



ACP OBSERVATORY ON MIGRATION
OBSERVATOIRE ACP SUR LES MIGRATIONS
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BECOMING AN IMMIGRATION MAGNET:

Migrants' profiles and the impact of migration on human development in Trinidad and Tobago

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The Anatol Institute of Research and Social Sciences



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Research Report

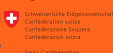
ACPOBS/2013/PUB15

2013



An Initiative of the ACP Secretariat,
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Implemented by IOM and with the Financial Support of Switzerland,
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IOM Development Fund
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Migration Management



ACP Observatory on Migration

The ACP Observatory on Migration is an initiative of the Secretariat of the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group of States, funded by the European Union, implemented by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in a Consortium with 15 partners and with the financial support of Switzerland, IOM, the IOM Development Fund and UNFPA. Established in 2010, the ACP Observatory is an institution designed to produce data on South–South ACP migration for migrants, civil society and policymakers and enhance research capacities in ACP countries for the improvement of the situation of migrants and the strengthening of the migration–development nexus.

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Layout by Pablo Escribano Miralles, ACP Observatory on Migration.

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Abstract

The study entitled *Becoming an immigration magnet: Migrants' profiles and the impact of South–South migration on human development in Trinidad and Tobago* was commissioned by the ACP Observatory on Migration in collaboration with the Institute for Public Policy Research and was designed to effectively integrate human mobility into national and regional development plans and poverty reduction strategies by contributing to the improvement of the programmatic and policy framework on South–South migration and development in Trinidad and Tobago.

The major objective of the research was to identify and measure the effects which absent and returned migrants have on the economy of Trinidad and Tobago and the country's development process. The study was also aimed at the collection of relevant data to allow policymakers and national stakeholders to make informed decisions on migration and related issues (social, financial and economic).

The study collected nationally representative data through conducting 1,000 household surveys in Trinidad and 200 household surveys in Tobago, as well as executive interviews with major stakeholders in the private, public and non-governmental organizations nationally.

This is in line with the stated mandate of the ACP Observatory to create a network of research centers and private researchers to provide policymakers, civil society and the public at large with reliable and harmonized data on human mobility among ACP countries. The study contributes to the understanding of the impact of South–South migration and determines the role of migrants in the development of Trinidad and Tobago.

The research highlighted the fact that there is an increased number of immigrants that come from developing (South) countries in Trinidad and Tobago, as well as the fact that many of these immigrants come for the purpose of finding employment and attaining education or certification of some sort.

Findings also indicated that Trinidad and Tobago nationals are highly tolerant of the immigrants, and the feeling of hostility and xenophobia that has been recorded in other recipient countries is almost negligible locally.

Emigrants tended to have higher standards of living when they migrated and they used that opportunity to increase their levels of education and qualification. The research results indicated that most of the returned migrants would emigrate again if given the opportunity.

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List of acronyms and abbreviations

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CARIPASS	CARICOM Travel Card
CELAC	Community of Latin American and Caribbean States
CSM	Caribbean Single Market
CSME	Caribbean Single Market and Economy
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPPR	Institute for Public Policy Research
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
TAIRASS	The Anatol Institute of Research and Social Sciences

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Executive summary

Research on global migratory trends suggests that South–South migration has significantly increased in recent times and has had significant impacts in the Caribbean. Given this increasing amount of migration among developing States, the current study was commissioned by the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Observatory on Migration and Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) and undertaken by The Anatol Institute of Research and Social Sciences (TAIRASS).

The overall objectives of this study were to contribute to the understanding of the impact of South–South migration on development and to strengthen the migration components in development policies through recommendations tailored to the context of Trinidad and Tobago.

The study includes 1,000 interviews carried out in Trinidad and 200 in Tobago with members of general households, households with returned migrants, households with absent migrants (emigrants) as well as those with immigrants (see questionnaire in the ACP Observatory website). Nineteen interviews were conducted with high-level officials in the government, as well as with non-governmental organizations and private sector organizations.

The major findings of the study reveal that while migration can have both positive and negative impacts, the majority of respondents (44%) indicated that they thought life was negatively impacted by emigration, with 13.3 per cent responding that emigration was making life much worse, and 30.7 per cent saying it was slightly worse. This being said, the study reveals many positive outcomes of migration in lives of emigrants and immigrants themselves: 70.7 per cent of return migrants surveyed indicated that they had earned more abroad than before they left Trinidad and Tobago.

In relation to the perceived quality of life while living abroad, 40.7 per cent of returned migrants indicated that they were much more satisfied with life abroad, and 18.1 per cent indicated that they were slightly more satisfied. It is also interesting to observe that 95.3 per cent of the returned migrants indicated that they were glad that they went to live abroad, and 69.6 per cent indicated that if they had a choice they would migrate again.

The study ascertained that return migrants spent most of their time abroad in developed countries – the United States of America (51.1%), United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (24.4%), and

Canada (13.3%). The study indicated that absent migrants (emigrants) currently reside in the United States (65.9%), Canada (18.1%), the United Kingdom (8.4%), and Jamaica (1.3%). Emigration is thus an overwhelmingly South–North phenomenon.

The study revealed that both returned and absent migrants used their time abroad to obtain certifications and qualifications, as well as to seek employment. The results indicate that 57.7 per cent of absent migrants had obtained certifications and qualifications while living abroad in developed countries, and 51.3 per cent of returned migrants indicated that they had obtained certifications and qualifications while living abroad.

The flow of remittances to Trinidad and Tobago is one of the major benefits of migration to local households. When asked about the frequency of these remittances, 32.4 per cent of respondents in Trinidad indicated that absent migrants sent remittances monthly, highlighting the fact that this money is used for recurrent expenditures of the household. Another 23.5 per cent indicated that the money was sent “every couple of months,” while approximately one third (29.4%) of respondents indicated that absent migrants sent remittances only for “emergencies or on other special occasions.” In general, it would appear that remittances are sent fairly regularly and can be considered

a part of the household income of these families.

The study highlights that most immigrants in Trinidad and Tobago come from developing countries (South) for work and study purposes. They report many individual benefits, such as a higher standard of living, greater life satisfaction and happiness about their decision to migrate.

The study confirms that Trinidad and Tobago has witnessed significant intraregional and interregional migratory flows into the island as well as outflows of nationals of Trinidad and Tobago. The consequences of this migration are far-reaching for the national development of Trinidad and Tobago, and this is highlighted by the contributions of absent migrants as well as returned migrants to the economy of the country. The study indicates that emigrants play a crucial role in the form of monetary injections into the economy as well as goods that are needed by family members who remain behind in Trinidad and Tobago. The returned migrants’ contribution to national development includes the injection of new skills and greater qualification and certification from more developed countries.

Despite this, the study observed that a higher proportion of the sample perceived that migration had a negative impact on Trinidad and Tobago than a positive impact, as indicated previously.

When asked their opinions on why they think emigration is affecting life in Trinidad and Tobago, most respondents named its negative economic impacts rather than social impacts. The largest proportion of respondents (32.3%) indicated that emigration leads to skills deficits in the country, while the second largest group (16.1%) felt that there was a loss to the State as the State had expended significant resources to educating those who emigrated. It is interesting to note that 11.8 per cent of respondents indicated that emigration led to breakdown in the families. While 23.6 per cent of respondents indicated that it made no difference whether or not people migrated, it is also interesting to note that 11.2 per cent of respondents indicated that migration had a positive effect on the economy as the migrants gained skills overseas and returned to make a positive contribution to national development.

Historically, many of Trinidad and Tobago's migrants do return to the country and the study captured information in relation to the reasons for their return. For instance, 22.9 per cent indicated that they returned home for family reasons, 13.4 per cent because they had completed their studies, 11.9 per cent returned because they felt that Trinidad and Tobago was their home and had a sense of belonging, while 8.9 per

cent indicated that they returned on completion of their contract.

The study proposes a number of recommendations for policy. The study also points to the fact that migration policies in developing countries in the South are generally underdeveloped when compared to the policies that currently exist in the North. Specifically in relation to Trinidad and Tobago, the study recommends several mechanisms be established to facilitate the migratory process. These include:

- a) The establishment of a government department or agency to deal exclusively with migrant issues;
- b) The formulation of a clear legal framework to protect migrant workers, firmly based in the Constitution of Trinidad and Tobago;
- c) The establishment of an inter-agency mechanism for migrant service delivery for the efficient, affordable "one-stop shop" approach to pre-departure preparations for emigrants;
- d) The establishment of a database of information that will make available to migrants all requisite information that is needed for their entry into Trinidad and Tobago.

The study demonstrates the need for further research into the area of

migration, as well as the need for Trinidad and Tobago to develop policy frameworks and institutions that deal exclusively with migration. The study also highlights the need for the creation of synergistic relationships between these institutions, agencies and bodies, at the national, regional and international levels.

Résumé analytique

Les recherches sur les tendances migratoires mondiales indiquent que la migration Sud-Sud a récemment connu une croissance considérable et a des conséquences importantes dans les Caraïbes. Face à cette croissance du taux de migration dans les États en développement, l'Observatoire ACP sur les migrations et l'Institut de recherche sur les politiques publiques (Institute for Public Policy Research) ont commandé une étude sur l'impact des migrations Sud-Sud sur le développement à Trinité-et-Tobago, réalisée par l'Institut Anatol de recherche et de sciences sociales (TAIRASS).

Cette étude visait globalement à mieux comprendre l'impact des migrations Sud-Sud sur le développement et à renforcer les composantes liées à la migration dans les politiques de développement, en formulant des recommandations adaptées au contexte de Trinité-et-Tobago.

L'étude inclut 1 000 entretiens réalisés à Trinité et 200 à Tobago avec des foyers en général, des foyers avec des migrants de retour, des foyers avec des migrants absents (émigrés) et des foyers incluant des immigrés (voir questionnaire sur le site Internet de l'Observatoire ACP). Dix-neuf entretiens ont été réalisés avec des représentants de haut niveau du gouvernement, d'agences non

gouvernementales et d'organisations du secteur privé.

Les principales observations de l'étude révèlent que si la migration peut avoir des conséquences à la fois positives et négatives, la majorité des personnes interrogées (44 %) considèrent que l'émigration a une influence négative sur la qualité de vie : 13,3 % ont répondu que l'émigration rend la vie bien plus difficile, et 30,7 % légèrement plus difficile. Ceci dit, l'étude révèle de nombreuses conséquences positives des migrations pour la vie des immigrés et des émigrés : 70,7 % des migrants de retour déclarent avoir mieux gagné leur vie à l'étranger qu'avant leur départ de Trinité-et-Tobago.

En ce qui concerne la qualité de vie perçue à l'étranger, 40,7 % des migrants de retour disent avoir été nettement plus satisfaits de leur vie à l'étranger, et 18,1 %, un peu plus satisfaits.

Les résultats de l'étude ont tendance à confirmer une perpétuation des comportements migratoires historiques, puisque 51,1 % des personnes interrogées indiquent avoir passé la plupart de leur temps aux États-Unis, 24,4 % au Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord, et 13,3 % au Canada. Il ressort

dès lors que l'émigration à partir de Trinité-et-Tobago est davantage axée sur le Nord que sur le Sud.

L'étude révèle que tant les migrants de retour que les migrants absents ont profité du temps passé à l'étranger pour obtenir des certifications et des diplômes, et chercher du travail. Les résultats indiquent que 57,7 % des migrants absents ont obtenu des certifications et des diplômes pendant leur séjour dans des pays développés, et 51,3 % des migrants de retour déclarent avoir obtenu des certifications et des diplômes durant leur séjour à l'étranger.

L'un des principaux avantages de la migration pour les ménages locaux concerne la question des fonds qui sont envoyés à Trinité-et-Tobago par les proches. Interrogés à propos de la fréquence de ces transferts de fonds, 32,4 % des personnes interrogées à Trinité répondent que les migrants absents envoient de l'argent chaque mois, ce qui indique que cet argent est utilisé pour les dépenses ordinaires du ménage. Par ailleurs, 23,5 % des répondants déclarent que les fonds sont envoyés « tous les quelques mois », tandis qu'environ un tiers des répondants (29,4 %) indiquent que les migrants absents n'envoient de l'argent que pour les « urgences ou à d'autres occasions particulières ». Il semblerait, d'une manière générale, que les fonds soient envoyés assez régulièrement et puissent être

considérés comme faisant partie des revenus du ménage pour ces familles.

L'étude met en évidence que la plupart des immigrants à Trinité-et-Tobago proviennent de pays en développement (le Sud) à des fins de travail et d'études. Ils rapportent de nombreux bénéfices individuels de leur décision de migrer, tels qu'un niveau de vie plus élevé et une plus grande satisfaction dans leur vie.

L'étude confirme que Trinité-et-Tobago connaît des afflux migratoires infrarégionaux et interrégionaux considérables à destination de l'île, de même que des départs de ressortissants de l'île. Ces flux migratoires ont des répercussions considérables sur le développement national de Trinité-et-Tobago, du fait des contributions des migrants absents comme des migrants de retour à l'économie du pays. L'étude indique que les émigrants jouent un rôle essentiel en injectant de l'argent dans l'économie, ainsi qu'en offrant les produits dont ils ont besoin à leurs proches restés au pays. Les migrants de retour contribuent au développement national en injectant les compétences, les qualifications et les certifications qu'ils ont acquises dans les pays plus développés, ce qui améliore le niveau de développement national.

Malgré cela, l'étude observe que les répondants sont plus nombreux

à considérer que la migration a une influence négative sur Trinité-et-Tobago plutôt qu'une influence positive. Plus précisément, la question suivante leur a été posée : « D'une manière générale, selon vous, quelle influence l'émigration a-t-elle sur la vie dans le pays ? ». La majorité des répondants (42,9 %) indiquent que l'émigration a une influence négative sur la vie dans le pays, tandis que 30 % déclarent que l'immigration rend la vie beaucoup plus difficile, 12,9 %, qu'elle la rend légèrement plus difficile, 28 % indiquent que cela n'a aucune influence, tandis que 16,7 % déclarent que l'émigration a une influence positive sur la vie à Trinité-et-Tobago. Seulement 9,6 % sont sans opinion.

Lorsqu'on leur demande d'expliquer pourquoi, selon eux, l'émigration a une influence négative sur la vie à Trinité-et-Tobago, la plupart des répondants évoquent ses conséquences économiques négatives plutôt que ses conséquences sociales. La majorité des répondants (32,3 %) indiquent que la migration provoque un manque de compétences dans le pays, tandis que le deuxième groupe plus important (16,1 %) estime qu'elle crée un manque à gagner pour l'État compte tenu des ressources considérables qu'il consacre à l'instruction de personnes qui émigrent ensuite. Il est intéressant de noter que 11,8 % des répondants

déclarent que l'émigration provoque une dislocation des familles. Tandis que 23,6 % des répondants indiquent que la migration n'a aucun impact sur le pays, il est également intéressant de noter qu'ils sont 11,2 % à déclarer que la migration a une influence positive sur l'économie, étant donné que les migrants acquièrent des compétences à l'étranger et reviennent ensuite au pays pour contribuer au développement national.

L'étude observe que les migrants de retour ont passé la plupart de leur temps à l'étranger dans des pays développés - États-Unis (51,1 %), Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord (24,4 %) et Canada (13,3 %). Elle constate que les migrants absents résident aux États-Unis (65,9 %), au Canada (18,1 %), au Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord (8,4 %) et en Jamaïque (1,3 %). L'émigration est par conséquent un phénomène majoritairement Sud-Nord.

L'étude observe que l'émigration a des avantages considérables pour les migrants et leurs familles. Les migrants de retour devaient répondre à la question suivante : « Lorsque vous étiez à l'étranger, gagniez-vous plus, moins ou la même chose que ce que vous gagniez à Trinité-et-Tobago avant de partir ? ». Sept répondants sur dix ont répondu qu'ils gagnaient plus à l'étranger que ce qu'ils

gagnaient avant de quitter Trinité, 18,5 ont répondu gagner environ la même chose, et un répondant sur dix a répondu gagner moins à l'étranger par rapport à ce qu'il gagnait à Trinité. L'étude est allée plus loin en demandant aux migrants de retour d'indiquer globalement s'ils étaient plus satisfaits de leur vie lorsqu'ils étaient à l'étranger qu'ils ne l'étaient avant de quitter Trinité-et-Tobago. Au total, 40,7 % ont répondu qu'ils étaient nettement plus satisfaits de leur vie à l'étranger et 18,1 %, qu'ils étaient un peu plus satisfaits. Il est intéressant de noter que 20,3 % des répondants déclarent que leur niveau de vie à l'étranger était à peu près équivalent à celui qu'ils connaissaient à Trinité-et-Tobago, tandis que 20,9 % font état de niveaux de satisfaction variables à l'égard de leur vie à l'étranger. La majorité des répondants font par conséquent état d'un niveau de satisfaction plus grand à l'égard de leur vie à l'étranger.

Il est également intéressant d'observer que 95,3 % des migrants de retour déclarent être heureux d'être partis vivre à l'étranger et 69,6 %, que s'ils avaient le choix, ils émigreraient à nouveau.

Depuis toujours, les habitants de Trinité-et-Tobago qui émigrent sont nombreux à se réinstaller ensuite dans le pays et l'étude permet de mieux comprendre les raisons de ce retour. Parmi les migrants,

22,9 % indiquent être revenus pour des « raisons familiales », 13,4 %, parce qu'ils avaient terminé leurs études, 11,9 % parce qu'ils avaient le sentiment que Trinité-et-Tobago était leur patrie, évoquant un sentiment d'appartenance, tandis que 8,9 % déclarent être rentrés parce que leur contrat touchait à sa fin.

L'étude propose un certain nombre d'enseignements pour les politiques. Elle souligne aussi le fait que les politiques migratoires dans les pays en développement dans le Sud sont en général insuffisamment développées par rapport aux politiques qui existent actuellement dans le Nord. En ce qui concerne Trinité-et-Tobago, plus précisément, l'étude recommande de mettre en place plusieurs mécanismes en vue de faciliter le processus migratoire, à savoir :

- a) La mise en place d'un service ou d'un organe gouvernemental chargé de s'occuper exclusivement des questions de migration ;
- b) La formulation d'un cadre juridique précis afin de protéger les travailleurs migrants, solidement intégré dans la Constitution de Trinité-et-Tobago ;
- c) L'établissement d'un mécanisme interagences visant à offrir des services efficaces aux migrants, dans le cadre d'une approche fondée sur un « guichet unique »

accessible chargé d'aider les émigrants à préparer leur départ ;

- d) La constitution d'une base de données, grâce à laquelle les migrants auront accès à toutes les informations dont ils ont besoin pour préparer leur arrivée à Trinité-et-Tobago.

L'étude fait également ressortir la nécessité de continuer à mener des recherches dans le domaine de la

migration, de même que la nécessité pour Trinité-et-Tobago de mettre en place des cadres stratégiques et des institutions exclusivement axés sur la migration. L'étude souligne par ailleurs la nécessité de créer des relations synergiques entre ces institutions, ces agences et ces organes, aux niveaux national, régional et international.

Resumo executivo

A investigação relativa às tendências migratórias globais sugere que a migração Sul–Sul aumentou significativamente nos últimos tempos e teve impactos significativos nas Caraíbas. Tendo em conta a taxa crescente da migração no seio dos estados em desenvolvimento, o estudo relativo ao “Impacto da migração Sul–Sul no desenvolvimento em Trindade e Tobago” foi apoiado pelo Observatório das Migrações ACP e pelo Instituto de investigação em políticas públicas (Institute for Public Policy Research) e levado a cabo pelo Instituto de investigação e ciências sociais Anatol (Anatol Institute of Research and Social Sciences, TAIRASS).

Os objectivos gerais deste estudo consistiram em contribuir para a compreensão do impacto da migração Sul–Sul sobre o desenvolvimento e reforçar os componentes da migração nas políticas de desenvolvimento através de recomendações concebidas para o contexto de Trindade e Tobago.

O estudo inclui 1.000 entrevistas realizadas em Trindade e 200 em Tobago com membros de famílias em geral, famílias com migrantes retornados, famílias com migrantes ausentes (emigrantes), bem como famílias com imigrantes (ver questionário no site do Observatório ACP). Dezenove entrevistas foram

realizadas com funcionários de alto nível do governo, agências não governamentais e organizações do sector privado.

As principais conclusões do estudo revelaram que apesar de a migração poder ter impactos positivos e negativos, a maior parte dos inquiridos (44%) indicou que a vida sofreu um impacto negativo devido à emigração, 13,3 por cento sentiram que a imigração tornou a vida muito mais difícil e 30,7 por cento ligeiramente mais difícil. Os resultados do estudo também revelam muitas consequências positivas da migração para emigrantes e imigrantes: 70,7 por cento dos migrantes retornados referiram que ganharam mais no estrangeiro do que antes de saírem de Trindade e Tobago.

Relativamente à qualidade de vida percebida ao viver no estrangeiro, 40,7 por cento dos migrantes retornados indicaram que estavam muito mais satisfeitos com a vida no estrangeiro e 18,1 por cento indicaram que estavam ligeiramente mais satisfeitos.

Os resultados do estudo tendem a apoiar que os padrões históricos da emigração continuam evidentes, sendo que 51,1 por cento dos inquiridos declararam que passam a maior parte do tempo nos Estados Unidos, 24,4 por cento declararam

que passam a maior parte do tempo no Reino Unido e na Irlanda do Norte, e 13,3 por cento declararam que passam o seu tempo no Canadá. Assim, a investigação destaca que a emigração de Trindade e Tobago é mais para Norte do que para Sul.

O estudo revelou que os migrantes retornados e ausentes utilizaram o tempo passado no estrangeiro para obter certificações e qualificações, bem como para procurar emprego. Os resultados indicaram que 57,7 por cento dos migrantes ausentes obtiveram certificações e qualificações enquanto viveram no estrangeiro em países desenvolvidos, e 51,3 por cento dos migrantes retornados indicaram que obtiveram certificações e qualificações enquanto viveram no estrangeiro.

Uma das principais vantagens da migração para os agregados locais é a questão das remessas enviadas para Trindade e Tobago. Quando questionados relativamente à frequência das remessas, 32,4 por cento dos inquiridos em Trindade indicaram que os migrantes ausentes enviam remessas mensalmente, destacando o facto de o dinheiro ser utilizado para os gastos recorrentes do agregado. Outros 23,5 por cento indicaram que o dinheiro era enviado “de dois em dois meses”, ao passo que aproximadamente um terço (29,4%) dos inquiridos indicou que os migrantes ausentes enviam remessas

apenas para “emergências ou outras ocasiões especiais”. Ao que parece, em geral, as remessas são enviadas de forma regular e podem ser consideradas parte dos rendimentos do agregado para as famílias em causa.

