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**EXPLORING THE POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT CONSEQUENCES AND
IMPACT OF RETURN MIGRATION TO GUYANA**

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April 2017

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted,
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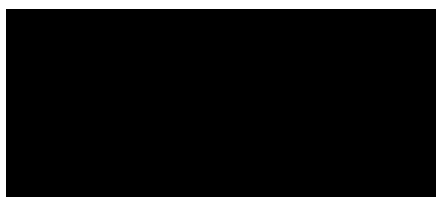


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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been a learning lesson for me; nevertheless, I hope the reader finds it helpful. My attraction to study the issue of return migration has been purely based on an emotional response to outmigration that ignited some of my earlier applied work in 2006-2007 and the effects it was having on my life, and that of many domiciled Guyanese at that time. Even earlier, I had been recognizing the phenomenon of migration that was taking place in my high school years, but purely as an issue of wanting to look and sound like my cousins who resided abroad. My mom left Guyana, friends left Guyana, my high school teacher left Guyana and so it went on, with occasional visits many years later to speak of the various ‘paradises’ that awaited non-migrants like myself. In my University years, I had grown dependent on my family abroad for material support throughout, and the prospects of leaving Guyana became more urgent, even for my own self-development. With all that anxiety, I left for one year of graduate studies at the University of York in the United Kingdom, only to return immediately after; as my friend who had also just returned from the University of Manchester said, we went abroad with a ‘one track mind of returning’. Today, I am still very much Guyanese, only leaving for periods to study, occasional work and vacation. Colleagues would say in local parlance “Meh navel string bury deh” (translates as ‘There is no place like home/There is where you belong’).

Amazingly, my original motivation to do a PhD on the subject of migration was not born out of those experiences, but the sudden realization that I no longer wanted to be in the abstract field of pure economics. This field of study did not present the type of social involvement that I thought I was destined to make as part of my work life. Migration was the

next best value addition because I had started a survey on the brain drain and published on return migration policies in Caribbean small states.

In this thesis, my intention started with the notion of wanting to measure the impact of return migration in the small state of Guyana. That is, to ascertain return migrants' contribution to local development at the individual level. By doing this I had hoped to identify what contributions are being made and in which areas the benefit of returning accrued. However, this was not sufficient, though necessary, for me to add value to the 'return migration and development' genre of intellectual thought. This thesis, after working through many papers, books, discussions with my supervisors, presentations with ad hoc and academic groups, local experts in the field, and contextualizing this topic within the Guyanese socio-political dimension, took me beyond this framework.

To measure the potential development impact of return migration in the case of Guyana, and at the same time make meaningful additions to the literature at the level that would constitute a PhD thesis, innovative thinking had to be blended with emerging evidence from the data (quantitative and qualitative) gathered. At this level of scrutiny, existing challenges such as measuring multidimensional impact, taking into account the latent feature of migration and return, meeting the reality of the absence and sparse nature of the data, and to some extent in this process of 'finding the needle in the haystack', are part of the core problems that had to be confronted. A secondary quantum of expectations related to presenting information through a narrative that would somehow satisfy the desires revealed in my early assessments, even if this was to be done partially. As such this thesis should be of use to various stakeholders locally in Guyana to fill an existing knowledge gap perceived as responsible for the government's slow pace to act on an area that seems to have strong development input potential.

To non-migrants, who themselves felt marginalized by perceived or real discrimination in the return migration policy framework that allotted concessions to return migrants, the usefulness of return migration policy and return migrants in aiding national development is necessary for convincing this stakeholder group. The thesis would not be useful too if it did not help local policy makers and technical personnel in their efforts to persuade the political directorate of whether or not returnees were indeed contributing to development, in which areas this occurred etc., and as such make the case for a more targeted policy framework. In fact, with the desire to pursue a diaspora policy, this work is a useful starting point.

The task of achieving the work produced in this thesis was by no measure simple or could have been completed without the support of many. My support team on this journey was massive, and I learnt from every encounter and every individual conversation adjacent to my thesis focus. I dedicate this work to all my mates, and seniors who were not presented with this opportunity or for other reasons had to direct their focus on family and impending situations of life. It is because I felt you were all happier and proud of me in this journey as a reflection of where you wanted to go and what you wanted to do that has been my most endearing inspiration, and especially for my daughter Makena Bristol who may someday read this on reflection, always checking in on how my work is coming along.

I welcome especially the traits of my mom and that die-hard spirit of task completion, the support and encouragement of Akua Carberry (smile), and harsh criticisms of Dr. Amos Peters. No less than a monumental thank you is the special gratitude I owe Professor Russell King and a particular thank you to Professor Ronald Skeldon and Dr. Julie Litchfield for their patience and guidance. Thanks to Anya Thomas and Derven Patrick, for always checking in on me with regards to completing. My inner circle who, though not always in touch, still encouraged me to push on to the end: Orin Walton, Marlon Cumberbatch, Kosi McDavid,

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In my final round of dedications, I may not remember all, forgive me, but surely the support of Dr. Mark Kirton and the University of the West Indies St. Augustine Institute of International Relations (UWI-IIR), where my first presentation on this topic motivated a conversation with the audience and led to the eventual pursuit of a PhD in Migration Studies; and Dr. Hilary Browne of CARICOM Secretariat, Dr. Chanzo Greednidge and all colleagues within the ACP Migration Facility 2011-2014 where I worked. Critical support and discussions came from Dr. Clement Henry, Sukrishnalall Pasha, Magda Griffith, Simona Broomes, Dr. Diana Dasilva-Glasgow, Dr. Hiskana Corbin, Professor Elizabeth Thomas-Hope, Ms. Bonita Hunter, and Dr. Melissa Ifill. Exceptional thank you to Mr. Rawl Small, Ms. Onika Stellingburg and the Habitat for Humanity team who worked hard in collecting the data; and Ms. Esther McIntosh and The Consultancy Group for presentations and feedback from their Knowledge Underground forum including all those in attendance. Critical data and support were provided from the agencies that guided my initial approaches and discussions around the issue of migrants' data, so inter alia, special thank you as well to Mr. Ian Manifold, Mr. Sonkarley Bealie, Mrs. Sharon Kreuter, and all those at the Bureau of Statistics; Ms. Fiona Holder and Guyana Revenue Authority; Mr. Shawn Doris and Guyana Office for Investment; and Ms. Vanessa Dickenson and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. And finally, my former colleagues of the UNDP Guyana team 2009-2011: Mr. Trevor Benn, Dr. Kiari Liman tinguir, Ms. Nadine Livan, Ms. Patsy Ross, Ms. Heneritta Bledman, Ms. Amaly Kowlessar, Mr. Kenroy Roach, and Mr. Didier Trebucq, thank you all.

THESIS SUMMARY

This thesis investigates the potential for return migrants to have an impact on development in the small-state case of Guyana, relative to the non-migrant population. To do this in a fairly comprehensive manner, three specific questions are posed. Firstly, what are the differences among return migrants, non-returning migrants, and non-migrants? Secondly, what are the determinants of return migration to Guyana? And thirdly, what are the potential consequences of return migration to Guyana? The first question allows for an understanding of critical differences among return migrants, non-returning migrants, and non-migrants. This provides information on where, potentially, return migrants show important differences relative to the other groups, and if those differences observed would be useful for development in Guyana. Further, I explore the sustainability of return migration through the concept of mixed embeddedness, looking into the influences of return migrants' desire for re-emigration. Hence, answering the first question is an early signal of where, potentially, return migrants demonstrate attributes that arguably are useful for development in the origin country. In answering the second question, an insight is provided into what determines return. In particular, determinants of return take on a more real-world context, factoring a key eligibility of policy – that of duration of time spent abroad. Lastly, given the multidimensional link between migration and development, the final question tries to understand what the actual nexus between return migration and development is for the case of Guyana. Especially, I explore the direct and indirect impact of return migration, whether return migrants are likely to be of more use in development over non-migrants, and the measurable indicators of this nexus for Guyana.

To facilitate the analysis, the thesis first justifies why it is useful to revisit return migration as a potentially useful impetus for development. Here is where the small state case

is presented as still valid. It then delves into the relevance of return migration and development linkages for the particular case of Guyana. In the process, it reveals why Guyana is an interesting case, contextualizing the theoretical perspectives that help to rationalize the general arguments, for and against, why individuals leave and some return. The account then notes, where data are available, existing policy practices in some small states as they relate to how governments demonstrate an interest in return migration as useful for origin-state development. The above summarizes the content of chapters 1 and 2. Chapter 3 explains in detail the mixed-method approach used to collect the qualitative and quantitative data required to develop the critical arguments and research results presented in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

A two-stage stratified sampling approach with disproportionate fractions was used to collect data on 451 return migrants and 528 non-migrants. This data was pooled with 210 non-returning migrants captured in an online survey using an ethno-survey framework. Additionally, qualitative interviews with representatives of several local institutions with responsibility for return migration policy, data, and concessions delivery were conducted to support the quantitative framework. Notwithstanding the fairly large sample size, the return migration and development story told in this thesis not only dwells on averages, but also on individual reflections of return contained in the data.

For the analysis, a mix of standard and novel approaches is utilized. The transnationalism approach, which recognizes the current characterization of the fluidity of migration, combined with the capabilities approach to migration and development, enables a general view on how the nexus is manifested in development outcomes at the individual level. These are the main reference points adapted to guide the conversation on determinants and consequences respectively. Techniques employed for the analysis of determinants and

consequences are survival analysis and exploratory factor analysis, including the OLS and Ordered Probit models.

The sample demonstrated that return migrants were different on personal and socio-economic attributes. Migrants returned mainly from countries within the CARICOM region rather than from those further away such as the North America and Other International areas. Return migrants have a tendency to remit prior to returning, even acquiring personal assets before, which can be linked to their duration spent abroad and their host location. On returning, returnees in the sample differed from non-migrants, especially in the areas of educational attainment and current earnings in terms of monthly household income. International migration in terms of the level of development at the host location is an imperative. Return migrants' exposure and enhanced capacity are potentially useful for development. But, the jury is still out on whether this is harnessed to fill development gaps in the origin country Guyana. Nevertheless, returnees can be viewed as 'elites' which puts this group among those most equipped to (re)-emigrate. Hence, desires for re-emigration are vested not only in the institutional and structural stressors, but also reflect individual attributes of return migrants. Return migration thus does not necessarily complete the migration cycle.

Return, demonstrated in the sample mostly by those in the CARICOM region, has been subjected to a number of personal characteristics – migration status among other reasons. Structural factors have not been captured well to reflect the differences in the host countries to that of origin, but something is definitely happening at host locations that engenders the agency of returnees. Capabilities and achievements of migrants returning are indicative of systems and structures at the host locations. Even in the presence of heterogeneity among returnees, return migrants seem to have a positive impact on development in Guyana relative to non-migrants. Returning was also importantly a function

the migrant's position/membership in the household at origin, as social attachments inclined them to return. But their contribution on return correlates with the duration spent abroad; the longer time giving migrants better opportunities to prepare, remit, and acquire local assets in some cases.

The signal given, therefore, is that, while returnees seem positively related to local development through their human capital, there is no guarantee that they will be contributing to local development if the policy is not designed to extract necessary obligations. While return might be interpreted as success in some cases, migrants juxtapose economic and non-economic factors in navigating return and re-emigration. As it already obtains, if migrants do not return some still remit which can also contribute to the development of Guyana. This happens if diaspora policy and thoughts of returning are engendered by the non-returning migrant. Transnational ties help to reinforce such thoughts. Notwithstanding, the transnational approach alone cannot explain the many contexts of migration and return. Such would require multiple contextual approaches.

The relationships of the consequences of return migration for development in Guyana has been reflected in the extraction of 13 observable indicators. The variables give ideas into the relationship of return and development, that is to say the capabilities and achievements of returnees as compared to non-migrants. But return migrants' achievements, even when this is above that of non-migrants, does not guarantee inputs to wider local development in the presence of structural rigidities. In fact, during the period of exchange rate and foreign exchange restrictions, non-returning migrants could not remit formally, intending migrants could not get access to passports at will, *inter alia*. The result was a massive underground economy as a coping strategy under import substitution development. Notwithstanding, in the presence of liberal policies and transnationalism, at minimum, migration does do something

positive for the migrants and/or the households from which they originate, even if the models used in this thesis exaggerate these outcomes.

CHAPTER 1: REVISITING RETURN MIGRATION THROUGH THE LENS OF SMALLNESS

1.1 Introduction and Research Questions

Within the broad fields of both migration studies and development, the issue of the impact of return migration on development in the small state context is often overlooked. My thesis investigates this issue for the case of Guyana. The sovereign nation of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana is characteristically and administratively associated with Caribbean small states, notably since the first regional integration platform in 1956 – the West Indian Federation. This small state illustrates the highest brain drain rate in the world, and is in the top cohort of nations distributing skilled labour per capita of their prospective educated labour force (see Docquier and Marfouk, 2004; also, Carrington and Detragiache, 1999).

So far, outmigration from small jurisdictions is of predominantly skilled individuals, which if it reaches a critical mass can be harmful to economic growth and human capital accumulation (Wong and Yip, 1998). Additionally, for small states, it has been shown that, whether the consequences of migration are positive or negative, they especially resonate with such nations (Beine et al., 2008; Schiff and Wang, 2008). In fact, outmigration has been consistently seen as a significant loss of human capital in the Anglophone Caribbean Community (Degazon-Johnson, 2007; Beine et al., 2003; ECLAC, 2005). In the long run, such outmigration can generate negative consequences for productivity and growth in origin countries because it may retard work effort (Azam and Gubert, 2006; Chami et al., 2003).

