

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

The majority of temporary contracts are for seasonal agricultural work or hotel services. Mexicans vastly outnumber those from the Caribbean but the movement, nevertheless, has been important for the countries involved. In Jamaica, for example, numbers to the USA declined dramatically over the same period as compared with previous years. In 1989, 1990 and 1991, the farm workers recruited for the USA were well in excess of 10,000 in any year. In 2001, 2002 and as suggested by the data from the first half of 2003, numbers recruited for US farms fell below 4,000 each year. Numbers to Canada of farm and factory workers combined have remained steady and greater than 4,000 in any year (Compiled from, Government of Jamaica, Ministry of Labour Statistics).

3.4 Intra-Caribbean Migration

3.4.1 Legal Labour Migration

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

In the absence of the relevant data from the 2001 Population Census, it is not possible to ascertain the rate of emigration in the inter-census decade 1991-2001. Nevertheless, it is known that emigrants from Guyana have been settling throughout the Eastern Caribbean, especially in islands with significant tourism sectors, such as Barbados, Antigua and St. Kitts and Nevis. Likewise, persons from the Dominican Republic have been settling in St. Kitts and Nevis under citizenship entitlements based on the nationality of their grandparents who had migrated from St. Kitts-Nevis to the Dominican Republic as labour migrants in the 1920s and 1930s. Jamaicans have been moving to the centers of tourism development in Antigua and Barbuda, Anguilla, the British Virgin Islands and the US Virgin Islands. Unlike the Guyanese and Dominican communities that have become established in the Eastern Caribbean, the Jamaicans tend to form a mobile community engaged in a considerable degree of circulation back to Jamaica periodically for periods of varying duration.

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

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

3.4.2 Irregular Migration

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

The pattern of movement

The direction and volume of irregular movements reflect two interrelated hierarchies of opportunity based upon economic conditions and distance. At one level, irregular migrants constitute the materially poor from the poorest countries to other nations within the Caribbean, and affect destinations within the shortest distances from the point of origin, as financial costs are generally commensurately lower for these places than more distant locations.

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

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

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

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

The route of irregular migrants from the Dominican Republic has traditionally been, and continues to be, across the Mona Passage to Puerto Rico with the aim of moving on to the USA. More recently, there has been movement from the Dominican Republic to the various Eastern Caribbean islands. This movement is also characterized by smuggling rings involved in the trafficking of young women and girls destined for prostitution at locations in the Caribbean itself, especially those islands with a prosperous tourist industry, such as Antigua, the British Overseas Territory of Anguilla, the French Departments of Martinique and Guadeloupe and the Netherlands Antilles, as well as countries of Central and South America, or in Europe (Kempadoo 1999).

The scale of the movement

Migrants Interdicted at sea

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

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

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

Asylum seekers

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

3.5 Deportees

Deportees refer to those Caribbean nationals abroad who are involuntarily returned to their country of birth following charges for offences committed (most criminal and some civil) in a country overseas and in which they have no citizenship status, notwithstanding that they may have lived there for many years.

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

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

The regular arrival of deportees in some countries is causing considerable strain on the national health and social services. Many deportees would like to obtain work and fit back into society but without the appropriate support, this becomes very difficult. Other deportees are to be found among the homeless and also those persons involved in local crime and international criminal networks, increasing the national security problems. The practice is one that also needs to be examined in terms of human rights.

3.6 Trafficking in Persons

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

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

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

4.0 DATA

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

4.1 Legal migration

4.1.1 *South-North migration*

Information regarding emigration from the Caribbean is maintained by the countries of destination of Caribbean migrants as a record of immigration. These data do not, therefore, include those national groups that, due to their citizenship, require no visas for entry; for example, people from the French Antilles moving to France, British Commonwealth migrants to the UK up until the new requirements of visas in 2003, citizens of British dependent states, Netherlands Antilleans to the Netherlands and Puerto Ricans and US Virgin Islanders to the USA. Moreover, not only is there no regional database, but there is a lack of databases at the level of individual states containing information relating to all the migration streams pertaining to the respective countries.

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

4.1.2 *Intra-Caribbean migration*

The data from the CARICOM Census 2001 are not yet available for the region in such a form that migration figures could be extrapolated or computed. Each Caribbean state is responsible for the conduct of their respective population censuses and collation of the data. Until the work is completed in each state the regional agencies cannot establish a database. This means that the most recent Caribbean regional migration data currently available are from the CARICOM 1991 Census for Population and Housing (CCPHC, 1994). This census provides migration data for much of the region up to that year but, even then, this is with the important exceptions of Jamaica and Haiti, as well as the non-CARICOM countries of the Dominican Republic and Cuba and island dependencies.

4.1.3 *Return migration*

The data on return migration are only recorded in some Caribbean countries, therefore it is not possible to develop a comprehensive dataset or to obtain a full picture of the movement as it pertains to the region. Those countries that currently record the number of migrants returning are the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Barbados and St Kitts-Nevis. The data that are collected on return migration are generally not comprehensive or inclusive of details about the populations involved.

The Jamaican Customs Department began collecting data on returning nationals in 1993 on the basis of numbers applying for duty concessions with respect to the importation of personal goods. These data substantially underestimate the real flow of migrants because they are based on applications for duty-free concessions made by one member on behalf of the entire household. The size of the household for which the application is made is not recorded nor is any detail about the individuals, such as age, sex, occupation or educational level. The numbers of return migrants with particular skills, or those who are still in the labour force versus those who were retired cannot be distinguished, therefore, from the total number of returnees. Barbados and St. Kitts-Nevis have also taken an active interest in the return of migrants in recent years and although some effort is currently made to collect data pertaining to numbers, like the Jamaican data they are based primarily on applications for customs concessions. Furthermore, in all cases, a number of returnees continue to circulate between

the Caribbean and their previous migration destinations in North America or Europe and those who re-migrate are never recorded to have done so.

4.1.4 Temporary migration

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

4.2 Illegal migration

The data on illegal, irregular or undocumented migration are, understandably, impossible to generate with any degree of accuracy. The USA records of aliens subject to deportation in fiscal year 2002, showed a total of 9,602 and, of this number, 5,100 had entered the country without inspection and were therefore undocumented or illegal migrants (USA, Immigration and Naturalization Services, 2003). The absence of data for previous years in the USA and for Canada and European countries, prevent the identification of the trend over time or a comparative evaluation of the movement from the Caribbean to other countries of the North. Nevertheless, an idea of the extent of the movement is obtained by a) the numbers interdicted at sea b) numbers of asylum seekers and c) persons entering without inspection and subject to deportation. None of these sets of data provide reliable indicators of illegal migration, though they can be used, with caution, as the only available surrogates.

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

5.0 'MANAGING' MIGRATION

5.1 Incentives

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

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

5.1.1 Incentives to return

The return involves not just the movement of people but also the movement of remittances in the form of financial capital as well as goods of various kinds (Thomas-Hope,

1999). These are typically transferred back to the Caribbean country of origin through formal and informal channels either prior to, along with or following the return of the migrants themselves.

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

5.1.2 *Incentives for investment, collaboration in development projects*

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

5.2 Regulations

Although migration incentives are high, the regulatory controls of the prospective receiving countries, both in the countries of the North (in this case the countries of North America and Europe) as well as in the countries of the Caribbean itself, carefully guard their borders through the enforcement of regulations of varying degrees of stringency and selectivity. Selectivity is intended to attract those persons deemed to provide desirable immigrants and ultimately, citizens. The regulations thus differentially facilitate or deter movement by establishing various entry regulations, including those relating to duration of stay, for various categories of person. This section outlines the regulatory framework pertaining to the entry of Caribbean citizens to the USA, Canada, the UK as well as into the CARICOM states themselves.

5.2.1 *Immigration regulations of intra-Caribbean migration*

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

Throughout the Caribbean, all skilled and unskilled labour immigrants require work permits in order to work in the host country. Work permits have to be requested by the company or organization hiring the migrant. Requests are considered mainly when it has been proven that there is no qualified/competent national available for the post. There is usually the requirement of a fee to be paid upon application for a work permit.

6.0 CONCLUSION

In summary, the recent migration trends show increases in:

- The loss of professional skills through the recruitment of professionals – in particular teachers and nurses for work abroad;
- Irregular migration;
- Human trafficking;
- The return of 'deportees' to the region;

- Return migration, remittances and transfers of funds.

All of these trends constitute important issues to be addressed. Thus, how to 'manage migration' so as to reduce the vulnerability of Caribbean populations to the negative impacts of migration can be identified as the overarching issue that needs to be addressed. The objective of such an approach has to be to optimize the opportunities of migration for socio-economic development, national and regional security and the protection of human rights.

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

- The ways in which migrations of various types are conceptualized and contextualized so that the fundamental issues, and not just the obvious symptoms, can be identified;
- Data quality.

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

The trends have shown that Caribbean migration is highly responsive to occupational and educational opportunities in other countries, yet there is also a strong tendency to return to the native country later on. In terms of financial capital, there are already strong indications of the potential flows through remittances back to the original source countries associated with the migration process. The transnational household and return migration are of particular value in the generation and direction of these flows. The creation and publicizing of incentives for investment are not only an imperative but must be of such a kind that they are sustainable in their impact. This is especially important given the uncertainty of the period over which large remittances will be received, for they will only be sustained for as long as migrants continue to return, or intend to return, to their countries of origin.

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

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MIGRATION IN THE CARICOM SINGLE MARKET AND ECONOMY

Steven Mc Andrew
CARICOM-RNM

The CSME

In July 1989 in Grand Anse, Grenada the Conference of Heads of Government adopted a three pronged approach to development in response to changes that were occurring in the global economy.

The Conference of Heads of Government decided in Grand Anse to:

- deepen and strengthen the integration process
- widen the Community
- participate fully and effectively in global economic and trading arrangements

Thirteen Member States of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) have committed themselves to deepen and strengthen the integration process by establishing the CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME). The focus of the Community is currently on establishing the Single Market with effect of 1 January 2006 or shortly thereafter. The other major component of the CSME, the Single Economy, must be completed by 31 December 2008.

In order to establish the CSME the revision of the Treaty establishing the Caribbean Community and the Common Market, which was signed in 1973 was necessary. This revision was completed by way of nine protocols, which subsequently were incorporated in the Treaty. The Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas is being applied provisionally pending ratification by all Member States in order not to hamper the implementation of the CSME.

Key is to note that the Revised Treaty establishes the Caribbean Community including the CARICOM Single Market and Economy. Unlike the original Treaty of Chaguaramas, which established two entities, namely the Caribbean Community and the Common Market, the Revised Treaty establishes one entity namely the Caribbean Community, of which the CSME is an integral part.

The CSME is WTO consistent, meaning that the rules and principles that apply at the global level will also apply in the integration arrangement of the Community.

The key principles in the CSME are:

- Equal rights and treatment for all persons of Member States in the Market
- Non-discrimination
 - (i) National treatment (Art 7)
 - (ii) Most Favoured Nation Treatment (Art 8)
- Exceptions
- Differential treatment
 - LDC's
 - Disadvantaged countries / regions / sectors

The elements of the CSME grouped under the component under which they fall are :

- Single Market :
 - Movement of Capital
 - Movement of Skills / Labour
 - Movement of Services
 - Right of Establishment
 - Movement of Goods

- Single Economy :
 - Production Integration
 - Harmonisation of Fiscal Policies
 - Harmonisation of Investment Policies
 - Monetary Integration
 - Capital Market Integration and Development

The focus in this paper will be on the key elements of the Single Market, since as indicated before this component must come on stream early 2006, but more importantly, because these elements form the framework within which migration as a result of Treaty obligations will take place in the CSME.

Of course it is recognized that the Single Economy measures, when implemented can have a significant impact on migration, but at this point in time the Single Market is more important, especially since CARICOM Nationals have been granted certain rights under this component, which might facilitate migration.

Migration as a result of Treaty obligations

Movement as a result of Treaty obligations or free movement of persons is enshrined in various articles of Chapter Three of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas (32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 45, 46). Migration as a result of Treaty obligations can take place under the following elements of the Single Market:

- Movement of Skills / Labour
- Movement of Services
- Right of Establishment

The free movement of persons underpins all other key pillars of the CSME, except the free movement of goods, since it is critical for most modes of the supply of services, the right of establishment and even the movement of capital.

The words "Treaty obligations" are pointing to the fact that Member States are obliged to facilitate the CARICOM National who is moving under one of these elements in order not to breach the Treaty, of course barring certain exceptions.

The provisions which regulate the movement under these elements are contained in Chapter Three of the Revised Treaty, which deals with services, establishment, capital and movement of skills.

On 31 December 2005 all Member States must have removed existing restrictions on the right of establishment, provision of services, movement of capital and movement of skills in order to enable the Single Market to come into effect on 1 January 2006 or shortly thereafter. However it is important to note that a Single Market came into effect on 1 March 2002 in all areas where no restrictions were identified.

Free Movement of Skills

Member States have committed themselves to free movement for all CARICOM Nationals in Article 45 of the Revised Treaty, however they opted to implement the Free Movement of Skills in a phased approach starting with the categories named in Article 46, namely:

- university graduates
- artistes
- musicians
- media workers
- sportspersons

These five categories can move as wage earners or non wage earners. Once you can prove that you belong to one of the categories you should be able to move to any Member State in order to seek work and once found to engage into gainful employment without the need to obtain a work permit.

As proof that they belong to one of the eligible categories CARICOM Nationals will receive a "Skills Certificate", which should facilitate their entry into another Member State.

Free Movement of Skills at this point in time is solely for economic activities and not for residential purposes.

Besides these five categories the Revised Treaty also grants non wage earning CARICOM Nationals, both juridical and natural persons, the right to move freely in the CSME in order to capitalize on existing economic opportunities.

The non wage earning CARICOM Nationals also have the right to bring along:

- Managerial staff
- Supervisory staff
- Technical staff

The movement of managers, supervisors and technical staff is however linked to an economic activity, which is being undertaken by a non wage earning CARICOM National, because if they don't belong to one of the Article 46 categories these persons can't move in their own right. Their employer will have to request free movement for them.

If the employer ceases the economic activity the managers, supervisors and technical staff will be affected as they will have to obtain a work permit and permit of stay in order to remain in the host country, if so desired.

Movement of services

The Revised Treaty provides for the provision of services against remuneration other than wages according to four modes of service delivery, namely:

- (i) From the territory of one Member State into the territory of another Member State. This mode of services supply basically means that neither the producer of the service nor the consumer is moving, even though a cross-border service is being delivered.
- (ii) In the territory of one Member State to the service consumer of another Member State. Basically this mode means that the consumer is traveling to the producer of the service. This mode is therefore also called consumption abroad.
- (iii) By a service supplier of one Member State through commercial presence in the territory of another Member State.
- (iv) By a service supplier of one Member State through the presence of natural persons of a Member State in the territory of another Member State. This mode is also called temporary movement.

For the purposes of this paper the last three modes of service delivery are important, because actual movement is taken place under these modes, however mode I must also be considered when discussing all aspects of migration, because remittances is an example of cross border supply, even though you can argue that you have two consumers of the service, namely the person, who is sending money from one country and the receiver in another country.

Consumption abroad accounts for the greatest share of migration in our Community if one uses the forms of migration as defined by the International Organisation for Migration

(IOM), because the IOM considers tourism as a form of migration and in our Community the population of many Member States is multiplied many times as a result of tourist arrivals.

Temporary movement as the name indicates is meant to last only for a certain time period, but currently there is no agreement on this period, so it can be for one day, but also for several years. Key is that at a certain point the person will leave in order to return to his / her home country or go to another country to continue to provide services there.

Right of Establishment

CARICOM Nationals also have the right to move to another Member State on a more permanent basis to produce goods or services. This is referred to as the right of establishment or commercial presence under the services regime.

The right of establishment includes the rights to:

- Engage in any non-wage-earning activities of a commercial, industrial, agricultural, professional or artisanal nature; and
- Create and manage economic enterprises

Economic enterprises are any type of organization for the production of, or trade in goods or the provision of services owned or controlled by a national of a Member State.

Experience so far with free movement

The experience with free movement of skills clearly highlights that so far mostly graduates have been moving under this regime. Some of these "movers" were already in the country and opted for free movement, when they became aware of this right.