O estudo destaca que a maioria dos imigrantes em Trindade e Tobago vêm de países em desenvolvimento (Sul) para fins de trabalho e estudo. Eles relatam muitos benefícios individuais, tais como um maior padrão de vida, maior satisfação com a vida e felicidade sobre a sua decisão de migrar.

O estudo confirmou que Trindade e Tobago registou fluxos migratórios intra-regionais e inter-regionais significativos para a ilha, bem como fluxos de saída de cidadãos de Trindade e Tobago. As consequências desta migração são profundas para o desenvolvimento nacional de Trindade e Tobago, sendo este facto destacado pelas contribuições dos migrantes ausentes, bem como dos migrantes retornados para a economia do país. O estudo indicou que os emigrantes desempenham um papel crucial sob a forma de injeções monetárias para a economia, assim como bens necessários pelos familiares que permanecem em Trindade e Tobago. A contribuição dos migrantes retornados para o desenvolvimento nacional inclui a injeção de novas competências,

qualificações e certificações dos países mais desenvolvidos que se adicionam à taxa de desenvolvimento nacional.

Apesar do referido, o estudo observou que uma proporção superior da amostra destaca que a migração tem um impacto negativo sobre Trindade e Tobago, mais do que um impacto positivo. Especificamente, foi colocada a seguinte questão: “De um modo geral, de que modo considera que a emigração está a afectar a vida aqui?” A maior proporção de inquiridos (42,9%) indicou que a vida sofreu um impacto negativo, com 30 por cento a responder que a imigração está a tornar a vida muito pior, e 12,9 por cento a responder que está ligeiramente pior. 28 por cento indicaram que não ocorreu qualquer impacto, ao passo que 16,7 por cento dos inquiridos indicaram que a emigração teve um impacto positivo sobre a vida em Trindade e Tobago, ao passo que apenas 9,6 por cento indicaram que não sabiam.

Quando se perguntou aos inquiridos a sua opinião relativamente ao motivo pelo qual a emigração está a afectar a vida em Trindade e Tobago, a maior parte dos inquiridos referiu os impactos económicos negativos em detrimento dos impactos sociais. A maior proporção dos inquiridos (32,3%) indicou que a migração dá origem ao deficit de competências no país, sendo que o segundo maior

grupo (16,1%) referiu que se verifica uma perda no país, uma vez que o país gastou recursos significativos ao nível do ensino das pessoas que emigraram. É interessante ter em conta que 11,8 por cento dos inquiridos indicaram que a emigração dá origem à ruptura das famílias. Apesar de 23,6 por cento dos inquiridos terem indicado que não faz qualquer diferença se as pessoas migraram ou não, é igualmente interessante notar que 11,2 por cento dos inquiridos indicaram que a migração tem um efeito positivo sobre a economia, uma vez que os imigrantes adquirem competências no estrangeiro e regressam para dar uma contribuição positiva para o desenvolvimento nacional.

O estudo determinou que os migrantes retornados passam a maior parte do seu tempo no estrangeiro em países desenvolvidos – Estados Unidos da América (51,1%), Reino Unido e Irlanda do Norte (24,4%) e Canadá (13,3%). O estudo indicou que os migrantes ausentes residem actualmente nos Estados Unidos da América (65,9%), no Canadá (18,1%), Reino Unido e Irlanda do Norte (8,4%) e Jamaica (1,3%). Assim, a emigração é um fenómeno essencialmente Sul-Norte.

O estudo determinou que a emigração apresentou benefícios significativos para os migrantes individuais e respectivos agregados. O estudo

colocou aos migrantes retornados a seguinte questão: “Quando estive no estrangeiro, ganhava mais, menos ou o mesmo que estava a ganhar em Trindade e Tobago antes de sair do país?” Dos inquiridos, 7 em cada 10 indicaram que ganhavam mais no estrangeiro do que antes de saírem de Trindade, 18,5 por cento indicaram que ganhavam o mesmo e 1 em cada 10 indicou que ganhava menos no estrangeiro do que em Trindade. O estudo foi ainda mais longe, solicitando que os migrantes retornados indicassem se, no geral, estavam mais satisfeitos com a vida no estrangeiro do que antes de saírem de Trindade e Tobago. 40,7 por cento indicaram que estavam muito mais satisfeitos com a vida no estrangeiro, 18,1 por cento indicaram que estavam ligeiramente mais satisfeitos. O que é interessante é que 20,3 por cento dos inquiridos indicaram que o padrão de vida era praticamente o mesmo no estrangeiro que em Trindade e Tobago, sendo que 20,9 por cento dos inquiridos indicaram diferentes níveis de insatisfação com a vida no estrangeiro. Assim, a maior parte dos inquiridos indicou níveis superiores de satisfação com a vida fora de Trindade e Tobago.

É igualmente interessante observar que 95,3 por cento dos migrantes retornados indicaram que estavam satisfeitos por terem ido viver para o estrangeiro e 69,6 por cento indicaram

que se tivessem de escolher optariam por migrar novamente.

Historicamente, muitos dos migrantes de Trindade e Tobago regressam ao país e o estudo obteve informação relativa aos motivos do seu regresso. 22,9 por cento dos migrantes indicaram que regressaram a casa por “motivos familiares”, 13,4 por cento porque tinham concluído os estudos, 11,9 por cento porque sentiram que Trindade e Tobago era o seu país natal e era lá que se sentiam em casa, sendo que 8,9 por cento indicaram que tinham regressado devido ao fim do respectivo contrato.

O estudo propõe uma série de conclusões para a política. O estudo também realçou o facto de as políticas de migração nos países desenvolvidos no Sul serem geralmente subdesenvolvidas em comparação com as políticas actualmente existentes no Norte. Especificamente, em relação a Trindade e Tobago, o estudo recomendou o estabelecimento de vários mecanismos para facilitar o processo migratório. Estes mecanismos incluem:

- a) O estabelecimento de um departamento ou agência governamental para lidar exclusivamente com as questões dos migrantes;
- b) A formulação de uma estrutura legal clara para proteger os

trabalhadores migrantes,
firmemente baseada na
Constituição de Trindade e
Tobago;

as informações necessárias para a
entrada em Trindade e Tobago.

- c) O estabelecimento de um mecanismo inter-agências para um fornecimento eficaz de serviços aos migrantes através de uma abordagem de “balcão único” eficiente e acessível relativamente aos preparativos antes da partida dos emigrantes;
- d) O estabelecimento de uma base de dados informativa que disponibilize aos migrantes todas

O estudo demonstrou a necessidade de mais investigação na área da migração, bem como a necessidade de Trindade e Tobago desenvolver estruturas e instituições políticas que lidem exclusivamente com a migração. O estudo também realçou a necessidade de criação de relações sinérgicas entre estas instituições, agências e organismos, ao nível nacional, regional e internacional.

I. Introduction

Trinidad and Tobago is the Caribbean's southernmost island and the country has moved through sustained periods of both internal and external migration. With an area of 4,768 km² (1,841 square miles) it is also the fifth largest in the West Indies. The migratory trends have intensified over the last 60 years and Trinidad and Tobago is now seen as an origin, transit and destination country for migrants.

Trinidad and Tobago's unique geographical location, being the closest Caribbean island to South America, has served to encourage a relatively free flow of migrants between the regions. The economic dominance of Trinidad and Tobago within the Caribbean region has acted as a 'pull' factor for many Caribbean nationals who seek residence, employment and educational opportunities in the country. Increasingly, Trinidad and Tobago has been seen as a transit point for migrants from the smaller Caribbean islands, as well as for extraregional migrants who seek to gain access to North America and South America.

The study, *Becoming an immigration magnet: Migrants' profiles and the impact of migration on human development in Trinidad and Tobago*, was undertaken by The Anatol Institute of Research and Social Sciences (TAIRASS) for the

ACP Observatory on Migration and under the guidance of the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR). This project represents pioneer research since it is the first of its kind to be undertaken in Trinidad and Tobago. The major objective of the study is to identify and measure the effects which immigrants, absent and returned migrants who have lived in other countries in the South have on the economy of Trinidad and Tobago and the country's development process. The study is also aimed at the collection of relevant data to allow policymakers and national stakeholders to make informed decisions on migration and related issues (social, financial and economic).

The dearth of literature and research with respect to South–South migration and patterns of migration in Trinidad and Tobago highlights the need for scientific research, which can add another dimension to the policymaking process; this study is intended to add to the literature on these issues.

The study is relevant as globally there has been recognition that the impact of South–North migration on developing States has been significant and also because there is increasingly more attention being given to the impact of South–South migration, albeit moving at a slow pace. It is clear

for small developing States that due to the increased pace of the current era of globalization, migration is having a significant impact on their economies as well as family structures, family life and community relations. Particularly for countries such as Trinidad and Tobago that are part of a regional integration movement, it is important to measure the impact of migration in relation to regional and extraregional migratory patterns.

The study serves to give an analysis of the consequences of migration in relation to Trinidad and Tobago, as well as highlight the impacts of migration on the country and its development. It has long been recognized that migration has an impact on development, particularly for small developing countries like Trinidad and Tobago.

The methodology utilized in this project is both qualitative and quantitative and the requisite data were collected while maintaining the tenets of empirical research, ensuring high levels of validity and reliability. The household survey collected information in Trinidad and Tobago with 1,000 questionnaires administered in Trinidad (North, South, East, West and Central), and 200 in Tobago (dividing the island into 6 sample frames). In order to ensure representativeness, the sample frames were sub-divided into frequencies of high, medium and low migration. In the first stage, the

primary sampling units were selected. In the second stage, households were selected from the primary sampling units. The data collected (responses) were coded electronically using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) program. Consistent with the methodology employed was the need for structured interviews as well as focus groups. In both cases, key stakeholders were approached. These included officials from ministries, including Gender, Youth and Child Development; the People and Social Development; Foreign Affairs and Communications; Education; National Security; Community Development; Planning and the Economy; among others. Also interviewed were representatives from donor agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and national associations, multinational corporations, embassies and consulates, and communities and gender Groups.

The field research took place between May 2012 and September 2012. The interviews with key stakeholders were undertaken simultaneously with the field research and similarly were completed between May 2012 and September 2012.

The questionnaire is available on the website of the ACP Observatory on Migration.

The current study will utilize the following definitions to allow for clarity.

Key definitions

Brain drain:	Emigration of trained and talented individuals from the country of origin to another country resulting in a depletion of skills resources in the former.
Brain gain:	Immigration of trained and talented individuals into the destination country. Also called 'reverse brain drain'.
Capacity-building:	Building capacity of governments and civil society by increasing their knowledge and enhancing their skills. Capacity-building can take the form of substantive direct project design and implementation with a partner government, training opportunities, or in other circumstances facilitation of a bilateral or multilateral agenda for dialogue development put in place by concerned authorities. In all cases, capacity-building aims to build towards generally acceptable benchmarks of management practices.
Country of origin:	The country that is a source of migratory flows (regular or irregular).
Development:	The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) defines development as the process of "creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accordance with their needs and interests...[and] expanding the choices people have to lead lives that they value." This definition marks a shift away from the strict emphasis on economic development measured by growth or income indicators and encompasses the human dimension of the process.
Emigration:	The act of departing or exiting from one State with a view to settling in another.
Forced migration:	A migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes (e.g. movements of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects).

- Freedom of movement:** A human right comprising three basic elements: freedom of movement within the territory of a country (Art. 13(1), Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948: “Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.”), the right to leave any country and the right to return to his or her own country (Art. 13(2), Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948: “Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country”). See also Art. 12, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Freedom of movement is also referred to in the context of freedom of movement arrangements between States at the regional level (e.g. European Union).
- Immigration:** A process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement.
- Irregular migration:** Movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries. There is no clear or universally accepted definition of irregular migration. From the perspective of destination countries it is entry, stay or work in a country without the necessary authorization or documents required under immigration regulations. From the perspective of the sending country, the irregularity is for example seen in cases in which a person crosses an international boundary without a valid passport or travel document or does not fulfill the administrative requirements for leaving the country. There is, however, a tendency to restrict the use of the term ‘illegal migration’ to cases of smuggling of migrants and trafficking in persons.
- Migrant:** At the international level, no universally accepted definition for ‘migrant’ exists. The term migrant was usually understood to cover all cases where the decision to migrate was taken freely by the individual concerned for reasons of “personal convenience” and without intervention of an external compelling factor; it therefore applied to persons, and family members, moving to another country or region to better their material or social conditions and improve the prospect for themselves or their family. The United Nations defines migrant as an individual who has resided in a foreign country for more than one year irrespective of the causes, voluntary or involuntary, and the means, regular or irregular, used to migrate. Under such a definition, those travelling for shorter periods as tourists and businesspersons would not be considered migrants. However, common usage includes certain kinds of shorter-term migrants, such as seasonal farmworkers who travel for short periods to work planting or harvesting farm products.

- **Documented migrant:** A migrant who entered a country lawfully and remains in the country in accordance with his or her admission criteria.
 - **Economic migrant:** A person leaving his or her habitual place of residence to settle outside his or her country of origin in order to improve his or her quality of life. This term is often loosely used to distinguish from refugees fleeing persecution, and is also similarly used to refer to persons attempting to enter a country without legal permission and/or by using asylum procedures without bona fide cause. It may equally be applied to persons leaving their country of origin for the purpose of employment.
 - **Irregular migrant:** A person who, owing to unauthorized entry, breach of a condition of entry, or the expiry of his or her visa, lacks legal status in a transit or host country. The definition covers inter alia those persons who have entered a transit or host country lawfully but have stayed for a longer period than authorized or subsequently taken up unauthorized employment (also called clandestine/undocumented migrant or migrant in an irregular situation). The term 'irregular' is preferable to 'illegal' because the latter carries a criminal connotation and is seen as denying migrants' humanity.
 - **Skilled migrant:** A migrant worker who, because of his or her skills or acquired professional experience, is usually granted preferential treatment regarding admission to a host country (and is therefore subject to fewer restrictions regarding length of stay, change of employment and family reunification).
 - **Temporary migrant worker:** Skilled, semi-skilled or untrained workers who remain in the destination country for definite periods as determined in a work contract with an individual worker or a service contract concluded with an enterprise. Also called contract migrant workers.
- Migration:** The movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification.
- Naturalization:** Granting by a State of its nationality to a non-national through a formal act on the application of the individual concerned. International law does not provide detailed rules for naturalization, but it recognizes the competence of every State to naturalize those who are not its nationals and who apply to become its nationals.

Push-pull factors:	Migration is often analysed in terms of the “push-pull model”, which looks at the push factors, which drive people to leave their country (such as economic, social, or political problems) and the pull factors attracting them to the country of destination.
Receiving country:	Country of destination or a third country. In the case of return or repatriation, also the country of origin. Country that has accepted to receive a certain number of refugees and migrants on a yearly basis by presidential, ministerial or parliamentary decision.
Refugee:	A person who, “owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinions, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country” (Art. 1(A)(2), Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, Art. 1A(2), 1951 as modified by the 1967 Protocol). In addition to the refugee definition in the 1951 Refugee Convention, Art. 1(2), 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention defines a refugee as any person compelled to leave his or her country “owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country or origin or nationality.” Similarly, the 1984 Cartagena Declaration states that refugees also include persons who flee their country “because their lives, security or freedom have been threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violations of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order.”
Remittances:	Monies earned or acquired by non-nationals that are transferred back to their country of origin.
Resettlement:	The relocation and integration of people (refugees, internally displaced persons, etc.) into another geographical area and environment, usually in a third country. In the refugee context, the transfer of refugees from the country in which they have sought refuge to another State that has agreed to admit them. The refugees will usually be granted asylum or some other form of long-term resident rights and, in many cases, will have the opportunity to become naturalized.

- South:** The human development index (HDI) distinguishes between developed (North) and developing (South) countries. According to the 2010 Human Development Report, the upper 42 countries are classified as having reached a very high HDI and are considered 'developed' countries. All other countries are considered 'developing' countries and a part of the Global South. There is, however, no universal definition for the 'South'. For the purposes of this study, the South connotes a geographical definition and refers to all Caribbean states – The 'Caribbean' being defined by the concept of El Gran Caribe or the Greater Caribbean which incorporates all States in the entire Caribbean Basin.
- Smuggling:** "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 a permanent resident" (Art. 3(a), United Nations Protocol Against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, 2000). Smuggling, contrary to trafficking, does not require an element of exploitation, coercion, or violation of human rights.
- Trafficking in persons:** "The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the 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" (Art. 3(a), United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, 2000). Trafficking in persons can take place within the borders of one State or may have a transnational character.
- Xenophobia:** At the international level, no universally accepted definition of xenophobia exists, though it can be described as attitudes, prejudices and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity. There is a close link between racism and xenophobia, two terms that can be hard to differentiate from each other.

Source: IOM, Glossary on Migration, International Migration Law Series No. 25, 2011.

2. History and current patterns of migration

2.1 Historical context

As Trinidad and Tobago emerged as a colony, and was faced with the need to replace the steadily declining indigenous population, a continuous wave of migration into the islands took place. In recent times, however, Trinidad and Tobago has witnessed both intraregional and interregional migratory flows into the islands as well as outflows of nationals of Trinidad and Tobago.

Given its historical development, Trinidad and Tobago is arguably the most cosmopolitan country in the English-speaking Caribbean. The twin isle republic has long been a repository for a diverse group of immigrants from Africa, as well as India, China, the Middle East, Europe, neighboring Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of) and other Caribbean countries. Sending countries have included the Syrian Arab Republic, Lebanon, China, India and other parts of Asia. The racial distribution of the population in Trinidad is 34.2 per cent Afro-Trinidadian, 35.4 per cent Indo-Trinidadian and 22.8 per cent mixed, as of 2011.

2.2 Current trends in migration

With the advancements in modern communications and transport, the global environment has seen increasing trends of movements

of people to and from all regions of the world. In contemporary times, as previously observed, there is evidence of an outward flow of migrants from Trinidad and Tobago to other destinations in the world. Interestingly, these new and emerging global destinations with new networks and opportunities now attract migrants not only from the smaller less-developed Caribbean States but also from Trinidad and Tobago. Similarly, the origins of migrants going to Trinidad and Tobago have also become increasingly diverse and have moved away from the traditional sending countries to a broader range of countries. As Levitt (2007: 130) posits, “[m]igration has never been a one-way process of assimilation into a melting pot or a multicultural salad bowl but one in which migrants, to varying degrees, are simultaneously embedded in the multiple sites and layers of the transnational social fields in which they live.”

As a major recipient country since the nineteenth century, Trinidad and Tobago currently receives migrants from the region, the primary source countries being Grenada, Barbados, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Saint Lucia, Guyana, Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of) and Colombia. Trinidad and Tobago is seen as hosting one the highest migrant stocks

from the region. Recent data from the World Bank in 2010 identified the international migrant stock of Trinidad and Tobago as 2.56 per cent of the total population of the country (World Bank, 2012a).

Migration, regional development and integration have also been major issues for Caribbean policymakers. 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 to: deepen and strengthen the integration process, widen the Community and participate fully and effectively in global economic and trading arrangements. In order to do so, it was felt that there needed to be greater integration of the economies and that would be facilitated by greater movement of nationals between member States.

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 has been on establishing the Single Market, with effect of 1 January 2006 or shortly thereafter. The other major component of the CSME, the Single Economy, was estimated to be completed by 31 December 2008.

Intraregional migration, especially to Trinidad and Tobago, is prevalent due to proximity, the relative low cost of transport between territories, increasingly porous borders, less restrictions at points of entry and the presence of familial ties or informal support networks within the various national groupings. The launch of the Caribbean Single Market (CSM) in 2006 formalized the free movement of the skilled workforce, in comparison to the movement of the semi-skilled and lower-skilled groupings which have traditionally been unregulated across the region, and this has added to the attractiveness of migration.

In the past, the principal reasons for this intraregional migration from Caribbean small States lay in the prospects of gaining employment in the petroleum industry. During the period of the West Indian Federation (1958-1962), job opportunities in the construction and service industries improved as a result of the oil boom in Trinidad and Tobago. Recent data from the World Bank (2011) still list immigrants from Grenada and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines among the top source countries of immigration to Trinidad and Tobago and there has been an observable trend which indicates that migrants from these countries continue to enter the construction and service sectors in Trinidad and Tobago. However, empirical data for Trinidad and Tobago's immigrant groupings do

not fully capture the diversity of the foreign-born population, especially because of irregular migratory flows from Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

Countries that are geo-strategically positioned and have energy-based economies, such as Trinidad and Tobago, are increasingly attracting economic migrants and coerced or irregular migrants, such as trafficked and smuggled individuals, asylum-seekers, refugees and sex workers. This is facilitated by the diverse ethnic composition of the constituent population of Trinidad and Tobago, which allows irregular migrants to 'blend in' more easily with nationals of Trinidad and Tobago. These flows are further facilitated by the porous, unmanned coastline and are fuelled by migrants' prospects of working in the petro-chemical industry.

According to Valtonen (1996), intra-Caribbean migration was estimated to be about half a million between 1960 and 1996, which accounted for approximately 10 per cent of all Caribbean migration over the same period. The number of Grenadians, Vincentians and Barbadians who have moved over time into Trinidad is significant.

Apart from English-speaking migrants in the region seeking employment in Trinidad and Tobago, there is a relatively recent presence of nationals

from Cuba and the Dominican Republic. Many Cuban migrants are medical professionals filling vacancies for doctors, nurses and medical technicians, due to insufficient numbers of trained medical personnel in Trinidad and Tobago and the inability of the State to retain those trained persons (medical brain drain). On the other hand, the rise in the number of Dominican migrants can be linked to the influx of sex workers and irregular migrants, lured by economic prospects that present themselves in the oil-rich State.

2.3 South American migrants in Trinidad and Tobago

The most prevalent migrant groupings are from Guyana and the two hispanophone countries of Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of) and Colombia, due to geographical proximity, shared cultural affinities and mutual interests in energy initiatives.

A major feature of Venezuelan migration to Trinidad and Tobago includes student migration. Reis (2009) analysed Venezuelan student migration to Trinidad, a phenomenon which has a long historical context, but which took on contemporary significance during the Chávez regime. Reis' (2007:12) study of the Venezuelan student population, "... revealed that over 73 per cent of those interviewed had some level

of tertiary education and training.” While the number of Venezuelan migrants to Trinidad and Tobago is increasing, particularly in the education sector, there is a need to gather data ascertaining the potential benefits these migrants could have for growth and development in Trinidad and Tobago.

Traditionally, the impetus for the growing numbers of Colombians in Trinidad and Tobago was to a large extent due to the internal conflict and violence which, in the past has resulted in high numbers of internally displaced persons (IDPs). Within the contemporary environment however, although many Colombian migrants are still entering Trinidad and Tobago, these migrants are primarily engaged in work in the sex industry. Furthermore, current migratory trends have highlighted cross-border flows of Colombians to Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of), which serves as an easier avenue for these migrants making their way to Trinidad and Tobago. Contemporary trends have also indicated an increase in undocumented Colombian nationals in Trinidad and Tobago. The ‘push’ factors responsible for this increase include drug trafficking, extreme poverty, increasing levels of citizen insecurity, and a growing desire for economic advancement.