Hence, return migration has the obvious potential to be useful, all the more so since Mishra (2006) argued from a national development perspective that the gains from skilled emigration do not outweigh the benefits from remittances in small states of the Caribbean. Given such a research outcome, the further need for return migration continues to be

important for Caribbean small states. In fact, emerging evidence from Conway and Potter (2007) and Conway et al. (2005) suggests that even in small numbers, returning migrants to the Caribbean region are influential to development. This latter evidence challenges the traditional view (Bovenkerk, 1982; King, 1986) that migrants had to be returning in sufficiently large numbers to have a demonstrable effect.

As such, sovereign return migration structures (and diaspora policies) continue to be useful in Caribbean small states. This becomes even more pertinent since regional integration migration policy is not legally binding. Progress in this regard is slow, and often retarded by bureaucracy. Evidence of this exists in the functioning of labour market integration within the Single Market and Economy Free Movement Regime. My contention, therefore, is that the pursuit of sovereign return migration policy remains relevant in a small state context. It is a much more direct, timely and capable means of meeting some local development needs than broader policies of regional integration.

In the international migration arena, smallness has not been at the forefront of the return migration-development debate despite the growth in research on this topic. As this distinction comes into focus, return migration is likely to have greater relevance in the migration-development nexus for small jurisdictions. And, hopefully the emerging role of its multipurpose focus between developed and developing nations will be amplified. Consequently, the peculiarity of the small state context becomes pertinent to return migration in the migration-development nexus. This debate therefore warrants investigation if the evolving potential of migrants, including those who returned, is to be justly assessed and bolstered.

To explore the development impact of return migration, this thesis answers three critical questions. Two of these are indicated by Bilsborrow et al. (1997) as useful for this purpose, to which I add a third. *Firstly, what are the differences among return migrants, non-*

returning migrants, and non-migrants? This question deals with the issue of differences, and as such, acts as an early warning feature of the potential development impact return migrants to Guyana are likely to have. *Secondly, what are the determinants of return migration to Guyana?* Specifically, an understanding of how policy can optimize the benefits based on evidence on those who have already physically returned is relevant here. Particularly important is the optimal migration duration within which a return migration policy can be effective as part of the core conditioning factors. *Thirdly, the thesis seeks to probe the potential development impact of return migration to Guyana at the individual level.* Understanding the general impact, and the associated development dimensions that are affected, given the multidimensional nature of migration and development, are key here. Overall, the arguments put forward in this thesis sit squarely within the migration-development nexus debate, especially insofar as the potential of return as a platform through which the benefits of migration can be realized in the pursuit of wider development goals.

The main conceptual bases used to frame the arguments put forward are the transnational paradigm in migration studies and the capability approach in development studies. Transnationalism is a reflection of the evolution of reforms in Guyana post-1992. These reforms (see Egoume-Bossogo et al., 2003) include a litany of liberalized initiatives that facilitated freer movement of migrants, an escalation in remittances financially and in-kind due to exchange market liberalization, trade under export orientation industrialization, liberalized communication networks and social media, all of which contributed to more symmetry of information to those intending to return and leave. Transnationalism, as used in this thesis, also reflects the reciprocity that migration and development have come to represent in the evolution of the debate on progress made especially at the household level. On the other hand, the capability approach tries to recognize the achievements of migrants

who return, capture their multidimensionality based on evidence collected, and thereby attempt to measure the potential impact of return de facto.

1.2 The Migration-Development Nexus

Migration is now recognized as integral to development universally, which has resulted in the establishment of the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD). This forum is voluntary, to encourage governments and civil society to organize and rationalize the migration and development interconnections to better influence economic growth. Moving forward on a global platform, the GFMD has a crucial role of pushing the Agenda 2030 towards sustainable development. Especially important for the small jurisdictions involved, migration has become a coping strategy for the poor of some of these nations, but return would be appreciated where remittances are not sufficient to compensate for the loss of skills.

The process of development is complex and constantly evolving based on many variables, of which migration is only one (Appleyard, 1989). Historically, establishing the migration-development nexus has been sketchier than is the case today. Skeldon's (1997) work in this regard goes as far back as Ravenstein's (1885, 1889) attempts to link migration to development. Skeldon found that there was no incisive framework for understanding the many and complex relationships of the migration-development link.

Following on, Bronden (2012) indicated that the current (2000s) discourse on the migration-development nexus is debated within the perspective of the migrant as a transnational agent of development – the focus pointing to the role of migration to bring remittances to the global South. De Haas (2012) posited similarly and added that migrant diasporas are also part of the current migration-development link. The view he advanced is

that hometown associations, and migrants themselves, among other things, contribute potentially to social, economic and political development of both origin and destination countries. Faist et al. (2011) noted this too, and identified three factors and periods as instrumental to the evolution of the nexus: the first phase is *remittances and return* – during the 1950s and 1960s which saw immigration policy in the United Kingdom and Europe encouraging labour migrants (immigrants) for post-war economic rebuilding; the second phase looked at *poverty and the brain drain* during the 1980s, a time when the concept of dependent development was the dominant view (in the developing world) of how economic progress was made and maintained in destination/core countries; and the third is related to the *fostering of transnational links*.

Continued optimism about the benefits that migration can bring to development is, in part, based on the recognition that ‘migrants typically do not cut ties with their country of origin and ... with the household back home and the home community ... there can be an important exchange of money, knowledge and ideas between host and home countries through migrants’ activities’ (Vargas-Silva, 2012, p. 2). This is a good summary of the transnational effect. Having regards to this recognition, Chappell and Sriskandarajah’s (2007) mapping of the various development impacts that migration can have on a developing country identified eight dimensions, and more than thirty mechanisms. With such a range, it is no wonder that for example Peng (2009) found migration’s implications for development can be most widely felt through institutional changes, and Rodrik et al. (2004) and Acemlogu et al. (2005) have shown how important institutions are in accounting for differences in levels of development.

Another example is the migration-development link in the evolution and promotion of cultural industries. In the Caribbean, Nurse (2006) advocated for attention to this area for its

place in the development contribution of these small states, given culture's global influence, regional and national value, and benefits that have accrued.

Governance and economy are another area of impact too. Docquier et al. (2011) showed that emigration and enhanced human capital increase both democracy and economic freedom. Evidence by Lucas (2005, p. 267) showed that migration benefits countries of origin economically through some level of poverty alleviation, but is unlikely to fully eradicate poverty. Indeed, in some scenarios migration might deepen absolute poverty through loss of productive human capital. This indicates that migration and its link to development have both optimistic and pessimistic interpretations.

In two useful overview papers, De Haas (2010, 2012) presented an agglomeration of optimist and pessimist views regarding migration and development, indicating that both views see migration as an intrinsic part of capitalist expansion, economic growth and urbanization. The two interpretations oppose each other on the outcome (i.e. that migration is positive or negative) but they share the fundamental starting point that migration is a 'development malpractice', with a negative correlation between development levels and rates of outmigration. Notwithstanding, Clemens (2011, p. 101) indicated that the 'available evidence suggests that the gains to lowering barriers to emigration appear much larger than gains from further reductions in barriers to goods trade or capital flows – and may be much larger than those available through any other shift in a single class of global economic policy'. This thesis proceeds with an optimistic view, recognizing De Haas's (2012, pp. 20-21) observations as especially apposite:

'...the receiving country governments have linked the issue of migration and development to return or so-called "circular" migration...on the assumption that temporary migration is beneficial for both origin and destination countries as well as for the migrants themselves. However ...there is substantial empirical evidence to

question the assumption that temporary migration is the most effective “development tool”, while such “revolving door” policies are very difficult to implement in practice...in fact, policies that try to forcibly link restrictive immigration policies centered around temporary and return migration often seem misguided, not only because of their usual failure to meet their stated objectives, but because they paradoxically seem to reduce the development potential of migration. They do so by infringing on migrants’ residency and socio-economic rights and by effectively pushing migrants into permanent settlement. Through raising barriers to immigration, migrants have to assume higher costs and risks to migrate, which also increases the risks of returning. The degree of circulation and temporariness tends to be higher under free migration than under restrictive immigration policy regimes. Therefore, the much sought-after “issue linkage” between migration and development is generally not desirable, and can actually undermine broader development agendas and justify depriving migrants of their fundamental rights. Rather than crunching the two issues together into a forced and unhappy marriage, it therefore makes much more sense to conduct separate, sensible migration and development policies that improve economic and political conditions in origin countries and that optimize migrant rights and socio-economic mobility. This seems to be the most effective way to optimize the positive role of migration in development processes.’

De Haas is presumably speaking here from the perspective of policies in destination countries that are grappling with curbing migration and using return as a mechanism in the policy process. The developing country scenario is very different, hence the multi-purpose use of the ‘return migration platform’ for development (Van Houte, 2014).

The next section defines some key terms to provide structure and scope to guide the reader on the concepts of return and development as articulated in this thesis. Thereafter the chapter delves into why there should be increased attention to this topic and the importance given to the return migration platform as potentially useful as a development input for small jurisdictions.

1.3 Defining Key Terms

To clarify the scope of the main analytical categories under investigation, the terms ‘return migrants’ and ‘development’ are defined and contextualized early to guide the reader. *Return migrants* are persons defined as ‘returning to their country of citizenship after having been international migrants (whether short-term or long-term) in another country and who are intending to stay in their own country for at least a year’ (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1998). However, for this study, after conducting a pilot of the questionnaire used for data capture, a critical adjustment had to be made.

A time dimension had to be imposed on the length of time elapsed before returning for the data to be useful for analyzing the human development impact of return. There is no universally ideal optimal duration abroad, but the length of time abroad is of value for migrants’ preparedness to return and to contribute to home-country development (King, 1986; Cassarino, 2004). Those who return after a brief absence might not be as useful as those with more experience (Cerase, 1970), or those whose socio-cultural integration is a deterrent to the intention to return (De Haas and Fokkema, 2011). However, the higher the incentives to return, the earlier temporary migrants are willing to return (Djajic, 2010).

This research adjusted the definition of return to restrict its analysis to returnees who stayed abroad for at least one year, to rule out tourists and short-term visitors. It is important

to note that, even with this adjustment, returnees are still closer to the classification of the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs than that of the Government of Guyana (GOG). The GOG defines a return migrant for the purpose of accessing concessions to be a person who lived abroad for at least 4-5 years consecutively; this includes individuals born abroad to Guyanese parents ('second-generation migrants'). This definition excludes a wide class of return migrants, who have been abroad for 1-3 years.

Two additional analytical categories, *non-migrants* and *non-returning migrants*, are used as crude control groups in my analysis. Non-migrants refer to those who never left their country of birth (De Vreder, 2010), or only briefly for tourism. Non-returning migrants are those in the host destination that have not returned to Guyana and who are resident abroad for more than a year.

Development is defined for the purpose of this investigation by UNDP (1990, p. 10) as a process of 'enlarging people's choices, which can be theoretically infinite and change over time. The three essential choices are for people to lead a long and healthy life, acquire knowledge, and to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living'. UNDP further argues, on the same page, that 'human mobility is a freedom, an act of the enlargement of choice; to move is an exercise in that freedom. Mobility is taken to be a positive and not only a negative freedom...' On the issue of measurement to follow in chapter 6, a decent standard of living as proxy by income is adapted as the human development measure in the presence of data limitation and some analytical complexities that could not be overcome.

The reasonable measure of income, as noted in the UNDP 1990 report, was cited as critical in participatory poverty assessment¹ whilst also embracing the concept of movement as a freedom and as a coping strategy of the poor experiencing hardship. Any opportunity to

¹ The framework collects poor people's views regarding their own analysis of poverty and the survival strategies that they use, see <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPSIA/0,,contentMDK:20472513~isCURL:Y~menuPK:1108016~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:490130,00.html>

expand household income and accumulate assets is taken as vital in the human development context, but not limited to the notion of income maximization. Therefore, migration or the possibility of mobility according UN Declaration of Human Rights Article 13, enshrines movement as a freedom:

‘Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State; everyone has the right to leave any country, including his [sic] own, and to return to his [sic] country’.

In establishing the framework to facilitate my analysis, it is acknowledged that human development, and what it means, can vary by many factors, notwithstanding standardized approaches to its measurement. It is acknowledged too that economic growth, while a pillar, is not a panacea for human development. And, as Selim Jahan, Director of the United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report Office acknowledged, ‘a concept is always broader than any of its proposed measures’. Jahan² explained that measures for human development are of two types: the breadth measure – Human Development Accounting; and the focus measure, which concentrates on some basic dimensions of human development. This analysis embraces the focus measure as it tries to simplify measurement.

Human development and the enlargement of freedoms are central to the theoretical framework of the capability approach to development. Gasper and Truong (2010, p. 354) concluded that the usefulness of the capabilities approach lies in its ‘insistence on multi-dimensional, inter-personally disaggregated, reflective evaluation, as migration reconfigures not only societies, it reconfigures persons, and creates new categories and combinations of identities’. Assuming such primary space for mobility/migration in development, Bonfanti (2014, p. 4) reported Martha Nussbaum (2006, p. 76) as including mobility in her list of 10

² <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/blog/2015/3/10/The-Human-Development-Index-what-it-is-and-what-it-is-not/>

fundamental capabilities, while Robeyns (2005) adapted the capabilities approach to the peculiarities of migration.