The majority of the movement so far occurred in Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica. For example up to April 2005 nine hundred ninety-eight (998) persons had been granted free movement in Barbados since 1996, which means an average of one hundred and ten (110) persons per year.

The division was as follows:

▪ Guyana	302
▪ Trinidad & Tobago	294
▪ Jamaica	191
▪ St. Vincent & the Grenadines	53
▪ St. Lucia	48
▪ Grenada	32
▪ Dominica	27

The remainder was divided between Antigua, Belize, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis and Suriname.

Another experience with free movement as construed at this point in time is the odd situation that two persons with the same educational background, for example in carpentry, don't have the same right to move within the CSME, because one is an employed carpenter and not one of the eligible categories of wage earners, while the other is a self-employed carpenter and thus has the right to move.

CARICOM Heads of Government in November 2004 agreed that the eligible categories must be expanded and a Regional Task Force of relevant Stakeholders met in March 2005 in Dominica in order to develop proposals for the expansion of the wage earning categories.

The developed proposal was discussed by the Conference of Heads of Government in July 2005 and it was decided that early 2006 the Conference will take a definite decision on

the expansion as most Member States did not complete their national consultations in time for the July Conference.

Spouses and dependants

Spouses and dependants of the eligible categories have the right to join the principal mover and to leave and re-enter the home country without going through the whole process again.

So far most Member States have not removed work permit restrictions for spouses and dependants, meaning that in order to work they must still obtain a work permit unless they qualify for free movement in their own right.

Contingent Rights

The Community must still develop a policy on the rights contingent on the free movement of skills, the right of establishment, the provision of services and movement of capital, since the Revised Treaty is silent on these rights, in particular on:

- (i) any other rights to which the principal beneficiaries should be entitled;
- (ii) the rights and benefits which spouses and dependants are entitled other than the freedom to travel, to enter and leave the jurisdiction in which the right of free movement is exercised by the named category of beneficiary (the principal beneficiary).

Social Security

The CARICOM Agreement on Social Security must be considered a supportive measure for the free movement of skills and came into effect on 1 April 1997. The Agreement, which provides for totalisation of all contribution periods paid to various social security organizations, is fully operationalised in all Member States with the exception of Suriname.

Suriname currently does not have a social security system which is similar in nature to that in other Member States and can not start the required legislative process.

Even though the Agreement is a supportive measure it applies to all persons who are contributing to social security organizations, even if they are currently not one of the eligible categories.

Finally, it is good to note that CARICOM Nationals for some years now are already receiving benefits under the Agreement.

Movement and justice

The Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ) in its original jurisdiction is responsible for the final interpretation and application of the provisions of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, including the provisions dealing with movement of persons. This means that in the CSME there will be a critical link between migration and justice for certain CARICOM Nationals, namely persons, who are utilizing the various arrangements to move.

Any breach of the Treaty obligations can result in case which is brought before the CCJ, of course after the other avenues for redress have been exhausted.

Discretionary migration policies of countries

Movement as a result of discretionary migration policies is currently the dominant form of migration of wage earners in our Community. Persons, who are seeking to move to another Member State for work purposes, must obtain a work permit and a permit of stay from

the receiving Member State. Member States have complete freedom to decide whether or not to grant these permits.

When the Single Market comes into effect in the Community on 1 January 2006 or shortly thereafter movement as a result of discretionary migration policies will remain the dominant form of migration by wage earners, because all wage-earners, except the selected categories which have been granted free movement, will still have to obtain a work permit.

A perfect illustration of this statement is the situation in Barbados, where the Immigration Department issued two thousand, nine hundred and ninety-two (2992) work permits during the period 1 January to 31 December 2004, with more than half, one thousand, five hundred and twenty-six (1526) being issued to nationals of Guyana. The remainder distributed between nationals of other Caribbean Community states and nationals of countries outside the region.

During the period 1 January to 31 March 2005, seven hundred and twenty-nine (729) work permits were issued. Again the largest number went to nationals of Guyana – three hundred and seventy-three (373).

These examples clearly highlight that discretionary migration policies will decide the degree in which migration, other than tourism, occurs in the CSME.

The transition from the discretionary migration system to full implementation of the current free movement of skills regime is still ongoing in most Member States and from time to time it is necessary to deal with problems, which occur as a result of this transition.

Monitoring of migration

In order to monitor movement as a result of Treaty obligations in the CSME the CARICOM Secretariat is looking into the possibility to develop a Movement of Skills Database. However, to get the actual migration figures it will be necessary to pay attention to movement as a result of discretionary migration policies as well. Discussions concerning this issue are still ongoing.

Besides getting the actual migration figures monitoring is also critical in light of the current global security threats, since our Community wants to operationalise free movement of persons in a safe and secure environment. Project proposals have been developed for the establishment of a regional electronic immigration network, which should form part of a more comprehensive security network.

Concluding remarks

Even though intra-regional migration is not a new phenomenon, but a process, which has been going on for many decades, the CSME arrangements will impact on this process, because of the fact that you now have and in the years ahead increasingly will have movement as a result of Treaty obligations, whereby the room of Member States to deny eligible persons entry will be significantly less than in the past or in the case of traditional migrants.

Persons moving under the CSME arrangements will also have the advantage on traditional migrants that they must receive national treatment in the market, be it for wage earning employment or non wage earning employment. Traditional migrants may still be confronted with discrimination as the Department with responsibility for the issuance of work permits can demand that a suitable national must be given preference.

Another advantage is the fact that persons moving under the CSME arrangements can always turn to the Caribbean Court of Justice when Treaty obligations are breached by Member States and that the Court can take binding decisions.

Migration as a result of discretionary policies is expected to remain the most important form of migration in the short term in the CSME. Only if Member States agree to accelerate Article 45 of the Revised Treaty, which caters for full free movement this trend will change.

Much still needs to be done with respect to movement of persons in the CSME, notwithstanding the fact that the administrative and legislative framework for the Article 46 categories is now operational in most Member States.

Critical will be to put in place the mechanisms to monitor the actual movement in order to provide the Conference of Heads of Government and relevant Councils with accurate information for decision making.

SUMMARY MANAGED MIGRATION IN THE CARIBBEAN

Veta Brown
Pan American Health Organization
Regional Office of the World Health Organization
Office of Caribbean Program Coordination, Barbados

The following is a summary of the presentation made by Mrs Veta Brown Caribbean Program Coordinator, Pan American Health Organization, Regional Office of the World Health Organization, Office of Caribbean Program Coordination, Barbados.

The presentation, "Managed Migration, Moving the Process Forward" addressed the background, current situation, and considerations for revitalizing the strategy for managing the migration of nurses from the Caribbean. The Caribbean framework is defined as a "**regional strategy** for retaining adequate number of competent nursing personnel to deliver health programs and services to Caribbean nationals". The strategy is based on the recognition that migration cannot be stopped where principles of individual freedom are to be respected and in consequence the rights of individuals to choose where they want to work and live.

The concept supports an inherent view that migration of nurses can be managed and promotes a **proactive approach** to the building of partnership between all the relevant stakeholders to play an active role in finding an appropriate response to migration. The concept was developed by the CARICOM Regional Nursing Body in 2001 in collaboration with their partners the Caribbean Nursing Organization and the Pan American Health Organization. Many other partners have also made contributions to defining the process and developing options; among these are the Commonwealth Secretariat, Health Canada, United Kingdom Department of Health, the Lillian Carter Center in Nursing, Johnson and Johnson and the Advanced Nursing Department, University of the West Indies.

The initiative is broad based and is comprised of six elements which give attention to both the push and pull factors associated with the migration of nurses. The elements are: terms and conditions of work; recruitment and retention; education and training; utilization and deployment; management practices; and policy development. In short the Managed Migration Program in the Caribbean is an example of a coordinated intervention that attempts to minimize the negative impacts of migration while securing some benefits from the process. The major characteristics of the initiative are; multi-country, multi-intervention, multi-stakeholders and multiple partners.

A review of the current situation shows that a concerted Caribbean regional program has not yet materialized. However much work has been completed to define the components of the strategy, conduct preliminary studies on the reasons why persons migrate or stay, promote and have the concept accepted in principle by the CARICOM Caucus of Ministers of Health and the Council for Human and Social Development as well as the initiation of a special program to promote the profession of nursing. This latter activity was sponsored by the Johnson and Johnson Company. Several countries have commenced various national initiatives. Some of these include partnering with North American institutions to train Caribbean nationals at home so they may be eligible to work overseas. Others have granted concessions to external institutions to set up nurse training programs for foreign nationals. The first scenario is directed at the potential "export" of nurses. The latter is more of a financial transaction where the host government receives some additional resources from the sale of lands and the spending power of the faculty and students. Both programs appear to have limited impact on improving the quality of service in the local environment.

Among the challenges to moving the process forward are: the resource base of the countries to train new entrants and retain experience staff; and the decision making processes and the trade negotiation capacity of the governments. In most of the Caribbean countries nurse education is offered by the government institutions primarily in community colleges at a minimal cost to the students. The regional capacity to produce students has

spare capacity but the situation varies from country to country. Some institutions are unable to attract sufficient qualified students to make the programs viable whilst others do not have the capacity to scale-up. Similarly a study conducted by the PAHO and UWI showed that most of the institutions have deficiencies in faculty and other technical and reference resources, which limit their ability to accelerate the production of new nurse graduates. This coupled with the "nursing attractiveness" or lack of factor further exacerbates the challenge of delivering quality nursing care.

The trained Caribbean nurse is a graduate of a standardized and regulated program. The Regional Nursing Body is responsible for reviewing, monitoring and evaluating the quality of nurse education in the CARICOM Caribbean. This mechanism whilst promoting portability within the region also increases marketability outside the region. When experienced nurses are aggressively recruited particularly by North American agencies there is little or no compensation to the governments. The more senior nurse in most instances would have completed bond obligations prior to exit from the national system. Several governments have expressed concern that there should be compensation to the Caribbean Governments for the loss of nurses to the external market. Some of the governments appear wedded to the idea of preparation of nurses for "export" to provide additional opportunities for their nationals. To date none have been able to negotiate direct contributions from receiving parties, for additional resources, that will permit scaling up of training programs to meet both national and external demands for trained nurses. The recent study⁵⁴ by the Caribbean Commission on Health and Development has recommended to the CARICOM Community the involvement of the Caribbean Regional Negotiating Machinery in a process that will activate Mode IV conditions for Trade in Services in keeping with the World Trade Organization arrangements. Such a program will facilitate the temporary movement of nurses from the Caribbean to the global and particularly the North American markets. The implications and decision on this matter will be reviewed by the CARICOM Secretariat and will most likely be addressed by the Council of Human and Social Development in April 2006.

Mrs. Brown ended her presentation by identifying action steps that needed to be taken to revitalize the process for both decision making and action. She identified the context for these recommendations as the fact that the global demand for nursing was so significant that it was not going to be possible to stop the migration and/or the aggressive recruitment. The developed world was not in a position to meet their demands for nursing skills in the mid-term and Caribbean Governments have both a need to deliver quality health care and find employment for their nationals. The Managed Migration program is perceived as a win-win situation. The challenge remains to find the resources and to secure the appropriate agreements to make it happen.

The work to be completed and the decisions needed to move the Managed Migration process from concept/strategy to action will require the concerted and immediate action of national governments and stakeholders, CARICOM and its regional entities such as the Regional Nursing Body and the Caribbean Regional Negotiating Machinery, the Caucus of Health Ministers and the Council for Human and Social Development; Caribbean Nursing Organization, public sector unions and Public Service International; regional and international agencies such as the Commonwealth Secretariat, ILO, IOM and the PAHO/WHO; academic institutions and interested bilateral governments. It should be noted that in the case of the latter several governments have already indicated that they will not support the concept of "nurses production for export" but are prepared to examine options of building partnerships between institutions to strengthen the quality of nursing care in the Caribbean.

A summation of the work that will effect a successful managed migration program and reduce the impact of both the push and pull factors to ensure quality health care include: a mechanism to achieve decision and/or agreement on a CARICOM regional position in relation to trade in health services – Mode IV; formulation of an organized program; enhancement of negotiation capacity for bilateral and regional agreements for interested parties; dissemination of a briefing paper on the implications, in relation to international trading

⁵⁴ Report of the Caribbean Commission on Health and Development – CARICOM and PAHO/WHO 2005

parameters, of installation of international schools of nursing for non-nationals; identification of institutions and the development of cooperative agreements with external institutions to build national capacity and provide incentives for the retention of local staff whilst training nationals and non-nationals for external markets; Strengthening the Caribbean nurse education infrastructure through the development of a strategic plan to prepare nurse tutors, upgrading of institutional infrastructure, introduction of innovative recruitment mechanisms for national market and definition of the program for export production.

She opined that there was also a need to review the nurse migration in the context of the wider labor market issues. For example through exploring options as promoting nursing as the preferred or alternate employment opportunity. This approach can meet the need for skill acquisition locally and employment externally. It was understood that such an approach will also have to introduce programs for scaling up the general education for non-traditional recruits. Other stakeholders that need to be engaged in the process for a successful outcome will be public sector management agencies, various health authorities and bargaining agents. Conditions of employment are one of the major push factors. Therefore considerable study will have to be given to options for career enhancement, hours of work, health, wellness and social status of nurses, family work-life balance and how various diseases such as HIV/AIDS and other communicable may affect both the availability of the nursing pool and the attractiveness of the profession.

The various studies will assist the authorities in developing the requisite incentive programs and in the provision of alternate opportunities for employment to reduce the impact of migration and sustain quality nursing care.

POPULATION PROJECTION MODEL FOR SMALL ISLAND COUNTRIES, AN ILLUSTRATION ARUBA 2003-2023

Frank Eelens
Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute
Central Bureau of Statistics – Aruba

Introduction

Making population projections for small island countries is no easy matter. In many small island economies, migration acts as a safety valve to counteract pressure on the local economy. In times of economic crisis, inhabitants flee the harsh economic conditions to find employment overseas. On the other hand, international migration provides the local economy with foreign workers when the labor market starts to expand.

In the Caribbean, the size and composition of the population is often more the result of the changing patterns of international migration than of the natural processes of birth and death. Many countries in the Caribbean have already gone through the stages of the demographic transition. They have levels of fertility and mortality that are not expected to change drastically in the coming years. On the other hand, their volume and direction of international migration in the next decades remains as hard as ever to predict. In small island nations migration depends almost completely on the course of the economy. In Aruba, developments in tourism had a major impact on the number of foreign workers who came to Aruba for work, and will do so in the future. The combination of fairly constant levels of mortality and fertility, an irregular age structure and very erratic patterns of migration makes it difficult to use the traditional cohort – component method⁵⁵ to make projections. As fertility and mortality assumptions have to be kept fairly constant, the assumptions on international migration will almost completely determine the outcome of the projections.

In this paper we present the model which we used to project the population currently living on Aruba. This model partly overcomes the migration problem by making migration a function of economic development. In our opinion, this projection model can be used in other countries of the Caribbean which are confronted with significant levels of in- and out-migration.

Methodology

In Aruba, the level of international migration is highly dependent on labor force requirements. In a paper on migration and the economy⁵⁶ we have argued that in the history of Aruba's economy, migration has always functioned as a demographic regulator to offset the pressures on the local labor market. To illustrate the correlation between economic conditions and demographic developments we have plotted the values of the nominal GDPs since 1980 against the mid-year populations for the corresponding years. This information is presented in table 2 and figure 1. The figures in table 2 show that when a negative growth occurs in GDP the population also decreases, although with a slight delay. Figure 1 shows that –at least in the case of Aruba- there is a close linear relationship between GDP growth and population size⁵⁷. A linear regression between both variables shows a correlation coefficient (R^2) of no less than 98 percent.

⁵⁵ The Cohort Component method is currently the most widely used projection model. It makes use of the balancing equation in which the population at time $t+5$ is equal to the population at time t plus the number of births and the number of immigrants and minus the number of deaths and emigrants between t and $t+5$. The calculation of the population at time $t+20$ is done in a segmented way, by using consecutive five-year age groups.