Like migrants from most small developing States, citizens from Guyana have migrated in search

of improved livelihoods. Further, the unstable environment, deteriorating social conditions and lack of employment opportunities – especially among young adults, and the easy access to emerging regional States like Trinidad and Tobago have contributed to the migratory movement of Guyanese citizens.

World Bank data (2010) indicate that 89 per cent of the citizens of Guyana with tertiary education have migrated, and this is the highest immigration rate of persons in that category in the region. While official data with respect to the number of Guyanese in Trinidad are not available, anecdotal evidence suggests that Trinidad and Tobago is the largest receiving country for Guyanese migrants in the region.

2.4 African migrants

While there is evidence that there is a renewed influx of migrants from the African continent to Trinidad and Tobago, African migration to the country has been a part of the country’s historical reality. “During the last ten years, UNHCR has registered over 300 asylum-seekers in Trinidad and Tobago, with the number of asylum-seeking arrivals increasing each year. The vast majority of registered asylum-seekers are ‘extra-continental’ arrivals from outside the hemisphere; UNHCR has registered asylum-seekers from at

least 27 different countries, mostly from Africa" (UNHCR, 2011:1).

With respect to African migrants in Trinidad and Tobago, they are not a homogenous group, as is customarily purported. Some are Nigerian doctors, or economic migrants, while others may have been duped into coming to Trinidad and Tobago under the guise of being able to earn money in the energy industries. They are therefore victims of human trafficking, while others have voluntarily chosen to be smuggled¹ into the country in the hopes of finding a better life for themselves and providing for their families left behind. African migrants come from several parts of the continent, including Senegal, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Cameroon and Nigeria, and as such, present even more challenges for local immigration authorities, as cultural and linguistic differences abound.

2.5 Asian migrants: China and India

Similar to Trinidad and Tobago's experience with migration from the African continent, there has been a traditional flow of Asian migrants into the country. The largest groups of Asian migrants to Trinidad and Tobago are East Indians and Chinese. Many of the Indian migrants are employed as doctors, nurses, pharmacists,

laboratory technicians, university professors and even construction workers. Within the last decade there have been new waves of Asian immigration.

From 2000 onwards, Chinese migrant labour has been one of the major components of the workforce in the construction industry in Trinidad and Tobago. Between 2007 and 2008, 2,827 work permits were issued to Chinese nationals, based on statistics from the Ministry of National Security. Of the 1,071 work permits issued to Chinese in 2007, 74 per cent were for jobs in the construction industry alone. An additional 11 per cent of work permits issued in that year were used for Chinese migrants employed in the food services sector. This trend has continued to the present day, evidenced by the proliferation of Chinese restaurants, groceries, casinos and other Chinese-owned businesses along the main East-West arteries, but increasingly in rural and urban areas alike.

In addition to sizeable numbers of Chinese nationals, there are migrants from other Asian countries, such as medical professionals from the Philippines, trawler operators from Taiwan Province of China, as well as smaller numbers of Vietnamese, Indonesians, Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Malaysians and Sri Lankans who operate in diverse sections of Trinidad and Tobago's economy.

1 For definition, see box titled Key Definitions, on page 12.

2.6 Middle Eastern migrants: Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon

The early Middle Eastern settlers to Trinidad and Tobago were formerly part of what was then the Ottoman Empire. They moved to Trinidad and Tobago in order to flee oppression and religious persecution as a Christian minority. They came primarily from the mountainous villages of the Syrian Arab Republic and coastal towns of Lebanon and were the last ethnic group to have settled in Trinidad in the twentieth century (Besson, 2011). In the past decade and a half, there has been a marked increase in the number of Arab migrants moving to Trinidad and Tobago, evidenced by the proliferation of fast food outlets and street-side vendors selling gyros and other Arab cuisine. While the genesis of the gyro is Greek, it is interesting to note that it is considered Arabic in the context of Trinidad and Tobago.

While there continues to be evidence of irregular migration to Trinidad and Tobago, it is important to observe that there is an increase in regular migration to the country. In the first instance one notes the increasing numbers of CARICOM citizens, facilitated by the Certificate of Recognition of Caribbean Community Skills Qualifications which entitles certain categories of workers to

unimpeded entry into Trinidad and Tobago.²

This certificate exists alongside the work permit scheme that has existed in the region and has traditionally had high levels of participation by those CARICOM members who desired to work in the other territories of the region. One also observes the continuing attractiveness of Trinidad and Tobago to skilled migrants from States outside of the region, as a result of the country's economic fortune. As observed previously, the need for skilled migrants, including in the medical, petro-chemical, and educational sectors, among others, has also acted as a pull factor to migrants to Trinidad and Tobago from States within the region.

This chapter has served to highlight the historical role of migration in the region and specifically in Trinidad and Tobago, and to present the

2 **Graduates** are persons who have obtained at least a Bachelor's Degree from a recognized university. **Media Persons** are persons whose primary source of income is drawn from media and media-related work or persons who are qualified to enter this field. **Artists** are persons who are active in or qualified to enter a particular field of art with the specific purpose to earn a living. **Musicians** are persons who are active in or qualified to enter a particular field of music with the specific purpose to earn a living. **Sportspersons** are persons who are active in or qualified to enter a particular field of sports with the specific purpose to earn a living as a professional or semi-professional.

current trends of migratory flows, especially given the global changes which are currently being observed. One of the contemporary factors influencing migration is that families and individuals tend to see economic

migration less as a last resort and more as a rational component in a strategy for maximizing lifetime income-earning opportunities and perhaps risk diversification.

3. Descriptive analysis of the reasons for and the consequences of migration

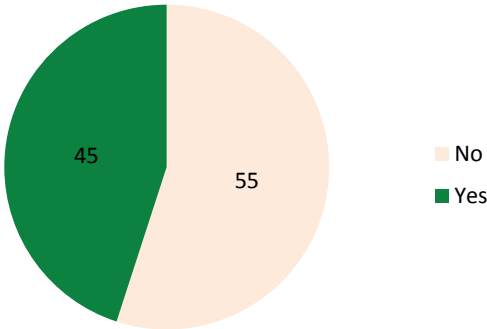
3.1 Trinidad and Tobago's immigrants

When asked if they had lived in any other country for three months or more, other than their native country and Trinidad and Tobago (figure 1), the majority of respondents (54.9%) indicated that they had not, while 44.8 per cent indicated that they had lived abroad for three months or more. The following tables (tables 1 and 2) indicate that the majority of the respondents lived in countries of the South, and as a consequence their migration to Trinidad and Tobago can be seen as evidence of South–South migration. Apart from 14 per cent that migrated from the United States of America (United States), the vast majority of migrants came from

countries in the South, including Guyana (21%) and the CARICOM countries (22%). It is important to note that the number of sending countries include countries in the South, such as Cameroon, Ethiopia, Nigeria, the Philippines, South Africa and Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of).

In Tobago, the majority of migrants come from Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (23%), and a total of 45.8 per cent are from the CARICOM countries. Interestingly, 15.3 per cent of migrants in Tobago come from the Dominican Republic which is a primarily Spanish-speaking country in the region (see table 1).

Figure 1: Whether immigrants lived in any other country for three months or more, other than their native country and Trinidad and Tobago (Q167) (in %)



Source: Research data collected by the authors – Unless data otherwise, all data in subsequent tables was collected by the authors.

Table 1: Countries in which immigrants to Trinidad and Tobago lived most recently (Q168)

Country	Percentage (Trinidad)	Country	Percentage (Trinidad)
Antigua and Barbuda	1	Peru	1
Aruba	1	Philippines	2
Barbados	8	Qatar	2
Cameroon	1	Saint Kitts and Nevis	2
Canada	8	Saint Lucia	6
Ethiopia	1	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	2
France	2	South Africa	1
Grenada	1	Syrian Arab Republic	1
Guyana	21	Trinidad and Tobago	7
India	4	United Kingdom	6
Jamaica	2	United States	14
Malta	1	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	3
Nigeria	2	No Response	7

Country	Percentage (Tobago)	Country	Percentage (Tobago)
Austria	7.6	Grenada	7.6
Barbados	7.6	Guyana	7.6
Bermuda	7.6	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	23.0
Dominican Republic	15.3	United States	7.6
Germany	15.3		

Of the immigrants in Trinidad who responded to the questionnaire, approximately one out of five indicated that they came to Trinidad as it was hoped “it would be easier

to get a steady job.” The respondents indicated that the next most significant reason for coming to Trinidad was “to join family members who already lived [there]” (17.8 %), and 16.7 per

cent of the respondents indicated that they came to Trinidad “with other family members who decided to live [there].” This is significant as it is consistent with what is found in the literature, that many immigrants follow family members to their place of residence, and that a vast majority leave their host country in search of better jobs and a higher standard of living. Approximately one tenth of the respondents indicated that they came to Trinidad “to get married” and a slightly smaller number (5.6%) indicated that they came “to study and get qualifications.”

As with Trinidad, the majority of immigrants found their way to Tobago as they “hoped it would be easier to get a steady job” (25.4%), “thought [they] would be able to earn more money” (15.3%), or came “to join other family members who already live here” (15.3%). Additionally, 6.8 per cent “came with other family members who decided to live here” and 5.1 per cent “intended to study and get qualifications.”

It is important to know why individuals migrate; figures 2 and 3 show (survey question (Q) 171) the likelihood of immigrants leaving Trinidad and Tobago, and indicate that while they may have come for a variety of reasons (Q169), the majority of the immigrants in Trinidad

(53.1%) indicated that they felt that Trinidad and Tobago was their home and they had no intention of leaving the country. Just over 16 per cent (16.4) also indicated that it was not very likely that they would leave Trinidad and Tobago (see figure 2). This again is consistent with what is found in the literature when dealing with South–South migration, as the majority of migrants come to the country seeking a better standard of living and have little or no intention of returning home. In some cases, migrants use Trinidad as a temporary home until they can find their way to the northern countries of the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. Only 6.9 per cent of the respondents indicated that they intended to return to their place of birth and 5.1 per cent indicated that they planned to move on to a third country.

When asked how likely it would be for the migrants in Tobago to leave the country, half of the respondents indicated that they were “not likely at all” to leave Tobago as they viewed it as their home; one fifth “[did] not know” at the time of the survey, and 13.3 per cent were undecided and indicated that it was “possible – [they] would consider leaving, depending on how things [went]” (see figure 3).

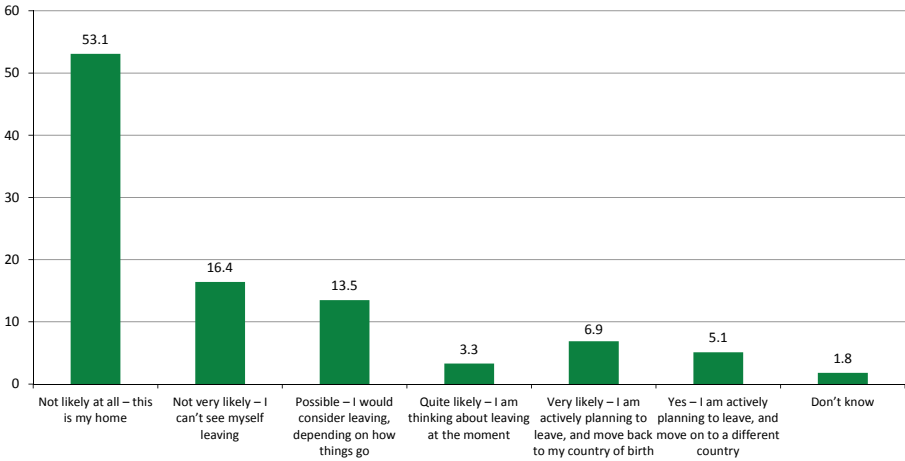
Table 2: Reasons why immigrants came to live in Trinidad and Tobago (Q169)

Reason	Percentage of immigrants to Trinidad
Hoped it would be easier to get a steady job	22.2
Intended to study and get qualifications	5.6
Hoped to learn to speak another language	0.1
Thought I could learn other useful skills	2.2
Thought I would be able to earn more money	10.0
Thought I would be able to send money to people left behind	3.3
Thought I would feel safer living here	1.1
Felt discriminated against where I lived before	2.2
Thought I would have had more freedom to do what I wanted	2.2
Came with other family members who decided to live here	16.7
Came to get married	8.9
Came to join family members who already lived here	17.8
Other	7.8

Reason	Percentage of immigrants to Tobago
Hoped it would be easier to get a steady job	25.4
Intended to study and get qualifications	5.1
Thought I would be able to earn more money	15.3
Thought I would be able to send money to people left behind	1.7
Thought I would feel safer living here	1.7
Thought I would have had more freedom to do what I wanted	1.7

Came with other family members who decided to live here	6.8
Came to get married	11.9
Came to join other family members who already live here	15.3
Other	15.3

Figure 2: Trinidad’s immigrants’ responses on the likelihood of leaving Trinidad and Tobago (Q171) (in %)



In trying to determine the family structures of the immigrants question 172 (figure 4) asked whether they had children who were not living with them in their household in Trinidad and Tobago. The majority of immigrants in Trinidad (74.8%) indicated that they did not have children living with them, and only 25.2 per cent did have their children living in their household locally. In the case of Tobago, 30 per cent of the immigrants indicated that they did have children who were not living in

the same household as they were, while 70 per cent indicated that they did not.

Of the immigrants in Tobago who indicated that they had children who were not living with them in the household, 55.6 per cent responded that their children were living in another household in Trinidad and Tobago, while 33.3 per cent were residing in the immigrant’s country of birth, and 11.1 per cent were residing elsewhere.

Figure 3: Tobago’s immigrants’ responses on the likelihood of leaving Trinidad and Tobago (Q171) (in %)

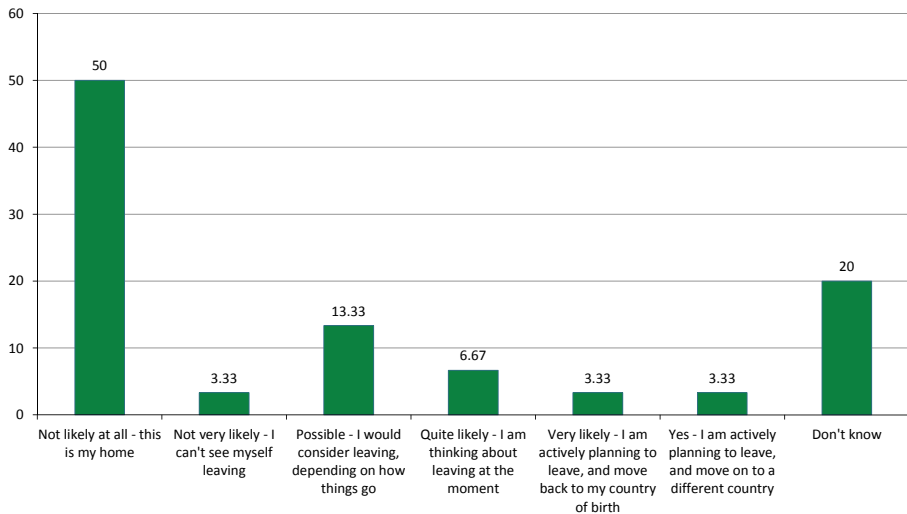
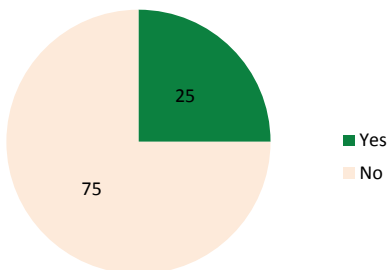
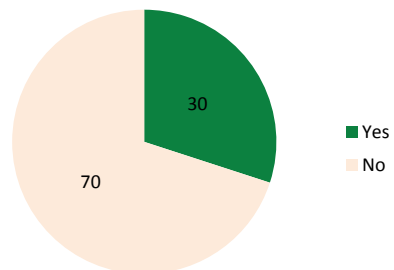


Figure 4: Whether immigrants in a) Trinidad and b) Tobago have children who are not living with them in their household (Q172) (in %)

a) Trinidad



b) Tobago



As many immigrants suggest that they migrated for a higher standard of living, question 178 (figure 5) sought to ascertain the immigrants’ opinions on whether their overall standard of life was better than before they moved to Trinidad and

Tobago, of which approximately half the respondents from Trinidad (45.3%) indicated that life was much better when living in Trinidad and Tobago, and an additional 17.4 per cent indicated higher levels of satisfaction. Thus in total, 62.7 per

cent of the respondents registered higher standards of living in Trinidad as compared to their home countries.

Similarly, 61.3 per cent of the immigrants in Tobago who responded to the question of whether their overall standard of living was better in Tobago than previously when they were in another country, indicated that the standard of living was “much higher” in Tobago, and a further 29 per cent indicated that it was “slightly higher”, thus indicating that 90.3 per cent of the respondents believed that their lives had improved by migrating to Tobago.

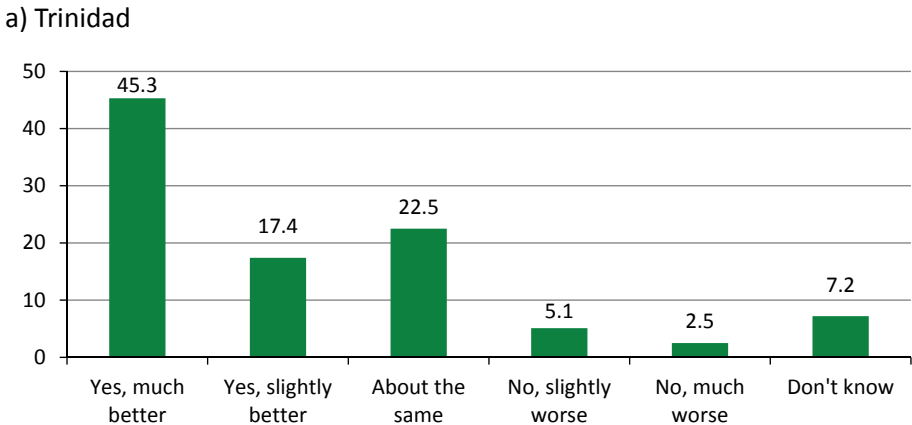
As the majority of the migrants have come from Southern countries, this South–South migration to Trinidad and Tobago appears to be of benefit to the majority of the migrants, as is registered by higher standards

of living (figure 5 – Q178) and the intention of making Trinidad and Tobago the permanent residence for their family (figure 3 – Q171).

In an attempt to find out if they were happy with their choice to migrate to Trinidad and Tobago (figure 6 – Q179), the data collected indicated that the vast majority of the migrants who lived in Trinidad (92.2%) said they were happy they had decided to migrate to Trinidad and Tobago; while only a minority (7.8%) indicated that they were not happy about the choice.

Of all the migrants interviewed in Tobago who responded to the question: “[o]verall, would you say that you are glad that you came to live here?” all responded positively, indicating that they were glad they migrated to Tobago.

Figure 5: Immigrants’ opinions on whether their overall standard of living is better since moving to a) Trinidad and b) Tobago (Q178) (in %)



b) Tobago

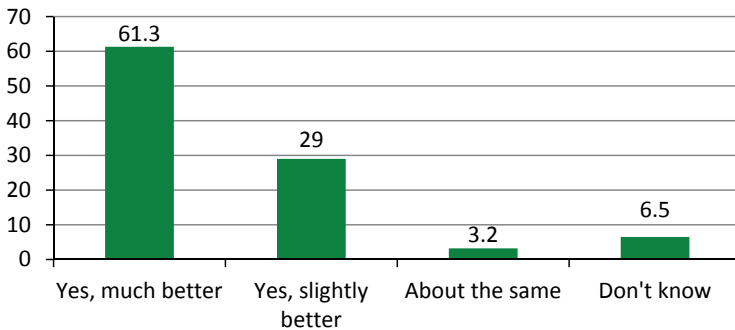
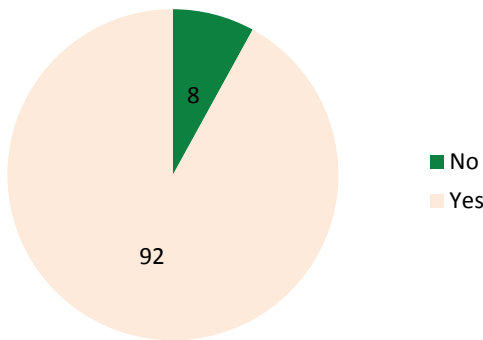


Figure 6: Trinidad’s immigrants’ perspectives on whether they are happy they came to live in Trinidad and Tobago (Q179) (in %)



3.2 Consequences of migration

There are several reasons people may migrate, ranging from the perception of greater financial stability abroad and a wider range of future prospects, to opportunities for education and professional development, as well as the desire for a more stable political and social environment in which to live and work (de Haan, 2000). Another cause for the movement of persons is forced migration which is increasingly affecting Caribbean

States, including Trinidad and Tobago. South–South migration has also become an increasingly attractive option, and is influenced by proximity, social and familial networks, and potential social and economic mobility of the migrants. According to Tilly (2007), family and social networks are particularly important for migrant populations, and persist in the process, but may change structure and geographic distribution overtime. Migrants rely heavily on

strong ties to others with whom they are carrying on consequential long-term enterprises, these being personal, economic or otherwise.

Indeed, studies on South–South migration and intra-Caribbean migration seem to confirm that the proclivity to migrate among Caribbean people is extremely high when compared to flows internationally (Pienkos, 2006).

The advance of globalization has brought with it new patterns of international migration, as is evidenced by movements in the Caribbean region. As a result of these trends, a growing number of countries are affected by migration. At the same time, there is an increasing diversity of countries of origin, as well as a greater diversity of migrants, who hail from a broad spectrum of economic and cultural backgrounds. As these changes occur there is also recognition of an increase in the range of migrant types that are flowing in and out of the region. Such differentiations affect host nations at the economic, social, political and cultural levels. Additionally, diaspora communities emerge, and according to Patterson and Kelley (2000:20): “...diaspora is both a process and a condition. As a process it is constantly being remade through movement, migration, and travel, as well as imagined through thought, cultural production, and political struggle.”

While it is agreed that migration is a common feature among all socioeconomic groups in the Caribbean, individuals with low socioeconomic status constitute the largest numbers of migrants. Migration in the region has also served to facilitate the ‘push back’ of traditional boundaries among language groups, cultures and ethnic groups. There are also positive aspects of migration including the global exchange of ideas and experiences, the ability for possible employment and transfer of skills.

There are also negative aspects to migration that have an impact at the individual, family, community and national levels. It has been argued that, especially in the Caribbean, the absence of family members (particularly fathers) has a negative effect as there is lack of parental discipline occurring in the household. It is now acknowledged that the “absentee father” is facilitating the creation of a generation of “delinquents” as there is an absence of that male authority figure in the household (Reis, 2009).