Frediani (2010) operationalized this concept of capability into a core set of factors (individual, local, and structural), known as the capability space. These factors allow for the identification of specific ‘capabilities’. Broadly, the factors identified in Frediani (2010) are related to individual capacities, such as physical conditions, levels of literacy etc. Local factors are related to facilities and collective norms; and structural factors are such elements as market mechanisms and the political structure.

1.4 Increased Attention to Return Migration as Part of Development Policy

Increasing the options to foster development in small states has led to contemplating how return migration and the diaspora can be of value in such contexts. At the regional level, policy frameworks (CSME) have been advanced to facilitate the movement of labour in CARICOM, prior to which some individual state return policies existed. More recently, the GFMD at the international level was established to promote ways to harness migration for development.

The additional focus on return migration that one notices around the world today has three important dimensions. First, the developed world has become suspicious of immigrants as challenges to social cohesion intensified. This suspicion increases in the current climate of terrorist attacks, and within the broader political scenario where pressures mount for the return or repatriation of ‘unwanted’ immigrants. Second, the developing world, where most nations have become independent, has been calling on their residents in the diaspora to return and develop their ‘homeland’. And thirdly, while both sides are engulfed in policies to focus inwardly or outwardly on their development, return migration has evolved into a form of

multi-focus instrument (Van Houte, 2014), as well as a coping strategy or risk management tool for migrants themselves.

This notion of return migration as a multi-purpose tool has some history. Return migration has been important in the case of Europe and is poised to be important for developing countries in the future (Skeldon, 2013, p. 23). However, King (1986, 2000) and Ammassari and Black (2001) have alluded to a general historical neglect of attention to return migration in the literature. Notwithstanding, return migration is not as understudied now, as an element of the migration cycle, as would have been the case a few decades ago.

Cassarino (2004, p. 254) made the point that, despite scholarly approaches on return migration being traced back to the 1960s, it was not until the 1980s that the bulk of the literature developed on this topic. Dustmann (1996) observed that many policy measures incentivizing return migration from destination countries in Europe were taken in the 1970s and especially the 1980s. Van Houte (2014, p. 14) recorded that ‘the end of the Cold War set in motion a number of changes in the industrialized states that led to a gradually shifting discourse, from integration to return and from viewing migrants as victims of rival regimes to seeing them as agents of change in their country of origin’. Consequently, the view of immigrants as a source of burden, also causing social cohesion problems in some of the main destination countries, led to a focus on policies and programmes for return immigrants, which is consistent with the burgeoning academic attention to return migration at that time.

The policy actions taken on return migration had similar meanings amongst nations in the developed world but dissimilar meanings for nations in the developing world, hence the categorization of it as a ‘multi-purpose tool designed to achieve multiple ends’ (Van Houte, 2014; see also Skeldon, 2008). In the developing world, the small states of the Caribbean Community, from the 1960s onwards, were gaining independence from their former colonial masters. This independence movement led to clarion calls for return. And this was seen as

well placed, for both origin and destination country. For example, OECD (2008) reported that return migration, in any given year, represented a range of 20% to 75% of incoming immigrants.

In the origin jurisdiction of Guyana, several calls were made for migrants to return as well. A first attempt at linking with the diaspora and encouraging return as a matter of government policy for the sake of national development was made immediately following Independence in 1967 by then Prime Minister, Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham. The government scheme on return migration targeted skilled Guyanese in the diaspora³ (Strachan, 1980).

Reflecting the various strands of thinking on development at that time, it would seem as though the first initiative was driven in part by the belief that dependent development (emanating from dependency theory) escalated through a transfer of skilled labour to the developed core from peripheral states (Finkle and McIntosh, 1982; Mittleman, 2000). For Guyana, the call targeted recently emigrated professionals who exploited their ‘British Guiana’ status to migrate prior to independence in 1966, after which that status dissolved (Vezzoli, 2014). Essentially, the then government, which also articulated a self-sufficiency development agenda to ‘Feed, House, and Clothe the nation’, saw outmigration to core centers as exacerbating the unequal development of Guyana relative to its former colonial master. Return migration of skilled labour was seen as necessary for balancing unequal exchanges and promoting economic development.

On the other hand, the call on the diaspora was precipitated, in part, due to the development needs of the country. But many of those needs are factors (or lack of basic services and amenities) that are usually deterrents to return. Today, a return facilitation scheme still exists and calls for return are still being made to the diaspora. Recently elected

³ Other attempts at return migration include the Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN) programme of the mid-1990’s.

(May 2015) President David Granger also made this clarion call during and after his campaign. The approach is to enhance the diaspora's contribution to local development. This time, however, migration is very circular and a more transnationalist perspective seems to govern current thinking. Seen as a process from which small states like Guyana can benefit, the migrant, and the phenomenon of migration, are perceived as a lucrative development vehicle.

Movement is fluid and circular in the context of the diaspora, exploiting opportunities in both the origin and destination jurisdictions – dual nationalities, dual income sources, etc. Though transnationalism is not explicitly reflected or even mentioned by name in the national development policy framework, many of the sectoral and other policy advances have facilitated transnationalism *de facto*. These include faster processing times for passports, acceptance of dual citizenships, liberalization of communication and other networks, freer trade and investment regimes, the targeting of niche and nostalgic markets for locally produced commodities etc. (see Egoime-Bossogo et al., 2003), and a housing scheme developed for return migrants, to mention a few. The intention is to move beyond such initiatives and include diaspora representatives in Parliament, according to the recent (2017) Diaspora Conference of the University of Guyana, and a supporting department for Diaspora Affairs within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The global, regional (Anglophone Caribbean) and local calls and expressions of interest in return migration are multi-directional. On the local scene, government, through policies and active recruitment, has made efforts to encourage return and these continue to date. Going forward, in the words of Van Houte (2014), return policies act as 'instruments... that managed, controlled, and regulated immigrants' mobility; strengthened domestic and border security; and enhanced international development'. These motives have culminated in what is now advanced as the migration-development nexus, a wider context for the return

migration process to be considered within. Therefore, future policy as an enabler has to reflect this vision of utilizing return for development within this ‘nexus thinking’.

It has been argued that migration policies determine flows, conditions, and consequences (UNDESA, 2013). The policy response to migration in general has been varied. For example, at the global level the Human Development Report (2009) prescribed promoting mobility and protecting the human rights of migrants for optimal development impact. In earlier decades Bhagwati (1976) proposed a tax – a compensatory measure for losses accrued as a result of migration and hence the loss of resources invested by the origin state. Other policy initiatives looked at a managed migration framework (for example the Mode 4 Principle of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS)); while the IOM has been working with countries to optimize the utility of their expatriate population, examples being the Assisted Voluntary Return Programme and diaspora engagement policies.

Diaspora policies, though not confined to any one type of state, have exhibited a diversity of measures (Gamlen, 2006). In fact, diaspora policies encourage development of the origin country (IOM, 2005), whether the migrant returns or not. Khonje (2015, p. 18) noted too that developing countries adopt diaspora policies to maintain links with migrants and their communities, in an approach called ‘virtual return’, to facilitate diasporas’ contributions to the origin state.

But, generally, return migration is understood differently across the host and destination country separately (Sinatti, 2015); recall that returns are sometimes considered multi-purpose (Van Houte, 2014). In this regard, Jonkers (2008) provided a threefold policy classification, which considered both diaspora networks and return: 1) migrant and diaspora network policies (including policies that facilitate trade, transfer of knowledge, etc.), 2) temporary return policies (including policies that support circulation of migrants and their resources, give exemptions etc.), and 3) permanent return policies (that support domicile

habitation, salary top-ups, free office space, exemptions etc.). Individual small states in the English-speaking Caribbean Community have utilized a combination of return facilitation (Bristol, 2010) and diaspora policies in the region.

Based on Gamlen's (2006) classification, return policy initiatives can involve capacity building, extending rights, and extracting obligations. Or alternatively put, return migration policy can create benefits for origin states through resources and skills that return, benefits to the receiving countries through temporary migration for workforce renewal, and benefits for the origin states through improved conditions due to migration itself (Sinatti, 2015). However, in its multiple interpretations from the perspective of the migrant receiving countries, return is largely a tool for the removal of unwanted immigrants through forced and 'semi-voluntary' return mechanisms. Return directives of destination countries, for example those in the EU, are conjoined with removal and readmission agreements/policy of rejected persons and asylum-seekers (King, 2000). For the origin state, such policies are for strengthening ties with the homeland (Sinatti, 2015, p. 276). In fact, policies on return from both sides of the spectrum – origin and receiving states – may reflect or diverge from the preferences and practices of migrants themselves, especially when the policies seek to serve the interest of states rather than migrants as a priority.

An obvious example of divergent interest in return policy between state interests and that of migrants is involuntary return. One predictor of successful or sustainable return migration used to determine the direction and level of development impact at origin (success or failure) is the returnee's status – voluntary or involuntary/deportee (King, 1986; Van Houte and David, 2008). Involuntary returnees are neglected as potential development agents precisely because their return is involuntary (Kleist and Bob-Milliar, 2013). There is evidence too to indicate that involuntary returnees/deportees often cause social problems – free riders of public goods and services, crime escalation etc. (Carling, 2004), a justification and an

example for divergent interests between state and migrant. In fact, the small state threat of receiving deportees has been real, as the number of deportees at one point in Jamaica outnumbered voluntary return migrants (Glennie and Chappell, 2010). Byron (2000) also made the observation, in the case of Jamaica, that local gangs adopted deportees who have significant challenges of reintegration. This was particularly the case for those who committed criminal offences abroad (Pereira, 2014).

Van Houtte and David (2008) found that it is difficult for involuntary returnees to be ‘re-embedded’ in the country of origin at the economic, social, and psychosocial levels. Their migration experience led to their personal underdevelopment partly through deprivation, which in turn is reflected in their pre-migration status, showing them as better off than in comparison to their post-return situation. Hence, the restrictive nature of the migration policy in the host country and limitations on migrants’ rights during their stay can be consequential for return migrants and their access to opportunities in their country of origin. Of course, these restrictions are not without ‘good’ cause. For this reason, origin countries are often discriminatory in their return policy towards their own citizens abroad, particularly if it there is a policy aim to promote local development.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, return migration policy has the capability to define nations across but also beyond geographic borders (Skrentny et al., 2007). According to Van Houtte and David (2008, p. 1425), ‘return migration should not simply be studied within the limits of the national borders of the country of origin, since it is linked to all aspects of the migration cycle and is therefore an intrinsically transnational phenomenon’. This is sometimes packaged and accomplished through facilitating and supporting ‘ethnic’ identities in defining the scope/coverage of return migrants through policy (Kulu and Tammaru, 2000, p. 366; Kulu, 2000). In fact, it has been found that policy requires, or at least helps, a formal and organized approach to facilitating return migration in an effective manner (Byron, 2000).

Studies have also shown that the impact of return migration can be conditioned in part by policy and the enabling environment for reintegration (King, 1986; Ammassari and Black, 2001; De Haas, 2012). In the broader context of migration and development, Babcock and Conway (2000) made the observation too that strategic policies should emanate from an understanding of the complex interrelationships of these phenomena. Hence, the foundation for such interrelationships, at least with migrants, on an inter-country basis, is based in policy.

Caribbean small states as classified by Crowards (2002) have several elements of return migration policy interest. In Table 1.1 I attempt to bring together some of these commonalities and variations.

Table 1.1 Return Migration Policies in Selected CARICOM Small States:

Existence, Eligibility, and Incentives

Small State	Return Policy		Diaspora Policy	Eligibility requirements for return	Incentives
	Yes	No			
Antigua and Barbuda	Yes		NAI	Those who spent 10 years abroad and more are entitled to concessions. The Minister of Finance grants discretion once he/she deems the returning national can contribute to local development	NAI
Barbados	Yes		NAI	Qualify for citizenship; at least 50 years of age; must have lived abroad for at least 183 days within a year at some time, prior to emigrating; must be returning to Barbados after a period of at least ten (10) years abroad. Criminal deportees do not qualify	Concessions on importation of household and personal effects; concessions on importation of motor vehicle; concessions in importation of tools of the trade; concessions on importation of bicycles; foreign currency accounts of no more than BDS\$100,000
Belize	Yes		Yes	Citizen of Belize; resided overseas for 10 years	Duty free importation of personal effects; tools of trade; motor vehicle
Dominica	Yes		Yes	Qualify for citizenship; resided outside Dominica for at least 7 years; students 18 years and older who have studied abroad for more than one year	Concessions on importation of personal and household effects; tools of trade and motor vehicles

Grenada	Yes		NAI	Must qualify for citizenship; must have been residing abroad for at least 7 years; must be returning on a permanent basis.	100% exemption on all household and personal effects, whether new or used, up to EC\$75,000; 100 per cent exemption on 1 personal vehicle.
Guyana	Yes		Yes	Must qualify as a citizen; be 18 years or older; living abroad for at least 5 years; a student who has been studying abroad for at least 4 years.	Duty free concessions on personal and household effects; tools of trade; motor vehicle; motor cycle and leisure boat once owned at least six months before the application.
Jamaica	Yes		Yes	Jamaican resident 18 and over, spending at least 3 consecutive years abroad, returning to reside permanently. These are also granted to non-Jamaican spouses	Duty free concession on importation of personal and household effects, motor vehicle, tools for trade, and unaccompanied baggage
Saint Lucia	Yes		Yes	Citizenship; must have been living or working abroad for at least 5 years; intends to live permanently in St. Lucia; has retired from qualify for citizenship or spouse of a citizen; must be 18 years or older; must have lived abroad for at least 10 years	Free education for returning children; financial and economic incentives such as duty-free concessions for vehicles and household effects; fiscal incentives for investment
Saint Kitts and Nevis	Yes		NAI	Personal effects spouse and dependents of citizen; must have lived abroad for at least 10 years	Duty-free concessions, small business, investments, employee assistance, employment referral services, housing, counselling, health, pension
Saint Vincent & Grenadines	Yes		Yes	Qualify for citizenship	Waivers on duty and consumption taxes
Trinidad and Tobago	Yes		NAI	Must be 18 years or older. Must be or have been a citizen or spouse of a citizen; lived abroad continuously for at least for five years and returning to live permanently	Tax concessions on motor vehicles and personal effects

Source: Various Member States' Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Note NAI = no available information

UNDESA (2013, p. 6) reported that 'among 58 countries with available data in 2011, 40 countries had programmes to facilitate the return of migrants to their home countries'. The report also highlighted that 'many Governments have set up diaspora units and implemented policy measures to encourage investment by diaspora....'. Eleven small states in the

Caribbean Community captured in table 1.1 above have return migration policies. These policies are concurrent with immigration policies, investment regimes, and in some cases citizenship programmes, *inter alia*. Commonalities are found in the eligibility requirements, which qualify a returnee based on his/her citizenship, and duration of stay abroad. In some cases, ancestral origins or ethnic status for second-generation migrants qualify. Duration abroad is a common requirement for eligibility of return, especially for those wishing to apply for concessions. Variation occurs in the number of years a returnee needed to stay abroad, which usually ranges from 5 to 10 years. It is also usual for return migration policies in these small states to require that return migrants remain in the origin country permanently once they return, or for at least 3 years, to qualify for incentives. Other variations refer to policy elements such as age and incentives in terms of what a migrant received once they qualify.