⁵⁶ Eelens, Frank (1993), *Migration and the Economy of Aruba*. Third Population and Housing Census Aruba – October 6, 1991. Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute, The Hague, the Netherlands – Central Bureau of Statistics, Oranjestad, Aruba, pp.21

⁵⁷ We used total population size in table 2 because no data were available on the number of persons in the labor force for all these years. Obviously, this would have been theoretically more sound.

A customized projection model was developed for Aruba in which the relationship between the labor force requirements and net migration was incorporated. We developed an Excel program to do the projection. The advantage of using Excel for projection purposes is that by changing one cell, all other cells that refer to that particular cell are updated. In this way, the effect of a small change in one of the parameters immediately results in changes in the final outcome. Projections were made for a twenty-year period. The projection consists of four five-year progressions. Three scenarios were drawn up - low, medium and high - each based on a set of economic and demographic assumptions. In this paper we only present the results for the medium scenario. Although the model was specifically designed for Aruba, it would not be very difficult to adapt it to the situation in other small island countries. Some minor small adjustments would probably have to be made depending on the availability of local data.

The basic idea of the projection model is quite simple. To make the projection we compare the necessary size of the labor force to reach a certain goal in GDP and labor productivity with the available human resources at time $t + 5$. For this comparison we take into account the natural increase of the local and foreign born population, the labor force participation rates of local and foreign born persons, the international net migration of the local born population, and the emigration of the foreign born population who had lived on the island for some time. The difference between the necessary and the available labor force has to be imported from abroad. To obtain the estimated number of foreign born immigrants, one has to multiply this difference by a factor which takes account of the fact that a number of migrants bring their family, or are followed after some time by economically non-active dependants.

The projection method for each of the four five-year projection intervals involves the following steps:

Step 1: We make a projection of the Aruban born population from time t to time $t + 5$. This projection uses a straightforward cohort-component methodology by making assumptions about future trends in fertility, mortality and migration.

Step2: Using the number of persons per age group and by sex, and the age and sex specific participation rates for local born persons, we calculate the number of Aruban men and women in the labor force at time $t + 5$.

Step 3: Projection of the foreign born population from time t to time $t + 5$. This projection also uses the cohort-component method with fertility, mortality and emigration data, but leaves immigration aside. As such we calculate the number of foreign born people who were on the island at time t and who would be on the island at time $t + 5$ given the fertility, mortality and emigration assumptions, if no additional foreign born persons migrate to Aruba.

Step 4: Using the number of persons per age group and by sex, and the age and sex specific participation rates for foreign born persons, we calculate the number of foreign born men and women in the labor force at time $t + 5$. Note that this figure only includes foreign born persons who were already present on Aruba at time t .

Step 5: Next, we make an estimation of future labor force requirements. The labor force consists both of employed and unemployed persons. For the estimation of the employed persons at time $t + x$ we made use of the relationship between the gross domestic product (GDP), the labor productivity (LP) and the number of employed persons (EP). The relationship between GDP and LP equals:

$$LP(t+x) = GDP(t+x) / EP(t+x) \quad (1)$$

Table 1. Population growth of the population living on Aruba 1972 - 2003

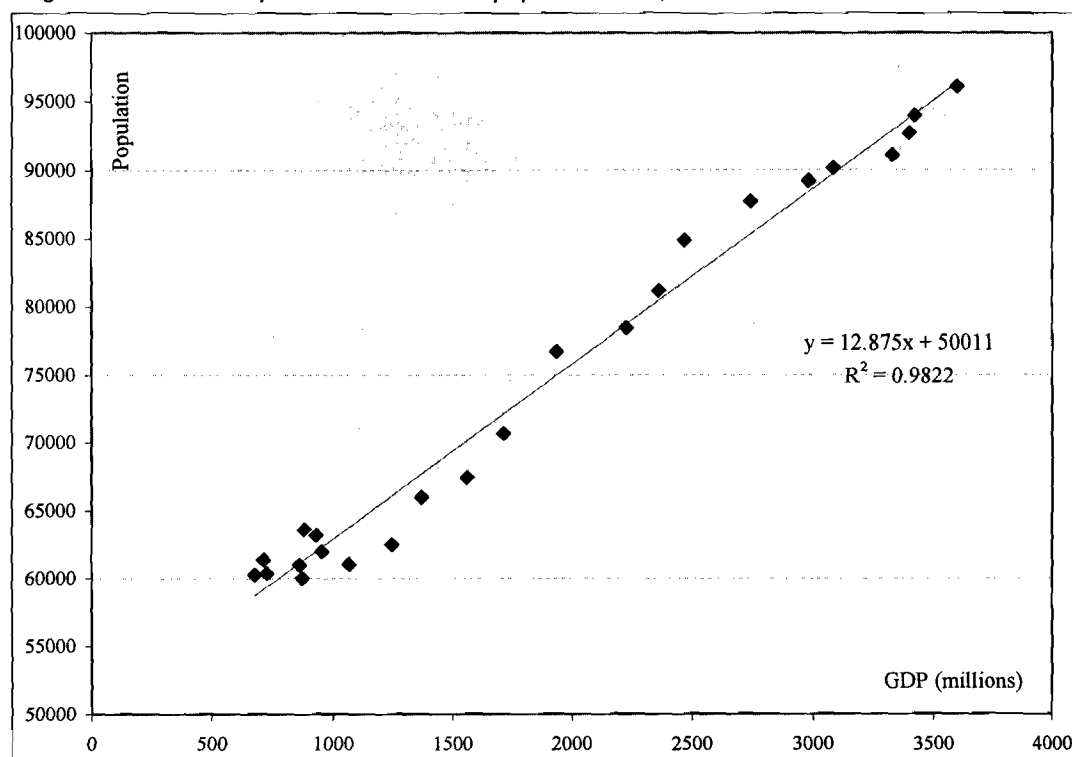
Year	Population Aruba		Deaths		Livebirths		Natural Growth		Emigration		Immigration		Net migration		Net growth	
	mid year	end of year	absolute	death rate	absolute	birth rate	absolute	n.g. rate	absolute ¹	em. rate	absolute	im. rate	absolute	n.m. rate	absolute	growth rate
72	58047	58189	275	4.74	1201	20.69	926	15.95	2584	44.51	1942	33.46	-642	-11.06	284	4.89
73	58299	58409	287	4.92	1003	17.20	716	12.28	2667	45.75	2171	37.24	-496	-8.51	220	3.77
74	58349	58290	298	5.11	962	16.49	664	11.38	2479	42.48	1696	29.07	-783	-13.42	-119	-2.04
75	58295	58299	286	4.91	968	16.61	682	11.70	2414	41.41	1741	29.87	-673	-11.54	9	0.16
76	58368	58437	300	5.14	941	16.12	641	10.98	2194	37.59	1691	28.97	-503	-8.62	138	2.36
77	58580	58722	320	5.46	993	16.95	673	11.49	2376	40.56	1988	33.94	-388	-6.62	285	4.87
78	58776	58829	284	4.83	1058	18.00	774	13.17	2445	41.60	1778	30.25	-667	-11.35	107	1.82
79	59191	59553	318	5.37	1065	17.99	747	12.62	2063	34.85	2040	34.46	-23	-0.39	724	12.23
80	59909	60264	288	4.81	1125	18.78	837	13.97	2023	33.77	1897	31.66	-126	-2.10	711	11.87
81	60563	60866	317	5.23	1051	17.35	734	12.12	2082	34.39	1950	32.20	-132	-2.19	602	9.93
82	61276	61690	313	5.11	1036	16.91	723	11.80	2281	37.22	2382	38.87	101	1.65	824	13.45
83	62228	62770	339	5.45	1133	18.21	794	12.76	2275	36.57	2562	41.17	287	4.61	1081	17.36
84	62901	63037	323	5.14	1169	18.58	846	13.45	2325	36.96	1745	27.74	-580	-9.21	266	4.24
85	61726	60419	334	5.41	1109	17.97	775	12.56	4726	76.56	1333	21.60	-3393	-54.97	-2618	-42.41
86	59929	59444	377	6.29	1014	16.92	637	10.63	3059	51.05	1447	24.15	-1612	-26.90	-975	-16.27
87	59156	58873	370	6.25	992	16.77	622	10.51	2779	46.98	1587	26.83	-1192	-20.16	-570	-9.64
88	59329	59789	335	5.65	949	16.00	614	10.35	1909	32.18	2211	37.27	302	5.09	916	15.44
89	60441	61096	372	6.15	1141	18.88	769	12.72	2205	36.48	2743	45.38	538	8.90	1307	21.63
90	62751	64410	419	6.68	1140	18.17	721	11.49	1843	29.37	4436	70.69	2593	41.32	3314	52.81
91	65943	67382	429	6.51	1157	17.55	728	11.04	1887	28.62	4229	64.13	2342	35.52	3070	46.56
92	69005	70629	424	6.14	1292	18.72	868	12.58	2091	30.30	4469	64.76	2378	34.47	3246	47.05
93	73685	76742	402	5.46	1337	18.14	935	12.69	2101	28.51	7278	98.77	5177	70.26	6112	82.95
94	77595	78450	431	5.55	1315	16.95	884	11.39	2463	31.75	3287	42.36	824	10.62	1708	22.01
95	79804	81160	504	6.32	1419	17.78	915	11.47	2299	28.80	4094	51.30	1795	22.50	2710	33.96
96	83021	84883	469	5.65	1452	17.49	983	11.84	2211	26.63	4950	59.62	2739	32.99	3722	44.83
97	86300	87720	497	5.76	1457	16.88	960	11.12	2130	24.68	4007	46.43	1877	21.75	2837	32.87
98	88451	89183	505	5.71	1315	14.87	810	9.16	2762	31.23	3416	38.62	654	7.39	1464	16.55
99	89658	90135	561	6.26	1251	13.95	690	7.70	3082	34.38	3344	37.30	262	2.92	952	10.62
00	90734	91064	531	5.85	1294	14.26	763	8.41	3368	37.12	3535	38.96	167	1.84	930	10.25
01	91851	92676	435	4.74	1263	13.75	828	9.01	2602	28.33	3386	36.86	784	8.54	1612	17.55
02	93318	93961	489	5.24	1157	12.40	668	7.16	2537	27.19	3154	33.80	617	6.61	1285	13.77
03	95033	96105	498	5.24	1170	12.31	672	7.07	1981	20.85	3452	36.32	1471	15.48	2143	22.55

Table 2. Relationship between GDP and population size, Aruba 1980-2003.

Year	GDP (nominal)	% change in GDP	Population
1980	677.1		60261
1981	862.5	27.4	60996
1982	953.3	10.5	61965
1983	930.9	-2.3	63190
1984	881.2	-5.3	63604
1985	712.7	-19.1	61361
1986	725.8	1.8	60361
1987	872.8	20.3	59995
1988	1067.6	22.3	61045
1989	1244.6	16.6	62497
1990	1369.1	10.0	65939
1991	1561.1	14.0	67382
1992	1715.6	9.9	70629
1993	1938.5	13.0	76742
1994	2229.8	15.0	78450
1995	2363.7	6.0	81160
1996	2470.1	4.5	84883
1997	2742.2	11.0	87720
1998	2980.5	8.7	89183
1999	3083.8	3.5	90135
2000	3326.9	7.9	91065
2001	3398.7	2.2	92676
2002	3421.2	0.7	93961
2003	3599.2	5.2	96104

Source: CBA, CBS, IMF.

Figures for GDP are given in millions Afl.

Figure 1. Relationship between GDP and population size, Aruba 1980-2003.

Source: CBA, CBS, IMF.

Figures for GDP are given in millions Afl.
Consequently,

$$EP(t+x) = GDP(t+x) / LP(t+x) \quad (2)$$

The National Accounts provides the GDP for 2000, while the number of employed persons in that year time is known from the Population Census. Labor productivity could therefore be calculated easily. Next, some assumptions were made about the growth of GDP and labor productivity per five-year period for the next twenty years. On the basis of these assumptions, we could calculate the number of employed persons needed to attain these growth rates. As we need assumptions for the labor force as a whole, and not just for the number of employed persons, these had to be multiplied by a factor taking into account unemployment:

$$\text{Total Labor force } (t+x) = EP(t+x) * (1 + \text{unemployment rate}(t+x)) \quad (3)$$

The number of men and women in the labor force is then estimated by applying the percentage of women in the labor force to the total labor force. This percentage has to be included per five-year projection period.

Step 6: By adding the number of local born and foreign born men and women (steps 2 and 4) in the labor force, we obtain the total local available labor force at time $t+5$. This number equals the labor force available at time $t+5$ if no international migrants had come to the island in the period $t, t+5$. If we subtract this number from the estimated required labor force (step 5), we obtain the number of male and female workers Aruba has to import between time t and $t+5$ to reach the proposed levels of GDP and labor productivity. To obtain the number of foreign born persons entering Aruba between time t and $t+5$, we multiply the number of immigrant workers by the factor $(1 + PD)$ where PD stands for the average number of economically non-active dependants each migrant brings to the island.

Step 7: The number of male and female immigrants between times t and $t+5$ is then broken down into separate age groups using the age distribution of foreign born immigrants as observed in recent years. If required this age distribution can be adjusted.

Step 8: Lastly, we bring together the projection results of the local born population (step 2), the foreign born population (step 4) and the foreign born immigrants (step 7) to obtain the final population by age and sex at time $t+5$.

Step 9: The projected population at time $t+5$ is then taken as the starting population for the population projection from time $t+5$ to $t+10$, repeating steps 1 to 8.

The Excel program has been developed in such a way that the change in a single parameter immediately shows the changes for the whole twenty-year projection period. Because the spreadsheet is easy to adapt, extra worksheets can be attached to use the output of the projections for other purposes. For instance, educational projections could easily be attached in a separate worksheet. The population for each of the years refers to 31 December.

The projection model includes a large number of parameters which can be changed in a matter of seconds to show the demographic outcome of these changes. The parameters which can be changed (either directly or indirectly) for each five-year projection segment are the following:

Economic parameters

- GDP size
- annual growth rate of GDP
- annual growth rate of labor productivity

- unemployment rate
- proportion of women in the labor force
- age-specific participation rates for men and women, both local and foreign born

Demographic parameters

- starting population by five-year age groups and sex
- age-specific fertility rates (local and foreign born)
- sex ratio at birth
- survival ratios in the life table
- age-specific emigration for local and foreign born persons
- age-specific immigration for local born persons
- number of dependants who come to Aruba per foreign born worker

The change in any of these parameters has an effect on the size and composition of the future population living on Aruba. Because the model incorporates a large number of variables, it is an easy tool to examine the outcome of possible changes in one or more economic or demographic parameters. For instance, the model can easily show the effect of an increase in female labor participation rates. As the demand on the labor market is closely linked to the required import of foreign labor, a higher labor participation of resident women would lead to a smaller demand for foreign workers. This would not only have an effect on the overall size of the population, but also on its age and sex distribution. In the case of Aruba, incorporating economic parameters definitely results in a much more refined projection model because the input of international migration becomes a function of the economic factors rather than being dependent on demographers' 'guesstimates'.

Assumptions

Because of the large number of parameters in the projection model, an almost infinite number of scenarios can be constructed. Projections were made using three basic scenarios. Each of these scenarios reflects a certain growth in Aruba's economy in the next twenty years. According to their final output we call these scenarios 'medium', 'high' and 'low'. As we mentioned, in this paper we will only present the medium scenario.

As a starting point for our projections we took the population on Aruba in 2003 by age and sex, grouping the local born and the foreign born population. To interpret the projection results correctly, it is important to know that local born persons above age 15 were born on Aruba or in the Netherlands Antilles. For people born before the Status Aparte, the population registration could not distinguish between the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba as country of birth. Therefore, there is no possibility to differentiate persons born on Aruba from those born in the Netherlands Antilles before 1985. Also, the results of the projection data refer to local and foreign born, not to Arubans and foreigners. Children born on Aruba to foreign parents are classified as local born. Again, there is no way to distinguish between the two groups.