On a community level, migration has negative consequences as it affects issues such as cultural, societal and economic structures, social cohesion, as well as the demography of the country. While migration itself has not been a particular problem in Trinidad and Tobago historically, there have

been rising levels of “concern” over immigrants particularly when related to perceptions that these individuals are replacing the local workforce and adding to transnational crime and deviant behaviour.

While cultural assimilation is seen as a positive aspect to migration, cultural erosion is equally a problem. Migrants generally attempt to adjust to the new culture through a process of cultural assimilation. Migrants may suffer from feelings of exclusion, or cultural alienation in receiving destinations in the Caribbean. Another negative aspect of cultural assimilation is the potential loss of migrants’ national identity (Phinney et al., 2001). This of course may have psychological impacts on the individual or group, who may begin to harbor ill feeling towards the host country.

Tensions also arise when unskilled migrant workers are directly competing for employment against unskilled and poorly educated native workers. When (as is the case in times of global economic depression) there tends to be a greater-than-usual influx of migrants to the attractive States, where the migrant population is usually willing to do almost any job, it can lead to ill feelings towards the migrant population, as is seen at times in Caribbean States.

It is the perception that crime tends to increase with the rise in

immigration. As a number of the migrants are irregular, and as some do not find employment easily, there is anecdotal evidence that they tend to become engaged in illegal activity. This is believed to be particularly true for young males of the migrant population.

Particularly in countries with small populations, racism and xenophobia felt by members and groups in host communities can have negative repercussions on a host community when it has to adjust to the increased presence of migrants. This is exacerbated especially in periods of economic downturn and social and political instability. It is also heightened in times when there may be fear that the migrant population has a higher birth rate than the native population as this will impact the distribution of national resources and increase the demand by the migrant population in the short- and long-run periods (UNDP, 2013).

The issue of “brain-drain” is always touted as a negative aspect of migration. While there are contending views, it is clear that the cost of investment in human capital development in Trinidad and Tobago is substantial. When the educated populations choose to migrate, there is a high opportunity cost to this investment. While the receiving country benefits from the entry of this educated workforce, the cost to

the sending country (Trinidad and Tobago) is high, particularly when one takes into consideration the high reliance on these trained individuals for national development, growth and productivity (Rizvi, 2005).

Undoubtedly, migration is not static, but is a process. Caribbean migrants move relatively frequently between their home nations and host countries. Also, a significant number of migrants tend to change destinations over their lifetimes, so their initial place of migration does not necessarily have to be their final stop; this is particularly evident in the case of Caribbean States.

At the economic level, the proceeds of migration (remittances) increase the demand for goods and services in the remittance-receiving country and there is a tendency towards greater consumerism, especially among those left behind. Additionally, there is a correlation between growing numbers of migrants and increases in land and property prices in the economy.

When there are high levels of migration by the young population, as is the case in the Caribbean, it serves to put additional challenges on the countries from which they migrate. Indeed, the decision to migrate by young adults often leads to a reduction in the productive workforce and this has a major impact

on the capacity of the State to fund social programs. This migration is a factor that affects host and sending countries in the South. Arguments suggest that the host country may be inundated with low-skilled workers that compete for already-scarce jobs in the receiving countries, while highly skilled migrants may add to national productivity and economic development. On the other hand, the mass exodus of skilled labour from sending countries in the South negatively affects the productive capacity of that country and creates other types of economic and social problems (Rizvi, 2005).

After the discussion of the positive and negative aspects of migration in the Caribbean, specifically with respect to Trinidad and Tobago, this study sought to assess the reasons for and consequences of migration on the country being cognizant of the issues and realities of South–South migration and its effects on such countries. This section provides a descriptive analysis of the issues related to migration.

In response to the question: “[w]hy do you think the absent migrants went to live in another country?” (table 3 – Q35), 27.7 per cent indicated the absent migrant hoped that it would be easier to obtain steady employment, 25.3 per cent of the respondents indicated that the absent migrant went to live abroad

to study and get qualifications, and 12 per cent indicated that the absent migrant hoped to earn more money abroad. This basically indicates that emigration was a tool for advancing the quality of life for the individual and household.

This is increasingly the case in the context of South–South migration as much of the increased migration that is taking place is due to a variety of reasons that may include not only greater chances of employment, but also access to democracy, human security, culture, and a host of other factors (GCIM, 2005).

When asked to identify the reasons why absent migrants went to live in another country, respondents indicated: “he/she hoped it would be easier to get a steady job in another country” (27.7%); “he/she intended to study and get qualifications in another country” (25.3%); and “he/she thought that he/she would be able to earn more money in another country than he/she can earn here” (12%). Of these responses, 95% of the respondents lived in the North (see table 4). So the data suggests that the movement of Trinidadians and Tobagonians to countries in the South

is mainly for the purposes of family reunification and to get married and enjoy more freedom. This is in direct contrast to the reasons given for migrating to the North, which include seeking employment, qualifications and a higher standard of living.

As the study has observed, migration can have both positive and negative impacts. Specifically, the question was asked: “[o]verall how do you think emigration is affecting life here?” (Q89A). The majority of respondents (44%) indicated that life was negatively impacted, with 13.3 per cent responding that emigration was making life much worse, and 30.7 per cent saying it was slightly worse. Almost one third (28%) indicated that there was no impact, while 17.2 per cent of the respondents indicated that emigration had an overall positive impact on life in Trinidad and Tobago; only one out of ten indicated that they did not know. This suggests that while a significant portion of the sample regarded emigration to have a negative impact on life in Trinidad and Tobago, only a relatively small amount felt the impact was positive.

Table 3: Respondents' opinions on why absent household members migrated abroad (Q35)

Reason for migration	Percentage
Hoped it would be easier to get a job in another country	27.7
Intended to study and get qualifications in another country	25.3
Hoped to learn to speak another language	0.0
Expected to learn other useful skills by working in another country	4.8
Expected to be able to earn more money in another country	12.0
Expected to be able to send money back to their household	2.4
Didn't feel safe living in this country	1.2
Felt discriminated against in this country	0.2
Thought they would have had more freedom to do as will	4.8
Went with other family members	2.4
Left to get married	4.8
Left to live with family members already residing abroad	6.0
Saw that other migrants had done well and wanted to move	2.4
Other	6.0

Table 4: Destination (North or South) of absent migrants, by reason for migrating abroad (in %)

Reason for absent migrants' departure	Destination of absent migrants who left for these reasons*	
	South	North
He/she hoped it would be easier to get a steady job in another country	5	95
He/she intended to study and get qualifications in another country	5	95
He/she thought he/she could learn other useful skills by working in another country	0	100
He/she thought that he/she would be able to earn more money in another country than he/she can earn here	5	95

Reason for absent migrants' departure	Destination of absent migrants who left for these reasons*	
	South	North
He/she thought he/she would be able to send money back to this household	0	100
He/she didn't feel safe living in this country	0	100
He/she felt discriminated against in this country	0	100
He/she thought he/she would have more freedom to do what he/she wanted	6	94
When other family members decided to go and live abroad, he/she went with them	0	100
He/she left to get married	7	93
He/she went to go and live with family members who already lived there	10	90
He/she saw that other migrants had done well and so wanted to move	0	100

* For instance, 95% of absent migrants who left because they hoped to it would be easier to get a steady job in another country were living in the North at the time of the survey.

Question 89B asked respondents for their opinions on why they thought emigration was affecting life in Trinidad and Tobago. Approximately one third of the respondents (32.3%) indicated that migration led to skills deficits in the country, and 16.1 per cent felt that there was a loss to the State as the State had expended significant resources on the education of those who had emigrated. It is interesting to note that 11.8 per cent of the respondents indicated that emigration led to breakdown in the families. While 23.6 per cent of the respondents indicated that it made no difference whether or not people

migrated. It is also interesting to note that 11.2 per cent of the respondents indicated that migration had a positive effect on the economy as the migrants gained skills overseas and returned to make a positive contribution to national development. The loss of skills in the national economy emerged as the dominant issue when looking at emigration in the context of Trinidad and Tobago, and this is consistent with the concerns from other countries in the South (Castles and Delgado Wise, 2007).

When asked about how immigration was affecting life in Trinidad and Tobago (Q89C), the largest group of

respondents, (41%) indicated that they felt it had a negative impact on life locally. Nearly one third (27.2%) responded that life was better as a result of the presence and contribution of the immigrants, while 21.9 per cent indicated no change. While a large number of respondents viewed immigration in a negative light, significant percentages of the population indicated that the immigrants' presence in Trinidad and Tobago increased the general standard of living or did not have a negative impact on life locally.

To ascertain the opinion of why the locals felt immigration was affecting life in Trinidad and Tobago, question 89D asked: "[w]hy do you think immigration is affecting life in Trinidad and Tobago?" A significant number of respondents indicated that the immigrants "brought new and different ways of doing things," while it is also noteworthy that some respondents felt that immigrants deprived locals of jobs and that immigration contributed to rising crime levels. So, while some respondents felt that immigrants posed a threat to jobs for the locals, a number of respondents felt that they benefitted from the new approaches to doing things. This is consistent with other research findings in relation to South-South migration and attitudes towards the labour force (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007).

Migration has long been a reality for Trinidad and Tobago, and it has been suggested that it in waves. To measure this claim, question 90G stated: "[w]hen people here see others migrating many of them want to leave themselves." Asked whether they agreed, 66.7 per cent of the respondents said they did, while only 18.2 per cent disagreed with the statement. This is consistent with what has been found, in that there is a high propensity for people to want to migrate when the emigration level is relatively high.

There is the perception (exacerbated by the CSME Skills Certificate) that higher levels of education and skills facilitate opportunities to emigrate. In question 90H, the statement to which respondents should agree or disagree read: "[b]ecause people see skilled people migrating they are keener on studying, because they think getting educated will help them to migrate." In response, 62 per cent agreed and 21.9 per cent disagreed. Because a large number of the local population has family and friends in the diaspora and, as such, many contemplate leaving, they recognized the trend of the more-qualified persons actually migrating and this acts as an incentive for them to seek qualifications and certifications to enhance their chances of success in migration to more developed countries.

Further, it is generally accepted that individuals migrate for a multitude of reasons. Migration has played a significant role in expanding the livelihoods of people internationally (de Haan, 2000). Specifically in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, the study presented a number of questions which sought to ascertain the reasons for such migration in the South–South context.

In order to ascertain the differences between the present jobs abroad of absent migrants and their previous employment in Trinidad and Tobago, question 36 asked what kind of job the absent migrant was doing before they left to live abroad (see figure 7). In response to this question, 27.2 per cent were indicated as professionals, and 26.5 per cent were employed in skilled trades occupations. Additionally, 16 per cent of the absent migrants were engaged in administrative and secretarial occupations before they left, while similarly 16 per cent were involved in service occupations. This is testimony that the local economy lost many skilled tradesmen and professionals, thus reducing its productive capacity.

When disaggregated by profession, the data clearly indicate that all the absent migrants who previously held the positions of “manager/senior official”, “process, plant and machine operative” and “elementary

occupation” were living in the North (see table 5). The largest proportion that had made South–South relocation were individuals in the category of “professional occupation” (10%), followed by those in “service occupation[s]” (8%). This is consistent with the fact that the majority of absent migrants from Trinidad and Tobago move to the North, and find themselves in professional occupations. Interestingly, the data suggest that the emigrants from Trinidad and Tobago that move to countries in the South are also among the more qualified members of the society. This may be encouraged by the CSME Skills Certificate that facilitates this free movement of skilled persons.

Migratory patterns are fluid and therefore the questionnaire sought to explore the reasons why migrants who had returned had originally left Trinidad and Tobago. When asked to explain the reasons for leaving Trinidad and Tobago to live in another country (table 6 – Q128), one out of four the respondents indicated that they went to study and get qualifications, 16.7 per cent went in the hope of getting a steady job, and 11.7 per cent indicated that they went to live with family members who already lived abroad.

Figure 7: Types of jobs absent migrants were performing before leaving the country (Q36) (in %)

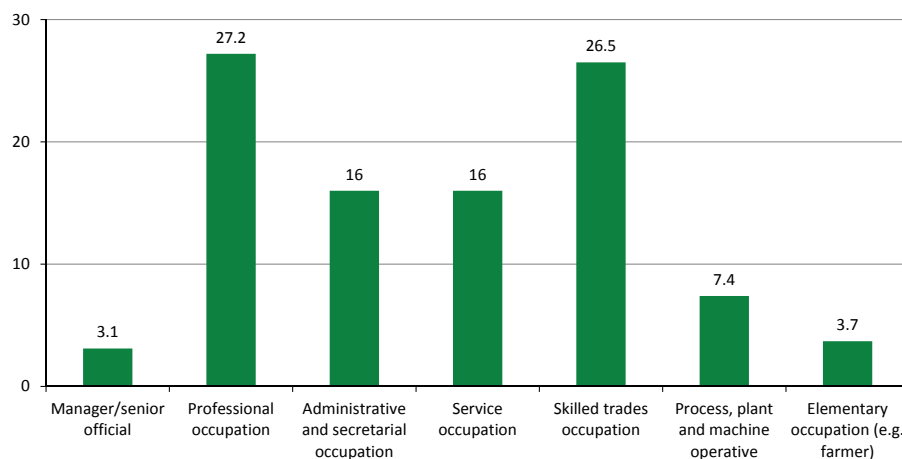


Table 5: Destination (North or South) of absent migrants by type of job they held prior to leaving Trinidad and Tobago (Q36) (in %)

Jobs held by absent migrants prior to migrating abroad	Destination of absent migrants who had been employed in these professions*	
	South	North
Manager/senior official	0	100
Professional occupation	10	90
Administrative and secretarial occupation	4	96
Service occupation	8	92
Skilled trades occupation	5	95
Process, plant and machine operative	0	100
Elementary occupation (e.g. farmer)	0	100

* For instance, all migrants who said that they had been a manager/senior official prior to migrating were living in the North at the time of the survey.

Table 6: Reasons for returned migrants leaving Trinidad and Tobago (Q128)

Reasons for leaving	Percentage of returned migrants
I hoped it would be easier to get a steady job	16.7
I intended to study and get qualifications	25.0
I hoped to learn to speak another language that would be useful to me	0.2
I thought I would learn other useful skills	6.7
I thought I would be able to earn more money abroad than in Trinidad and Tobago	5.0
I thought I would be able to save money	3.3
I thought I would be able to send money back to my household	1.7
I didn't feel safe living in Trinidad and Tobago	0.2
I thought I would have had more freedom to do what I wanted than I have here	1.7
I left with other family members who decided to go and live abroad	3.3
I left to get married	0.2
I wanted to go and live with family members who already lived abroad	11.7
Other	25.0

There are a variety of experiences faced by the migrants and the study also sought to solicit from returned migrants the challenges as well as the successes which they faced.

In order to evaluate the availability of work when living abroad, question 133 asked the returned migrants if they did any paid jobs the last time

they lived abroad, and 65.1 per cent indicated they did work for pay, while 34.9 stated that they did not (see figure 8). As many jobs for emigrants are supposedly 'organized' even before they leave Trinidad and Tobago, the questionnaire asked whether the job was arranged before the returned migrant left the country (figure 8 – Q134). To this question, 67.8 per cent

indicated that they did not have a job arranged before leaving Trinidad and Tobago, while approximately one out of three (32.2%) stated that they had an arranged job prior to leaving the country, thus disproving the generally accepted perception. Question 136 asked returned migrants if during the time they were living abroad, there were periods when they sought, but could not find, paid work. While 17.5 per cent of the respondents indicated that they did go through such periods,

the majority of the respondents (82.5%) indicated that there were not any periods during which they sought, but could not find employment. This is consistent with what is found in South–South migration patterns where migrants are attracted to host countries that can provide jobs to sustain livelihoods, but in this case it refers to migrants originating in Trinidad and Tobago who mainly emigrate to the North.

Figure 8: Employment situation of returned migrants while abroad (Q133, Q134, Q136) (in %)

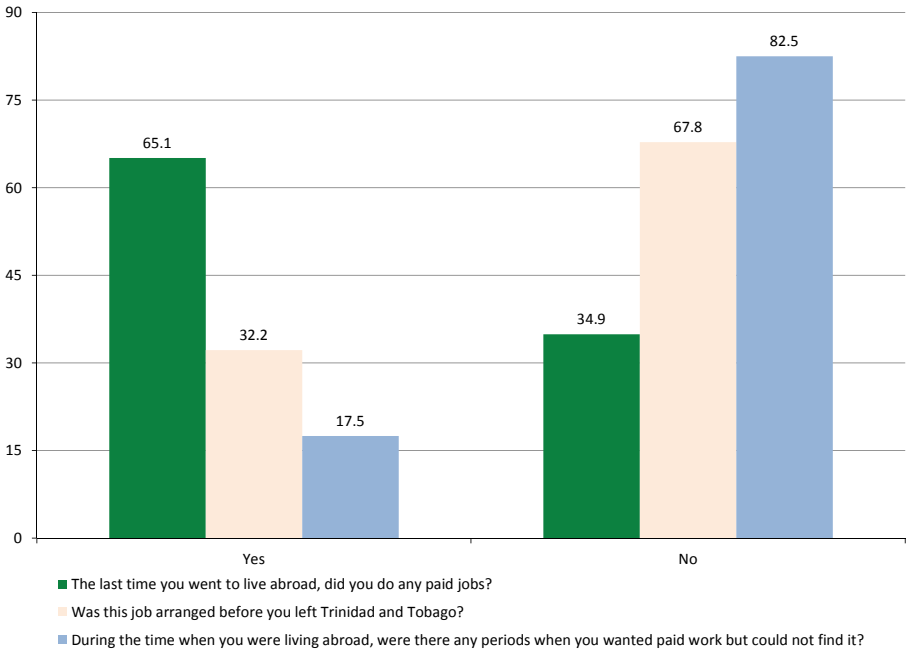
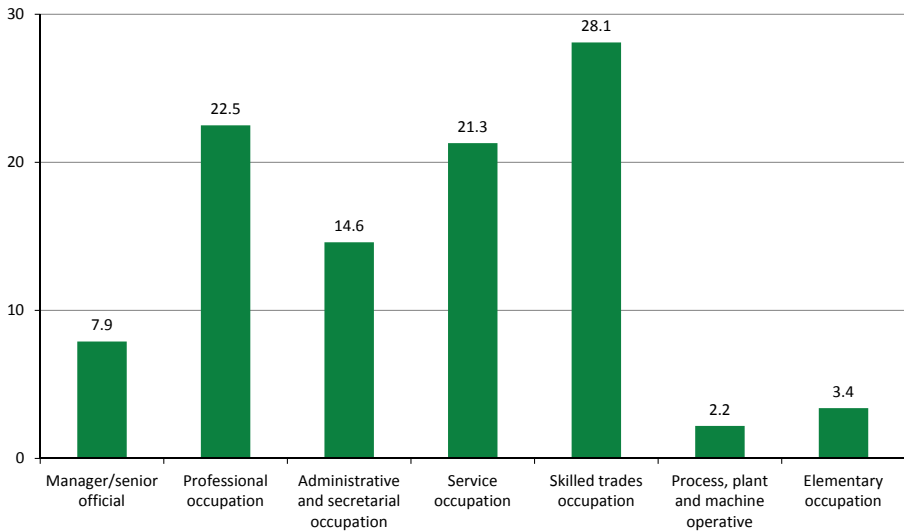


Figure 9: Types of jobs held by returned migrants while abroad (Q139) (in %)

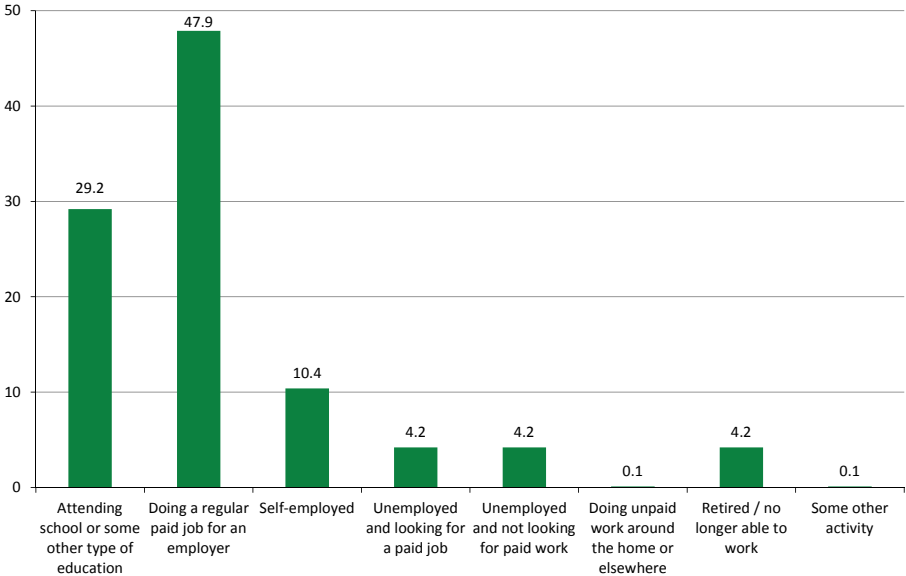


Question 139 (figure 9) asked returned migrants what type of job they had before returning to Trinidad and Tobago. Just over 28 per cent were in skilled trade occupations, 22.5 per cent were in professional occupations, 21.3 per cent were in service occupations, and 14.6 were in administrative and secretarial occupations.

To determine the levels of employment activity, the survey asked the returning migrant to describe the

activity they were doing just before leaving Trinidad (see figure 10). Just under half of the respondents (47.9%) were working at a regular paid job for an employer, and 29.2 per cent were attending school or pursuing education. Approximately 4 per cent indicated they were unemployed and looking for a paid job, 4 per cent were unemployed and not looking for paid work, and approximately another 4 per cent were retired or no longer able to work.