Return policies do not reflect all the measures, opportunities, and incentives available to those returning. In terms of policy purpose, one can assume that some degree of rights extension is somehow catered to in the eligibility criterion. Obligations of returnees, however, are less clear, unless it is a condition to qualify for concessions. Hence, return policies seem to be more nationalistic, but reflect and encourage return in the hope of acquiring skills and other resources from the diaspora. Return migrants with specific interests in contributing to development cannot necessarily look to a return policy and be clear on how they can potentially add to development, but rather how they can personally benefit if they qualify. Priority in what personal concessions exist to facilitate a possible cost-effective and hassle-free physical return is the mantra. The segmentation of information across different policy regimes for a return migrant has the potential for leading to information asymmetry. These observations would suggest return policies are for facilitation, more leaning to a

sovereign rights extension to the diaspora, and with the implicit assumption that voluntary migrants' returning may benefit the origin country.

Further, the return policies are usually silent on what development gaps are being addressed, that is, reflecting any special interests of the national government at origin. It is selective on who receives return incentives by age, duration abroad, whether or not return is permanent, and returning status – voluntary vs. involuntary. In fact, details of the return policies researched do not generally demonstrate a reaching out to the diaspora. Some return policies are generally inadequate from on administrative guidance, presumably implicitly assuming that those returning have some form of a priori information on processes. Such blind spots might be due to institutional inadequacy, from lack of resources or other reasons, which may result in a less than optimal service to intended returnees. It is nevertheless still useful to infuse feelings of return among migrants, as there are benefits to be had even if physical return does not occur.

1.5 The Usefulness of Preserving an Intention to Return

Following the multi-directional and multi-dimensional nature and interpretation of migration and return, there is scope for both developed and developing nations in the migration-development nexus to continue to pursue their self-interests. Some findings can attest to this. For example, Depoo (2013) found that Guyanese in New York remitted whether or not they intended to return; his evidence showed that most of those who remitted had an intention to return after retirement. Agarwal and Horowitz (2002) concluded too that remittances to Guyana were more likely to be motivated by altruism than risk sharing. In support of this, evidence by Orozco (2003) indicated that Guyanese diaspora organizations are predominantly philanthropic groups. Peters and Kamau (2015) concluded that Guyanese remitted as a form of insurance (self-interest), probably to smooth consumption at place of

origin for remaining household members. On the contrary, Lim and Morshed (2015) and Lim and Simmons (2015) found no evidence that remittance motivation is generally altruistic.

Yet the altruistic motive of sending remittances contributes to its stability when the decision to remit is heavily related to family support (Bougha-Hagbe, 2006). The converse does not necessarily hold since altruism can graduate to risk-sharing/self-interest as the circumstances adjust (Chami and Fischer, 1996). Migrants may remit whether or not they are altruistic or self-interest motivated, but the ‘psychology of an intention to return is accompanied by remittances, or while the transnational household is maintained’ (Thomas-Hope, 1999, p. 191).

Contemplating return signals some level of attachment to the origin country, usually maintained through transnational practices – return visits, long-distance communication, etc. (Carling and Pettersen, 2014). Intentions can potentially be dismissed as poor predictors of actual behaviour, but it is a necessary, though not a sufficient condition for actual return. In fact, intention to return plays an important role in the actual return (Cassarino, 2004) and is significant as it encourages investment in relationships, skills and assets (Carling and Pettersen, 2014, p. 14). What might contribute to both a necessary and sufficient condition for intention to actualize return are factors not driven by material well-being, especially in the case of small states.

However, socio-cultural integration in the host context has the potential to negatively affect return migration intentions, while economic integration and transnational ties have ambiguous effects (De Haas and Fokkema, 2011). Notwithstanding, Alberts and Hazen (2005) found that professional reasons would motivate immigrants to stay, but societal and personal factors would stimulate intentions to return. Such evidence suggests something critical for policymakers in origin states. That is, even if policy intervention does not realize actual return, at a minimum policy should find ways to foster an association of cultural

identity with the ‘homeland’, and maintain the nostalgia of ‘home’, since it is a necessary condition for return and remitting. If return does not occur, such a policy can, at the very least, stimulate some form of altruistic or risk-sharing remittance behaviour. As a recent Human Development Report (2009, p. 71) indicated, the ‘nature and impact of mobility depend on who moves, how they fare abroad and their proclivity to stay connected, which may find expression in flows of money, knowledge and ideas, and in the stated intention to return at some date in the future’.

1.6 Manifestations of Physical Return: Channels and Impacts

How is it that an origin state facilitates the gains and drains of migrants in a way that some form of positive impact is felt? Physical return migration itself has been seen as a channel through which there can be a brain gain countering the brain drain (Mayr and Peri, 2008; Chappell et al., 2010). However, there are a variety of uses and interpretations of ‘channels’. Clarifying this concept is pertinent to understanding how, in actuality, origin states can benefit from migration and return; and how migration and return can potentially affect development outcomes.

Chappell et al. (2010, p. 90) looked at the role of different channels for transmitting effects (remittances, return, etc.), and for impacts at different levels (individual, household, community, and national). The authors also suggested that development effects could be interpreted through ‘impact channels’ by identifying the impact that migration has on various households. These suggestions, it is argued, lead to a better understanding of the development effects of migration. The logic inherent in the aforementioned is useful for the analysis of impact to follow. Such a separation, in my view, is indicative of a direct and indirect

diffusion of migration benefits; for example, direct through contact with return migrants, and indirectly through diaspora networks (Levitt, 1998, p. 2001).

Using the frame of migration network theory, Cassarino (2004, p. 246) speaks of networks serving as channels for migrants' information and resources. Findlay and Li (1998), in cataloguing the historical notion of migration channels, referred to the movement of labour migrants via recruitment, and multinational corporations as channels. These authors (1998, p. 691) also referred to migration channels as information systems, which at the most basic level could be friends and family (see also Findlay and Garrick, 1990). The aforementioned view on channels as a network is not interpretatively different from what King et al. (2011) have referred to as a migration corridor. King et al. (2011, p. 399) proposed the view of the Greece–Albania remittance corridor 'as a transnational axis... remodeled as a result of the migration–remittance cycle that flows out and back along this cross-border social and economic space'. Channels may also be referred to in the context of migrants adopting norms, and transferring such in the form of social remittances (Levitt, 1998). Meanwhile, Seweryn (2007) referred to the institutional context as a channel used to influence identity changes, which are then likewise transferred in the form of 'social' remittances.

Despite the consideration of physical return as an important channel, diffusion of benefits can still be hindered at the local level, under the proposition of the structuralist framework. For example, Germenji and Milo (2009) indicated that the two key channels through which development transfers can occur from return migration are human capital and financial capital. But, the ability of return migrants to bring human and financial capital, and the accommodation and utilization of them, is based on a country's policies. The authors found for Albania that, in the case of financial transfers through remittances, housing and household effects, and micro-level businesses were prevalent. However, human capital transfers were less pronounced, as their findings showed a high non-participation rate in the

labour market for returnees (still lower than pre-emigration); most returnees sought to be self-employed. Their results further showed that emigration has been beneficial for the surveyed households of return migrants, but they could not confirm any macro-scale national development impact of return migration. In fact, Germenji and Milo (2009) made the point that not only has it been difficult to prove the development impact of return migration to Albaina hitherto, but also there were limited gains from the alleged ‘superior skills’ of returnees. Consequently, their study found no obvious link between return migration and the country’s economic development.

Notwithstanding, physical return remains the central focus of this thesis; the most direct channel of impact as it regards return migration. However, impact itself has been mixed with regard to the return of migrants. Some aspects of the literature qualify the potential impact on origin countries, noting its variable manifestations on human and physical capital, social networks, and transnational linkages; examples are King (1986) and Thomas-Hope (1999). Other, emerging empirical evidence is conforming to the view that the development impact of migration is ‘unleashed’ only when a country has initiated deeper institutional, structural, political, and economic core changes that put that country on a positive development path in which migrants return to facilitate and participate; in such a case return migration may indeed be ‘good for development’ (Skeldon, 2008; De Haas, 2012).

Klagge and Klein-Hitpaß (2010) showed that the return of highly skilled migrants (who were highly self-selective in what they choose to do on return) improved local economic development in Poland, through investment and innovation – referred to by the authors as knowledge-based development. However, for this to happen the policy environment had to create approaches to diffuse these transfers, particularly the social relations in their ‘bridging function – creating and sustaining the link between foreigners and

other return migrants to the local community', and institutional measures to create trust and reduce uncertainty. Their conclusion is that highly-skilled return migrants contributed to knowledge-based development in Poland, but critically '...the distinction between different types of knowledge and the concepts of absorptive capacity and trust provided useful vehicles to disentangle the complexity of how social relations and institutions interact and the role they play as intermediary factors in the transfer and productive use of these resources'.

Wiesbrock (2008) observed China, Taiwan, and India's experiences with circular migration and encouraging the return of skilled migrants. The author indicated that policies on sustaining interaction with the diaspora and business community through designated institutional frameworks (associations, organizations, ministries etc.) for fostering engagement have been the key pillar. They are good examples of a wide range of policies on facilitated return. These policies range from facilitation of remittances, return, re-integration, coverage of the cost of return, subsidized mortgages, and dual nationality, to salary top-ups and empowerment at the local government level to boost capacity in communities, mobilize investment resources etc. Wiesbrock (2008) concluded that China and India did not benefit as much from return migration as Taiwan where (at one time) up to 50% of Foreign Direct Investment came from returnees.

De Vreyer et al. (2010) also indicated two channels through which the development impact of migration was felt in the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU: Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo) (1) through labour market performance of returnees in terms of their productivity and earnings premium, and (2) small enterprise development (injecting capital in the domestic market, and new ideas/skills/technology). They found as well that the quantitative importance of return migration raises the possibility that even the migration of educated individuals could benefit the origin country if return migrants are sufficiently numerous and if they bring back enough

capital - physical and/or human. Critically, De Vreyer et al. (2010) found that a returnee's experience abroad from a developed country raised his/her wage premium, and gave them a productive advantage for those who became entrepreneurs. However, this was not the case for returnees coming from other countries. Notwithstanding, the scale of return migration was low and so the development impact felt in the WAEMU region was labeled moderate.

Anarfi and Jagare (2005), reviewing the literature on return migration to part of West Africa (Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire), made the point that the presence of the return migrant is not itself important as compared to the returnees' social networks and contribution to development in the country of origin. To facilitate this, and make return sustainable in West Africa, Anarfi and Jagare noted the importance of the policy environment; these included policies that, *inter alia*, extended dual citizenship, emphasized migration in poverty reduction strategies, maintained close social and financial links with the diaspora, influenced the economic and social environment to make return attractive, and fostered voluntary return programmes.

In a quantitative assessment of the impact of return migration on the employment of males ages 15-65 returning to Mexico, Gitter et al. (2008) raised a few issues relating to migrants' personal and demographic characteristics, and community measures explaining the pros and cons of the impact. Return migration may reduce one's ability for employability due to sustained absence, especially in cases where the existence of a community network is important for job acquisition, and where the return migrant has less human and social capital than non-returnees. There may be the case too where the returnee is not as interested in employment, because s/he might have achieved their pre-emigration target, so on return the need for employment might not be as strong. Further, the search costs, when return is for short periods, might not make sense, according to Gitter et al. (2008). These reasons may explain the nature of income-generating activities sought after return by 'successful'

returning migrants. Notwithstanding, Gitter et al. (2008) found that migration (to the United States) and return to Mexico is high, that employment prospects improved for those who acquired human capital abroad, but not necessarily for those who lose social contacts. The authors found there was no significant net effect on employment in Mexico resulting from natives being employed in the United States and who returned.