Patterns of fertility and mortality were kept constant. As we mentioned before, no large variations are expected to occur in fertility and mortality in the next two decades. According to the 2000 Population Census the total fertility rate (TFR) equaled 1.86. However, since then the Central Bureau of Statistics has detected a flaw in the data from the Population Registry. For legal reasons, a group of children from foreign born parents were not included in the registered number of births and as a result 135 babies were excluded from the birth statistics of the Population Registry. After applying a correction, the TFR increased to 2.04 children per woman. Separate fertility schedules were used in the projection for the local and foreign born population. Table 4 shows these fertility schedules. Significantly more baby boys than baby girls are born in Aruba: according to

the figures from the Population Registry the sex ratio at birth is 1.074. This figure was used throughout the projections.

Table 3. Starting population 2003, for local born and foreign born population

Age-group	Local born		Foreign born	
	M	F	M	F
0-4	2908	2789	390	380
5-9	3083	2919	669	672
10-14	2747	2716	930	919
15-19	2325	2255	922	1011
20-24	1773	1683	860	986
25-29	1522	1512	1286	1685
30-34	1976	1907	1802	2263
35-39	2149	2117	1993	2548
40-44	2822	2737	1666	2191
45-49	2639	2652	1123	1697
50-54	2288	2186	793	1195
55-59	1761	1919	507	704
60-64	1465	1535	262	441
65-69	1128	1407	202	321
70-74	783	994	148	227
75-79	357	486	152	213
80-84	222	312	94	125
85-89	96	199	27	92
90-94	39	89	15	40
95+	6	29	4	17
Total	32,087	32,444	13,845	17,726

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000, Population Registry.

Table 4. Age-specific fertility assumptions

	Fertility native women	Fertility foreign born women	Total fertility Adjusted
14	0.0048	0.0000	0.0031
15-19	0.0545	0.0411	0.0541
20-24	0.1182	0.0729	0.1084
25-29	0.1402	0.0726	0.1170
30-34	0.0799	0.0593	0.0782
35-39	0.0341	0.0390	0.0417
40-44	0.0057	0.0071	0.0075
45-49	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
TFR	2.16	1.46	2.04
Mean age	26.81	27.56	27.08

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000; Population Registry

In the last ten years the life expectancy of Aruba's population has decreased by about one year, for both men and women. Life expectancy is now 70 years for men and 76 for women. The current level of mortality is about the same as it was in 1981. In our projection we assumed that these levels would remain fairly constant in the next twenty years. The survivorship ratios for men and women, which were used throughout the projection period, are presented in table 5. The survivorship ratio can be extracted from the life table which was constructed after the 2000 Population Census⁵⁸. It indicates the

⁵⁸ Eelens, Frank (2002), The People of Aruba. Continuity and Change. Fourth Population and Housing Census Aruba, October 14, 2000. Central Bureau of Statistics. Oranjestad, February 2002.

probability of surviving between two completed age groups. These probabilities (in fact improperly called 'ratios') between completed ages are commonly used in population projections to estimate the number of survivors.

Table 5. Survivorship ratios assumed for the projections Aruba 2003-2023

	Males	Females
Age group		
0-1	0.9934	0.9877
1-4	0.9989	0.9972
5-9	0.9989	0.9989
10-14	0.9960	0.9988
15-19	0.9893	0.9955
20-24	0.9857	0.9948
25-29	0.9680	0.9945
30-34	0.9900	0.9931
35-39	0.9869	0.9934
40-44	0.9795	0.9914
45-49	0.9688	0.9860
50-54	0.9494	0.9659
55-59	0.9097	0.9431
60-64	0.8524	0.9240
65-69	0.7874	0.8706
70-74	0.7218	0.8081
75-79	0.6100	0.7165
80+	0.3400	0.4796
e_0	70.01	76.02

Source: Population and Housing Census 2000.

In recent years, the emigration rate of local born persons has been consistently higher than the rate of return migration. In the period 1999-2003, 7,053 local born persons left the island and 4,468 local born persons returned (see table 6). This implies a net out-migration of 2,585 local born persons. Net migration is slightly higher for men than for women, 1,412 versus 1,173 respectively. The figures in table 6 result in the net migration rates presented in table 7. These rates were used as input to calculate the net number of local born migrants. These migration rates were kept constant throughout the twenty-year projection period. The age-specific arrival and departure distribution for local born persons in the period 1999-2003 are depicted in figures 2 and 3. These graphs clearly show that migration rates are highest among local born persons aged between 15 and 30 years. Many people in this age group go overseas to study; it is well known that many of them decide to stay abroad when they have completed their education.

For each five-year projection period, the absolute number of foreign born emigrants was calculated as follows. First, a frequency distribution was drawn up of arrivals of foreign born migrants according to year of arrival. Next, the distribution of duration of stay in Aruba was applied to the arrivals per year. After summing up all persons who arrived x years ago and who stayed on the island for x years, the total number of emigrants could be calculated. In 2003, fieldwork was done for the Aruba Migration and Integration Survey. This survey was conducted among 1,400 migrants and included questions about the number of dependants the migrants brought to Aruba. It was found that each migrant brought .33 dependants to the island. These dependants either accompanied the migrant to Aruba or followed after some time. This figure was used in the projection for all four five-year periods.

Table 6. Absolute number of local born migrants leaving and returning to Aruba by age and sex.

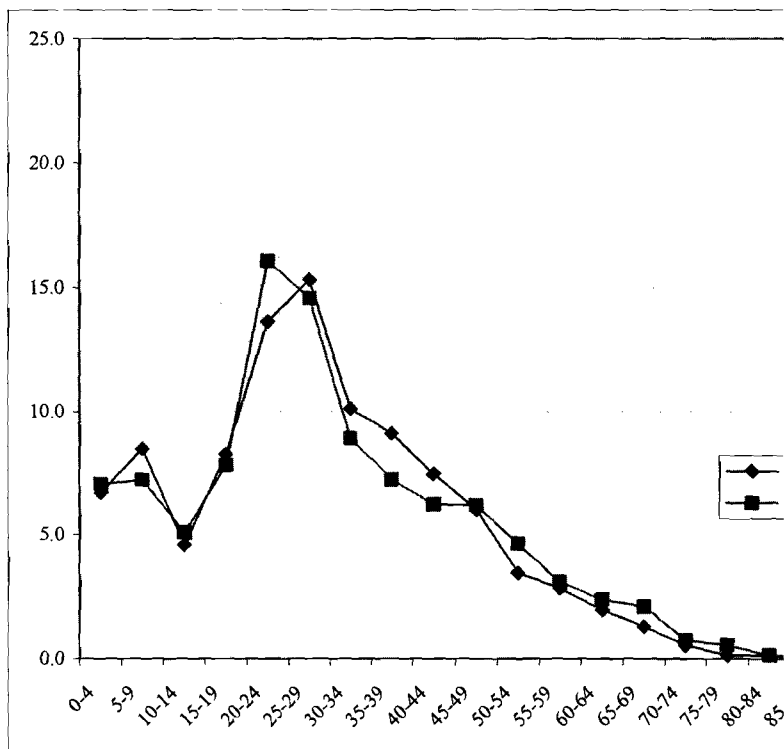
Age-group	Total departure 1999-2003			Total arrival 1999-2003			Net migration 1999-2003		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-4	362	321	683	152	155	307	-210	-166	-376
5-9	227	218	445	192	159	351	-35	-59	-94
10-14	155	129	285	104	112	216	-51	-17	-69
15-19	593	702	1295	187	172	359	-406	-530	-936
20-24	865	738	1603	309	354	663	-556	-384	-940
25-29	402	315	716	347	321	668	-55	6	-48
30-34	236	209	445	229	196	425	-7	-13	-20
35-39	225	170	395	206	159	365	-19	-11	-30
40-44	201	163	364	169	137	306	-32	-26	-58
45-49	148	151	298	136	136	272	-12	-15	-26
50-54	112	94	206	78	102	180	-34	8	-26
55-59	77	64	141	64	68	132	-13	4	-9
60-64	32	47	79	44	52	96	12	5	17
65-69	24	28	52	29	46	75	5	18	23
70-74	11	10	21	12	16	28	1	6	7
75-79	3	12	15	3	12	15	0	0	0
80-84	3	3	6	3	3	6	0	0	0
85-89	0	2	2	1	2	3	1	0	1
90-94	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
Total	3677	3376	7053	2265	2203	4468	-1412	-1173	-2585

Table 7. Net migration rates for local born persons by age and sex.

	Net migration rates	
	M	F
0-4	-0.0329	-0.0275
5-9	-0.0391	-0.0382
10-14	-0.0166	-0.0143
15-19	-0.0940	-0.1160
20-24	-0.2368	-0.2277
25-29	-0.1670	-0.1136
30-34	-0.0154	-0.0013
35-39	-0.0051	-0.0050
40-44	-0.0093	-0.0068
45-49	-0.0084	-0.0080
50-54	-0.0116	-0.0012
55-59	-0.0132	0.0032
60-64	0.0006	0.0028
65-69	0.0071	0.0099
70-74	0.0034	0.0133
75-79	0.0010	0.0052
80-84	0.0002	-0.0001
85-89	0.0049	-0.0008
90-94	0.0048	0.0051

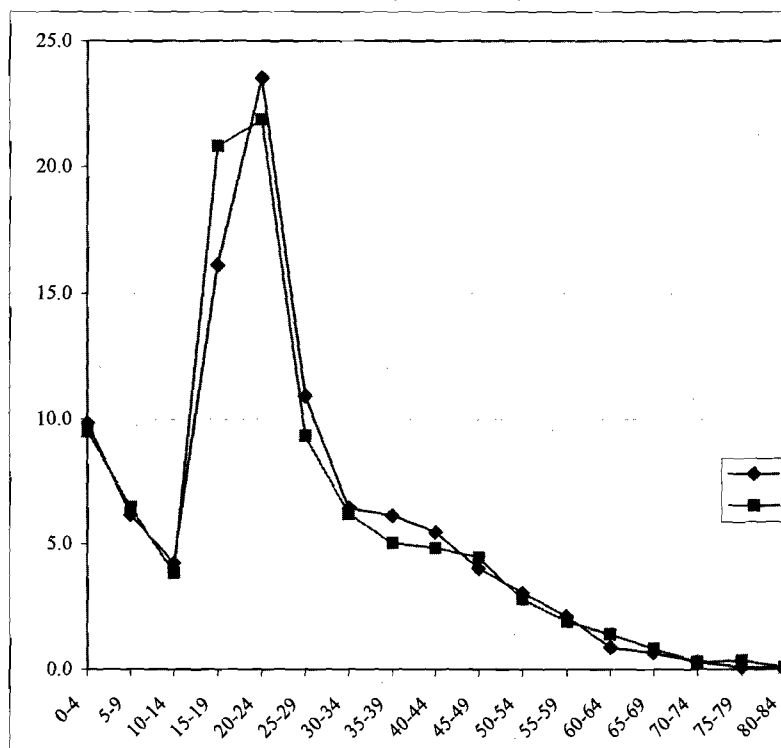
Source: Population Registry.

Figure 3. Relative age-distribution at the moment of arrival for persons born on Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles (1999-2003)



Source: Population Registry.

Figure 4. Relative age-distribution of departure for persons born on Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles (1999-2003)



To calculate the available work force at the end of each five-year period, it is important to have the participation rates for local and foreign born men and women. These participation rates were obtained from the 2000 Population Census. Table 8 presents the age specific participation rates by sex for local and foreign born persons.

Table 8. Participation rates by sex and five year age categories, for local and foreign born persons.

	Local born		Foreign born	
	M	F	M	F
0-4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
5-9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
10-14	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
15-19	15.3	10.7	19.3	14.3
20-24	73.0	67.6	82.6	70.2
25-29	90.0	82.0	96.5	75.3
30-34	91.5	84.5	97.6	78.9
35-39	90.6	84.5	97.4	79.1
40-44	89.1	79.4	96.5	80.0
45-49	88.6	73.5	94.2	77.2
50-54	87.0	58.6	92.9	67.2
55-59	73.3	39.5	80.9	55.3
60-64	36.1	16.6	53.7	31.2
65-69	22.2	4.9	34.8	12.9
70-74	11.2	3.1	21.5	5.6
75-79	3.6	0.7	12.0	3.2
80+	4.7	0.8	6.0	1.7

Source: 2000 Population and Housing Census

The participation of women in the labor market has increased significantly since the 1970s. Middle-aged women in particular now have much higher degrees of participation in the labor force. As there is some evidence to suggest that participation rates for women are still rising, the projection assumed that for the first five-year projection period (2003-2008), the participation rates for women between ages 30 and 65 will rise by 2.5 percent. After 2013 it is assumed that the increase in female labor participation will have come to a halt and that subsequent participation rates will remain the same.

In the same light we assume that the percentage of women in the total labor force will continue to increase from its current level of 46.6 percent. We assume that for each five-year projection period the percentage of women in the labor force will increase by 1 percent. This would imply that in 2023, women would hold more jobs than men (50.6 percent). This is not unlikely, given the fact that immigration of female workers has been higher in recent years than that of men, and that more jobs are being created in the hotel and tourism sector, a sector that traditionally employs more women than men.

According to the 2000 Population and Housing Census, the unemployment rate equaled 7 percent in that year. Although some variations occurred, studies have indicated that the unemployment rate was between 6 and 7 percent for most of the 1990s. In the projection we therefore assumed that this trend will continue and that unemployment will remain at the same level. One of the advantages of the current model is that it is easy to show what effect a reduction in unemployment would have over a period of twenty years on the import of foreign labor and thus on the final population size.

Labor productivity was kept constant at a rate of 1.5 percent growth per annum. The level of GDP is the only parameter we changed to obtain the three different scenarios. For the middle scenario, annual growth of nominal GDP was set at 4 percent. For the low projection scenario a growth rate of 3 percent was used, and for the high scenario it was set at 5 percent. It is interesting to see the demographic consequences of

economic growth by varying GDP, while keeping all other variables constant. As mentioned before, the projection tool we created can easily be used to change other demographic or economic parameters to see what the effect on the growth and structure of population would be. As such the projection model is a valuable tool to see what the effect of certain policy measures would be, while keeping all other variables constant. For instance, if we raise the participation rate for persons between 60 and 65 years of age, the effect on the number of immigrants and the total population is immediately evident.

Results

Below, we present each projection scenario separately, starting with the medium scenario, followed by the low and high scenario. For each scenario we briefly discuss the outcome of the projection.

Table A.1 shows the total projected population by age and sex if Aruba's GDP grows by a constant 4 percent per year, which is about the average exponential growth of GDP in the last ten years (4.1 percent). One should keep in mind that nominal, not real GDP growth was used. In this scenario, between 2003 and 2008 many jobs can be filled by Aruban born persons and, as the aging of the population does not yet result in a much larger group retiring, the population increase remains moderate: from a total of 96,012 in 2003 to 99,909 in 2008. After 2008, the aging of the population together with the exponential character of a constant 4 percent economic growth results in a faster growth of the population. In 2003 the annual growth rate was 0.8 percent per year, after a gradual increase this would rise to 3 percent per year (see table A.3). At the end of the projection period, the total medium scenario population equals 143,377. This is almost a 50 percent increase compared with 2003.

Aging is an important factor in Aruba's future population. The population pyramids of the total population (figure A.1.) illustrate the changes in the age-structure over the next twenty years. Currently, 8.1 percent of all persons living on Aruba are older than 65. By 2023 this percentage will have increased to 13.0 percent. In the mean time we can see a relative decrease in the number of young people below age 15; from 22.0 percent in 2003 to 18.9 percent in 2023. Figure A.10 shows clearly the rapid rise of the number of very old persons. The number of persons older than 75 years will almost triple in the course of the next twenty years from 2,614 in 2003 to 7,339 in 2023. Much of the rapid pace of aging will be masked by the arrival of foreign workers, who are typically in their twenties and thirties. If we look at the local born population we see that the percentage of persons aged over 65 is currently 9.5 but will increase to 17.7 by 2023: an increase of 86 percent.