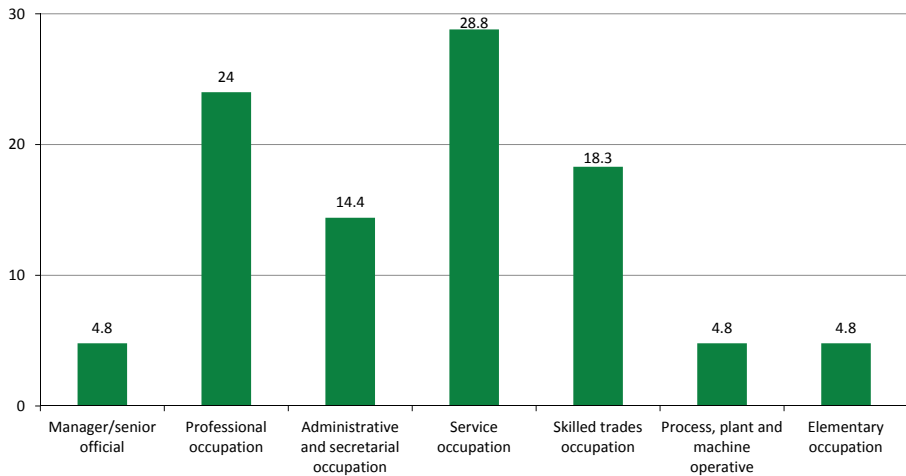
Figure 10: Employment and educational activities of returned migrants prior to their departure from Trinidad and Tobago (Q130 and Q131) (in %)



Respondents were also asked to describe the kind of job they were doing just before leaving Trinidad and Tobago. Nearly one third (28.8%) worked in service occupations, 18.3 per cent worked in skilled trade occupation, and 14.4 worked in administrative and secretarial occupations (see figure 11). While literature on South–South migration identifies lack of employment and poor educational opportunities

in origin countries as a cause of migration, this is not generally the case for Trinidad and Tobago where the majority of the returned migrants had migrated to the North. The move to the developed countries is primarily for earning higher wages and to gain educational qualifications and certifications to allow them to increase their earning capacity upon returning to their country of origin.

Figure 11: Types of jobs held by returned migrants prior to their departure from Trinidad and Tobago (in %)



The capacity to increase earnings is one of the major reasons given for migration, and aiming to evaluate the extent to which this holds true, question 140 asked returned migrants: “[w]hen you were abroad, were you earning more or less or the same as you were earning in Trinidad and Tobago before you left?” Of the respondents, approximately seven out of ten (71%) indicated that they earned more abroad than before they left Trinidad, 18 per cent indicated they earned about the same, and just over one in ten stated that they earned less abroad than they were earning in Trinidad (see figure 12). This is supported in the literature in relation to South–South migration, as some theorists suggest that the major determinants of South–South migration include income

opportunities and networks (Ratha and Shaw, 2007), however, it should be noted that these data refer to emigration to the North as well as to the South.

Satisfaction with lifestyles and life choices is important to all migrants, as such question 141 asked returned migrants to indicate overall whether they were more satisfied with life while living abroad than before they left Trinidad and Tobago. The majority (58.1%) indicated that they were more satisfied with life abroad. Interestingly, 20 per cent of the respondents indicated that the standard of living was about the same living abroad as in Trinidad and another 21 per cent of the respondents indicated differing levels of dissatisfaction with living abroad (see figure 13).

Figure 12: Whether returned migrants were earning more, less, or the same abroad as they were in Trinidad and Tobago before leaving (Q140) (in %)

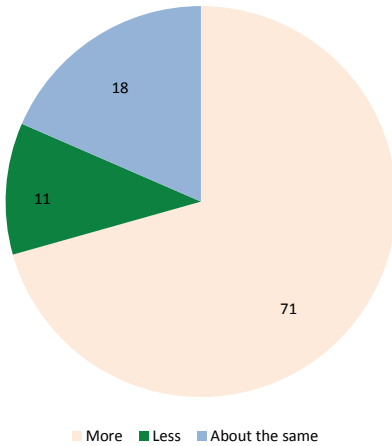
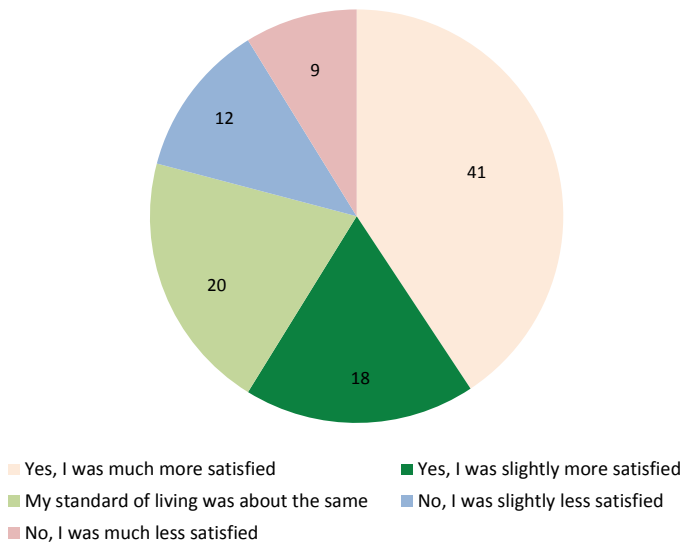


Figure 13: Whether returned migrants were more satisfied with their life abroad than before they left Trinidad and Tobago (Q141) (in %)



Migration also has varying levels of impact on families and family structures and the study sought to determine the status of the family and the impact of migration on families.

Question 44 was directed towards people in Trinidad and Tobago who had a member of their household living abroad. The question asked whether households' absent migrants had a spouse or long-term partner in Trinidad and Tobago. The majority, eight out of ten (80.7%), said they did not, while one in ten (10.1%) indicated that the absent migrant had a spouse or long-term partner who lived in another household in the same country. Only about one in twenty (5.5%) indicated that the absent migrants lived in the same household as his or her spouse or partner. When asked (Q46) "[w]hether the absent migrant used to have a spouse or long term partner in this country at the time they went to live abroad," approximately one out of four (26.2%) indicated the affirmative while the majority, approximately seven out of ten (71.2%) said they did not. In response to question 47 which asked "[w]hether the absent migrant ha[d] a spouse or a long term partner in the country they now live[d] in," 50.5 per cent of the respondents indicated that the absent migrant now had a long term partner abroad, while 44.1 per cent indicated that the absent migrant did

not. This highlights the fact that this migration is not necessarily transitory or temporary, but that these migrants become permanent members to the host countries over time (Curran et al., 2006).

On the issue of children, question 48 asked whether the absent migrant had any children. Over two thirds (63.3%) of the respondents indicated that the absent migrant had children, while 36.7 per cent said the absent migrant did not.

When seeking to determine the location of children of migrants, question 49 asked about the place of residence of the children of the household absent migrants. In 18.9 per cent of cases children lived in the household of the respondent in Trinidad, 13.5 per cent lived in another household in Trinidad and the majority (62.2%) lived with the absent migrant abroad. This again is indicative of the trend in South-South migration, where households are being constructed in the host country.

As observed in the globalizing environment, migrants are now seeking diverse destinations. This section sought to ascertain the preferred destinations for migrants from Trinidad and Tobago. To determine countries of destination, the survey (Q126) asked returned migrants: "[i]n which country did

you spend most of their time on this last trip?" (see figure 14). In response, just above half (51.1%) said they spent most time in the United States, roughly a quarter (24.4%) said they spent most time in the United Kingdom, and 13.3 per cent said that they spent their time in Canada.

The movements to these countries are consistent with the historical migration patterns since World War II, where Caribbean people served in the foreign forces, as well as provided labour for menial tasks in developed countries.

The returned migrants to Trinidad who resided in the South (8.8%) come

from a variety of destinations which include Brazil, Chile, Grenada and Guyana; while the returned migrants from the North come from the traditional countries of destination for migrants from Trinidad; namely the United States (51.1%), United Kingdom (24.4%) and Canada (13.3%) (see table 7).

The research indicated that returned migrants from the South are more likely to reside in Tobago than in Trinidad. Almost one in six (15.3%) of returned migrants surveyed in Tobago had returned from living in the South, as compared to only 8.8 per cent of those in Trinidad (see table 8).

Figure 14: Country in which returned migrants spent most of their time while abroad (Q126) (in %)

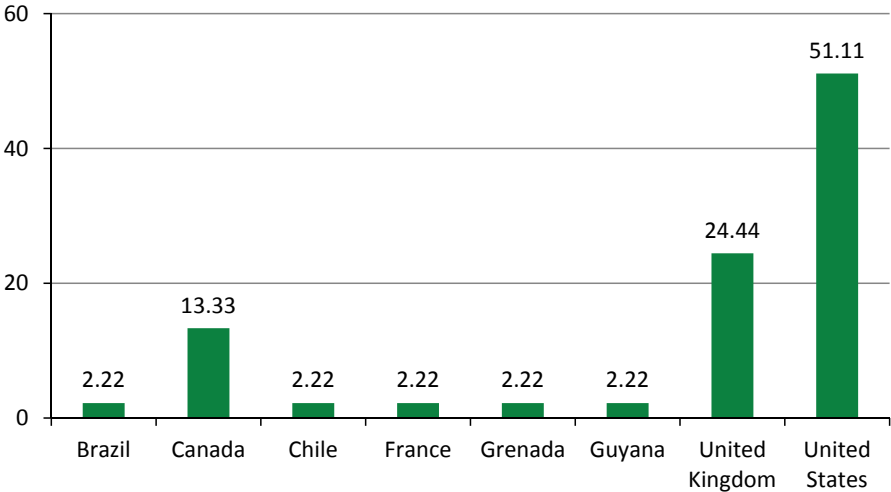


Table 7: Countries in the North and South in which Trinidad’s returned migrants spent most of their time while abroad

	Country	Percentage
South	Brazil	2.2
	Chile	2.2
	Grenada	2.2
	Guyana	2.2
North	Canada	13.3
	France	2.2
	United Kingdom	24.4
	United States	51.1

Table 8: Countries in the North and South in which Tobago’s returned migrants spent most of their time while abroad

	Country	Percentage
South	Barbados	11.5
	Grenada	3.8
North	Canada	15.4
	Germany	3.8
	United Kingdom	3.8
	United States	57.7

Given the new technologies and the advances in communication, the study also sought to ascertain the levels of communication and contact between family members abroad and their communities in Trinidad and Tobago. To measure this, question 32 asked how frequently the respondents had contact with the absent migrants from the household. 43.9 per cent of

the respondents indicated they had contact more than once a week, 20.2 per cent indicated they had weekly contact and a further 12 per cent indicated that they had contact more than once a month. 10.6 per cent indicated that they had much less contact and only 2.5 per cent indicated that they had not contact (see figure 15).

Figure 15: Frequency of contact between households and absent migrants from the household (Q32) (in %)

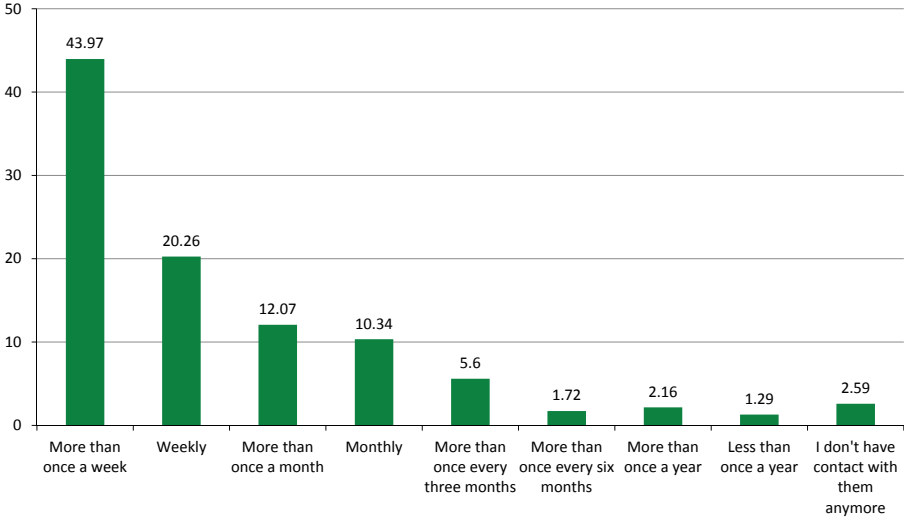


Table 9: Present country of residence for absent migrants (Q34)

Country	Percentage	Country	Percentage
American Samoa	0.4	Guyana	0.4
Antigua and Barbuda	0.4	Jamaica	1.3
Australia	0.9	Japan	0.4
Austria	0.4	Oman	0.4
British Virgin Islands	0.4	Qatar	0.4
Canada	18.1	Saint Lucia	0.4
Ecuador	0.4	United Kingdom	8.4
Grenada	0.4	United States	65.9

Question 34 asked where absent migrants were currently residing. The majority (65.9%) indicated the United States, followed by Canada (18.1%), and then United Kingdom (8.4%) (see table 9). A small share (1.3%) of respondents indicated that the absent

migrants were residing in another Caribbean territory, Jamaica. This again is consistent with the migratory routes of migrants from Trinidad and Tobago, which are predominantly South–North.

Consistent with the historical patterns of migration from Trinidad, 3.3 per cent of the absent migrants resided in the South (South–South migration) while the majority, 94.2 per cent resided in the North (South–North migration) (see table 10).

The research indicated that 8.1 per cent of the absent migrants from Tobago resided in the South, as opposed to 91.8 per cent who resided in the North. The major South destinations indicated were Guyana,

Jamaica, Saint Lucia and Barbados (see table 11).

The study also sought to compare migrants’ levels of satisfaction in Trinidad and Tobago as well as their foreign destinations. “While other subjective well-being concepts may be related to migration (i.e., alienation, empowerment), life satisfaction is the most salient” (de Jong et al., 2002:841).

Table 10: Countries of residence of absent migrants from Trinidad, by classifications of South and North

	Country	Percentage
South	Antigua and Barbuda	0.4
	Ecuador	0.4
	Grenada	0.4
	Guyana	0.4
	Jamaica	1.3
	Saint Lucia	0.4
North	Australia	0.9
	Austria	0.4
	Canada	18.1
	Japan	0.4
	United Kingdom	8.4
	United States	65.9

Table 11: Countries of residence of absent migrants from Tobago, by classifications of South and North

	Country	Percentage
South	Barbados	1.6
	Guyana	3.3
	Jamaica	1.6
	Saint Lucia	1.6
North	Canada	9.8
	Ireland	1.6
	United Kingdom	14.8
	United States	65.6

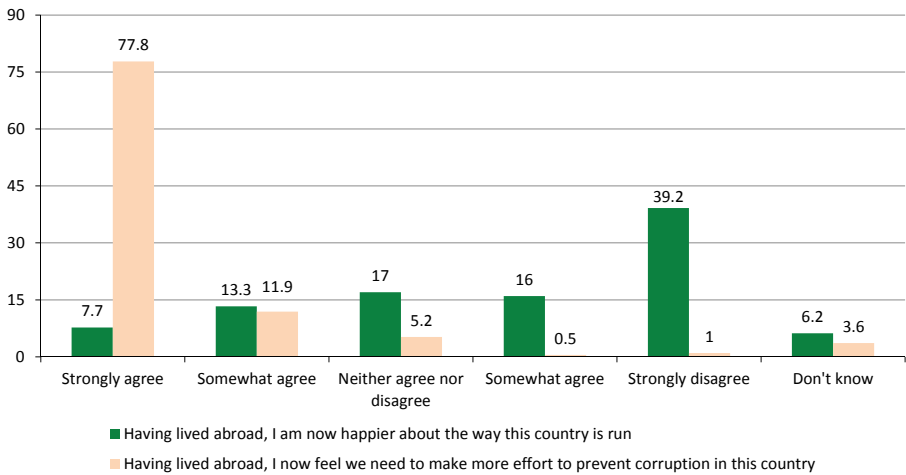
To gauge one of the levels of satisfaction, question 41 asked whether the absent migrants were more satisfied living abroad than in the current country. Overall, 78.8 per cent of the respondents indicated that the migrants from their households who were living overseas had a higher level of satisfaction living overseas, with nearly two thirds (59%) indicating “much more satisfied” and 19.8 per cent indicating “slightly more satisfied.” Higher levels of satisfaction with living standards are directly related to human development. De Haas (2009) and others have spoken to this issue, stating that migration has a role as a driver of human development.

Question 163A asked the returned migrant: “[w]hether having lived abroad he/she is now happier about the way this country is run.” Just

over half of the respondents (55%) indicated that they were not happier about how the country was being run, 21.6 per cent were happier about how the country was run. Generally there was discontent over how the present administration was performing (see figure 16).

Returned migrants tended to want to get more involved in social commentary, and to measure one of the major societal concerns in developing countries, question 163D asked participants to respond to the following statement: “[h]aving lived abroad I now feel we need to make more effort to prevent corruption in this country.” In response, nine out of ten said they agreed, indicating that corruption is a major issue in Trinidad and Tobago (see figure 16).

Figure 16: Returned migrants’ opinions on how Trinidad and Tobago is run and the country’s levels of corruption (Q163A and Q163D) (in %)



Migration leads to families making choices for improvements in lifestyles, and question 164 and question 164A sought to solicit the opinions of the returned migrants regarding whether they were glad that they went to live abroad and whether, if given the choice, they would migrate again. The vast majority (95.3%) indicated that they were glad they went to live aboard, and 69.6 per cent indicated that if they had the choice they would migrate again, which seems to support research suggesting that dissatisfaction with life in the country of origin (for political, social or economic reasons) can act as an incentive to encourage people to migrate (de Jong et al., 2002).

Traditionally, migrants from Trinidad and Tobago move abroad not only

for a better quality of life but also for educational advancements.

Many migrants claim that some of the reasons for migrating are to gain qualifications and certification. When asked whether the absent migrant obtained certificates or qualifications since living abroad” (Q42), 57.7 per cent indicated yes and 30 per cent indicated no, while 12.3 per cent said they did not know (see figure 17). Among migrants who had returned to Trinidad and Tobago, the majority (51.3%) indicated that they had acquired new qualifications and or certifications while abroad. These results highlight the fact that the desire for education and qualifications plays a significant role for migrants from Trinidad and Tobago. Migration for the purpose

of education and qualification is not a new phenomenon in the Caribbean or in countries of the South (Paul, 2011). Interestingly, it is significant in this study that many of the migrants from countries in the South are coming to Trinidad and Tobago to increase their qualifications and training, when similarly many of the migrants from Trinidad and Tobago go to the North to increase their levels of education and training. Though a country of the South, Trinidad and Tobago has a relatively high standard of living and national income, which act as incentives to immigrants.

The study also aimed to determine the reasons why migrants returned to Trinidad and Tobago. When asked why returned migrants decided to return to Trinidad (Q162), 22.9 per cent indicated for “family reasons,” 13.4 per cent had completed their studies, 11.9 per cent indicated they returned because “this is my country and I feel I belong here,” 8.9 per cent indicated that they returned on completion of their contracts (see table 12). This highlights the fact that there is a strong connection between the migrant and the family/household that remains in the country of origin.

Figure 17: Whether households' absent migrants obtained any qualifications or certificates while living abroad (Q42) (in %)

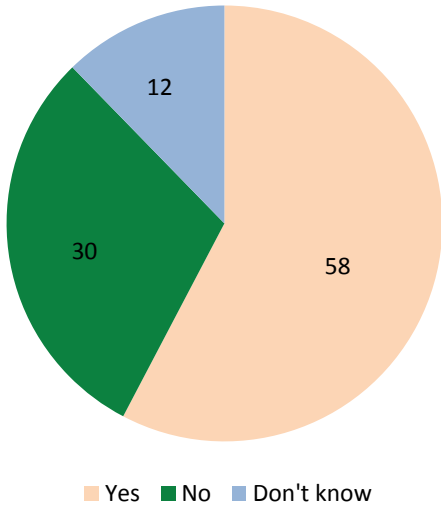


Table 12: Returned migrants' reasons for coming back to Trinidad and Tobago (Q162)

Reason	Percentage
Went to try to earn a certain amount of money and succeeded so I returned	2.9
Went to do a particular contract/job and always intended to return home on completion	8.9
Went to study abroad and the course is completed	13.4
I was bonded to come back	2.9
The person I went to live with in the other country also returned	0.2
My relationship in the destination country ended	2.9
Returned voluntarily because I wasn't legally allowed to stay in the country	2.9
Was deported	1.4
My life wasn't as I had hoped it would be abroad	0.2
To retire	7.4
For family reasons	22.3
This is my country and I feel I belong here	11.9
I missed the way of life in this country	7.4
To set up a new business or to start a new job	2.9
Government schemes made it attractive to come back	0.1
Other	11.9

4. Impacts of migration on development

4.1 Remittances

The view has been advanced that remittances and in-kind contributions play a critical role in the economic lives of the individual, family and community, and it is argued that remittances constitute one of the most significant financial inflows to several countries in the Caribbean region. It should also be noted, however, that it is extremely difficult to calculate the exact amount of these remittances as non-monetary components are not assumed in calculations, and because many migrants do not hold bank accounts in their host countries. While it has been argued that emigration means a loss of human resources, which could serve as an impediment to economic growth (Massey et al., 1998), there has been increasing interest in the issue of South–South migration and its possible benefits.

While there is no consensus about the relationship between development and migration, it is generally agreed that the two are a part of the same process and are seen to be continually interactive. In times of global economic turmoil, it has been found that the flow of financial resources between migrants and their communities changes direction, whereby resources move from the country of origin to the host country of migrants (Massey, 1988).

Migration patterns from the Caribbean and Trinidad and Tobago largely indicate a movement of skilled labour across the region, as this group is more likely to move abroad than to participate in internal migration. This movement of skilled labour can be considered brain drain as these migrants leave an urbanized, organized, modernizing sector and this therefore creates a vacuum in the local economy.

Remittances from skilled migrants are substantial and help migrant-sending country. As a result, they can play a role in moving the development process forward. Additionally, evidence suggests that over time if migrants return, they reintegrate into their societies with increased educational training and skills which can help in the development of their native countries. In general, there seems to be an increase in the literature on remittances. Interestingly, this literature seems to provide evidence that there has been a significant increase of remittances between countries of the South (World Bank, 2010) as posited by the UNDP Human Development Report 2013 (15): "Nearly half of remittances sent home by emigrants from the South come from workers living in other developing countries." This is consistent with what has been

found in Trinidad and Tobago, as the immigrants in the country send remittances back to their countries of origin, thus adding to financial flows to that economy, which in the long run may assist in stimulating the economy and contribute to economic growth. It has been suggested that without these injections into economies in the South, the possibilities of economic growth would be reduced. Caution needs to be taken however, as some authors (Newland, 2007) posit that the evidence base for the connection between migration and development is tenuous at best.

As Caribbean nations have become labour exporting nations, ties between sending and receiving countries are growing closer. These linkages are further influenced by the transmission of remittances to families in the region. Another advantage of this labour movement is to correct labour shortages in host countries, as has been the experience of Trinidad and Tobago in the oil and sugar industries. This labour migration to some extent also assists in maintaining wages and the cost of labour at market-determined prices. There has been anecdotal evidence that this is the situation in the labour market in Trinidad and Tobago, where the low income market for

certain types of labour is filled by immigrants. This is seen mainly in the construction, private security sectors, and gas station services.

While South–South migration is characterized by a high incidence of remittance flows between the host and sending countries, in Trinidad 67.1 per cent of the respondents indicated that their household had not received money or goods from absent migrants over the last 12 months (figure 18 – Q51). This is inconsistent with what is found in the literature, as many developing economies receive large amounts of capital inflows from the diaspora who regularly remit money to their friends and families in the sending country. Interestingly, data from Tobago indicated that 69.4 per cent did not receive remittances from their family members and this may be due to the high standard of living that is generally found in Tobago (figure 18).