Carling (2004) in a qualitative descriptive study showed that there were two broad categories of return migrants to Cape Verde: those (classic returnees) returning with savings and/or pension rights after an average of 30 years abroad; and the ‘empty-handed’, those returning without resources or remitting. A third, intermediate group of returnees were also identified – those who spent some years abroad and accumulated or remitted some level of resources that could still contribute to their individual or household’s standard of living. For returnees considered successful, their main contributions were housing, remittances, small-scale enterprises, knowledge and human capacity developments. While no scalable effects of return migration on Cape Verde’s development were revealed, clear associations to development at the household (and individual) and community (geographic) levels were depicted. In this case there were clear government policies to support the return and re-integration of migrants (Return of Qualified African Nationals and Migration for Development in Africa – MIDA), though not all the returnees who made a contribution to development were facilitated through this policy framework.

From an interesting angle, Constant and Massey (2002) examined return migration effects from the destination-country perspective and noted that return for immigrants who went to Germany rests on their respective social and economic attachment to the host and the origin country, and not on their human capital characteristics. Continuing from the destination country’s perspective, Dustmann and Weiss (2007) found that, despite higher wages in the UK, return migration was still seen as desirable by some immigrants. They

noted that once an immigrant has intentions to return to the source country they showed ‘higher preferences for consumption in the home country, or high purchasing power of the host country currency in their home country, or by accumulation of human capital in the host country in a learning by doing way which enabled improved productivity back home.’

There is evidence too which suggests that return, and the effectiveness of it to achieve change, generally requires a certain level of preparedness and resource mobilization (Cassarino, 2004). Following this, preparedness and resource mobilization require a certain amount of time, what is referred to as ‘migration duration’ (King, 1986). Of course, if the transnational links are maintained, along with the other factors mentioned, return can have a positive potential for change, and with the maintenance of strong social networks, the cost and time of reintegration can be manageable (Cassarino, 2004).

It is useful to note too that the contextual nature of return migration impact is subjective from a diagnostic standpoint. Subjectivity in such cases is related to the level of analysis and which factors are considered about return (Ammassari and Black, 2001). De Haas (2012) also made this observation on the impact of migration more generally, noting mixed outcomes across different dimensions.

At the middle ground, Skeldon (2008) presented concise arguments on the migration-development nexus and issued some cautionary insights into using migration as a development tool. Akesson (2011) also issued a warning of trying to make migrants ‘responsible’ for development. Nevertheless, optimism on the impact of return exists (Castles, 2009; Chauvet and Mercier, 2014; De Haas, 2005; Klagge and Klein-Hitpaß, 2010). And it is with this optimistic view in mind that the investigation in this thesis is pursued.

Yet this research also proceeds with some caution, more precisely with a special sensitivity to the specific issues of small states. Already noted, evidence has shown that, whether the consequences of migration (and return) are positive or negative, they are

especially acute and resonate with such small-scale nations (Beine et al., 2008; Schiff and Wang, 2008).

1.7 Small State Peculiarities

King (2009, p. 57) noted that smallness is afflicted by insularity, which makes these countries vulnerable through a range of economic handicaps. In fact, ‘Insularity is especially associated with small states’, noted the Commonwealth Secretariat (1997). The Secretariat noted furthermore that insularity refers mainly to remoteness (geographical and sometimes metaphysical) and the resultant economic and administrative costs that handicap some of these countries, while vulnerability is their susceptibility to the risk of harm resulting from these characteristics.

Guyana, though not an island like many other Caribbean small states, is vulnerable particularly to environmental precariousness – floods and droughts (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1997). Such vulnerability comes from a low coastal zone, below 1.5 meters of sea level at high tide, where approximately 89% of the total population resides, including the seat of government, the capital city, and most agriculture (among the largest contributors to GDP). Additionally, the remoteness of the hinterland areas, compounded by lack of primary infrastructure, makes reaction to health and other issues difficult most times for villages/communities suffering from severe droughts and floods. Vulnerability also comes, in the sphere of migration, from cross-border crime, as Guyana’s borders are porous and lengthy with insufficient resources to patrol.

Guyana as a small state is not only challenged by its insularity and consequent vulnerability, but also by other features of smallness that have been present for decades. For example, the total population of Guyana, 747,884, has never reached a million inhabitants

(Guyana Census Report, 2012). Guyana's low population and restricted economic base have been a key concomitant of its small size. Successive population census reports disclose that the population has been growing at less than 1 per cent per annum since 1891, with the exception of the years 1960 and 1970, which recorded 2.9 and 2.2 per cent respectively. Presumably, population growth, as we will come to see, has been more generally affected by out-migration (Thomas-Hope, 2011; Vezzoli, 2014).

Remoteness of hinterland populations and limited primary infrastructure contribute to high cost indivisibility as well. This in Guyana is associated with delivering public services to remote hinterland areas from the coastland to pockets of communities. The coastal plain of economic and social activities extends 430km along the Atlantic Ocean, while the country is spread out over 214,970 km² with mainly basic infrastructure inland.

Further, Armendariz and Andrade (2007) showed that growth in Guyana remains vulnerable to factors other than natural disasters (environmental precariousness) such as lower growth, exchange rate depreciation etc. Armendariz et al. (2007) show that in a long-term trend (1970-2005) Guyana's growth is volatile and especially so in comparison to all other world regions.

Hence, Guyana qualifies as a small state much similar to other small island developing states in CARICOM (Suriname, Barbados, Belize, Trinidad and Tobago, and some of the Leeward and other Windward Islands) based on four indicators – population size, land area, total GDP and GDP per capita – see Crowards (2002). Further, there are many other considerations of the small state context when conducting research into migration and development.

For instance, small states (CARICOM members included) are often characterised – or rather, plagued – by a culture of migration (Mishra, 2006; Khonje, 2015, p. 333; Connell, 2007, 2008, 2009). Such migration is related to historical and structural factors, among

others, which are pervasive in these small jurisdictions because, at least partly, of their colonial past. Small islands (used henceforth interchangeably with small states) were prone to labour migration historically due to a number of factors such as the ‘peripheral roles of some nations, high concentration of land in the export sector, extraversion of political and economic power among others’ (Lamusse, 1980).

Structurally, issues of remoteness, smallness, narrow internal market size, openness, etc., did not allow for sizeable growth and employment (UNCTAD Secretariat, 1985). These issues, are related to the insularity of such nations, and as suggested by Connell (1988), presented formidable development constraints to small island developing countries, although in some cases these constraints are assuaged by small states’ ability to capitalize on their geopolitical position (King, 2009).

As time evolved other challenges became an issue, for example, rising labour demand in the developed world, which provided an outlet for employment and potentially higher wages (Connell, 2007); but on the other hand, small states were marked by growth volatility related to the weak local economy (Connell and King, 1990), diseconomies of scale and lack of export diversification (Economist, 2014), indivisibility of fixed costs, especially those associated with providing public services (IMF, 2013), and climate change effects (Kelman, 2015).

Today most of these challenges continue to exist. For example, the English-speaking Caribbean Community continues to demonstrate high propensities of outmigration of skilled individuals (Docquier and Marfouk, 2004). As Patterson (2000) indicated, migration in this region is unlike any in the world. This phenomenon continues unabated in spite of potential brain waste⁴ and the benefits of remittances⁵. For this region, the consequences of high brain

⁴ Brain waste as defined by Ozden and Schiff (2006).

⁵ A key benefit of remittances is the lowering of the incidence and severity of poverty, according to Adams and Page (2003).

drain have led to particularly negative impacts in the health and education sectors (Castellani, 2007; Degazon-Johnson, 2007; Thomas and Hosein, 2005).

On the positive side, Conway and Potter (2007) and Conway et al. (2005) made a critical observation, that return migrants, even in small numbers, could be, and were, influential to development in the Caribbean.

Finances and the in-kind support of remittances are another positive macroeconomic benefit whose impacts are enhanced given their volume in comparison to small states' economic size (Amuedo-Dorantes et al., 2010). For example, in Guyana remittances have been rising persistently since the early 1990s, after financial and exchange market liberalization. From the year 2001, remittances began to increase rapidly from about 22.3 million US dollars to 278 million US dollars in 2008 (reported in Peters, 2009). The IOM quoted an estimated figure of 498 million US dollars for 2013. Relative to GDP, the share of workers' remittances over the long period 1980-2008 was 7.9 per cent on average, and in 2005 it was 25.4 per cent after the damaging floods that year, outstripping both FDI and ODA. This latter figure epitomises the responsiveness of remittances to economic or other emergencies in the home country.

1.8 Returning Residents: Socially Remitting and the Identity Cliché

Building resilience practically defines small states and their desire to survive (Briguglio, 2014). In the same way that there is no foreseeable abatement in their migration culture, the presumption is that there will be no lessening of their desire to maintain their 'small state' identity and for migrants to socially remit as part of resilience building. Levitt (1998) argued that origin states stand to benefit from social remittances, defined by her (1998, p. 927) as the 'ideas, behaviours, identities and social capital that flow back to the

place of migrant origin, and not directly related to money'. Social remittances are generally considered a channel through which the diaspora supports development at origin too (Chappell et al., 2010). However, they also can have both positive and negative effects, for example increasing social conflict (Levitt and Lamba-Nieves, 2010). Notwithstanding, it is notable that the tools and channels which facilitate transnational interactions make physical return only one avenue through which social remittances are transferred. In actual fact, physical return is not necessary to facilitate the diffusion of social remittances (Levitt, 2005). But once it occurs, some level of impact or transfer is reasonably expected whether migrants return to their origin state or not.

Improved research and data have by now dispelled any notion that assimilation or acculturation in the host country and remaining in touch with issues and events at the place of origin are zero-sum related (Markley, 2011). Nowhere is this better explained than in transnationalism and social network theories (Cassarino, 2004). In fact, the small state cases, well captured in the book *Transnational Archipelago: Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora*, edited by Batalha and Carling (2008), demonstrate how this is being done virtually via the Internet, through language, art, and other acts of community life preserved at the various places of destination.

Hence, to believe that migrants have severed homeland ties once they reached a host destination is but an inherent logic of the neoclassical view on migration. Some migrants make an effort to demonstrate the maintenance of their identity, notwithstanding assimilation; whilst others (who do not return) may do so through acts of remitting (Vertovec, 2009, p. 13).

In reality, however, identities sometimes change through migration experiences; migrants survive through juxtaposing their multiple senses of 'belonging' based on intervening factors, as identity is seen as having two functions, 'ontological and pragmatic' (Seweryn, 2007). In this scenario, migrants choose acculturation strategies as their most

pragmatic strategy for the time that they are abroad. There are other explanations, for example, at the more macro level; Checkel (2001) argued that such changes might be related to compliance to social and institutional norms based on some form of cost-benefit analysis, and the added benefits of social learning and integration. This has been the case for Tongans returning to Nukunuku (Maron and Connell, 2008), where it was noted that social networks developed in the host destination have been instrumental to preserving Tongan identity abroad. This by extension explains how assimilation in the host country, and social, cultural, even religious, connectedness to the origin country can exist simultaneously.

The Caribbean Small Islands are adamant about portrayals of their own history and identity as well, from the literary and poetic works of V.S. Naipaul and Derek Walcott, to the much-anticipated cultural representations of this in some of the world's most important cities: witness Caribana in Canada, Labour Day in the USA, Notting Hill Carnival in the United Kingdom, and so on.

In the same way that connectedness is maintained in other small island contexts with their diaspora, the same is true for Guyana. Orozco (2003) identified how hometown associations, collective remitting, and migrants individually remitting might all be seen as expressions of a desire to return. These are examples of community togetherness in host countries demonstrating a commonality of the interest in origin country's development.

It often happens too that non-migrant interpretations of returnees can be seen as getting advice on how to do things better, what is cutting-edge or outdated, and an all-too-familiar 'lecture' from that person who has lived or vacationed abroad and has returned. The recurring theme is that Guyana can do better, 'if only', coming from that once-local mind now gone global. Stated in a mode that has an element both of caricature and of cynicism, there is that epiphany of awareness triggered by unknown but new experiences enlightening how family and country might do better. Or, put slightly differently, the former localized and

limited existence, informed by travel, now comes with what can sometimes be perceived as ‘condescending and boastful delusions’ of what potentially can be. Scaled up and formalized, governments thus can see the rich development potential of ‘enlightened returnees’.

On the other hand, the viewpoint of the return migrant, whether a returning resident or second-generation descendant, may be considered as more emotionally sensitive, based on personal feelings or relationships with non-migrants and ‘home’. King and Christou (2010) noted that second-generation returnees’ search for their true identity, and having a feeling of who they really are in an accepted space, may override economic reasons for return migration, though disillusionment and alienation may then arise for a variety of reasons. Reynolds (2010) found similarly that ethnic identity, home, belonging and other factors were critical to return from Britain to the Caribbean among young people. Maron and Connell (2008) indicated that some returnees at origin felt that there were high expectations of them to be dutiful upon their return ‘home’ in the Pacific, or that their socio-economic standing should be above average. Notwithstanding ancestral lineage and other non-economic intentions for returning, the relationship with non-migrants can be filled with resentment as well (Maron and Connell, 2008; Tamas, 1992; Ammassari et al., 2004, p. 145). Consequently, there is a complex set of relationships among returnees, their interactions with non-migrants, policy, and the overall enabling environment.