Given the very low - and falling - birth rates and increasing death rates⁵⁹, the growth of the Aruban born population will be very moderate in the next twenty years. According to the medium scenario, the Aruban born population will grow from 64,531 at present to 74,065 in 2023. As mentioned before, one has to take into account that children born to foreign parents on Aruba are classified as born on Aruba. The data on which the model was based do not allow a distinction between children whose parents were both born on Aruba, those whose parents were foreign born and those who have mixed parents. In the next twenty years, many foreigners will have to be imported to do the jobs for which there are no available local workers. This will cause an impressive increase in the foreign born population on the island. In 2003, 31,571 foreigners were present. With a constant GDP growth of 4 percent, the requirements of the labor market will be such that in 2023, 69,312 foreign born persons will reside on the island. This is an increase of no less than 120 percent. Currently, the ratio between local born to foreign born is 2.05. By 2023, it will have dropped to 1.07, which means that almost just as many foreign born as local born persons will be living on the island. As Aruba's economic development seems to create more jobs that are typically performed by women, many

⁵⁹ Because of the aging of the population more persons will be in the older age-groups in the future. In these age-groups probabilities of dying are higher. Therefore, the absolute number of persons who die in a year will be higher which leads to higher death rates.

more foreign women than foreign men will be living on the island in 2023 (40,498 women against 28,814 men). Indeed, the number of foreign born women will be higher than the number of Aruban born women (38,003). The overall sex ratio of all persons living on the island will drop from 91.6 to 82.6. This trend is not only caused by the larger immigration of foreign women, but also by the higher life expectancy of women.

It is interesting to see that in this scenario the exact number of births still continues to rise, while the birth rates actually decrease (see table A.10). Although the age-specific fertility rates were kept constant for the projection period, because of the rise in the population size, the exact number of children continues to climb from 6,490 in 2003 to 8,555 in 2023. However, because of the changes in the age structure of the population, there are relatively fewer women in the childbearing age-groups in this scenario. This obviously leads to a lower birth rate. As more people move into older age groups, where mortality risks are higher, the death rate increases from 6.6 per thousand to 7.7 per thousand. The absolute number of deaths increases from 3,293 in the period 2003-2008 to 5,488 in the period 2018-2023.

On the following pages we present the tables and graphs of the medium projection.

A. Tables and graphs for the medium projection scenario; Aruba 2003- 2023.

Table A.1. Total population by age and sex, 2003 - 2023

Age	2003			2008			2013			2018			2023		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
0-4	3,298	3,169	6,467	3,387	3,176	6,563	3,615	3,394	7,009	4,183	3,995	8,177	4,890	4,712	9,601
5-9	3,752	3,591	7,343	3,238	3,149	6,387	3,577	3,396	6,973	3,866	3,757	7,623	4,598	4,563	9,161
10-14	3,677	3,636	7,312	3,749	3,608	7,357	3,425	3,347	6,773	3,827	3,702	7,529	4,202	4,186	8,388
15-19	3,247	3,266	6,513	3,473	3,405	6,878	3,693	3,549	7,242	3,392	3,373	6,765	4,098	4,134	8,232
20-24	2,633	2,669	5,302	2,977	3,147	6,124	3,560	3,763	7,323	3,877	4,192	8,069	4,069	4,622	8,691
25-29	2,808	3,197	6,005	2,652	2,885	5,537	3,565	4,076	7,640	4,333	5,124	9,457	4,891	5,938	10,829
30-34	3,778	4,170	7,948	2,930	3,491	6,421	3,275	3,834	7,109	4,340	5,418	9,757	5,169	6,680	11,849
35-39	4,142	4,665	8,807	3,842	4,331	8,173	3,369	4,147	7,517	3,827	4,778	8,605	4,945	6,546	11,491
40-44	4,487	4,928	9,416	4,134	4,725	8,859	4,109	4,723	8,831	3,725	4,725	8,450	4,242	5,508	9,750
45-49	3,762	4,349	8,111	4,423	4,932	9,355	4,255	4,931	9,185	4,290	5,045	9,335	3,962	5,149	9,111
50-54	3,081	3,380	6,461	3,646	4,307	7,953	4,389	5,006	9,394	4,256	5,057	9,314	4,341	5,232	9,573
55-59	2,268	2,623	4,891	2,913	3,285	6,198	3,510	4,297	7,808	4,230	5,009	9,239	4,153	5,073	9,225
60-64	1,727	1,976	3,703	2,063	2,474	4,537	2,688	3,181	5,870	3,241	4,162	7,403	3,911	4,855	8,766
65-69	1,330	1,728	3,058	1,481	1,843	3,324	1,791	2,361	4,152	2,331	3,033	5,364	2,801	3,944	6,744
70-74	931	1,221	2,152	1,052	1,519	2,570	1,181	1,712	2,893	1,429	2,186	3,615	1,853	2,774	4,627
75-79	509	699	1,208	672	989	1,661	768	1,317	2,085	863	1,484	2,347	1,045	1,884	2,929
80+	503	903	1,406	748	1,265	2,013	1,060	1,592	2,652	1,381	2,170	3,551	1,707	2,703	4,411
Total	45,932	50,170	96,102	47,379	52,530	99,909	51,831	58,624	110,455	57,391	67,211	124,601	64,876	78,501	143,377
Median age	34.7	36.5	36.1	36.7	38.9	37.9	36.8	39.8	38.4	36.1	39.2	37.9	35.5	38.4	37.1
Mean age	34.0	35.8	35.0	35.5	37.7	36.7	36.4	38.8	37.7	36.8	39.4	38.2	36.6	39.3	38.1
Under 15	10,727	10,395	21,122	10,374	9,933	20,306	10,618	10,137	20,755	11,877	11,454	23,330	13,690	13,461	27,151
15-49	24,858	27,244	52,102	24,431	26,916	51,347	25,826	29,022	54,847	27,784	32,654	60,438	31,376	38,575	69,951
50-59	5,349	6,003	11,352	6,559	7,591	14,151	7,899	9,303	17,202	8,486	10,067	18,553	8,493	10,305	18,798
60+	5,000	6,527	11,527	6,015	8,090	14,105	7,488	10,163	17,651	9,244	13,036	22,280	11,316	16,160	27,476
75+	1,012	1,602	2,614	1,419	2,255	3,674	1,828	2,909	4,737	2,244	3,654	5,898	2,752	4,587	7,339
Dependency ratio	43.8	42.4	43.1	43.3	42.0	42.7	42.3	41.2	41.8	45.3	43.4	44.2	48.2	46.1	47.0
% under 15	23.4	20.7	22.0	21.9	18.9	20.3	20.5	17.3	18.8	20.7	17.0	18.7	21.1	17.1	18.9
65+ per 100 pers.	7.1	9.1	8.1	8.3	10.7	9.6	9.3	11.9	10.7	10.5	13.2	11.9	11.4	14.4	13.0
<15 per 100 pers 65+	327.8	228.4	270.0	262.5	176.9	212.2	221.2	145.2	176.2	197.8	129.1	156.8	184.9	119.1	145.1

Source: CBS-Aruba, 2004.

The dependency ratio is equal to the number of persons <15 and >65 divided by the number of persons 15-64.

Figure A.1. Population pyramids of population living on Aruba, 2003 – 2023.

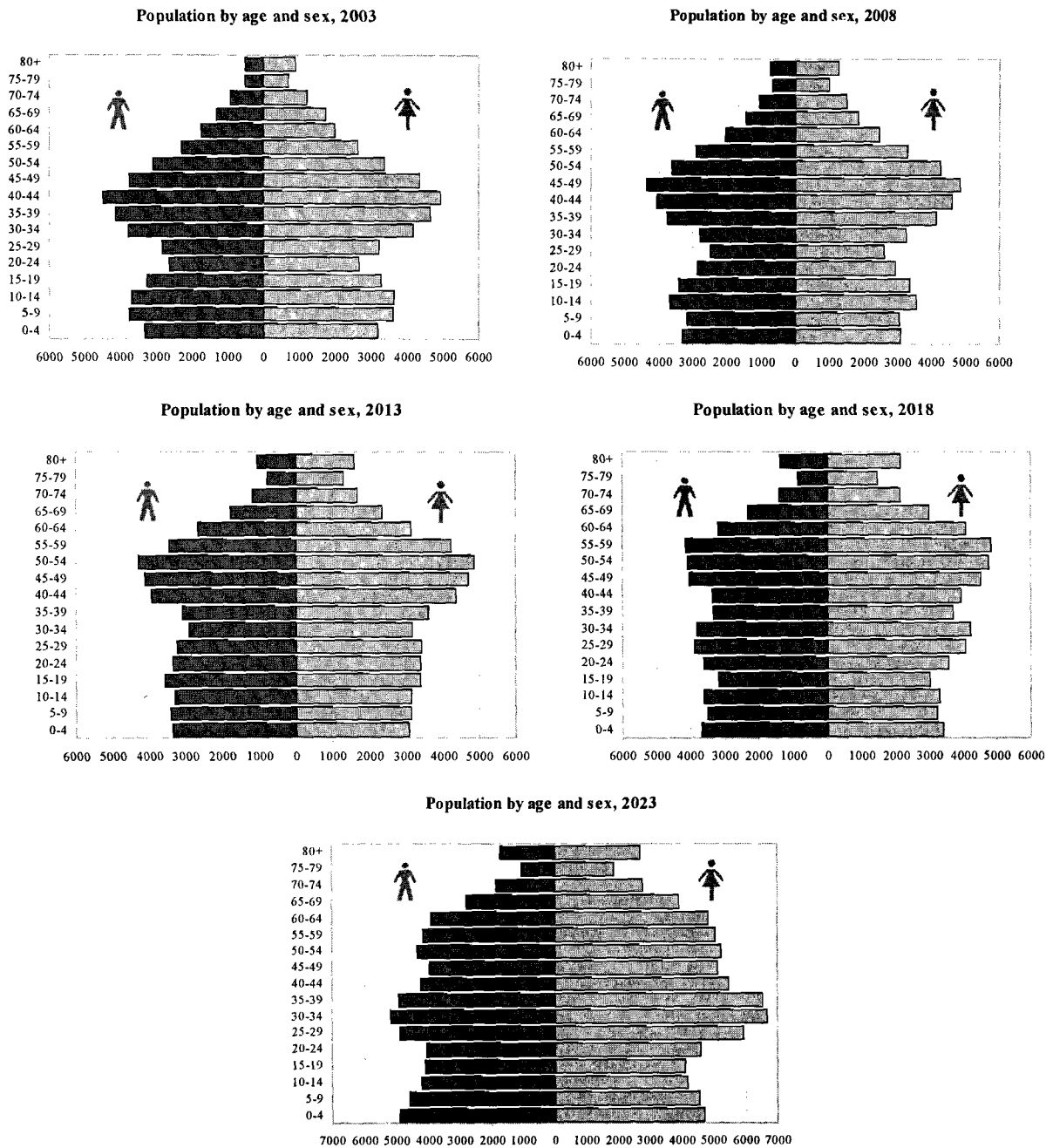


Figure A.2. Number of persons by sex

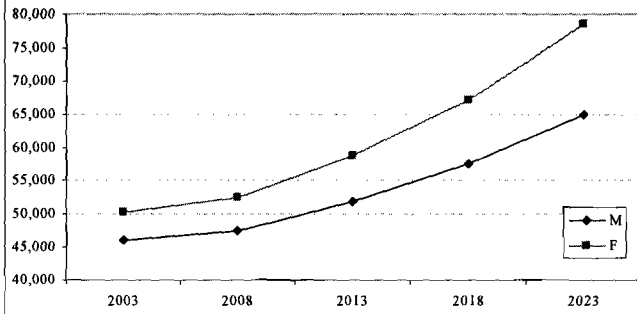


Figure A.3. Dependency ratios by sex

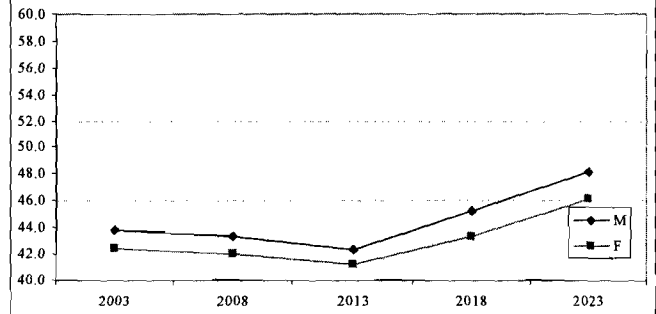


Figure A.4. Median age by sex



Figure A.5. Percentage of persons 65+ by sex

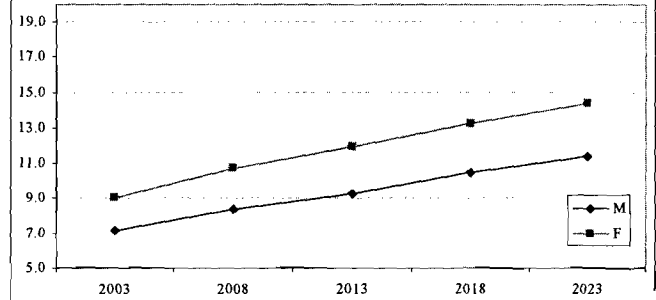


Figure A.6. Persons <15y. old per 100 persons 65+ by sex

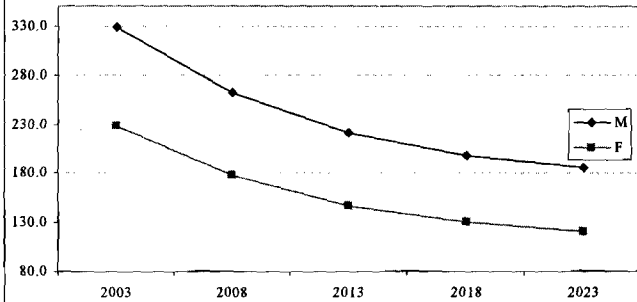


Figure A.7. Mean age by sex

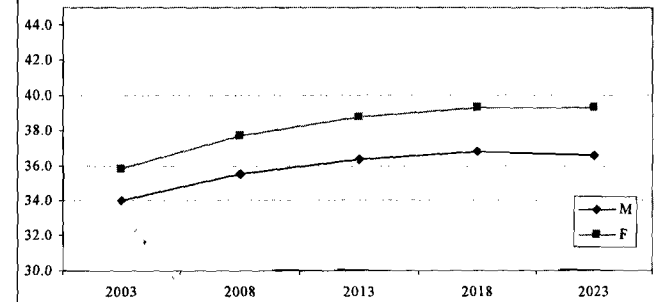


Figure A.8. Number of persons 60+ by sex

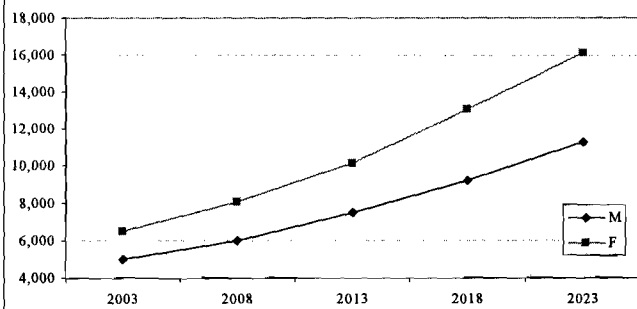


Figure A.9. Percentage of persons <15y. by sex



Figure A.10. Number of persons 75+ by sex

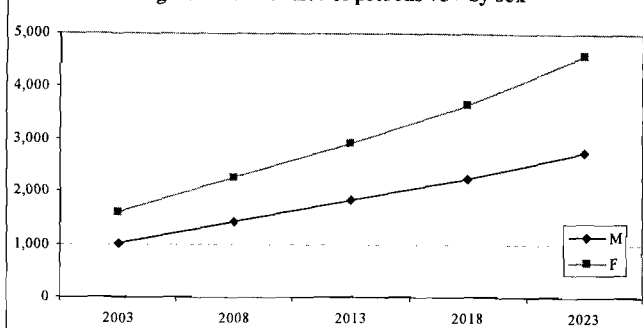


Figure A.11. Sex ratios by age 2004-2023

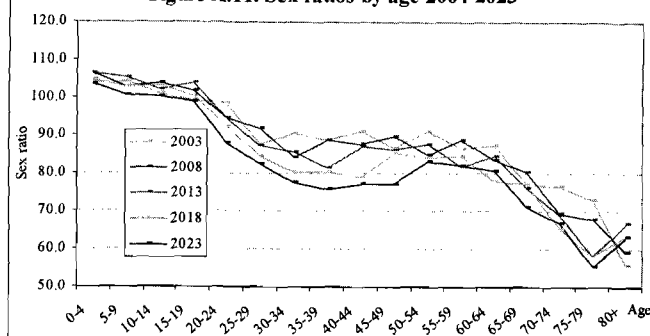


Table A.2. Sex ratios per 100 by age, 2003 - 2023

Age	2003	2008	2013	2018	2023
0-4	104.1	106.6	106.5	104.7	103.8
5-9	104.5	102.8	105.3	102.9	100.8
10-14	101.1	103.9	102.3	103.4	100.4
15-19	99.4	102.0	104.1	100.6	99.1
20-24	98.6	94.6	94.6	92.5	88.0
25-29	87.8	91.9	87.5	84.6	82.4
30-34	90.6	83.9	85.4	80.1	77.4
35-39	88.8	88.7	81.2	80.1	75.6
40-44	91.1	87.5	87.0	78.8	77.0
45-49	86.5	89.7	86.3	85.0	77.0
50-54	91.1	84.7	87.7	84.2	83.0
55-59	86.5	88.7	81.7	84.4	81.9
60-64	87.4	83.4	84.5	77.9	80.6
65-69	77.0	80.4	75.9	76.8	71.0
70-74	76.2	69.3	69.0	65.3	66.8
75-79	72.8	67.9	58.3	58.2	55.4
80+	55.7	59.1	66.6	63.6	63.2
Total	91.6	90.2	88.4	85.4	82.6

Sex ratio = number of males per 100 females

Source: CBS-Aruba, 2004.