The research indicates that the majority of remittances (98.4%) sent to Trinidad by absent migrants were sent from North countries of the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom (see table 13). A similar pattern is evident in remittances to Tobago (see table 14).

Figure 18: Whether households, or any household member, received any remittances from absent migrants over the past 12 months in a) Trinidad and b) Tobago (in %)

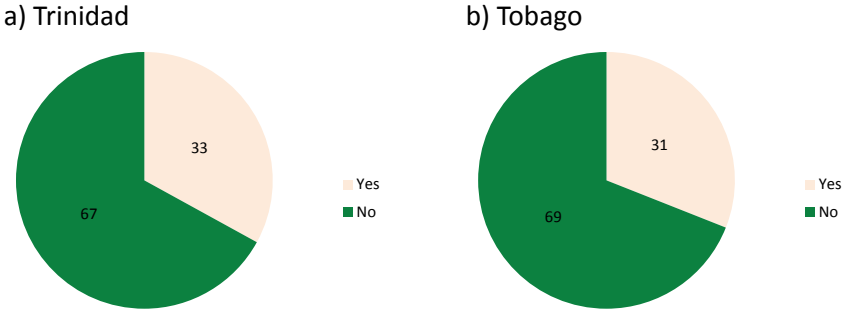


Table 13: Whether or not absent migrants from Trinidad sent any money or goods to their households in Trinidad and Tobago in the past 12 months, by country of current residence

Country of residence of absent migrant	Percentage of total yes and no responses that are from absent migrants in these countries*	
	Yes	No
American Samoa	1.5	0.0
Antigua and Barbuda	0.0	0.8
Australia	0.0	1.5
Austria	0.0	0.8
British Virgin Islands	0.0	0.8
Canada	12.3	20.6
Grenada	1.5	0.0
Guyana	0.0	0.8
Jamaica	0.0	2.3
Japan	0.0	0.8
Oman	0.0	0.8
Qatar	0.0	0.8
Saint Lucia	0.0	0.8
United Kingdom	4.6	9.2
United States	80.0	59.5

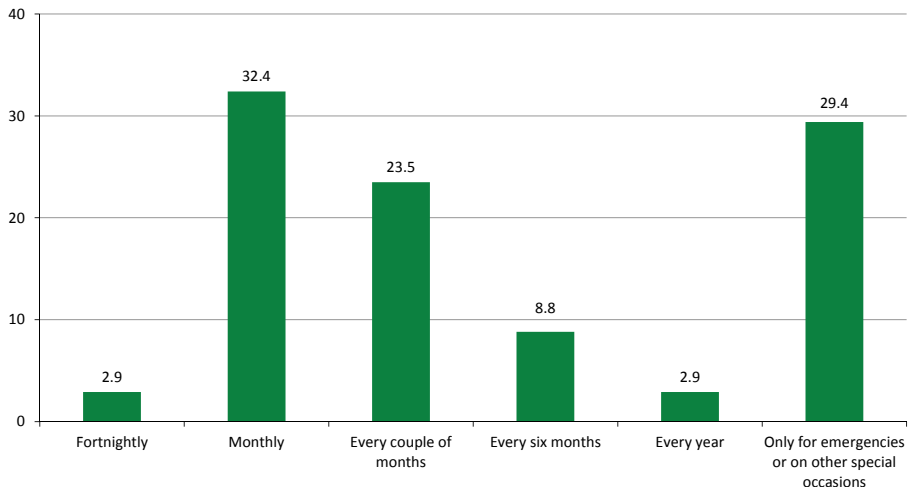
* For instance, of all those who responded that they did remit, 1.5% were living in American Samoa at the time of the survey.

Table 14: Whether or not absent migrants from Tobago sent any money or goods to their households in Trinidad and Tobago in the past 12 months, by country of current residence

Country of residence of absent migrant	Percentage of total yes and no responses that are from absent migrants in these countries*	
	Yes	No
Barbados	0.0	2.4
Canada	22.2	4.8
Guyana	0.0	4.8
Ireland	5.6	0.0
Jamaica	0.0	2.4
Saint Lucia	0.0	2.4
United Kingdom	16.7	14.3
United States	55.6	69.0

* For instance, of all respondents that indicated they did not remit, 2.4% were living in Barbados at the time of the survey.

Figure 19: Frequency with which absent migrants send remittances to households in Trinidad (Q55)



Question 55 asked: “[h]ow frequently do the absent migrants send money?” Roughly one third (32.4%) of the respondents in Trinidad indicated that their household’s absent migrant sent remittances monthly. It is believed that without this contribution to the household income many of the households would not be able to meet their financial obligations on a monthly basis. Another 23.5 per cent of the respondents indicated that the money was sent “every couple of months,” while approximately one third (29.4%) of the respondents indicated that absent migrants sent remittances only for “emergencies or on other special occasions.” In general it would appear that the remittances are sent fairly regularly and can be considered a part of the household income for some families (see figure 19). While authors like Bakewell (2009) suggest that South–South migration has a greater positive effect on poorer households/communities than South–North migration as the actual costs associated with this migration are lower, it is unclear if that holds true for Trinidad and Tobago as most of the remittances come from South–North migration.

In order to determine the frequency of the remittance flows among returned migrants, question 147 asked the return migrant: “[w]hile you were living abroad did you ever send money to the people living in the household?”, and question 148 asked about sending remittances to other households. Only about one out of four (26%) of the returned migrants indicated that they ever sent money to the household in Trinidad (figure 20), and 11.1 per cent indicated that they sent to other households (figure 21). The majority of the respondents, approximately three quarters, indicated that they did not send money to either their household (74%) or any other household (88.9%). In relation to Tobago, 86.6 per cent indicated that they did not send remittances to their households while they were abroad. This again serves as an indicator that migrants from Tobago seem to have less connection to and responsibility for their households once they migrate.

Figure 20: Remittances from returned migrants to their households while they resided abroad – Trinidad (Q147 and Q148) (in %)

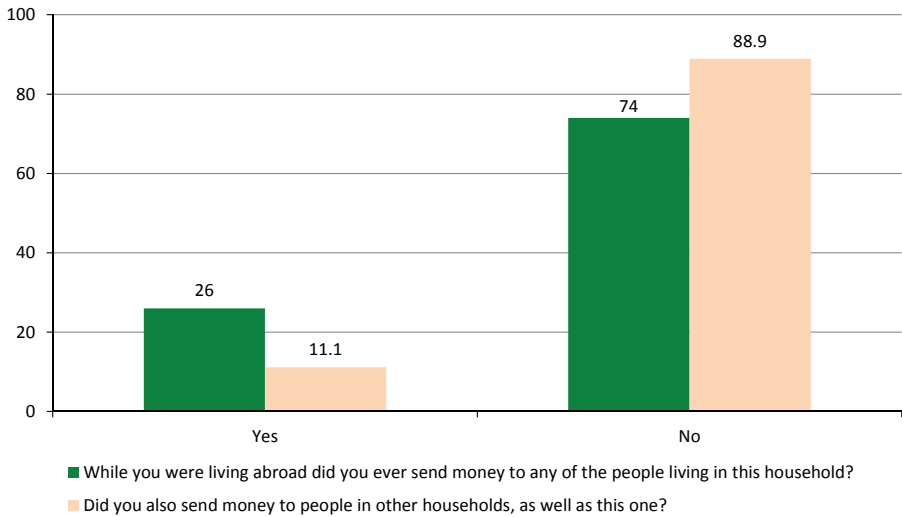
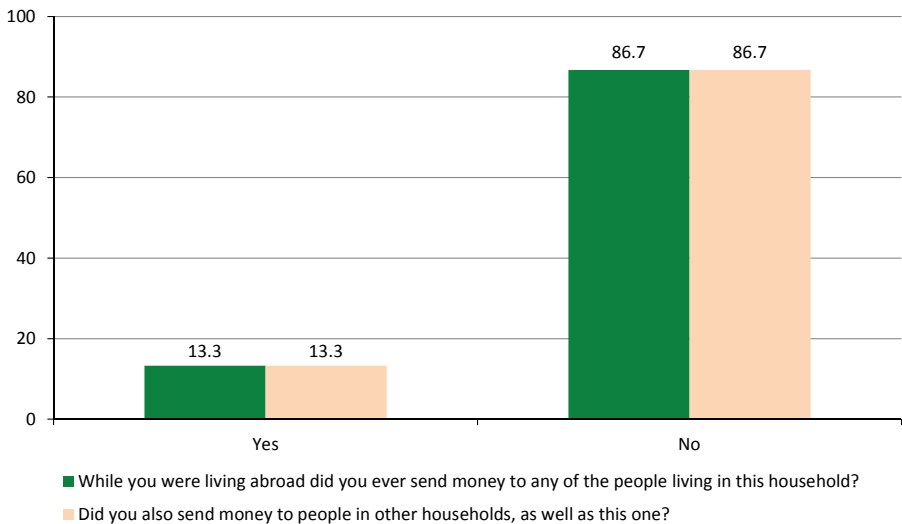


Figure 21: Remittances from returned migrants to their households while they resided abroad – Tobago (Q147 and Q148) (in %)



This is somewhat contrary to the trends found in the literature, as many migrants have connections with their households and family members in origin countries, and as a part of this recognition and relationship, remit money and goods to the family members and households (Dodson, 2008). In most Caribbean States family members who remain in the sending country have a reasonable expectation of being provided for by those members who have gone abroad in search of work. This has led to situations where households are dependent to a great extent on remittances to supplement local sources. This goes beyond the remittance of funds to food, clothing and other commodities (the barrel phenomenon) as well as emergency funding for any situation which may arise requiring such assistance from relatives abroad (Brown, 2006).

Question 61 asked whether during the past 12 months, any of the members of the respondent's household sent money or goods to the absent migrant abroad. In response, 83.9 per cent of the Trinidad respondents indicated that they did not, while only 16.1 per cent said they sent money or goods to the absent migrant. Nine out of ten (90.3%) of the respondents from Tobago indicated that they did not send money to household members abroad (see figure 22). It therefore appears that there is less commitment

and responsibility among household in Tobago to family members living abroad, when compared to the assistance absent migrants receive from their households in Trinidad. This may also be due to the fact that the household/family income in Trinidad is typically higher than that in Tobago and as such there may be more disposable income available to send to household members abroad. As with international South–South migration, it has been posited that even if least developed countries (LDCs) lose labour that “could have produced a positive product at home, they gain other income in the form of migrant remittances and repatriated savings, and these migrant remittances perform the same function as foreign investment and international development assistance” (Taylor et al., 1996:186).

The research also sought to establish the link between migration and funds that return to Trinidad and Tobago. To this end, question 157 asked the returning migrant: “[w]hen you returned, did you bring any money back with you?”, and, in regards to the Trinidad sample, just over half of the respondents (53.8%) indicated they did bring back money while 46.2 per cent stated that they did not (see figure 23). This would suggest that the returned migrants return with some level of funds which contribute to the household and the national economy.

In regard to the Tobago sample, 68.8 per cent of the respondents indicated that they did not bring back any money with them, while only 31.2 said that they did return with funds from abroad (see figure 24). Question 159 asked whether the returned migrant brought any major assets when they came from abroad. The vast majority (95.6%) from Trinidad and 96.8% from Tobago said that they did not return with assets from abroad. Question 161 asked: “[d]o you still have a savings account in any of the countries you lived in?” While one quarter (25.3%) of Trinidad’s respondents indicated that they did have bank accounts in the countries in which they lived, three quarters of respondents said they did not (74.7%). The numbers for Tobago are appreciably smaller, as only 9.4 per cent of the respondents indicated that they had money in a savings account abroad, while the majority, nine out of ten (90.6%) said they did not. This, to a large extent, may indicate that these migrants had little intention of returning to the host countries to continue their activities.

4.2 Family

The central importance of family networks in the migration process is widely recognized. Family relationships have a significant impact on decisions related to migration and are also regarded as

an important element in the social network-based migration process. Part of the decision-making process of Caribbean migrants is based on the ability to access the networks and linkages that exist in the diaspora. Caribbean families may also be seen as migratory units since, if they do not migrate together, it is often with the clear expectation that other family members will follow. This expectation intensifies the familial network systems between Caribbean citizens at home and the diaspora (Massey et al., 1998).

This study sought to solicit the level of assistance and support which has been sent to households from migrants abroad who were friends or relatives but not part of the household. It was determined that the majority of Trinidad and Tobago’s citizens who reside abroad do not send much support back to their families in Trinidad and Tobago, whether in the form of monetary remittances or goods.

Question 64 asked whether during the last twelve months the household or any of its members received any money or goods from any other Trinidad and Tobago born friends or relatives living abroad. The majority (92.3%) of the respondents indicated that they had not received such goods or money, while only 7.7% indicated that they did receive money or goods from outside (see figure 25).

Figure 22: Whether in the past 12 months households in a) Trinidad and b) Tobago sent any assistance to migrants living abroad (Q61) (in %)

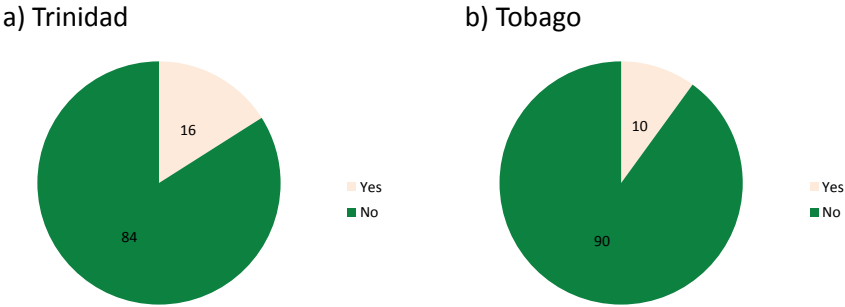


Figure 23: Returned migrants' assets on their return to Trinidad (Q157, Q159, Q161) (in %)

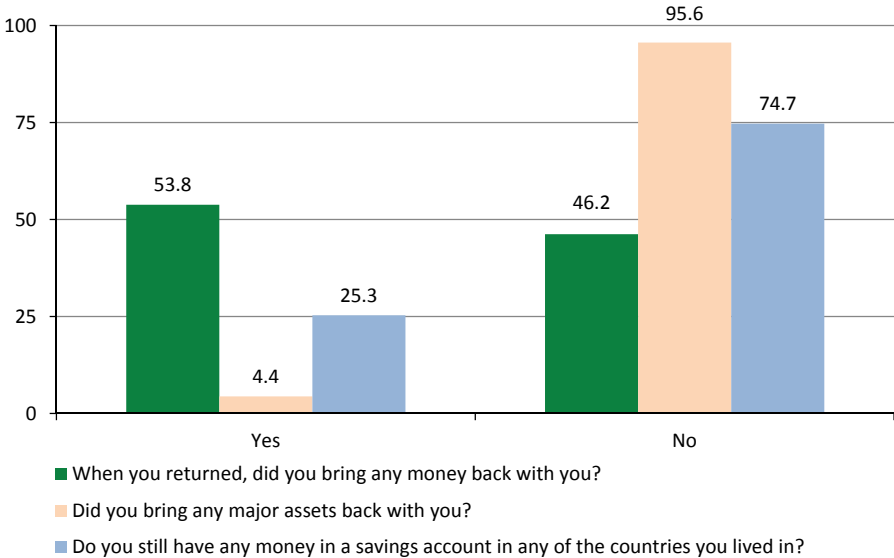


Figure 24: Returned migrants' assets on their return to Tobago (Q157, Q159, Q161) (in %)

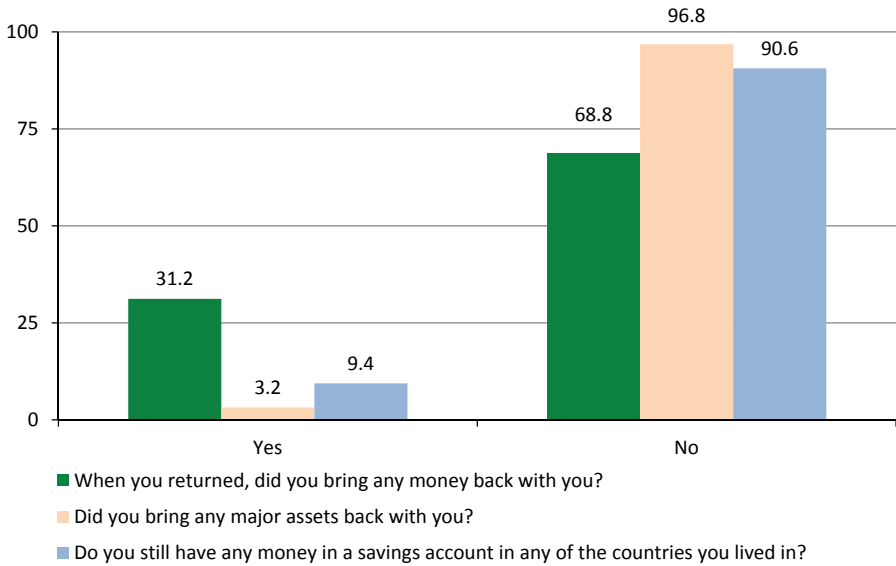


Figure 25: Whether during the past 12 months the household or any of its members received any money or goods from any friends or relatives living abroad who were born in Trinidad and Tobago (Q64) (in %)

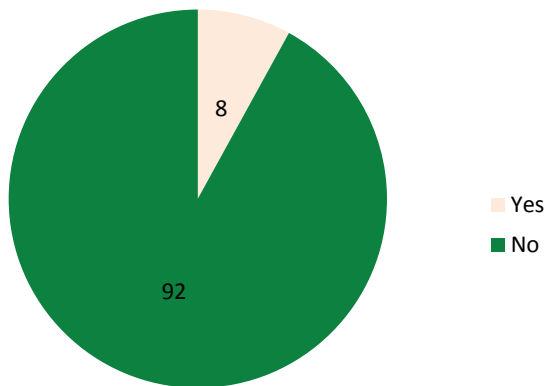
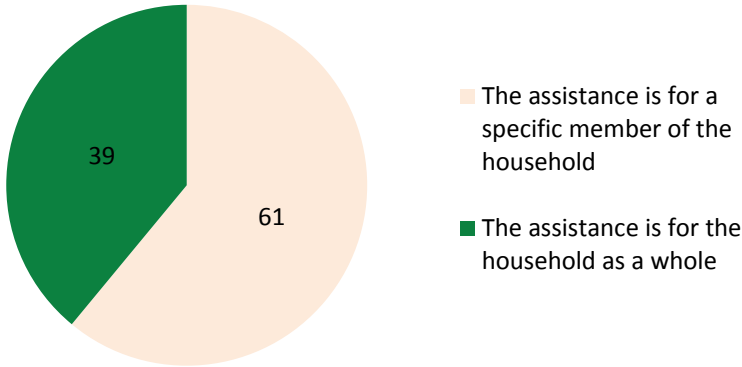


Figure 26: Whether the assistance provided was for the entire household or a specific household member (Q67) (in %)



The majority (61.5%) of those who received assistance indicated that it was for a specific member of the household and 38.5 per cent responded that it was for the entire household (see figure 26).

It is generally accepted that not only monetary transfers take place between households and migrants. When asked whether the household received any assistance in the form of food or other goods in the past 12 months (Q72), the majority of the respondents indicated that they did not (94.9%), while the minority (5.1%) received food or other goods during that time period (see figure 27). Question 75 asked whether during the past twelve months the household or any of its members had sent any money or goods to other friends or relatives born in Trinidad and Tobago who were living abroad. Only 4.1 per cent indicated that they

did send goods or money while the majority (95.9%) indicated that they did not (see figure 28).

Migration also has varying levels of impact on families and family structures and the study sought to determine the status of the family and the impact of migration on families.

The research investigated the nature of interpersonal relationships between absent migrants and other adult members of the household who remained in Trinidad and Tobago. Question 44 asked whether households' absent migrants had a spouse or long-term partner in Trinidad and Tobago. The majority (80.7%) said no, 10.1 per cent indicated that they lived in another household in this country and only 5.5 per cent indicated that they lived in the same household (see figure 29).

Figure 27: Whether households received any assistance in the form of food or other goods in the past 12 months (Q72) (in %)

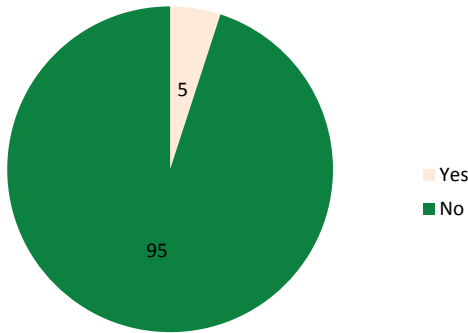
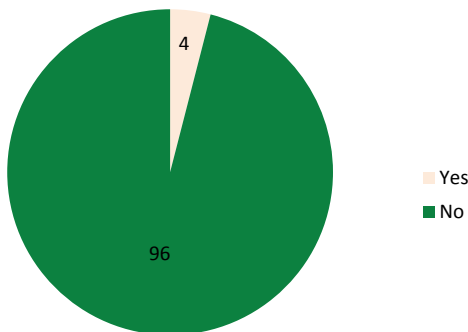


Figure 28: Whether during the past 12 months the household or any of its members sent money or goods to friends or relatives born in Trinidad and Tobago who were living abroad (Q75) (in %)



Question 46 asked whether the absent migrant used to have a spouse or long-term partner in Trinidad and Tobago at the time they went to live abroad. Just over one quarter (26.2%) indicated the affirmative while the majority (71.2%) said they did not (see figure 31). Thus it cannot be assumed that migration is the cause of family breakdown, as the majority of respondents indicated that they did not have a spouse or long-term

partner before migrating to another country. In response to question 47 which asked whether the absent migrant had a spouse or a long term partner in the country in which they were currently living. Roughly half (50.5%) of the respondents indicated that the absent migrant did currently have a long term partner abroad, while 44.1 per cent indicated that the absent migrant did not (see figure 30).