Despite the complex interactions and the many criteria to be met for the successful impact of returnees at origin (see also King, 1986), migrants sometimes rise to the challenges, as found by Conway et al. (2005, p. 8), based on their ‘human agency’. King (1986, p. 18) termed it ‘returnees as innovators’. However, this is in contrast to Bovenkerk’s (1982) previous analysis of the case of Suriname, in which he concluded that returnees generally do not turn out to be agents of change, or Mishra’s (2006) view of the negative impact of outmigration on the Caribbean region.

1.9 Human Agency and Returning Residents

Returnees leading transnational lives can therefore potentially contribute to origin-country development, the Caribbean being an example. They are willing to take the risks associated with such an ambition to resettle and to ‘contribute something’. For instance, Szewczyk (2015) noted that the younger generations embrace transnational lives and livelihood strategies more easily, being more attuned to the risks and uncertainties associated with migrating. Adapting to change, it is believed, becomes normalized behaviour. Even return in small numbers becomes beneficial, as noted for the Caribbean, which is a marked departure from what has mostly been the long-standing evidence that the volume of returnees has to be ‘sufficiently large’ (Bovenkerk, 1974, p. 45-49) in order to have a demonstrable impact. Such actions on the part of migrants are presumably thoughtful as a component of their human agency, this group viewed as a non-random group.

The indispensable elements of human agency⁶ are that agents are active and not passive, their actions are embedded in a natural order per se, and are often intentional and purposive (Mayr, 2011, p. 6). Kotan (2010, p. 370) too advised that ‘the power to act and influence the state of the world and the ability to act purposefully on the basis of one’s own objectives are necessary elements of the concept of human agency’. In other words, migrants can be driven or guided to be agents of change (Conway et al., 2005) or innovators (King, 1986), conditional on ‘the immigrant seeing in his/her return home, the possibility of a greater satisfaction of needs and aspirations’ (Cerase 1974, p. 251).

In human development, human agency reflects a person’s ability to act on what they value or have reason to value (Alkire, 2005, p. 122). Sen (1985, p. 203) raises the issue of ‘a

⁶ A human agent is a person or collection of persons having the ability to exert power so as to influence the state of the world, and to do so in a purposeful way and in line with self-established objectives.

person's agency freedom', which 'refers to what the person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important'. Human agency is embedded within the capabilities approach based on these specific interpretations of human development (Alkire, 2005; Sen, 1985; Nussbaum, 2003). This is part of the underlying framework used to support the attainment of the objectives of this thesis and in particular to answer the fundamental research question: what is the potential impact of return migration on human development in Guyana?

Further, Castles (2003) argued that human agency should also be a basis for examining forced migration, whatever the reason for the forced departure. Pre-migration assumptions realised in post-migration actions may be likened to a level of compatibility and consistency with the optimistic view of the new economics of labour migration (NELM) theory, where goals are pre-set by emigrants and return occurs after such goals have been accomplished (Cassarino, 2004). In local parlance, it is referred to as 'building your mind' to face the challenges, with your focus on pre-set goals or, as Szewczyk (2015) found, being attuned with the risk-taking associated with migration so that it becomes normalized behaviour. So critical is human agency to the impact of migrants' behaviour that Adler (2000) concluded that 'migrants have the power to make their own decisions and neither laws nor economy can determine the options they take, especially when they conflict with migrants' goals'. This is not to say that their actions are not in part influenced or instigated by situations that might be economic or legal in nature, but more alludes to the notion of their will to achieve goals in spite of prevailing challenges.

For example, structural constraints may influence the behaviour of migrants owing to their historical experiences and membership in social groups (De Haas, 2010; Carling, 2002). Hence, Raghuram (2009) indicated that there are gaps in agency-based justifications for migrants as agents of change because the willingness and ability of migrants to change

structures may be attributed to their heterogeneity and the enabling environment (Van Houte, 2014). In some cases, new skills, knowledge, and ideas, particularly from the West, might be seen as threatening (Zunzer, 2004) in local situations. Hence, the supposed ‘free nature’ of human agency, in practical or applied terms, means that migrants are not normally ‘free’ agents as such, especially if the policy framework, enabling environment, structural deficiencies/rigidities and reintegration are not conducive. In fact, returnees are faced with a variety of reintegration issues, which may or may not facilitate the diffusion of resources and characteristics that are beneficial to local development (Athukorala, 1990; Arowolo, 2000). In theory, even if a returnee returns with all the requisite attributes to contribute to development, the absorptive capacity of the environment, of the state to which he/she returned, as exemplified in structuralism, determines the level of benefits that potentially can be diffused (Cassarino, 2004). Therefore, the level of impact/benefit alluded to will be conditioned by structural and, potentially, other factors. Upfront recognition of the structural and other constraints that exist amidst calls in an origin state for their diaspora to return sometimes present a decision-making and policy quagmire. This situation is exemplified when origin-state governments are desirous of returnees to help fix problems that are themselves disincentives to returning. Governments therefore move to incentivize and encourage the returning process, particularly with relevant policy measures.

Whether or not a small group of return migrants are able to influence large outcomes in small states, might not only depend on the enabling environment and associated factors, but also on the critical elements of migrants’ human agency. Essentially, human agency is intrinsic to the migrant to make migration work in areas where policy is incomplete or fails to achieve its intended objective. In this regard policy has followed suit at increasing attention to return migration.

1.10 Conclusion

Based on a number of critical observations outlined in this introductory chapter, I hypothesized that return migration still has usefulness as a potential development vehicle for small states, a consideration usually overlooked. By ‘development vehicle’, support to positive human development outcomes is the key focus, consistent with the optimistic view of migration and return. Based on microdata gathered, and an absence of policy to harness the benefits of return migrants beyond this level, there is expected to be a process of positive development of return migrant households even if this is only based on their human agency. Migration as a coping strategy used to manage risks associated with underdevelopment, owing to smallness and challenges surrounding insularity and vulnerability, has become a mantra for the migration-development nexus, at least through the lens of developing states such as Guyana. So too, return migrants embracing transnational lives in their productive age range have been shown in the literature as a critical stimulus for development in such jurisdictions of the Caribbean Community. Hence, the critical contribution this thesis makes to the migration-development debate is a reinforcement of the usefulness of return migration as a potentially lucrative development input, particularly in the small state case. This can be scaled up to reflect broader national achievements if the issue is given the attention it requires and the innovation in policy that is needed beyond the rhetoric.

For the specific case of small states, and where their diaspora communities continue to be nostalgic, return migration or the intention to return are desirable facets that enable both a culture of return and a commitment to remitting. Therefore, the currency and continuity with which small states like Guyana look to their diaspora for initiatives and material support are not without merit or efficacy. Continuous challenges such as the brain drain reinforce this urgency for research and policy. Promising evidence in the Caribbean, beset by factors

intrinsic and extrinsic to the migrant, presents a formidable case for revisiting this topic. To this end, the case of Guyana is detailed next, including the policy prescriptions.

CHAPTER 2: GUYANA: MIGRATION AND THE SMALL STATE

2.1 Introduction: Migration History and Local Development in Guyana

Whether inward, outward, or circular, human mobility has been a hallmark shaping Guyanese society (Roopnarine, 2013). The first peoples of Guyana, the Amerindians, were nomadic. However, Christopher Columbus is suggested to have been the first to visit the ‘New World’ and had the privilege of sighting Guyana in 1498 (DGIA, 2008). As the history is told, the Spanish did not settle in Guyana, but rather the Dutch established trading posts here in 1580, which became permanent by 1620 (DGIA, 2008). Nevertheless, part of Columbus’s loot initially included some Amerindians taken back to Spain. Arguably, this constituted some of the earliest documentation on mobility in relation to Guyana, after Indians through the Bering Straits came and settled in Guyana. It was then followed by the epoch of slavery, and thereafter by indentured labourers during 19th and early 20th century colonial rule, the closing of the national borders through independence, brain drain after economic and ‘political’ tyranny, return with the hope of restoration, and transnational migration. In sum, through these various phases Guyana moved from being an importer to an exporter of labour: from slave imports and indentureship to emigration and brain drain. Currently, transnational migration and especially the mobile circulation of Guyanese between home and abroad seem to be gaining traction.

More succinctly put, Vezzoli (2014) classified migration in Guyana (formerly British Guiana) into three periods, which coincide with policies related to the prevailing philosophy of economic development: 1) border closure, 1953-1965; 2) emigration growth, 1966-1985; and 3) consolidation of migration patterns, 1986-2013. Vezzoli indicated that border closure referred to the establishment of a border regime through decolonization culminating in

independence. This severed political ties, some through the regulation of movement, and created sovereign citizenship (formalization of the independent state), which restricted the freedom to move to the former colonial destination. Emigration growth occurred in the period where cooperative socialism was pursued and nationalization negatively impacted the country's financial and human capital. Massive emigration was an 'unintended' consequence of this economic development model in Guyana (Vezzoli, 2014). Consolidation of this migration pattern ensued because of family reunification at destination, and violence and crime at origin including a fragile institutional framework and political environment during the 1990s and 2000s. Vezzoli's (2014) classification has been useful in contextualizing and summarizing migration in Guyana from a macro perspective, while understanding, in part, the evolution of migration and its linkage and influence on national development. The author's excellent summary also documented how Guyana moved from being a colony importing labour to an independent nation exporting skills. On the other hand, Roopnarine (2013) classified the movement of the population into and out of Guyana as 'old-world migration, intra-regional migration and extra-regional migration, and return'. However, he too makes a similar conclusion about Guyana moving from being an importer to an exporter of people following the Second World War.

The coercive importation of African slaves and indentured labourers (East Indians, Portuguese, and Chinese) represented the main migrant inflows to Guyana historically. Later, a general hemorrhaging of human capacity followed for various reasons, a reflection of current migration trends. Concomitantly, the locally applied development philosophy spawned by British colonialism prior to 1966 (colonial capitalism) saw profits and income repatriated to the colonial power (Standing, 1977). This was followed by state and cooperative socialism during 1966-1985 (Hope, 1973). Neoliberal/neoclassical policies were ushered in after 1985 under structural adjustment (Egoume-Bossogo et al., 2003), taking

effect post-1992. The mobility of Guyanese people remained fluid through it all, though the constraints were many.

Under British colonial capitalism, Vezzoli (2014) found that pull and push factors were related to the 1962 UK Immigration Act, and the USA's and Canada's immigration policies. However, the local situation and events such as ethnic hostilities in the early 1960s, and more widespread economic and social problems in Guyana, according to Ishmael (2014), created a push as well. These situations, Vezzoli (2014) indicated, facilitated emigration, even propelled it.

Another legacy of colonial capitalism was economic concentration within sugar, rice and bauxite production, which together made up 86% of export revenues at the time (Standing, 1977). Guyana, considered to be very 'open' by this token, hastened the agenda to become self-sufficient through Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI), as soon as the country became independent in 1966. It was believed that ISI, through state and subsequently cooperative socialism, could correct the inequalities, social injustices and economic problems caused by British colonisation (Hope, 1973). Replacing imports, a key tenet of ISI, required skilled labour. It was at this juncture that some of the first attempts at fostering return migration were made in Guyana, starting in 1967. Returnees were expected to have a demonstrative effect on Guyanese society. This meant the diffusion of ideas, skills and techniques, and not so much capital because of the restrictive exchange rate and financial market regimes. Return migration was seen as necessary and to be permanent for balancing unequal exchanges in addition to promoting economic development, given the country's newfound independence.

2.2 Independent Guyana and Migration

The belief that dependent development, created through colonial capitalism under the British, escalated underdevelopment, was the main sentiment of the Guyanese nationalists (Ramrattan and Szenberg, 2010). This was evident from the newly installed Government in Guyana. The nationalist government's leadership and management of the economy therefore articulated a self-sufficiency development agenda. Hence, return migration's initiation came with the formation of the new state in 1966 from British Guiana to Guyana. Government policy to facilitate return migration was established the year after in 1967 through a return migrant scheme (Strachan, 1980). The return scheme focused predominantly on skilled Guyanese in the diaspora. The scheme was considered to be successful in filling the public-sector skills gaps when viewed from the return flows and the quality of the returnees (Strachan, 1983). Much later, however, Roopnarine (2013) noticed that the absorptive capacity for returnees' assets and resources had been low, and therefore the constraints on deployment of such under ISI became evident.

Hence, the return migration challenges were rooted in the integration process. According to Persaud (n.d.)⁷, the return migrant scheme was suspended in the late 1980s because of difficulties with 'monitoring and regulating the legitimacy of return migrants.' However, this explanation is not entirely credible. More important were the tumultuous realities of the country at that time, with evidence reverberating across the political, economic and socio-cultural spheres. Import substitution industrialization had led to untenable situations (Armendariz et al., 2007). Guyana's economy collapsed, political, ethnic and employee-employer divisions were heightened, social services challenged and relationships with international partners strained (Armendariz et al., 2007; Bennett, 1995; World Bank,

⁷ <http://www.lirds.org/PRESENTATIONS/SEMINAR%20PAPER%20FOR%20PUBLICATION-%20ELIZABETH%20PERSAUD.pdf>

1993). As Thomas (1982, 1989) pointed out, mismanagement of the economy underpinned the mass emigration that ensued. Co-operative socialism had failed to deliver all the promises that justified its adoption, including the call on the diaspora to return.