Table A.3. Growth of Population 2003-2023

	2003 -2008			2008-2013			2013-2018			2018-2023		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
% growth 5 y.	3.1	4.7	4.0	9.4	11.6	10.6	11.9	16.0	14.1	14.2	18.4	16.4
% yearly growth	0.6	0.9	0.8	1.8	2.2	2.0	2.2	3.0	2.6	2.7	3.4	3.0
Doubling time	111.8	75.4	89.2	38.6	31.6	34.5	30.9	23.3	26.3	26.1	20.6	22.8

Source: CBS-Aruba, 2004.

Table A.4. Total relative age distribution of population by age and sex, 2003 - 2023

Age	2003			2008			2013			2018			2023		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
0-4	7.18	6.32	6.73	7.15	6.05	6.57	6.98	5.79	6.35	7.29	5.94	6.56	7.54	6.00	6.70
5-9	8.17	7.16	7.64	6.83	5.99	6.39	6.90	5.79	6.31	6.74	5.59	6.12	7.09	5.81	6.39
10-14	8.00	7.25	7.61	7.91	6.87	7.36	6.61	5.71	6.13	6.67	5.51	6.04	6.48	5.33	5.85
15-19	7.07	6.51	6.78	7.33	6.48	6.88	7.13	6.05	6.56	5.91	5.02	5.43	6.32	5.27	5.74
20-24	5.73	5.32	5.52	6.28	5.99	6.13	6.87	6.42	6.63	6.76	6.24	6.48	6.27	5.89	6.06
25-29	6.11	6.37	6.25	5.60	5.49	5.54	6.88	6.95	6.92	7.55	7.62	7.59	7.54	7.56	7.55
30-34	8.23	8.31	8.27	6.18	6.64	6.43	6.32	6.54	6.44	7.56	8.06	7.83	7.97	8.51	8.26
35-39	9.02	9.30	9.16	8.11	8.25	8.18	6.50	7.07	6.81	6.67	7.11	6.91	7.62	8.34	8.01
40-44	9.77	9.82	9.80	8.73	8.99	8.87	7.93	8.06	8.00	6.49	7.03	6.78	6.54	7.02	6.80
45-49	8.19	8.67	8.44	9.34	9.39	9.36	8.21	8.41	8.32	7.47	7.51	7.49	6.11	6.56	6.35
50-54	6.71	6.74	6.72	7.70	8.20	7.96	8.47	8.54	8.51	7.42	7.52	7.47	6.69	6.67	6.68
55-59	4.94	5.23	5.09	6.15	6.25	6.20	6.77	7.33	7.07	7.37	7.45	7.42	6.40	6.46	6.43
60-64	3.76	3.94	3.85	4.35	4.71	4.54	5.19	5.43	5.31	5.65	6.19	5.94	6.03	6.18	6.11
65-69	2.90	3.44	3.18	3.13	3.51	3.33	3.46	4.03	3.76	4.06	4.51	4.30	4.32	5.02	4.70
70-74	2.03	2.43	2.24	2.22	2.89	2.57	2.28	2.92	2.62	2.49	3.25	2.90	2.86	3.53	3.23
75-79	1.11	1.39	1.26	1.42	1.88	1.66	1.48	2.25	1.89	1.50	2.21	1.88	1.61	2.40	2.04
80+	1.10	1.80	1.46	1.58	2.41	2.01	2.04	2.72	2.40	2.41	3.23	2.85	2.63	3.44	3.08
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: CBS-Aruba, 2004.

Table A.5. Aruban born population by age and sex, 2003-2023.

Age	2003			2008			2013			2018			2023		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
0-4	2,908	2,789	5,697	3,188	2,968	6,156	3,187	2,956	6,143	3,651	3,383	7,034	4,425	4,094	8,520
5-9	3,083	2,919	6,001	2,784	2,670	5,454	3,076	2,829	5,906	3,064	2,811	5,875	3,647	3,342	6,989
10-14	2,747	2,716	5,463	3,034	2,877	5,911	2,731	2,621	5,352	3,027	2,784	5,811	3,060	2,803	5,864
15-19	2,325	2,255	4,579	2,517	2,451	4,969	2,785	2,589	5,374	2,458	2,318	4,776	3,015	2,781	5,796
20-24	1,773	1,683	3,456	1,880	1,861	3,741	2,045	2,025	4,070	2,271	2,125	4,396	2,432	2,315	4,747
25-29	1,522	1,512	3,034	1,493	1,503	2,996	1,603	1,682	3,285	1,748	1,824	3,572	2,238	2,115	4,354
30-34	1,976	1,907	3,882	1,473	1,501	2,974	1,453	1,493	2,946	1,562	1,671	3,233	1,727	1,815	3,542
35-39	2,149	2,117	4,266	1,945	1,883	3,828	1,448	1,484	2,932	1,431	1,478	2,908	1,546	1,662	3,208
40-44	2,822	2,737	5,559	2,094	2,085	4,179	1,900	1,856	3,756	1,412	1,461	2,873	1,412	1,468	2,879
45-49	2,639	2,652	5,292	2,742	2,693	5,434	2,028	2,049	4,077	1,844	1,827	3,671	1,383	1,451	2,834
50-54	2,288	2,186	4,474	2,531	2,613	5,143	2,627	2,666	5,293	1,935	2,028	3,963	1,786	1,812	3,598
55-59	1,761	1,919	3,680	2,149	2,117	4,266	2,374	2,583	4,957	2,463	2,637	5,100	1,837	2,000	3,837
60-64	1,465	1,535	3,000	1,603	1,814	3,417	1,956	2,050	4,006	2,161	2,501	4,661	2,240	2,547	4,788
65-69	1,128	1,407	2,535	1,257	1,432	2,689	1,375	1,725	3,101	1,677	1,951	3,627	1,842	2,358	4,200
70-74	783	994	1,777	891	1,238	2,129	993	1,340	2,333	1,086	1,612	2,698	1,320	1,802	3,123
75-79	357	486	843	566	806	1,371	644	1,082	1,725	717	1,172	1,889	784	1,403	2,187
80+	363	630	993	533	885	1,419	811	1,285	2,096	1,090	1,795	2,885	1,367	2,233	3,600
Total	32,087	32,444	64,531	32,680	33,397	66,076	33,037	34,316	67,352	33,595	35,379	68,974	36,062	38,003	74,065
Median age	34.3	36.0	35.2	34.9	37.3	36.1	33.8	38.2	36.0	31.9	37.6	34.7	28.2	34.3	31.1
Mean age	33.7	35.2	34.5	34.5	36.5	35.5	35.1	37.9	36.5	35.1	38.5	36.9	33.8	37.7	35.8
Under 15	8,737	8,424	17,161	9,007	8,514	17,521	8,994	8,406	17,400	9,742	8,979	18,721	11,133	10,240	21,372
15-49	15,205	14,864	30,069	14,144	13,977	28,121	13,263	13,178	26,441	12,725	12,704	25,429	13,753	13,607	27,360
50-59	4,049	4,105	8,154	4,679	4,730	9,409	5,001	5,249	10,250	4,397	4,666	9,063	3,623	3,812	7,435
60+	4,096	5,051	9,147	4,850	6,175	11,025	5,778	7,482	13,261	6,731	9,030	15,761	7,553	10,344	17,897
75+	720	1,116	1,835	1,099	1,691	2,790	1,455	2,367	3,822	1,807	2,967	4,774	2,151	3,637	5,787
Dependency ratio	54.9	58.2	56.5	60.0	62.7	61.4	63.4	67.6	65.5	74.2	78.0	76.2	83.8	90.3	87.1
% under 15	27.2	26.0	26.6	27.6	25.5	26.5	27.2	24.5	25.8	29.0	25.4	27.1	30.9	26.9	28.9
65+ per 100 pers.	8.2	10.8	9.5	9.9	13.1	11.5	11.6	15.8	13.7	13.6	18.5	16.1	14.7	20.5	17.7
<15 per 100 pers 65+	332.1	239.6	279.2	277.4	195.2	230.3	235.3	154.7	188.0	213.2	137.5	168.7	209.5	131.3	163.0

Source: CBS-Aruba, 2004.

The dependency ratio is equal to the number of persons <15 and >65 divided by the number of persons 15-

Table A.6. Relative distribution Aruban born population by age and sex, 2003-2023.

Age	2003			2008			2013			2018			2023		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
0-4	9.1	8.6	8.8	9.8	8.9	9.3	9.6	8.6	9.1	10.9	9.6	10.2	12.3	10.8	11.5
5-9	9.6	9.0	9.3	8.5	8.0	8.3	9.3	8.2	8.8	9.1	7.9	8.5	10.1	8.8	9.4
10-14	8.6	8.4	8.5	9.3	8.6	8.9	8.3	7.6	7.9	9.0	7.9	8.4	8.5	7.4	7.9
15-19	7.2	6.9	7.1	7.7	7.3	7.5	8.4	7.5	8.0	7.3	6.6	6.9	8.4	7.3	7.8
20-24	5.5	5.2	5.4	5.8	5.6	5.7	6.2	5.9	6.0	6.8	6.0	6.4	6.7	6.1	6.4
25-29	4.7	4.7	4.7	4.6	4.5	4.5	4.9	4.9	4.9	5.2	5.2	5.2	6.2	5.6	5.9
30-34	6.2	5.9	6.0	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.6	4.7	4.7	4.8	4.8	4.8
35-39	6.7	6.5	6.6	6.0	5.6	5.8	4.4	4.3	4.4	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.3
40-44	8.8	8.4	8.6	6.4	6.2	6.3	5.8	5.4	5.6	4.2	4.1	4.2	3.9	3.9	3.9
45-49	8.2	8.2	8.2	8.4	8.1	8.2	6.1	6.0	6.1	5.5	5.2	5.3	3.8	3.8	3.8
50-54	7.1	6.7	6.9	7.7	7.8	7.8	8.0	7.8	7.9	5.8	5.7	5.7	5.0	4.8	4.9
55-59	5.5	5.9	5.7	6.6	6.3	6.5	7.2	7.5	7.4	7.3	7.5	7.4	5.1	5.3	5.2
60-64	4.6	4.7	4.6	4.9	5.4	5.2	5.9	6.0	5.9	6.4	7.1	6.8	6.2	6.7	6.5
65-69	3.5	4.3	3.9	3.8	4.3	4.1	4.2	5.0	4.6	5.0	5.5	5.3	5.1	6.2	5.7
70-74	2.4	3.1	2.8	2.7	3.7	3.2	3.0	3.9	3.5	3.2	4.6	3.9	3.7	4.7	4.2
75-79	1.1	1.5	1.3	1.7	2.4	2.1	1.9	3.2	2.6	2.1	3.3	2.7	2.2	3.7	3.0
80+	1.1	1.9	1.5	1.6	2.7	2.1	2.5	3.7	3.1	3.2	5.1	4.2	3.8	5.9	4.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A.7. Growth of Aruban born Population 2003-2023

	2003 -2008			2008-2013			2013-2018			2018-2023		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
% growth 5 y.	1.8	2.9	2.4	1.1	2.8	1.9	1.7	3.1	2.4	7.3	7.4	7.4
% yearly growth	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.5	1.4	1.4	1.4
Doubling time	189.4	119.8	146.5	319.1	127.7	181.2	206.7	113.6	145.7	48.9	48.4	48.7

Source: CBS-Aruba, 2004.

Table A.8. Foreign born population by age and sex, 2003-2023.

Age	2003			2008			2013			2018			2023		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
0-4	390	380	770	198	208	407	428	438	866	532	611	1,143	464	617	1,082
5-9	669	672	1,341	453	480	933	501	566	1,067	803	946	1,749	951	1,222	2,173
10-14	930	919	1,849	715	731	1,446	695	726	1,421	800	918	1,718	1,142	1,382	2,524
15-19	922	1,011	1,933	955	954	1,909	908	960	1,868	934	1,055	1,989	1,083	1,353	2,435
20-24	860	986	1,846	1,097	1,286	2,383	1,515	1,738	3,253	1,606	2,067	3,673	1,637	2,307	3,944
25-29	1,286	1,685	2,971	1,158	1,382	2,540	1,961	2,394	4,355	2,585	3,299	5,885	2,653	3,822	6,475
30-34	1,802	2,263	4,066	1,457	1,989	3,446	1,822	2,341	4,163	2,778	3,746	6,524	3,442	4,865	8,307
35-39	1,993	2,548	4,541	1,897	2,448	4,345	1,921	2,664	4,585	2,397	3,300	5,697	3,399	4,883	8,283
40-44	1,666	2,191	3,856	2,040	2,640	4,680	2,209	2,867	5,076	2,313	3,264	5,578	2,830	4,040	6,870
45-49	1,123	1,697	2,820	1,681	2,240	3,921	2,226	2,882	5,108	2,446	3,218	5,664	2,580	3,697	6,277
50-54	793	1,195	1,987	1,116	1,694	2,810	1,762	2,339	4,101	2,322	3,029	5,351	2,554	3,421	5,975
55-59	507	704	1,210	764	1,167	1,931	1,136	1,714	2,851	1,767	2,372	4,139	2,316	3,073	5,388
60-64	262	441	703	460	660	1,120	733	1,131	1,864	1,080	1,662	2,742	1,671	2,308	3,978
65-69	202	321	523	224	410	634	416	635	1,051	654	1,082	1,736	959	1,586	2,545
70-74	148	227	375	161	281	442	188	372	560	342	574	916	532	972	1,504
75-79	152	213	365	106	184	290	124	235	359	146	312	458	261	481	741
80+	140	273	413	214	380	594	249	307	556	291	375	666	341	470	811
Total	13,845	17,726	31,571	14,699	19,134	33,833	18,794	24,309	43,103	23,795	31,832	55,627	28,814	40,498	69,312
Median age	35.2	36.9	36.1	38.5	40.2	38.9	39.1	39.1	39.1	38.9	40.0	39.5	39.5	39.8	39.7
Mean age	34.7	36.9	36.0	37.8	39.9	39.0	38.5	40.2	39.4	39.1	40.3	39.8	40.1	40.8	40.5
Under 15	1,989	1,971	3,960	1,367	1,419	2,786	1,624	1,731	3,355	2,135	2,475	4,610	2,558	3,221	5,778
15-49	9,653	12,380	22,033	10,287	12,939	23,226	12,563	15,844	28,406	15,059	19,950	35,009	17,623	24,968	42,591
50-59	1,300	1,898	3,198	1,880	2,861	4,741	2,898	4,054	6,952	4,089	5,401	9,490	4,870	6,493	11,364
60+	904	1,476	2,379	1,165	1,915	3,080	1,710	2,680	4,390	2,513	4,006	6,519	3,763	5,816	9,579
75+	292	486	779	321	564	885	373	542	915	436	687	1,124	601	951	1,552
Dependency ratio	23.5	20.4	21.7	16.4	16.2	16.3	16.1	15.6	15.8	17.6	17.8	17.8	19.2	19.9	19.6
% under 15	14.4	11.1	12.5	9.3	7.4	8.2	8.6	7.1	7.8	9.0	7.8	8.3	8.9	8.0	8.3
65+ per 100 pers.	4.6	5.8	5.3	4.8	6.6	5.8	5.2	6.4	5.9	6.0	7.4	6.8	7.3	8.7	8.1
<15 per 100 pers 65+	309.9	190.5	236.2	193.8	113.0	142.1	166.2	111.7	132.8	149.0	105.6	122.1	122.2	91.8	103.2

Source: CBS-Aruba, 2004.