Figure 29: Whether households' absent migrants have a spouse or long-term partner in Trinidad and Tobago (Q44) (in %)

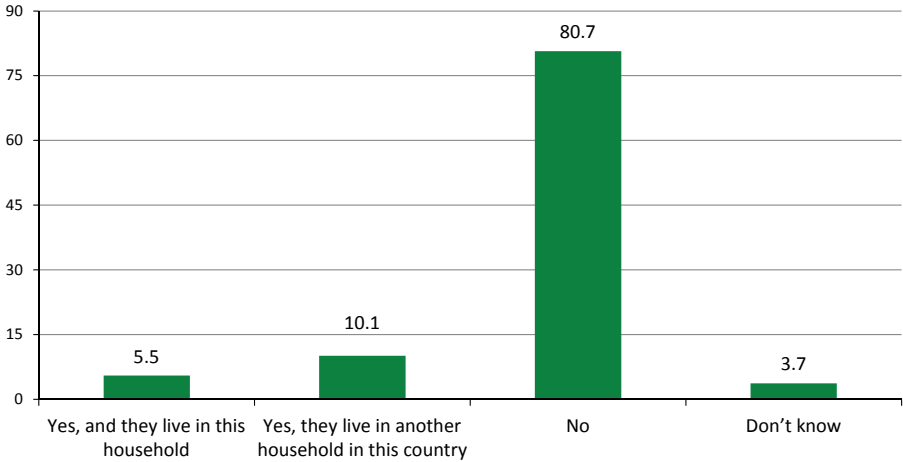
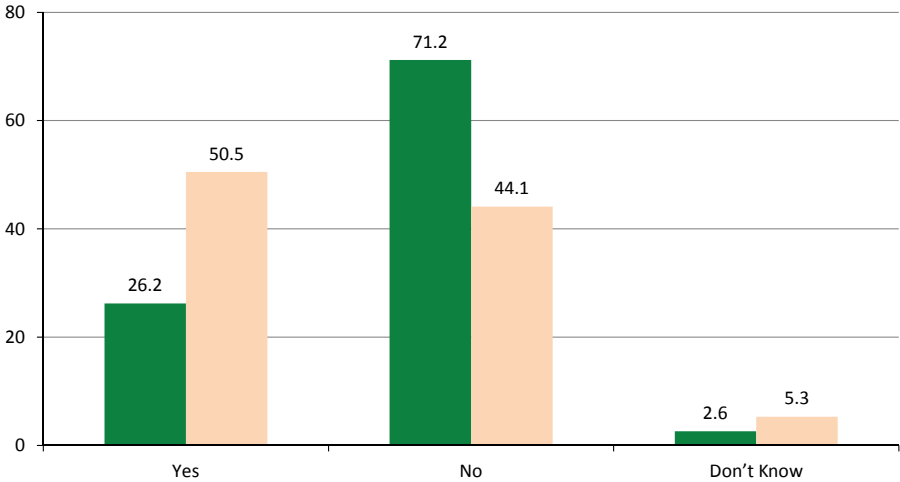


Figure 30: Marital of households' absent migrants in Trinidad and Tobago and abroad (Q46, Q47) (in %)



■ Whether household absent migrant had a spouse or long-term partner in this country at the time they went to live abroad?

■ Whether household absent migrant has a spouse or a long term partner in the country they now live in?

Question 48 asked whether households' absent migrants had any children, and 63.3 per cent of the respondents indicated that the absent migrant had children, while 36.7 per cent said the absent migrant did not (see figure 31). This highlights the fact that migration does not seem to deter the individuals from having children and raising families even though they are no longer living in Trinidad and Tobago, and this too is consistent with migration and family patterns of people from Trinidad and Tobago. Question 49 asked for the place of residence of the children of households' absent migrants. Children lived in the household of the respondent in 18.9 per cent of cases, 13.5 per cent lived in another household in the country and 62.2 per cent indicated that the children lived with the absent migrant abroad (see figure 32).

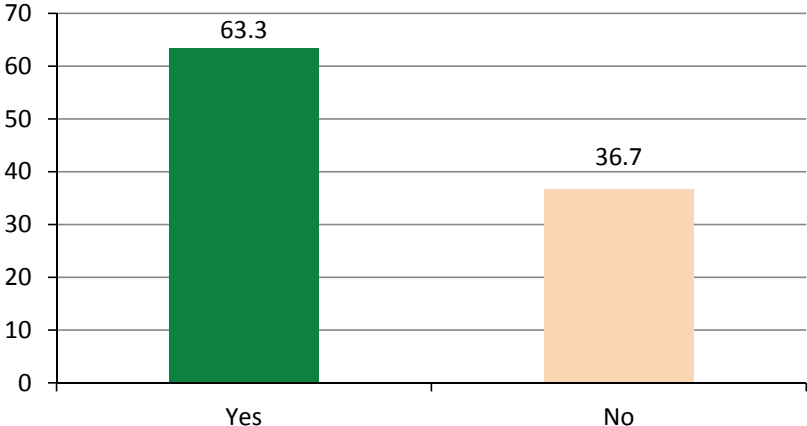
This study highlights critical impacts of the current patterns of migration on families in Trinidad and Tobago. Although families in the country do not receive much assistance from family members and friends living outside of Trinidad and Tobago, this does not discount the fact that families in Trinidad and Tobago remain connected with relatives and friends abroad. As previously identified, the key reasons for absent migrants from households in Trinidad and Tobago to leave the country were to join family

members who were living abroad, and to get married.

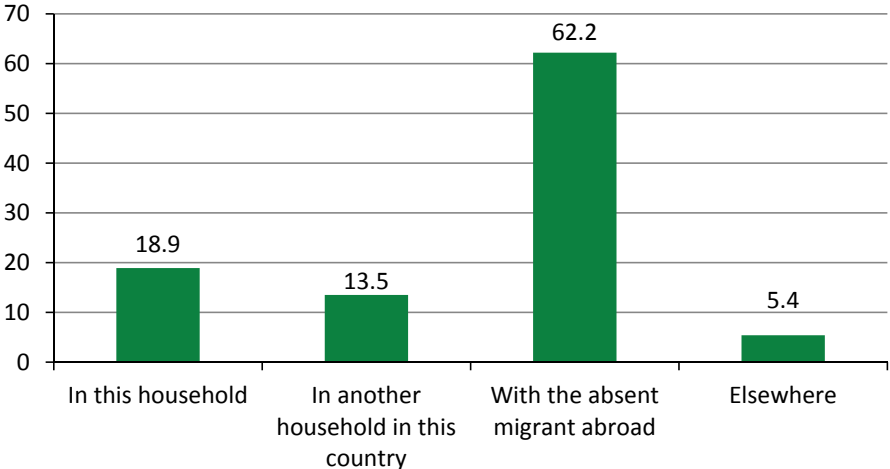
It can therefore be seen that particularly when focusing on South–South migration patterns of migrants from Trinidad and Tobago, there appears to be a more family-oriented rather than individualistic attitude to migration. Even if initially only one member of the household emigrates, other family members typically follow to the destination country in the South.

Additionally, emigrants of a country's population often opt to start building a family of their own in their destination country, rather than having a family in Trinidad and Tobago that they would leave behind. This is highlighted by the fact that the majority of absent migrants from Trinidad and Tobago do not currently have or did not have at the time of departure from the country a spouse or household partner. More than half of the absent migrants living abroad, however, found spouses or long-term partners in the countries in which they reside. It should be noted that this in no way discounts the value to absent migrants of the extended families that reside in Trinidad and Tobago. Often children whose parents have migrated are cared for by the extended families of the emigrants.

**Figure 31: Whether households' absent migrants have any children (Q48)
(in %)**



**Figure 32: Place of residence of children of households' absent migrants
(in %)**



4.3 Education and skills acquisition

The view has been advanced that education and skills acquisition play important roles at several stages of an individual's migration process (Dustmann and Glitz, 2011).

It has also been observed that a migrant's economic success in the host country is significantly determined by his or her educational background, the transferability of skills to the host country's labour market, and the investment made in further skills acquisition after arrival in the host country. The acquisition of skills in the host country which have high value in the country of origin is also seen as an important contributor to the decision to migrate.

It has been a trend in developing countries, including in the Caribbean, for people to go abroad to metropolitan centres to achieve higher levels of certification after availing themselves of national certifications. Further, with higher skill levels, additional inputs to national development can be mobilized. Hugo (2005) posits that education is a major factor in South–South migration as it allows individuals to increase their standard of living above levels that they would enjoy at home, where they would have fewer qualifications. While most of Trinidad and Tobago's emigrants engage in South–North migration as

opposed to South–South migration, education still holds as a major factor that allows these emigrants a means through which they can increase their standard of living above previous levels.

For many developing countries, including of Trinidad and Tobago, a significant portion of return migrants are those who originally left the country to go abroad in pursuit of educational, professional and technical qualifications. It is interesting to observe that people who leave seeking to upgrade their qualifications and skills tend to go to developed countries where they can receive the requisite training and certification, and return to contribute to national development. The opposite is true of most of the immigrants that come to Trinidad and Tobago not only in the hope of finding work and increasing their incomes, but also to increase their levels of training and education.

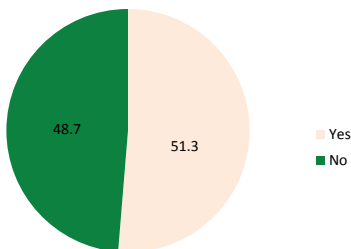
Question 142 sought to evaluate whether returned migrants obtained any educational or work qualifications while living abroad. Of the migrants who returned to Trinidad, 51.3 per cent responded that they did achieve educational or work qualifications while living abroad while 48.7 per cent indicated that they did not. Further, when these returned migrants from Trinidad were asked why they sought to obtain such qualifications, of the

51.3 per cent that responded in the positive, 87.5 per cent indicated they did so to learn new skills, while 12.5 per cent of the respondents sought to achieve such qualifications because their existing qualifications were not internationally recognized. Of the returned migrants from Tobago, 43.8 per cent responded that they received some educational or work qualifications whilst living abroad while 56.3 per cent of these returned migrants indicated that they did not (see figure 33). This drive to educational advancement is in line with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 2 and 3 on achieving education, and promoting gender equality and empowering women.

Question 139 asked the returned migrant what type of job they were doing before returning to Trinidad. Over one in four (28.1%) were in skilled trade occupations, 22.5 per cent in professional occupations, 21.3 per cent in service occupations, and 14.6 per cent in administrative and secretarial occupations. In the case of Tobago, the majority of respondents (41.7%) indicated that they were involved in the service industry prior to their return to Tobago. One quarter each of the returned migrants responded that they were involved in professional occupations and skilled trade occupations, respectively; while 8.3 per cent indicated that they were employed in elementary occupations abroad (see figures 34 and 35).

Figure 33: Whether returned migrants to a) Trinidad and b) Tobago obtained any educational or work qualifications while living abroad (Q142) (in %)

a) Trinidad



b) Tobago

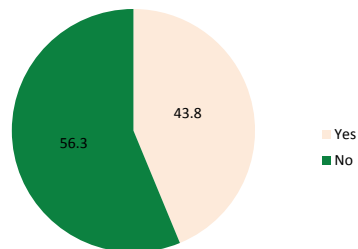


Figure 34: Type of job held by returned migrants before they returned to Trinidad (Q139) (in %)

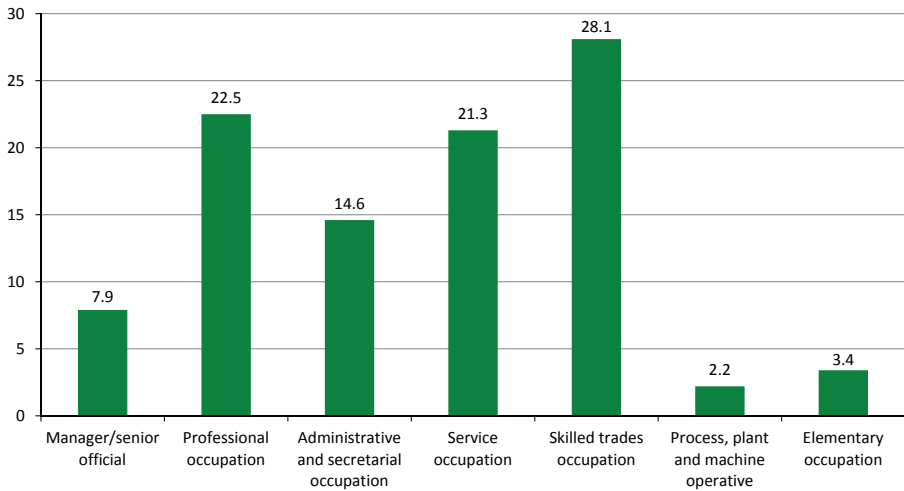
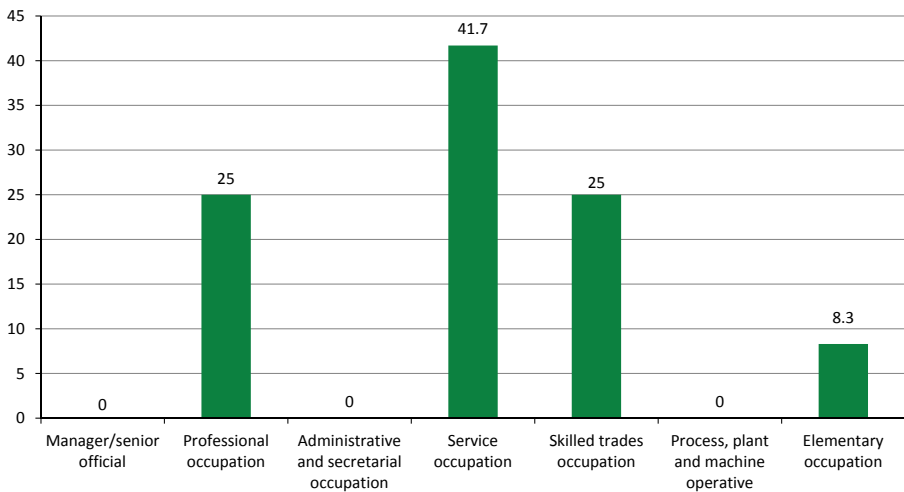


Figure 35: Type of job held by returned migrants before they returned to Tobago (Q139) (in %)



Given the increasing demand for skilled and semi-skilled labour in Trinidad and Tobago's public and private sectors, many returned migrants gain experience and qualifications abroad which they bring back to Trinidad and Tobago where they can contribute to national development. The data suggests that there have been a wide range of skills which have been acquired overseas and can now be utilized to contribute to national development (Beine et al., 2001).

It can also be argued that hyper globalization, with increased access to transport, communications and information, has furthered facilitated migratory patterns and flows. The contemporary international environment has increased avenues to citizens of many developing States to be educated and trained outside of their native countries. This is particularly the case for small island developing States such as Trinidad and Tobago. Limited resources, limited market opportunities, and limited opportunities for capacity development are all realities which it faces. Education and skills acquisition is therefore regarded as a strategy to overcome such limitations which face the citizens of small States. This education and skills acquisition is undertaken in South–South migration as well as North–South migration.

Education and skills acquisition are very viable incentives for many

Trinidadians and Tobagonians to move abroad. This does not hinder the development of local capacity, nor devalue the local education system, but rather allows students and workers to competitively gain an advantage.

The majority of Trinidad and Tobago's emigrants who move abroad with the primary objective of gaining an education or acquiring skills and certifications return to the country, and, as a consequence contribute to building national capacity. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago has recognized this positive return and as such has many programmes available to provide funding and scholarships for Trinidad and Tobago nationals to study and train abroad, with the hope of their return. These programmes are available to citizens pursuing higher education and training in particular areas that the government has identified as critical to national development.

This study highlights that migration has positively impacted education and skills acquisition in Trinidad and Tobago.

4.4 Other developmental issues

Due to the fact that Trinidad and Tobago is part of a regional integration movement (CARICOM) and that many of the migrants in the country come from the South (often other

CARICOM nations), it is clear that migration has a significant impact on the economies of CARICOM States (South–South migration). While the exact impact is difficult to measure, the existence of remittances back to the less developed CARICOM States indicates that this South–South migration has significant implications for the less developed States. The CSME agreement (2006) has provided a gateway for migrants to acquire qualifications and certifications in Trinidad and Tobago and earn income (where otherwise such earning would not have been possible) and repatriate these earnings to their countries of origin in the form of remittances.

In addition to gaining qualifications and certifications, as well as earnings, the study has indicated clearly that the standard of living of migrants increases by their choice to migrate to Trinidad and Tobago. In this way, South–South migration aids in the improvement of the general standard of living for the immigrants (in Trinidad and Tobago) as well as the households that they left behind in their countries of origin. The research also highlights the fact that migrants in Trinidad and Tobago have no intention of leaving, adding to the evidence that this South–South migration is beneficial to the migrant population in the country.

Recently a human rights approach to migration has emerged and the

migrant’s rights to freedom from marginalization, discrimination and abuse have been placed high on the international agenda. Given this new wave of awareness, migrants who return to Trinidad and Tobago exhibit a heightened cognizance of fundamental rights and issues related to social justice and equality, regardless of whether they return from South or North destinations. While authors like Bustamante (2002) highlight the fact that governments are responsible for the treatment of migrants in their countries, it should be noted that in Trinidad and Tobago the returned migrants are very aware of the issues, and data seem to suggest that they are willing to play key advocacy roles to protect the rights of migrants in that country.

Interestingly, the responses to all three questions (Q163B, Q163C, and Q163E) indicated a high level of support for protecting traditional ways of life (72.7% strongly agreed or somewhat agreed); the need for more efforts to promote gender equality (78.9%); and the need to make more of an effort to protect human rights (86.6%) (see figure 36). This is generally similar to the responses given to these questions in Tobago (90.6%, 90.7% and 93.7%, respectively) (see figure 37). The issues of traditional way of life, equality of women and the protection of human rights have been brought to the fore by returned migrants. This suggests

that their experiences abroad have broadened their perspectives on these issues, which in turn will add to the country's drive for development.

With specific reference to Trinidad and Tobago, the issues of equality and social justice are also important. Question 163F asked about the need to make greater efforts to ensure that migrants are treated fairly. In Trinidad, 68.4 per cent of the respondents indicated that they

agreed that this needed to occur, and only a minority (5.7%) disagreed that migrants needed to be treated fairly (see figure 38). In Tobago it was found that 78.1 per cent agreed that more efforts were needed to ensure migrants were treated fairly (see figure 39). This highlights the growing awareness in the general population of the importance of human rights and the fair treatment of migrants.

Figure 36: Returned migrants' opinions on the need to protect traditional ways of life, gender equality and human rights in Trinidad and Tobago – Trinidad (Q163B, Q163C and Q163E) (in %)

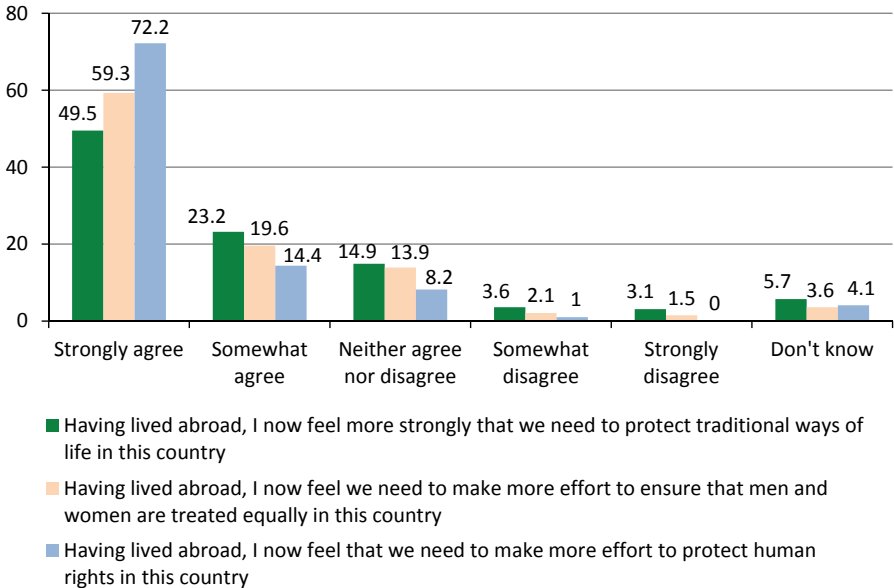


Figure 37: Returned migrants’ opinions on the need to protect traditional ways of life, gender equality and human rights in Trinidad and Tobago – Tobago (Q163B, Q163C, Q163E) (in %)

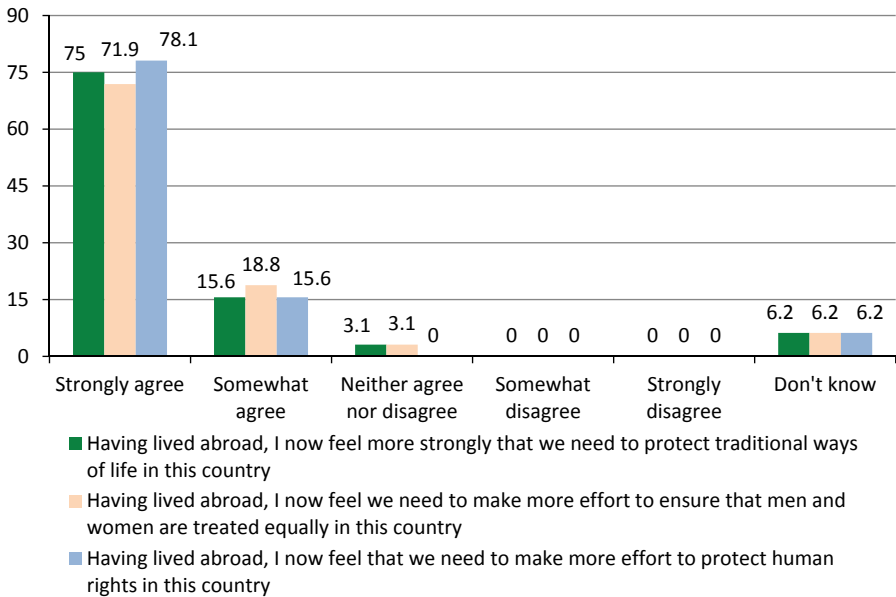


Figure 38: The perceptions of returned migrants in Trinidad on whether there needs to be more of an effort to ensure that immigrants are treated fairly (Q163F) (in %)

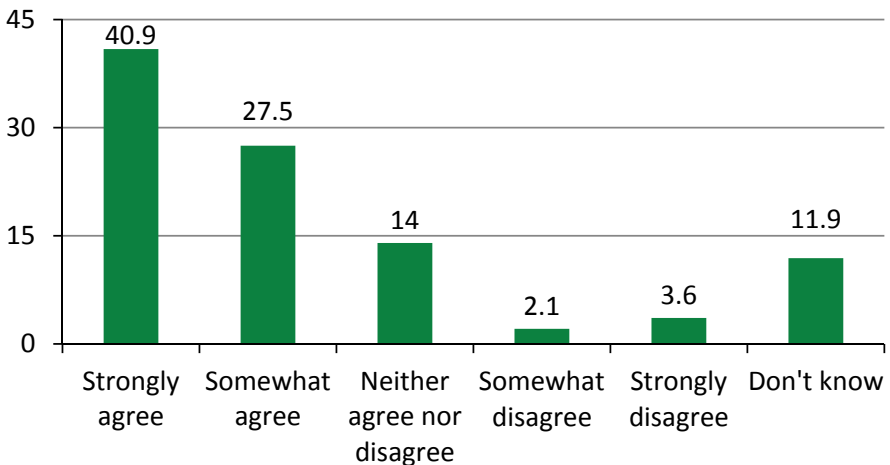
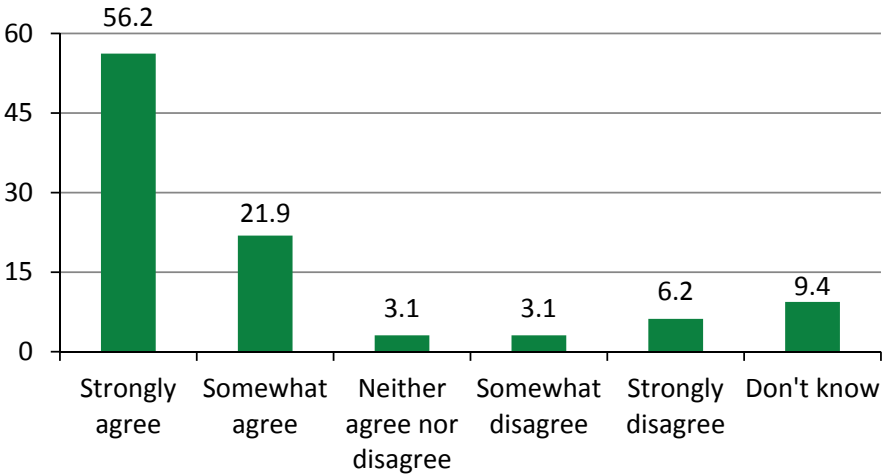


Figure 39: The perceptions of returned migrants in Tobago on whether there needs to be more of an effort to ensure that migrants are treated fairly (Q163F) (in %)



There has been a debate about whether migrants move to countries to undertake employment that the national do not necessarily want. When asked their views, 48.3 per cent of respondents supported the statement that “foreigners are moving to this country and doing important jobs that otherwise wouldn’t get done.” Conversely, 33.8 per cent of the respondents disagreed with the statement (see figure 40). This indicates a growing level of acceptance among the population of the migrants who are coming to Trinidad and Tobago. History has shown that there is a relatively high level of tolerance in Trinidad and Tobago for migrants, especially as there already exists migrant enclaves in the country. This is an important

and unusual finding. In other contexts migrants in the South from the South are met with hostility, discrimination and xenophobia, but in Trinidad and Tobago there seems to be higher levels of acceptance of migrants than is typically found in other South countries. This in itself is a significant finding as it speaks to the possibility of absorbing migrants more easily into the country and adding to the productivity of the economy. This is important as historically waves of migration open space in the country to greater flows of migration. As mentioned previously, this increased migration can help to stimulate the economy as has been the case in recent years with the Chinese labour in the construction industry in Trinidad and Tobago.