By 1989 Guyana had begun to restore its relationship with creditors and agreed to undergo fundamental economic reforms under the rubric of structural adjustment and later ‘enhanced structural adjustment’ (Armendariz et al., 2007). This was to be found in what was termed the ‘economic recovery programme’, based on Washington Consensus policies for fundamental market-based reforms (Egoume-Bossogo et al., 2003). These reforms dovetailed into ‘free and fair elections’, which ushered in a new government and relatively more open democratic practices. Deregulation began institutionally, which later facilitated liberalization in sectors such as transportation, trade, finance, various aspects of telecommunications etc. (Egoume-Bossogo et al., 2003). This gave impetus to human mobility, transnationalism, and the flow of remittances.

The new wave of development, however, did not curb emigration or stimulate an influx of return migrants. In spite of efforts aimed at increasing resources for capacity building through the education system, these issues languished (Bristol, 2010). In 1996, Guyana’s National Development Strategy still deliberated ‘the lack of sufficient skills in the labour force as increasingly becoming a constraint to national development’. Further, the impact of migration on the development of the country became a central subject of academic and public discourse, and this issue has continued to remain at the forefront of the development debate in Guyana given the depletion of critically needed skilled human resources (Degazon-Johnson, 2007; ECLAC, 2005).

Guyana remains, among small states in the Caribbean Community and in fact world-wide, a country displaying the highest rates of skilled emigration, according to Docquier and Marfouk (2004) and Carrington and Detragiache (1999). Initially, it seemed as if this

emigration from Guyana was based on state formation, policies in Western host countries concerning immigration, and the consequences of import substitution industrialization. Today the phenomenon of emigration continues to be an issue related to aspirations for a higher standard of living, but also family reunification from an expanding diaspora pitted against small populations in the Caribbean. In fact, Castellani (2007, p. 173) presented evidence that showed that 13 out of the top 20 countries with the highest skilled emigration rates are from the Caribbean. Hence, Caribbean small states are among those most affected by brain drain (Beine et al., 2008). The USA and Canada continue to be important destinations for CARICOM emigrants over the decades (Thomas-Hope, 2009), alongside Britain as the former colonial power, but recently Guyanese have been paying attention to intra-regional emigration.

Public discourse has lamented the government's seemingly tardy response in retaining skilled Guyanese, and the lack of development policy to innovate in this regard. This must be buttressed by recognition of the grave deficiencies in core sectors such as education and health, as well as the low absorptive capacity of productive sectors (Bristol, 2010). And yet, optimism continues for Guyana in the pursuit of strategies to benefit from the migration-development nexus, more so now that mobility is considered transnational, with migrants retaining links both 'here' and 'there'. Confirmation of the transnational nature of mobility resides in the close and consistent contact with which Guyanese in the diaspora are in touch with their homeland and communities (Orozco, 2003), all facilitated through liberalization policies. A more microscopic look at Guyana in the next sub-section highlights some local manifestations through elements of scale in migration.

2.3 Scale Issues regarding Guyana, Migration, and Return

Guyana is located on the north-eastern coast of South America between latitudes 1° and 9° N and longitudes 56° and 62° W. It is bordered by Suriname to the east, Venezuela to the west, Brazil to the south and southwest, and the Atlantic Ocean to the north. At 214,970 km², Guyana is the third smallest independent State in the mainland of South America (after Uruguay and Suriname). According to the World Bank, Guyana is not only the third smallest economy in South America, but also the third poorest in the Western Hemisphere after Haiti and Nicaragua, with a mean per capita income of US\$3,763 in 2014⁸. It is the only English-speaking nation on the South American continent. This results in a form of isolation, but through migration affiliation exists with border towns and communities (Corbin, 2007). However, socio-cultural relationships are much more evident with the wider Anglophone Caribbean.

As part of the expanse of natural resources, Guyana has one of the highest proportions of forest cover in the world – 87% of Guyana's forest remains intact⁹. Despite a land area the size of Britain, the population has never exceeded 800,000 inhabitants; in fact, Guyana is ranked 165 in the world in terms of its population density¹⁰.

Table 2.1 Guyana: Selected Population Data 1988-2000

Year	Births	Deaths	Natural increase	Arrivals	Departure	Net Migration	Net change	Population
1988	19,568	5,967	13,601	na	na	-12,094	1,507	757,207
1989	20,521	5,605	14,916	na	na	-15,304	-388	756,819
1990	17,522	6,134	11,388	na	na	-17,559	-6,171	750,648
1991	18,229	5,170	13,059	134,272	157,826	-23,554	-10,495	740,153
1992	18,224	4,735	13,489	170,917	164,515	6,402	19,891	760,044
1993	20,027	5,063	14,964	189,461	196,441	-6,980	7,984	768,028
1994	21,810	5,328	16,482	181,876	181,626	250	16,732	794,483
1995	22,651	5,417	17,234	184,879	192,390	-7,511	9,723	798,721

⁸ <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/guyana/overview>

⁹ <http://theredddesk.org/countries/guyana/statistics>

¹⁰ <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/guyana-population/>

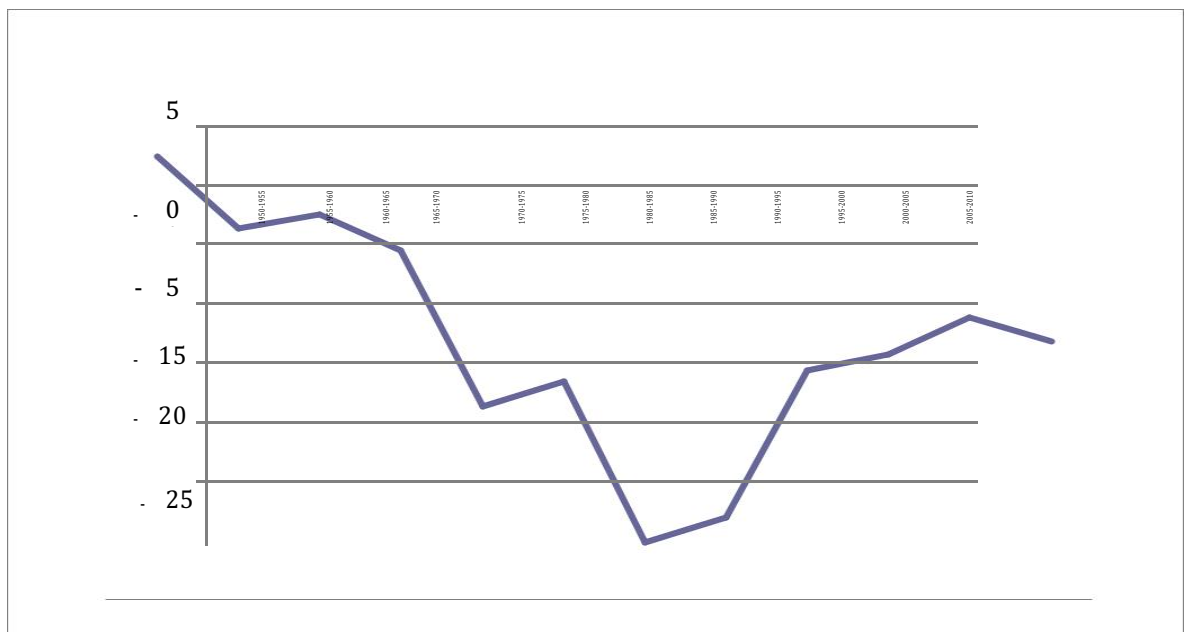
1996	22,452	5,616	16,836	170,885	183,483	-12,598	4,238	798,969
1997	21,861	5,302	16,559	161,066	177,377	-16,311	248	798,969
1998	20,898	5,244	15,654	146,221	166,661	-20,440	-4,786	794,183
1999	17,950	5,102	12,848	178,982	191,146	-12,164	684	794,867
2000	18,463	5,594	12,869	191,764	202,865	-11,101	1,768	796,635

Source: General Registrar Office, Guyana.

Migration governance in Guyana is partly reflected through statistics. For example, the Bureau of Statistics and Registrar's Office data in table 2.1 show that the natural increase in population, resulting from the net of births and deaths, has been positive from 1988 through to the year 2000. But, this has been almost wiped out by outmigration. In fact, net migration has been positive during that period only in 1992 and 1994, when the country transitioned to neoliberal policies and there was a growth renewal.

A more long-term trend, based on data from UN Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), shows that since 1955 the net migration rate has never been positive, though the overall growth might have been – see figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 Guyana Net Migration Rate 1950-2010



Source: UNDESA, 2011

2.4 Conceptual Framework and Working Hypotheses

For this thesis two main theoretical frameworks motivate and contextualize the discussion. First *transnationalism* is adapted to drive the arguments, mostly justified by a consistent liberalized functional process of mobility and migration in Guyana. As noted earlier, the structural reforms of 1992, which were based on Washington Consensus frameworks, facilitated the escalation in remittances, some of them sent via hometown associations, and which were the result of accelerated mobility and migration. Secondly, the *capability approach* is adapted to measure the potential impact of return migration on development, owing to return migrants' achievements and associated capabilities. Critically too, the capabilities approach facilitates the freedoms that migrants have been able to benefit from; it encapsulates migration impacts or areas of impact as latent features and provides scope for examining the multidimensionality of return's impact on development.

In the rest of this section, I first unpack the relevance of these two key concepts for my ensuing analysis. I then look more briefly at other theoretical lenses for studying return migration and development and assess their relevance for my study: neo-classical economics, the new economics of labour migration, structuralism, dual labour market theory, world systems, and social networks.

2.4.1 Transnationalism

Cassarino (2004, p. 216) notes that 'Transnationalism constitutes an attempt to formulate a theoretical and conceptual framework aimed at a better understanding of the strong social and economic links between migrants' host and origin countries'. This is exactly the case for Guyana in the era of liberalized networks. The preponderance of mobility and

migration is no longer occurring under the pretext of dependent development, but more aligned to transnationalism, even amidst fairly high rates of outmigration. Return policy remains predominantly a sovereign issue, but to promote export orientation versus the previously advanced import substitution industrialization development.

Return migration and transnationalism represent a nexus similar to the migration-development nexus (Carling and Erdal, 2014). It is this thinking, in part, that led to the adoption of the transnational approach as the preferred theoretical basis for questions 1 and 2 in this thesis. Carling and Erdal (2014) argued that transnationalism and return reinforce each other, where transnational attachments bolster intention and actual return, and return shapes the temporal and spatial parameters of transnational practices.

In this thesis, attachments, personal and professional, have been found to be important attributes of the international migrant's decision to return or not. It is no wonder, therefore, that transnationalism frames international migration as a circular process whereby migrants may return and periodically be actively involved in the affairs of the source country through the exchange of ideas, values etc. (King, 2012). Post-return transnationalism in the former host country can also be seen as a viable safety option, particularly for returnees who are unsuccessful. This is enabled by the maintenance of legal ties to their destination country after returning. Paradoxically, then, return may not be a one-off event (Carling and Erdal, 2014).

Plaza (2008) made the observation, using the English-speaking Caribbean territories and their integration into the international capitalist system, that transnationalism has been instrumental to the occurrences of human mobility in the region, now embedded culturally. Plaza (2008, p. 2) defined transnationalism as '...the multiple ties and interactions that link people and their institutions across the borders of nation-states', arguing that the Caribbean small states are strongly characterized by such transnational links.

Levitt and Jaworsky (2007) noted the relevance of a transnational approach to migration now that globalization continues to be entrenched as a migration framer and structures the main domains of cross-border connectivity and influence – in economic, political, policy, social and cultural spheres. Structural divisions and dependency may remain, even deepen in some cases, but transnational phenomena embed themselves in cross-border individual, household, and institutional relations in a way that transcends structural rigidities. In small states, such as those in the Caribbean, Trotz and Mullings (2013) have been able to identify the diversity of transnational linkages too – political, financial (remittances and investments), and household connections, inter alia, and how these have evolved over time, including how the diaspora has effectively contributed in various ways to these states. Conway and Potter (2007) alluded to the positive development outcome of migrants returning to small states in the Caribbean, and attributed this to their transnational lifestyle. Orozco (2003) highlighted the embedded transnational perspective of Guyanese migrants measured in terms of Home Town Associations and their associated connectedness and contributions. Faal (2003) and Egoime-Bossogo et al. (2003) catalogue the various reforms in Guyana that crystalized a transnational approach and thereby accelerated the mobility of people and goods.

Combining the linkage of the transnational perspective with return, and superimposing issues of smallness for small states, good empirical evidence has been provided by the edited publication by Lee and Francis (2009), *Migration and Transnationalism: Pacific Perspectives*. For example, Nosa (2009) showed how a proportionately larger population outside of Niue created a strong pull (family reunification), and how environmental, economic, and political issues in this microstate tend to block return (structural rigidities of smallness). This is similar to the family reunification phenomenon that saw emigration continue in Guyana when liberal policy measures were adapted, as noted by

Vezzoli (2014). Francis (2009) catalogued how historical and colonial relationships have fashioned the evolution of transnational practices between Tonga and Oceania, while Vezzoli (2014) and Castellani (2007) did similarly for Guyana, stressing the colonial link to the USA and previously the United Kingdom. Essentially, in the Pacific small states, transnationalism supports and is supported through the maintenance of cultural identity and relationships with migrants to their homeland (Nakhid, 2009). Small population size might be conducive to these types of relationships, as they ferment attachment to the homeland, intentionally or not.