The dependency ratio is equal to the number of persons <15 and >65 divided by the number of persons 15-64.

**Table A9. Growth of Foreign Population
2003-2023**

	2003 -2008			2008-2013			2013-2018			2018-2023		
	M	F	Tot.	M	F	Tot.	M	F	Tot.	M	F	Tot.
% growth 5 years	6.2	7.9	7.2	27.9	27.0	27.4	26.6	30.9	29.1	21.1	27.2	24.6
% yearly growth Doublin g time	1.2	1.5	1.4	4.9	4.8	4.8	4.7	5.4	5.1	3.8	4.8	4.4
	57.9	45.3	50.1	14.1	14.5	14.3	14.7	12.9	13.6	18.1	14.4	15.8

Table A.10. Births and deaths in the population 2003-2023

	03-08	08-13	13-18	18-23
Total Births	6,490	6,467	7,389	8,555
Total Deaths	3,293	3,843	4,529	5,488
Birth rate (per 1000)	13.0	11.7	11.9	11.9
Death rate (per 1000)	6.6	7.0	7.3	7.7
Natural increase (per 1000)	6.4	4.8	4.6	4.3

Source: CBS-Aruba, 2004.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATIONS AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: A CARIBBEAN PERSPECTIVE

Carline Joseph Duval
Centre de Technique de Planification et d'Economie Appliquée (CTPEA)

I. - INTRODUCTION

It is generally admitted that the migration constitutes a necessary condition for the optimal running of the economic system, but it can be also a factor of unbalance. The regional economic development is considered like a tool to reach the objectives aiming to create more jobs in the long-term and to bring back revive the economic activity. In the past, important migration waves were directed first toward the metropolises and the industrialized countries and then inside the region.⁶⁰ Nowadays, the intensity of this mobility intra - regional has some impacts that are often a source of tensions, stakes and problem of society. The points of disagreements are visible between the host countries and home countries, but, multiple public interests oblige them to search for a balance between the measures facilitating the regular migration and those centered on the irregular migration. One of the important means to redefine and to revitalize the state cooperation concerning migration policy is the partnership. It often comes back in all perspectives of the collective action. To palliate to the migration pressure, an understanding should establish the initiatives for every country and assure the economic development of all countries of the region.

Haiti Republic, one of the countries of emigration of the Caribbean, possesses one of the most elevated emigration rates of the region. Indeed, one estimates that more than a million of Haitian emigrated toward the Caribbean during 1999 - 2000.⁶¹ The growth of the number of abroad emigrants results from the deterioration of the conditions socio - economic and political of the country.⁶² In reaction some countries start sending back illegal immigrants (repatriation, deportations, repulse, with even human right violation).

Researches concerning the international migrations in Caribbean region reveal the size of Haitian migratory waves, although the knowledge of the phenomenon is insufficient and piecemeal. Suzy Castor in her book "l'Occupation Américaine en Haïti" relates that between 1915 and 1929, one could count 209.080 Haitians that left the country legally in direction of Cuba whereas a more important number crossed the border haïtiano-Dominican.⁶³

According to the Institut Haïtien de Statistiques et d'Informatique (IHSI), the period intercensal 71 -82 and the repeated passage investigations showed that in two years period, an average of 18.557 people left the country and the rate of emigration was 4%.⁶⁴

During the year 89 -90, the document prepared by the national experts in collaboration with the CELADE (Centre Latino Américain de Démographie) confirms the evolution of the phenomenon: the projections show that the net migration in Haiti is negative. Thus, for the interval 2000-2020, the calculations done from the middle variant show that every five years

⁶⁰ Domenach H. *Les migrations intra - Caraïbéennes*. «Revue Européenne des migrations internationales», Vol 2- No 2, novembre 1986.

⁶¹ ONM.2000. *projet de politique nationale de la migration*. Port-au-Prince. P 14

⁶² Bernadin Ernst A 1995. *L'espace Caraïbéen. L'évolution des grandes Antilles de 1950 à nos jours*. Port au-prince p 44
"ens 1937 - 20.000 Haitian agricultural workers have been slaughtered in the border zones by president Dominican Republic Mr. Trujillo"

⁶³ ONM. Mars 2000. *Resumé du rapport du Groupe élargi de réflexion : Thème population et migration*. P 8

⁶⁴ IHSI, juin 1983. Note sur les paramètres démographiques pour la période intercensitaire 1971-1982. Port-au-Prince, 11 pages

period the country would know a balance deficit of less than 105.000 people that is 21.000 people per year.

As the emigration of the Haitian toward the Caribbean is difficult to calculate, it is appropriate to use the datas of the consulates and organisms that manage the phenomenon in the country. The official published numbers affirm the importance of the phenomenon. Until 1985, the American consulate to him only delivered 40.000 visas of which 6000 concern residence visas. On the remaining 34.000 more than 50% chose to remain in USA to live illegal way there. During the same period, 20 to 30.000 peasants left Haiti for the Bahamas or for the Dominican Republic. In the same way, from 1983, the number of clandestine departures was encoded between 200 and 5000 per year whereas for the same time, the fraudulent emigration added up to between 1000 and 3000 per year.⁶⁵ It is necessary to notice however that the Caribbean is therefore the most important geopolitics zone, the main attraction pole⁶⁶. On the other hand, the countries of the region decided to look closer on the management of the influx Haitian migrants.

The information above showed that the Haitian emigration particularly to the Caribbean remained a problem. Considering the big challenges of coordination and globalization in an attempt to promote the economic growth of a region, it is right to examine the mutual advantages of cooperation in the Caribbean. It is why, we ask a main questioning. What is the contribution of the Haitian migratory fluxes to the development of the Caribbean?

Our communication appears in this context and intends to make a setting in context of the Haitian emigration in the Caribbean by reviewing existing literature and the different studies archived on the topic. Specifically, we will try :

- To make a presentation of the Haitian migratory fluxes toward the countries of the Caribbean.
- To identify the problems bound to the emigration of the Haitian in the region.
- To show the necessity to establish a partnership of value in the Caribbean space.

After having introduced our work, it is now important to present the theories and concepts that underly our text.

II. – THEORIES AND CONCEPTS

The theories and models that explain the relation between the international migration and the economy exist. According to our survey and the social and economic conditions of our country we think that three theories and two models show the relation between international migrations and regional economic development; the decision to migrate and the behavior of the Haitian emigrants.

2.1.-THEORIES AND MODELS

The theories and models used are as follows:

The Neo - classic theory explains that the differences of levels of wages between the home country and host country are determining.

The structural theories relate that the migration is structurally determined.

The theory of the world systems supposes that the international migration follows the dynamics of market creation as well as the structure of the global economy.

⁶⁵ Jean, Guy-Marie. juin 1991. *Émigration Haïtienne et relations Haïtiano -Dominicaines*, Port – au Prince, p 25.

⁶⁶ ONM.2000.projet de politique national de la migration .Port-au-Prince. P 14.

The Neo-classics models of the Spatial balance. According to these models, sender countries and receiving countries pull a "profit important from the migrations: the emigration entails an increasing of the Fundamental ratio / Work, therefore of the agricultural productivity. The transformation of the local market, because of this increase of productivity as well as the low paid work – force presence attracts many capitals. This tendency accentuated by the financial transfers of the emigrants toward their country of origin, allows some investments and permits to improve the budget of the State.

Lastly, **the model of immigration for two countries** whose fundamental hypothesis is: the migration is guided by the comparison of the incomes through the countries, and the maximization of the income is a necessary condition but non sufficient for the maximization of the utility. Indeed, other less visible criteria are sometimes taken into account when it comes to migrate for example: the politics, criminality and other...

To the light of these theories and these models we approach our work.

2.2.-METHODOLOGY

We keep collecting the information a data and some methods and techniques adapted to the objectives that we pursue. Our choice also reflects resources, the time available as well as the totality of the reality to seize.

We opt for the descriptive method that allows us to photograph the land and the historic method that recommends the observation and the analysis of documents.

The techniques that we target are : the free direct observation that delivers us the space ; the survey of the traces that permits to retrace the problems through the archives, outgoing date and of arrival of the correspondences, disjointed decisions, system of perception etc...

The accumulated data authorizes us to pass to the presentation of the Haitian emigration in a Caribbean perspective.

III. - HAITIAN EMIGRATION IN THE CARIBBEAN

3.1.-REGIONAL OF LOCALIZATION

Thirty eight States of more than 5,2 millions of Km² compose the Caribbean space, but the islands make about 235.000 Km².⁶⁷ Haiti Republic, with a surface of 27.700 square kilometers is part of the Large Antilles and share the island with the Dominican Republic. Of a total 7. 929.048 inhabitants, according to the temporary results of the general Census of the population and the habitat of 2003; this country is, after Cuba and the Dominican Republic the country the most populated in the region. (Pictures 1 and 2, Figures 1 and 2)

⁶⁷ www.insee.fr, présentation de la Caraïbe

Picture 1
POPULATION GROWTH RATE 1998-2004 OF THE CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES

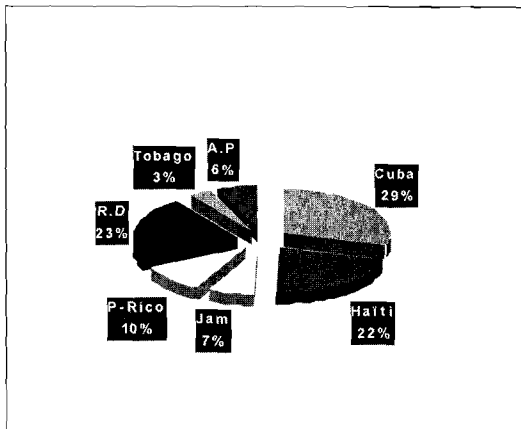
PAYS	Population 1998 (in million)	Population 2004 (in million)	Annual Growth rate (in %)
Cuba	11.1	11.3	0.29
Haiti	7.5	8.4	1.90
Jamaïque	2.5	2.7	1.29
P.rico	3.8	3.9	0.43
Dominican R	8.2	8.9	1.37
T.Tobago	1.3	1.3	0
Other	2.5	2.5	0
TOTAL	36.9	39	0.92

Source : Etat de la Population mondiale en 1998 et 2004, UNFPA,

Figure 1

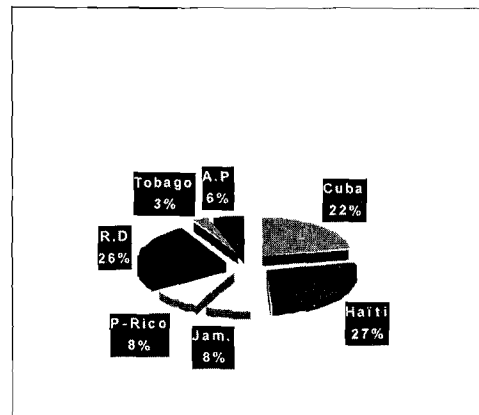
Figure 2

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CARIBBEAN
POPULATION IN 2004



Source: Etat de la population mondiale 2004, UNFPA

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CARIBBEAN
POPULATION FORESEN FOR 2050



Source: Etat de la population mondiale 2004, UNFPA

The physical environment is contrasted. The rarity of soils with high potential agricultural poses problem.⁶⁸ The capital factor is rare and the economy, that once was nourished by the agricultural sector is, nowadays, dominated by the informal sector. Besides, the primary sector declines to the profit of the hypertrophied tertiary activity and a high-growth secondary sector.⁶⁹ The gross domestic product (GDP) total of the space Caribbean in 2001 is 762 billions of dollars what is equivalent to a GDP per capita worth 3 126 dollars. However they represent less than 1/5 of the total GDP of the Caribbean space.⁷⁰ In Haiti, the deterioration of the economic situation and his difficult raise, and long social and political crisis resulted in a lowest income capita of the Caribbean space, the only least developed country (LDC).⁷¹ (Picture 2)

It is necessary to notice however, that the countries of the Caribbean too have bottlenecks that paralyze the economic activity. Indeed, with some exceptions, they face the

⁶⁸ Bernadin Ernst A 1995. *L'espace Caraïbe. L'évolution des grandes Antilles de 1950 à nos jours*. Port-au-Prince p 283

⁶⁹ idem p 86

⁷⁰ www.insee.fr présentation de la Caraïbe

⁷¹ Institut National de la Réforme Agraire (INARA), Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'alimentation (FAO). Mai 1996. *Draft, Projet d'appui à la réforme agro - foncière, Rapport intermédiaire*. Port-au-Prince p 11

demographic explosion, the food deficit, the deterioration of the physical environment and the weakness of the industrialization.⁷²

Picture 2

POPULATION BY ARABLE LANDS AND CULTIVATED; RNB BY INHAB. IN 2002 COUNTRIES OF THE CARIBBEAN

COUNTRY	Pop. / arable land ha	RNB in 2002 of it \$E.U
Cuba	0,4	-----
Haiti	4,6	1580
Jamaica	1,9	3550
Puerto-Rico	1,3	-----
Republic Dominican	0,9	5870
Trinidad Tobago and	0,9	8680
The other countries	---	---

Source : Etat de la population mondiale en 2004, UNFPA

In Haiti, existing institutional frame cannot guarantee a efficient management of the displacements outwards. The ministries and other state institutions are not equipped enough for the control of the migrations. Let us now present a brief overview on Haitian history.

3.2.- HISTORIC PREVIEW

During the colonial period, Haiti was a country of forced immigration. Former populating colony, he was nourished by the main countries of Africa, thanks to the slave trade started during the 16th century. Since the 19th century, fluxes of massive emigrations began. According to Bernardin A. Ernst, many Haitian emigrants workers were noticed to Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guadeloupe, Guyana especially in the agricultural domain. The 20th century was characterized by big migration waves. Indeed, Josh Dewind, David Kinley in their book "Aide á la migration " note that the Haitian emigration is marked by three big phases: a strong migration of the peasants during the first half of the 20th century, second the massive departure of staff and wealthy people, considered like Duvalier regime rivals, in 1960 and finally the boat - people during the 80's.

Because of the situation of the national economy causing the marginalization and the pauperization of the population, it occurred at the end of the 20th century and in the beginning of the 21st an increase of the irregular migration. These important migration movements of the popular masses started from the years 77 according to Sabine Manigat.⁷³ Nowadays, the tendencies exacerbated. The continual desire to leave their native country enlivens great number of Haitian and the waves of repatriation and repression or repulse is also increasing.⁷⁴

From status of immigration country to the status of emigration country, the migration problematic evolved in the time and the space so that it took an importance within the

⁷² Bernadin Ernst A 1995. *L'espace Caraïbeen. L'évolution des grandes Antilles de 1950 à nos jours*. Port-au-Prince p 285-290

⁷³ Manigat, Sabine. 1999. *séminaire migration et politique migratoire en Haïti*. Port-au-Prince, p46

⁷⁴ Selon les responsables de l'ONM et du GARR, les rapatriements ont connu une ampleur sans précédent pour l'année 2005

preoccupations of the international community. The migration question has been questioned again and became an indispensable condition to the development rather than property transfer.⁷⁵

To highlight account of the economic consequences of the migration in the host countries as well as in the home countries, let's see the vitality and dynamism of the Haitian emigrants.