Question 90F stated: “[g]overnment services are being affected because the government has to spend money caring for immigrants.” In

response, 39.2 per cent agreed with the statement, while 37.8 per cent disagreed (see figure 41).

Figure 40: Respondents’ opinions on the statement “foreigners are moving to this country and doing important jobs that otherwise won’t get done.” (Q90E) (in %)

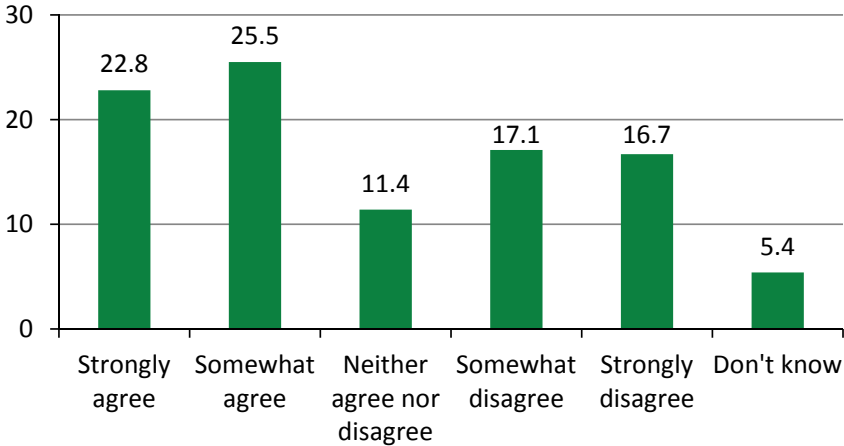
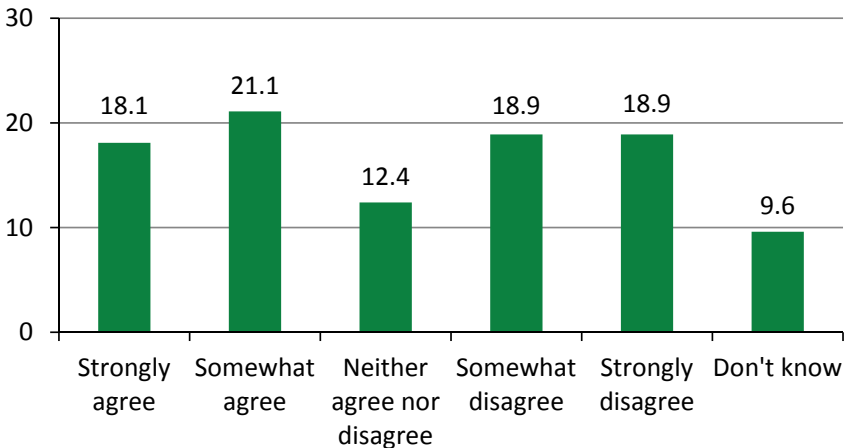


Figure 41: Respondents’ opinions on whether government services are being affected because the government has to use resources to care for immigrants (Q90F) (in %)



5. Policy recommendations and conclusion

5.1 South–South migration and policies

While a universal definition has not yet emerged, traditionally the term South has been utilized to refer to countries of the developing world. In some cases contemporary writers have simply described South–South migration as migration between developing countries (Castles and Delgado Wise, 2007; Ratha and Shaw, 2007). While a significant number of cross-border movements among countries in the South are undocumented, World Bank data have indicated that there is now more evidence of migration between countries of the South than from countries of the South to the North. According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), 74 million people migrated from one developing country to another in 2010 (UN DESA, 2007). This is seen as a result of global changes in technology, information flow, development patterns and the reduction in transport costs, which make migration more affordable and expand linkages among people from the South. The increasing access to information technology in the South has also provided opportunities for potential migrants from the South to access information on other States in the South and, once they have migrated, internet and mobile

telephones provide faster and more reliable communication.

Migration among States of the South and migration from the South to the North are both centered around similar sets of economic, social and political factors. Indeed, in the South, migrants also move based on the prospects of gaining new access to resources or job opportunities. Countries in the South, such as Trinidad and Tobago, with a relatively vibrant economy, developed infrastructure and good educational systems rapidly become major poles for migrants from other States in the South. This is also based on migrants' perception of these emerging countries' reliance on labor-intensive resource extraction. The stimulus for migration from States in the South to emerging resource-rich South countries like Trinidad and Tobago lies in the success and prospects in sectors such as oil and gas and other energy-related areas, as well as in the construction and domestic work sectors. Such a stimulus serves to increase the standard of living for the migrants and their families in the sending countries. Policies being recommended to safeguard the quality of life and standard of living of the migrants are therefore in line with Millennium Development Goal 1 which speaks to a decent standard of living and the reduction of poverty.

The view has been advanced that decisions with regard to migration are also made in a political context and that, generally, political considerations play a significant role in South–South migration. In the case of Caribbean States, migratory movements have been shaped by changes of government, some of which bring new policies, shifts in international relations and social crises.

With respect to emigration policy, it has been noted that, in general, in the global South policy frameworks are significantly underdeveloped, when compared to migration policies in the North. In the North, these policies tend to be prioritized as they provide a legal tool to restrict entry and settlement. It has been observed (Valtonen, 1996) that in receiving countries in the Caribbean, there are very limited domestic structural provisions made for the integration of migrants into the general society, as they are mostly accommodated within the existing social service infrastructure. The increase in demand in some areas – particularly in the health, social service, and education sectors – present serious challenges in the host nation since there are often insufficient planning and policy frameworks established. The recent trends in migratory movement in the global South, therefore, requires countries like Trinidad and Tobago to establish policies that guide the

various actors to effectively manage migration flows, both inward and outward.

With respect to policy frameworks in Trinidad and Tobago, it has been noted that the Constitution of Trinidad and Tobago guarantees the right to education, health care and access to social services for its citizens, but appears to be silent on these issues with respect to migrants. Specifically as it relates to education, Chapter 1, Part 1 4(f) of the Constitution of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago clearly indicates: “[t]he right of a parent or guardian to provide a school of his own choice for the education of his child or ward.” However, there is no reference to the provision of such facilities for the migrant population. It is therefore recommended that a clear and unambiguous policy with respect to access to education be established in response to the increasing migrant population. In the first instance, this policy should be in line with the MDGs) numbers two and three, which speak to achieving universal primary education and promoting gender equality, especially in education. Additionally, this policy should also be in line with instruments such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child framework, and the national medium-term policy framework of Trinidad and Tobago.

Further, with respect to policy formulation and articulation with

specific reference to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs CSME Unit in Trinidad and Tobago, the view was expressed that the public sector should be in a better position to advise the private sector in terms of their needs for external labour, based on the data collected on migration flows. While this is not currently the role of the CSME Unit of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is recommended that this responsibility be added to its mandate and that the Unit be strengthened to perform this function. It was also noted that there needs to be policies put in place to not only attract the persons with the skills required but also to ensure the management of flows and movement of persons within Trinidad and Tobago.

This study has indicated that there is an increasing movement of migrants across the hemisphere and Caribbean States, such as Trinidad and Tobago, have also witnessed this trend. In light of this, the study recommends that there be an intensification of initiatives at the regional and international levels to facilitate mechanisms which can manage the new trends in migration at the intergovernmental levels. It was noted that, with the emergence of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), as the latest integration effort involving Latin America and the Caribbean and a new emphasis on hemispheric

integration, there is now an important opportunity to encourage increased networking and the development of collaborative migration policies which can be mutually beneficial. One such mechanism is an intergovernmental task force between Latin American and Caribbean States that deals exclusively with migration. Also, it is recommended that CARICOM intensify its efforts with CELAC and with Trinidad and Tobago's current status as CARICOM's representative in the coordinating mechanism for CELAC, it can exert increased influence in developing this mechanism.

The study has found that the most urgent government undertaking on the issue of migration must be to review and update the immigration policy in order to make it more relevant to the current trends within the global arena. This is inclusive of regular and irregular migration and should reflect the large extent of migration from other countries in the South.

While there is the Trafficking in Persons Act (2011) that has been passed into law in Trinidad and Tobago, enactment, prosecution and enforcement are still major challenges. It is stipulated that it is: "[a]n Act to give effect to the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations

Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto” (Page 1, Act No. 14 of 2011, First Session, Tenth Parliament, Republic of Trinidad and Tobago). Specifically identified elements include proper screening for persons arrested, the establishment of specific holding facilities for trafficked persons, public awareness campaigns, and informed policies regarding migrant labour to prevent exploitation. The formulation of such policies must take into consideration the current trends in international human rights conventions.

Government officials interviewed in this study indicated that there were now regional arrangements that had led to the introduction of an Advanced Passenger Information System which identifies “persons of interest” (who may be considered dangerous or suspected of being involved in nefarious activities) before they arrive, the training of border security officials, the introduction of machine readable passports in CARICOM member States, and the formalizing of the travel card (CARIPASS), all of which have been identified as regional organizational responses that are also important in the context of the management of migration in Trinidad and Tobago. This means that while APIS has been in existence, there is a move to intensify and expand its scope and, while the mechanisms

are being structured to introduce CARIPASS, it is not yet in existence. Therefore, it is recommended that efforts be intensified to introduce this system in the region.

The issue of remittances transfers is also an important aspect in the migration process especially in South States like Trinidad and Tobago.

The IMF (2008:6) defines remittances as:

A percentage of household income from foreign economies arising mainly from the temporary or permanent movement of people to those economies. Remittances include cash and non-cash items that flow through formal channels, such as electronic wire, or through informal channels, such as money or goods carried across borders.

In general terms, the status migrants enjoy in the host country can help shape the ways in which they are able to impact development of their countries of origin. To maximize the benefits that can be drawn from migration within the Caribbean, governments need to try to assist in reducing remittance costs. Also important in the Trinidad and Tobago context is the fact that remittances are usually sent to Trinidad and Tobago during times of emergency situations/crises, and as such they help to stabilize the consumption in families and if extrapolated, the entire community and economy. This

in turn can assist in poverty alleviation as it acts as a welfare buffer in times of crises.

The literature has established that when migration programmes are properly managed, it should benefit both the host country and the country of origin. The countries of origin will benefit from increased remittances that can contribute to national economies (funds for investment and consumption), while the host country benefits from increased labour (increased professional and skilled labour) which contribute to its economic growth. In the context of Trinidad and Tobago, the literature suggests that the establishment of a migration management unit could serve to facilitate greater effort in information collection and efficient systemic arrangements. This management unit will be responsible for tracking immigration and emigration, and for coordinating national migration policy among government departments and NGOs. This will be consistent with the International Organization for Migration's (IOM) recommendation for the 2013 United Nations General Assembly High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development, which highlights the need to improve the governance of migration at all levels, while at the same time being cognizant of the rights and well-being of migrants.

Undoubtedly, remittances are used by the population in developing countries as a source of external finance, and in many cases represent the highest form of capital inflows after foreign direct investment into these economies.

While in Trinidad and Tobago, there is not an exact estimation of remittance to the country, the literature identifies the fact that in most developing States, one of the challenges of measuring remittances is that significant amounts come through unofficial or undocumented channels and are therefore not tracked by the authorities. This makes it difficult to track levels of capital inflows into the country (Kapur and Singer, 2006). In Trinidad and Tobago, the survey and the executive interviews with senior government officials, corroborate the recent literature. It is recommended that mechanisms be put in place to effectively track remittances sent by nationals of Trinidad and Tobago back to the country.

These remittances, documented and undocumented, play a large role in the day to day living of its recipients, as the funds are used for loan repayment, emergencies, education, health, housing and home repairs, and capital investments. Small business development also benefits from remittances, particularly in countries where there is a positive investment climate (Ratha and Mohapatra, 2007).

In relation to development, it is clear that remittances may be used for investment in education and health of family members who otherwise may not be able to afford these services at such high levels. It can be assumed that in the long run this investment increases national productivity.

Remittances can also add to the local economy if they are transferred through the approved, formal channels which exist, usually by way of money transfers (Money Gram, Western Union, among others). These business entities pay a levy to the government, which can then be used to fund social services, such as health, housing and education, thus accruing benefits for the national community as well as the private households.

The literature has highlighted the fact that remittances have declined due to the effects of the global financial crisis and as such, there needs to be the creation of policies that encourage migrants to continue sending remittances to developing countries like Trinidad and Tobago.

In the Caribbean it is recommended that there be the provision of financial products targeting recipients of remittances, and increased financial literacy with regards to remittances. As part of government policy, efforts need to be made to develop these financial institutions and systems that will allow remittances to more

easily enter the country so that they can be used for consumption and savings, which in turn could lead to investment in increased human and physical capital.

Migration needs to be managed effectively and the best way to do so is to have clearly defined policies that deal with the specific issues that relate to migration, such as the social protection of migrants and the vulnerabilities faced by migrants in sectors such as health and education and in areas concerning the economy, governance and human rights, among others. Trinidad and Tobago and the region need to develop a comprehensive approach to migration that would necessarily be cognizant of the economic, social, development and humanitarian issues that currently confront them.

Another important element as articulated by IOM's position on the 2013 UN General Assembly High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development, which is also of importance to Trinidad and Tobago, is the need to mainstream migration programmes into national development and broader planning.

It is generally accepted that regulated migration can enhance development outcomes for migrants, as well as host and origin countries. In order to properly facilitate this, there is the need for effective cooperation

between countries and this can be achieved through bilateral and multilateral agreements.

Other issues that should be given priority are capacity-building and coordination as there seems to be a lack of capacity in the Caribbean to deal with issues related to migration. Assuming that the policies take account of the specific needs of migrants, there could be significant benefits in terms of economic, social and human rights gains. These policies should also serve to reduce the negative aspects of migration, namely the incidence of irregular migration which is increasingly becoming a challenge in the Caribbean.

From the study, it is recommended that the following be taken into consideration:

- a) The establishment of a government department or agency to deal exclusively with migrant issues.
- b) The formulation of a clear legal framework to protect migrant workers, firmly based in the Constitution of Trinidad and Tobago. However, this constitutional basis should extend to independent policy frameworks which enhance the rights and responsibilities of migrants.
- c) The establishment of an inter-agency mechanism for efficient migrant service delivery. A "one-stop shop" approach

to pre-departure preparations for emigrants and reintegration and resettlement for returned migrants.

- d) The establishment of a database of information that will allow migrants access to all requisite information that is needed for their entry into and stay in Trinidad and Tobago.
- e) The creation of a formal national financial institution through which remittances can be sent to Trinidad and Tobago. For this to be effective, it is recommended that the institution be competitive by reducing transfer rates costs. Another benefit of this institution would be its ability to track transfers, which will also be added to the national database.

With respect to the issues of movement of labour by CARICOM nationals, it is recommended that a more effective mechanism for advertising the availability for the CSME Skills Certificate be developed. The data indicate that the total number of certificates issued by CARICOM member States since 1997 is approximately 10,000. This figure includes those who received the certificate but did not move. This compares to a figure of 18,309 work permits and exemptions that were issued in the CARICOM region in 2008 alone.

Policies should be established to facilitate the non-professional migrant in the region and allow them to move freely, and utilize the facilities of the programme (CSME Certificate of Recognition of Caribbean Community Skills Qualifications). One of the major problems is the inability to properly certify skilled artisans and domestic workers in the region and there seems to be no consensus on how to achieve this goal. The use of this programme will also allow spouses and family members of holders of the CSME Skills Certificate to avail themselves of basic social services, such as education and health care in the host countries such as Trinidad and Tobago.

This study has demonstrated that there are significant gaps in the policy framework of Trinidad and Tobago. While the Certificate of Recognition of Caribbean Community Skills Qualifications has been developed in order to facilitate specific categories of migrants in the region, there is the need for countries like Trinidad and Tobago to expand, and to provide clear and unambiguous mechanisms for migrants in order to facilitate the process.

The increased movement of persons globally dictates that Trinidad and Tobago and the Caribbean must create an environment through policy to ensure the rights of migrants are guaranteed. In the absence of such

policies and mechanisms, countries of the region, such as Trinidad and Tobago, run the risk of increased numbers of irregular migrants and are subject to the vagaries of an underdeveloped system. By looking internationally, it is evident where such policies and mechanisms do not exist that there are high levels of irregular migration which negatively affects both the host country and the country of origin.

The major findings of the study revealed that while migration can have both positive and negative impacts, the majority of respondents indicated that life was negatively impacted by emigration, and one third of the respondents felt that immigration was making life more difficult. The results of the study also clearly indicated that the majority of the returned migrants earned more abroad than before they left Trinidad and Tobago. In relation to the quality of life while living abroad, 40.7 per cent of returned migrants indicated that they were much more satisfied with life abroad, and 18.1 per cent indicated that they were slightly more satisfied.

The study revealed that both returned and absent migrants used their time abroad to obtain certifications and qualifications, as well as to seek employment. Remittances were identified as one of the primary benefits of migration to households

in Trinidad and Tobago and the study also revealed that Trinidad and Tobago has witnessed significant intraregional and interregional migratory flows into the island, as well as outflows of Trinidad and Tobago nationals. The study indicated that emigrants play a crucial role in the form of monetary injections into the economy as well as goods that are needed by family members who remain behind in Trinidad and Tobago. The returned migrants' contribution to national development includes the injection of new skills, qualifications and certifications from more developed countries, which may increase the rate of national development.

It is also interesting to observe that 95.3 per cent of returned migrants surveyed indicated that they were glad they had gone to live abroad, and 69.6 per cent indicated that if they had a choice they would migrate again. Interestingly though, there has been a historical trend showing that many of Trinidad and Tobago's migrants do return to the country and the study captured information in relation to the reasons for their return including family reasons, completion of studies and a sense of belonging.

While South–South migration is characterized by a high incidence of remittance flows between the host and sending nations, the majority of respondents in Trinidad and Tobago

did not receive any. Within the context of South–South migration patterns of migrants from Trinidad and Tobago, the study found there tends to be a more family-oriented rather than an individualistic approach. Even if initially only one member of the household emigrates, other family members typically follow to the destination country in the South.

The study found that education and skills acquisition are primary motives for migration. These are regarded as strategies to overcome limitations facing the citizens of small States. Migration motivated by a desire for educational advancement and skills acquisition is undertaken in migration that occurs from South to South as well as South to North.

There is a clear recognition, as indicated in this study, that more in-depth and targeted research needs to be undertaken in relation to migration in general, and to South–South migration in particular. It is important to note that this initial study, which is part of a larger research effort, is critical in charting the path for further investigation of the impact of South–South movements on these States. The findings can be used to inform further research and policy development in these areas.

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Annex: The impact of South-South migration on development in Trinidad and Tobago – Questionnaire

Household questionnaire materials

About the questionnaire

This questionnaire was originally written for the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) and the Global Development Network (GDN) by Laura Chappell, Robert E.B. Lucas and Roger Thomas. It was developed for use in the groundbreaking IPPR/GDN research project *Development on the Move: Measuring and Optimising Migration's Development Impacts*, which aimed to research migration and development by creating new methodologies for assessing migration's impacts, collecting evidence on those impacts, helping to build research capacity on migration and development issues in developing countries and examining fresh policy options for improving migration's contribution to development. More information can be found here: <http://www.ippr.org/research-projects/44/7060/development-on-the-move>. It has been adapted for use in the ACP Observatory on Migration's programme of work on the impact of South–South migration on development and will be implemented by the Trade and Business Development Centre.

About the ACP Observatory on Migration

The ACP Observatory is an initiative of the Secretariat of the Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group of States and the European Union. It is implemented by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) leading a Consortium of 15 other partners and working with 3 associates. The ACP Observatory is funded by the European Union, with the financial support of IOM and its Development Fund, UNFPA and Switzerland. The ACP Observatory is included in a larger intra-ACP Migration Facility, which aims to build institutional capacity in the ACP countries and strengthen the civil society with the ultimate goal to include migration issues into national and regional development strategies.

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The Anatol Institute of Research and Social Sciences (TAIRASS) is a dynamic research consultancy based in Trinidad and Tobago. The Institute conducts social, market intelligence and political surveys and related research in the Caribbean. Its scope of solutions includes the design and management of political, economic and social, and market research projects in the Caribbean, for various clients who range from multinational corporations, governments, non-governmental organizations, international originations, regional firms, conglomerates, and private enterprises.

Visit the website of the ACP Observatory on Migration to consult the full questionnaire used in the framework of the study.