IV - VITALITY AND DYNAMISM OF THE HAITIAN EMIGRANTS

The Haitian migrants are actors of development of their host society as well as their home society. The Haitian migration fluxes consist of three big categories: the agricultural workers, the qualified people and the unqualified work - force.

In the Caribbean countries, one finds Haitian workers in the industries manufacturers, the financial institutions, the casual sector and more especially on the agricultural plantations. They contribute to the economic, social, cultural development and the production of wealth. They are cheap work-force and their presence fructifies the economy of the host countries. Indeed, they make the sugar industry turn in Dominican Republic. They are temporary or seasonal workers in the traditional sectors of other countries in the zone (agriculture, textile, agro-industry etc...) The analysis on the Haitian emigration presented by the UNFPA in this document " Investigación Internacional de Latino America (IMILA)" reveals that a ventilation of all active migrants shows that 23% are working in the religious sector, 25% in the handicraft, 16,25% in the professional and technical sector, 20, 3% in the agricultural sector and 11, 6% are working in the agricultural administration etc...⁷⁶ On the other hand, the ONM, from the survey of the files of the repatriates, confirms that 40% of these repatriates are professionals (tailors, seamstresses, cabinetmakers, mechanics, artists) ; 50% are retailers, and the rest is students or people who are in quest of a job.⁷⁷

These migrants are very active in the international scene. They choose expatriation in hope to find a better life, but they are often exploited and undergo some injustices. While accepting some jobs for very weak wages, while occupying jobs neglected by the native, they lighten considerably the load of the indigenous work-force. In this sense, they bring a net fiscal profit to the State and an economic surplus more or less important according to the hypotheses kept to evaluate the related costs to immigration.⁷⁸ Moreover, they stimulate entrepreneurship spirit and facilitate job creation. The situation is not so different when one considers the emigration of the highly qualified people that is a net loss for their home country.

Once arrived in the foreign countries, the Haitian emigrants participate in the national development. They attenuate weakly the unemployment and contribute to the improvement of the economic situation by their money transfer. Indeed, the without-jobs and the peasants without land find an activity that can bring back them money. They are a source of revenue for their country of origin because the transfers contribute to an improvement of the economic situation of their family, of their community.⁷⁹

V. – STRUCTURATION OF THE REGION: POSITION OF HAITI

5.1 HA'ITI AND THE REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

⁷⁵ Marmona' Lélío. 1999 *Politique et Administration en vue de la gouvernabilité des migrations*. Port-au-Prince, p10

⁷⁶ FUNAP, 1999, *Rapport sur l'émigration des haïtiens vivant en terre étrangère* p37

⁷⁷ ONM. Octobre 1995. *Fond d'urgence d'appui promotionnel pour les rapatriés haïtiens et les déplacés internes*. Port-au-Prince. 14 pages.

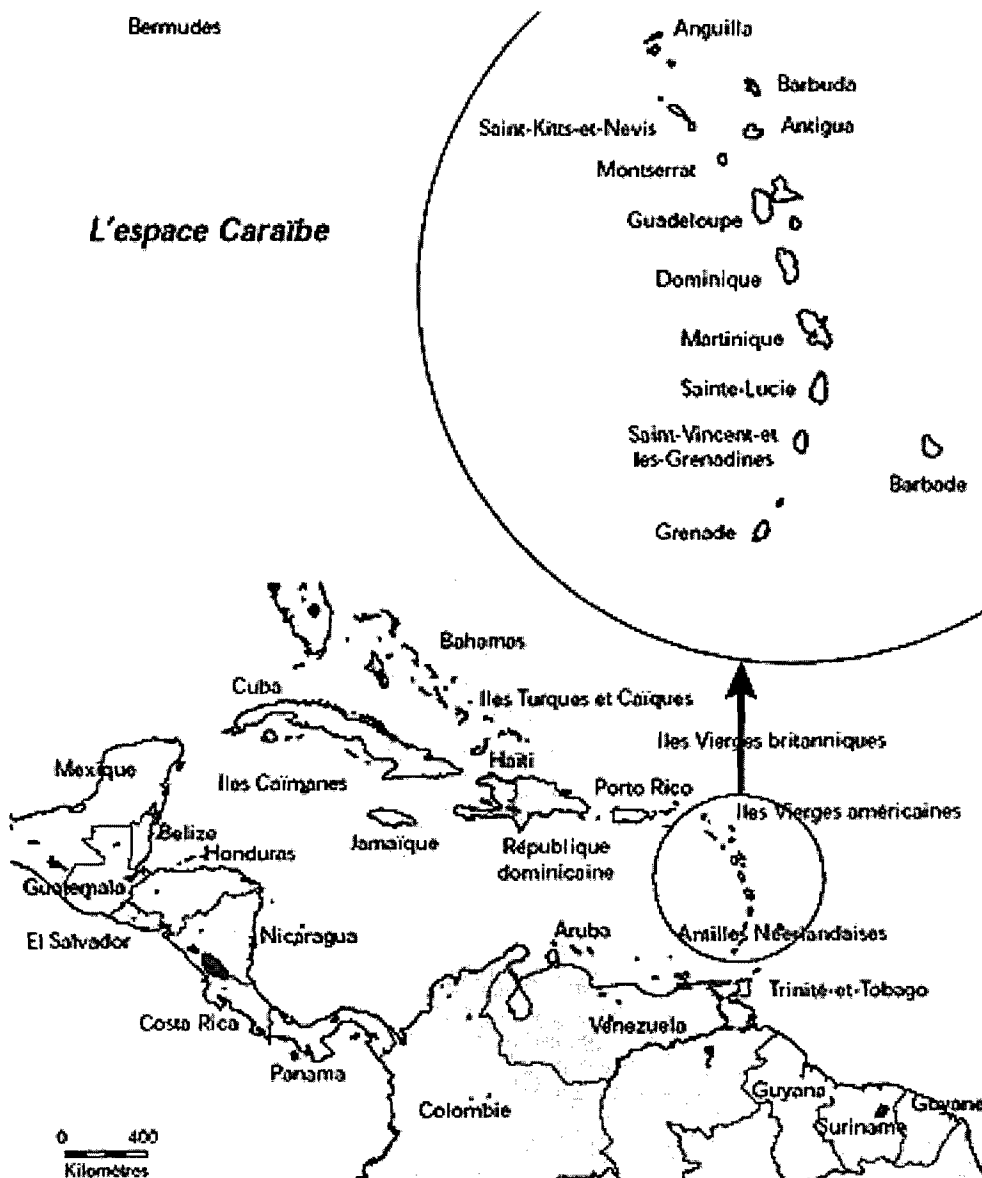
⁷⁸ Ayeko Appolinaire TOSSOU *Conséquences démographiques économiques de l'immigration internationale*

⁷⁹ The opening sea ports to international trade offered the opportunity to the Haitian diaspora to this business. The Haitian in return helped their locality with philanthropic works and gifts..

Haiti is one of the main suppliers of migrants toward the countries of the region. However, it is difficult to evaluate at Caribbean level, the economic effects of the financial contribution of Haitian workers. Yet, according to Henri Lefebvre, the space is a product that uses itself, that consumes itself. Networks of exchanges, fluxes of raw materials and energy shape the space. It is social report, inseparable mean of production of the property reports, the productive strengths, the techniques, the division of work etc... If it is so, a country that is receiving or issuing emigrants, contributes to the shaping of the space. Haiti, for economic and political reasons, is identified as an issuing country. The waves of repatriation and deportations from the countries of the region reach a level that can have an impact on the physical and social space. (Figure 3)

Figure 3

CARIBBEAN SPACE OVERVIEW



Source www.insee.fr

As a member of the Caribbean community, Haiti must participate in all activities that can contribute to the regional development. As a traditional agricultural country, the situation is abnormal. The economically active population is increasing, accentuating the rate of unemployment considering the weakness of the investments. In the same way, one notices a considerable progression of the prices that, combined with revenue decrease, reduces the purchasing power of the households.

All Caribbean countries endure the weakness of the industrialization;⁸⁰ and most of them don't offer any interesting perspectives for return on investments. However, these countries have consumer goods very solicited (tropical fruit, sea fruit, handcraft etc...). Added to these, they possess a climate and a landscape favorable to tourism.

This conjuncture shows that the countries of the region need to put together their resources and to stimulate regional economy to improve their competitiveness on the international plan.

What about the possibility for understanding contact between these countries?

5.2.-POSSIBLE AGREEMENT BETWEEN CARIBBEAN THE COUNTRIES

The understanding is a contribution to the investments, insofar as the strategies adopted will maintain the regional economic development. Since the 20th century, the increase of the fluxes of illegal and / or clandestine, the waves of repatriation and deportation, the brains drain, people traffic, brought some problems in the Caribbean. In the goal to strengthen the ties, the international conventions and agreements have been signed by the set of the countries of the region. Indeed, Haiti is signatory of the set of these legal instruments. As one could notes, the relative commitment to the rights and to the status of the migrants has been signed between Haiti and several countries of the region as Bahamas, the Dominican Republic, the United States, the Islands Turks and Caicos.⁸¹

It is very probable that all these legislative initiatives will facilitate the harmonious management of the migrations. But the conditions in which Haitian emigrants leave the countries and their non integration in the life of some number of host country constitute some obstacles. The finding of the report of the UNESCO of 1997 reflecting the observations of the NGO in Dominican Republic notes : « the Haitian work-force is captive, non documented, unprotected, vulnerable to the deportation in Haiti and forced to undergo the most precarious handling conditions" ⁸²

During these last months the waves of repatriation confirm the existence of tensions on the labor market in the Caribbean region. However the sizes of tensions as well as their determinants vary according to the country. The evolution of the number of repatriates and turn back people of 1998 from 2004 is reviewed. If the fluxes from our neighbor the Dominican Republic and some countries show the necessity to implement new initiatives to attenuate the influx of work-force, others don't make reference to this case. Thus, the question of an understanding on the management of the migration fluxes in view of the perspectives of economic development of the Caribbean can be used to succeed to reach a reduction of the emigration rate. (Picture 3)

⁸⁰ Bernadin Ernst A 1995. *L'espace Caraïbéen. L'évolution des grandes Antilles de 1950 à nos jours*. Port-au-Prince p 285-288

⁸¹ Office nationale de la migration (ONM). 2000. *Projet de politique migratoire, document préliminaire*. Port-au-Prince, p 48-49.

⁸² CQRDTHRD, Juin 1998. *Etat de la question haïtienne en République Dominicaine et le Contrôle de l'application des conventions internationales*. Montréal, p15

PICTURE 3

NUMBER OF REPATRIATES AND OF REPULSE HAITIANS FROM THE CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES (1998 -2004)

COUNTRY	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Cuba	539	604	0	650	536	6	139
Republic Dominican	3818.0	2909.0	12805	833	23826	20455	8806
Bahamas	2245.0	1894.0	1715	3448	2802	864	571
Virgin islands	47.0	0.0	0	0	0	26	0
Jamaica	0.0	0.0	0	0	0	3	297
United States	0.0	0.0	0	118	152	45	0
Intercepted in high seas	1111.0	15.0	1864	1427	1628	1748	2027
TOTAL	7760.0	5422.0	16384.0	6476.0	28944.0	23147.0	11840.0

Source: ONM⁸³

In the present situation, the countries of the region as well as the organizations intra - regional must institute new relations that can promote the regional economic development. In this sense, it would be necessary to look at the mutual interests in order to eliminate the barriers. The common interest and coercive agreements should be set in motion in order to stimulate an increased economic growth and the creation of well paid jobs.

The public interests should be consolidated: it is about putting in place institutional frame for economic integration in cooperation. The domains that are compatible must be identified and the policies and practices must be harmonized.

VI. - CARIBBEAN PERSPECTIVES

6.1.-THE DOMAINS RECOMMENDED

The long history of this network of islands surrounded with countries in the golf, made the Caribbean a witness and actor of the migration movements. The set of these countries knows a similar factor conjunction. Demographic explosion, relatively elevated natural growth rate, food deficit, extroverti economic problems and completely dislocated, didn't undergo any major modifications during these last twenty years. Haiti, named "*Perle des Antilles*" during the 17th and 18th century became the unique LDC of America and an income Per Capita the lowest of the Caribbean. It is due to the serious political and social crisis of the country and the difficult raise of the economy. The massive migration fluxes inside country or outward country resulted from this situation. The size of this phenomenon drove several countries of the zone to adopt measures of regulation related in the agreements and treaties signed between them. These measures consist in repatriating the emigrants and to drive back the clandestine intercepted in high seas.

The Caribbean States, according to the regional economic development order, must put in place their resources together in order to elaborate and to implement management strategies of the migration movements. It is the responsibility of the immigration country, acting at regional and national levels, to take into account the economic, social and political conditions of the emigration countries. While creating a favorable environment, all countries of the region will be able to benefit from kindness of the migration. Of the initiatives aiming at increasing the volume of the sales on the international market, the promotion of the regional tourism, the implementation of expansion program, investment and promotion of trade must be encouraged.

⁸³ ONM: Office National de la Migration

All the problematic of the Caribbean from a partnership of value and non-fragmented should articulate around cooperation and the integration.

Cooperation aims to a better knowledge of the public interests and the mechanisms of the migrations intra – Caribbean. It also aim to activate the rights of every country to the migration management in view of a fair distribution of the profits between the countries of the region.

The integration, aim to create some conditions capable to gather the different countries of the region and specially the weakest in economic point of view; and to implement initiatives permitting a better use of the migrating work - force.

So, therefore the management of the migration in Caribbean would not essentially be translated by measures of struggle but rather by actions of coordination and integration of the migration fluxes.

Let's us see the partnership approach now.

6.2.-THE PARTNERSHIP APPROACH

The migrations stay one of the problems of the Caribbean in the beginning of this century. During the international symposium on the migration, held in Bern June 14-15, 2001, the participants estimated that « in a world governed by relations of interdependence, in which the democratic principles, the rules of free trade and the supremacy of the Right take on a growing importance, the States must abstain from imposing excessive restrictions to the circulation of people clearing the borders". It is true that most Haitian citizens detaining a visa tourist become illegal during the years; the irregular migration fluxes weaken the relations inter-state in the region. However, any government cannot resolve the problem unilaterally, a partnership between the governments, their private sectors in order to integrate the issuing countries, to encourage the economic development and the creation of employment, to educate the work- force, and to dynamism the region is indispensable.

The emigration of the Haitian toward the Caribbean should be taken in a perspective human defense right and also a participative development. The waves of repatriation and repression, the bad treatments inflicted to the Haitian migrants in some host countries, the traffic of children in Dominican Republic, evoke the necessity to establish some trustworthy ties, communication channels opened between the countries of the region. The promotion of indicatives programs, the creation of a big Caribbean space capable to revive and to drive to balance the economic and financial relations should be encouraged as well as the common norm incorporation concerning immigrants right to the level of the Region.

In this sense, the migration frame must be maintained in a setting of regional cooperation in order to implement a set of action susceptible to bring some solutions to common problems and to reconcile the divergent interests.

VII. CONCLUSION

The Haitian emigration toward the Caribbean has been presented in the perspective of the regional economic development. The Haitian experience has been related in light of the economic social and politic problems. The research of an answer to the main question of research: what is the contribution of the migration fluxes Haitian was complicated. First there is a lack of data for an exact apprehension of the Haitian phenomenon to the Caribbean. Second the counting of the economically active population in foreign countries is difficult to encode. Thirdly it is difficult to value the Haitian work -force in the host countries. All these facts showed the

difficulties to put in evidence the changes brought by the presence of the Haitian migrants in economic, social and cultural areas of the receiving countries of the Caribbean.

Because Haiti is located in the Caribbean space he must mobilize his resources in the regional economic development perspectives. In short, we tempted to present the Haitian migration fluxes toward the countries of the Caribbean. We tried to expose the problems bound to the emigration. Finally we showed the necessity of a valuable partnership and non- fragmented migrations intra - Caribbean in view of promotion the information exchanges on migration movements and development of principles applicable to the regional scale. In this sense, we recommend the creation an Organism at the Caribbean level in order to implement this partnership. If this Organism already exists, it should be made operational.

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