In the context of Caribbean small states, Rodman and Conway (2005) opined, ‘The transnational habitations of Caribbean migrants contribute to the formation of an increasingly malleable nexus of adaptive relationships between the Caribbean and the wider world.’ The authors went on to note, in the case of the working-age returnees to Grenada, the significance of their adaption to transnational lives and networks that makes their development contribution worthwhile. The ‘transnational migrant’ is the channel through which the ideas, capital, and other linkages are socialized, understood and strengthened to the benefit of small states.

In the setting of transnationalism in small states the main hypothesis and contention of this thesis is about why special attention and more research is needed for migration and development and especially the role of return to harness benefits and formulate the required policies. If smallness were considered, then the importance of return migration as a development impetus for these nations would be more recognized for its idiosyncrasies. This recognises the distinction made by Skeldon (2013) and Van Houte (2014) regarding the differentiated use of return migration between developed and developing countries. My idea here is to recognize small states as relevant and with additional sensitivities, as in the collection edited by Khonje (2015), with support from other authors (Wong and Yip, 1998; Beine et al., 2003, 2008; Schiff and Wang, 2008; Degazon-Johnson, 2007; ECLAC, 2005).

Adopting transnationalism as a key theoretical frame for this thesis does not infer that other theoretical approaches are irrelevant. Rather, what I want to stress is the core relevance of social, economic and political events in Guyana which have already been noted (regarding liberalization of trade, mobility and associated networks), as well as the recently launched Diaspora policy for Guyana presented to Guyana's Diaspora Conference on 23-28 July 2017. In adopting the Washington Consensus policies, moving to more democratic practices such as 'free and fair' elections, and export orientation, is an evolution towards transnationalism since the earlier phase of import substitution industrialization. Transnationalism has strengthened cross-border interconnectedness and placed migration as a more central development issue for Guyana, due to the resultant changing development focus and policy positions.

My use of the transnationalism framework also partly reflects how migration has evolved, with particular and challenging aspects in terms of impact through return on small states. This approach recognizes the volatility of growth in small jurisdictions, and the role of migration, particularly with former colonial masters, as a valid coping strategy for confronting the vicissitudes of the global economy that affect their small-scale societies. As a result, such an approach also frames migration more realistically within globalization, recognizing how far Guyana has come as part of a globally integrated system of networks and interlinked development.

2.4.2 The Capabilities Approach

New evidence based on improved techniques and research has also led to apportioning the capability approach as part of the theoretical foundation of measuring the potential impact of return migration. It is the capabilities and human enhancement of

migrants that contributes to their human agency, which in turn actualizes benefits of this exposure and determines whether or not they return. Simply explained by Briones (2009, p. 139), ‘the capability approach is a broad and multidimensional framework for evaluating individual well-being and the intrinsic experience of development and justice this entails’. Nussbaum (2003, p. 34) observed: ‘Capabilities provide us with an attractive way of understanding the normative content of the idea of development’. The approach preaches development as the process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy (Sen, 1999). And, as recently as 2016 Prebisch et al. recommended that the capabilities approach be utilized in migration analysis, which this also thesis advances.

Central to the concept of the capability approach is ‘a person’s functioning... his/her beings and doings, for example, being well-fed or literate, and his/her capabilities, the genuine opportunities or freedoms to realize these functioning’ (Robeyns, 2006, p. 351). ‘Functioning’ is observed through indicator variables, whereas capabilities are more latent; what someone has been able to achieve (functioning) is a result of their capabilities, the argument goes.

The migration-development nexus, as explained through the key notion of capability, therefore ‘looks at impacts on individuals’ real freedoms to attain what they have reason to value...The range of relevant values partly mirrors the range of reasons for migration besides economic gain or physical security. Such reasons include religious and political motivations, and searches for sexual or cultural freedom or adventure’ (Gasper and Truong, 2010, p. 341). Consequently, the opportunity to move – a capability also manifested in the functioning of migration (mobility) – while creating some negative impacts like the brain drain, is also itself an opportunity for gains (Bonfanti, 2014).

To clarify further the attractiveness of the capabilities approach as a framework for interpreting the human development impact of return migration, the salient features of the

approach must be explained. Dang (2014, p. 462) highlighted three such important elements of the capability approach: (1) it acknowledges the importance of human diversity and accounts for interpersonal variation in the conversion of characteristics of commodities into functioning and capabilities; (2) its multidimensional perspective on human well-being; and (3) the evaluative space which is focused on substantive freedoms and not utility nor that of primary goods.

By using the capability framework, the multiple links of migration and development can be bridged, at least conceptually (Briones, 2009; Gasper and Truong, 2010). Bridging the two conceptual frameworks (return migration and development) is accomplished through a focus on what people are able to do (agency) and to be (well-being) as a result of migration and/or the benefits therefrom. Development, viewed in terms of what people (migrants) are able to do and be, facilitates the conceptual shift needed to bridge this gap.

The assumption, as Briones (2009) noted, is seeing people as agents of production, as opposed to merely factors thereof. This is where the credence of capability over functionality becomes a reality through human agency and well-being; capability is therefore a pre-requisite to what a human can actually do and be.

Another salient feature of the approach is the concept of expansion of choices or freedoms, which gives the flexibility to define human development in a context-dependent manner; or, as is often used in the literature, dimensions of human development. In a way, the capability approach is flexible and plural, and this is what facilitates various applications (Dang, 2014, p. 461). Consequently, the capability approach is used in the thesis to explore the measurement of return's impact on development.

Having justified the dual theoretical concepts of the thesis, it is now necessary to examine more briefly other theories of the migration, return and development nexus. Such a broader theoretical examination seeks to explain the migratory phenomenon in Guyana given

the heterogeneity of migrants, particularly those returning. More so, it helps us to understand if the concept of smallness has been overlooked and/or given any weight in these conceptual frameworks.

2.4.3 Neo-Classical Perspectives on Migration and Return

The neo-classical perspective is emphasized by migrants' optimization of utility and making choices that are rational regarding the payoff from changing their geographical location, always assuming there are economic benefits to be had (Massey et al., 1994). Labour migrants, in this framework, are stimulated by higher wages (wage differential) that leads in turn to mobility (Lewis, 1954; Ranis and Fei, 1961; Todaro, 1969). In this case a distinction is not made by country size and population but by income differentials in various locations. This latter point can explain why many Guyanese migrants emigrate for income and financial gain, including within the Caribbean Free Movement regime.

According to the neo-classical view, migrants move abroad to maximize their overall net income (Sjaastad, 1962; Harris and Todaro, 1970). This process leads to a situation where, due to wage differentials, labour is expected to flow from low-wage to high-wage countries, and capital in the opposite direction (Massey et al., 1994). It is true that Guyanese emigrants take up such opportunities, since wages in Guyana are not as competitive. As such this regional phenomenon depletes rather than provides the much-needed human capacity in Guyana. Consequently, development suffers, as lamented in the National Development Strategy and the MDG 2007 and 2011 reports.

Theoretically, this wage situation is expected to exert a downward pressure on wages in destination countries and an upward pressure on wages in origin countries until equilibrium is reached. Migration is anticipated to decrease then eventually to cease. In

essence, the neo-classical model sees migration as self-correcting. However, changing economic conditions, wage-discrimination against migrants, homesickness etc., can compel return (Hazan, 2014), especially in cases where migration was illegal (Todaro and Masuczko, 1987). Return in this framework also occurs in cases of a reversal of wage levels (Kidar, 2013), or unmet expectations. In fact, Cerase (1974) was quick to point out the notion of ‘return of failure’ as made up of those who were not able to acquire a job abroad, this being synonymous with return being viewed as ‘failure’ in the neo-classical framework.

The aforementioned assessment takes into consideration market (structural) conditions – international labour demand and supply, with wages as the price-mitigating factor determining international mobility. It therefore embodies the push-pull framework where individuals are pushed to migrate by structural, personal, and wage-inhibiting factors from their own country, and pulled to other countries with brighter economic prospects (King, 2012; Massey et al., 1994; Hagen-Zanker, 2008). A variation of the neo-classical theory that also explains this is the human capital approach based on work by Sjaastad (1962), where migration is seen as an opportunity for an individual to increase the returns to their investment in their human capital acquisition (Hagen-Zanker, 2008; King, 2012). This is clearly evident in small states, where global statistics on brain drain presented by Docquier and Marfouk (2004) showed that skilled individuals predominantly emigrate. In fact, it would follow for small countries that the persistence of structural rigidities such as poverty, open economies, shocks, and limited economic diversification would perpetuate outward migration, since these rigidities stifle wages.

Militating factors of socio-economic development that plague small states – limited size of domestic market, openness, rising debt, limited economic diversification and narrow economic base – amplify the push, particularly for the skilled labour migrant group. This is not to overlook the importance of non-income factors, a blind spot of the neo-classical model,

but to also suggest why emigrants might be deterred from returning as well. Issues of smallness may also be linked to the development impact of return in small states, in terms of the diffusion of returnees' skills and resources.

Khonje (2015) elaborated well on how these factors work to affect migration and development more generally. Hence, when the debate about factors that affect return is examined, structural issues in the context of the enabling environment are seen as elements that may prevent return, stymie reintegration and threaten the sustainability of return. Individual preferences/factors, particularly for the very skilled migrant group, who are the most likely to emigrate from small states, are predominantly cited as influencers of return to small states, motivated through non-income factors to return (Gibson and McKenzie, 2009). On the other hand, Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2007) found that people who returned for a specific class of non-income reasons (family reasons) were more likely to be poor.

In Cassarino's (2004) re-theorization of return, it remains the case that, from a neo-classical perspective, people/individuals move to take advantage of opportunities (earnings and duration of stay abroad) in the host location as an income maximization strategy. It would seem that, from small states, skilled individuals do so more than any other group. Therefore, such small states are optimistic when migrants return with skills and other resources, which may reflect their individual agency (Van Houte, 2014, p. 23).

Sometimes the individual agency of the migrant, and the assumption of the existence of information symmetry, encounters the reality of insurmountable structural conditions in the labour market. Structural constraints are unaccounted for in the neo-classical framework, but may determine whether a migrant moves internally or internationally and in which country they may end up. In fact, Van Houte (2014) pointed out that why people migrate to one country versus another is not or cannot be explained sufficiently. Why few people migrate, and in particular the low participation of the poorest, is also not catered for,

especially since the premise of the theory is that the poorest people will move to the richest locations. However, Lee (1966) adds a set of intervening obstacles that must be overcome for migration to be possible, such as transport costs, political obstacles, immigration restrictions, personal preferences such as family ties etc. Undoubtedly, these obstacles affect the choice of country by migrants, among other things. For individuals in small states the costs of migrating invariably increase due to difficulties related to accessing information and other cost elements such as the existence and reliability of transport infrastructure. These costs are also higher for irregular¹¹ migrants, especially those from poor states in Africa such as Libya, Tunisia and Morocco (see King, 2009).

Under the neo-classical model return migration is not a predicted outcome, and the issue of developing countries, rather than smallness and/or small states, is the main source of heterogeneity and dichotomy. Wage income differentials are the main source of separation. In terms of other size factors, King (1986) and Ammassari and Black (2001), among others, raised the issue of the volume of returnees, size of savings and investment on return etc., as critical to the developmental impact of return, but this has not been recognized in return migration following the neo-classical framework. Return in the neo-classical framework is therefore seen as failure because it means that there was a miscalculation of the balance of costs and benefits in migration. Return to origin ultimately suggests a failure of the move to maximize earnings and extend the duration of stay abroad (Cassarino, 2004), in stark contrast to the 'new economics' approach, considered next.

¹¹ Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2007) showed that individuals who migrated with legal documentation were more likely to have moved out of poverty by the time they returned.

2.4.4 New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM)

Return is deemed a success in the case of the NELM approach. Unlike the neo-classical model, the new economics of labour migration considers the impact of conditions in a variety of markets (apart from the labour market) on migration, and importantly on the return of a migrant back to origin. According to Massey et al. (1994, p.711), ‘NELM argues that international migration stems from failures in other markets that threaten the material well-being of households and create barriers to their economic advancement. Unlike the neoclassical model, the new economic model does not posit complete and well-functioning markets. Indeed, it recognizes that in many settings, particularly in the developing world, markets for capital, futures, and insurance may be absent, imperfect, or inaccessible.’ These imperfections lead to migration and return, return this time being interpreted as ‘success’, not ‘failure’.

Under the NELM framework, the unit of analysis is extended to the household or occasionally the wider community (Massey et al., 1994; King, 2012). Additionally, rational-choice decision-making is not only about wage and income (joint) maximization, but is also about income diversification and risk aversion. In essence, to insure against risks associated with income and production and to increase access to investment capital, the household may send one or more family members abroad as a means of diversifying the family’s labour portfolio.

Massey et al. (1994) argue that risk reduction is particularly needful in poor source countries where market failures are prone to occurring (for instance crop failure due to natural disasters). The 2005 Guyana floods that affected 59% of the GDP is a case in point. For small less-developed states in particular, private markets or institutional mechanisms for managing risk and obtaining credit may be imperfect, inaccessible or unavailable altogether,

especially to poor families. In support, Khonje (2015) noted the limitations of markets in small states reinforce market imperfections and affect migration and development. Briguglio (1995) also noted a number of reasons connected to size, and other market imperfections in small islands, which are disadvantageous to their economic development. Counter to this recognition, Easterly and Kraay (2000) presented empirical evidence to suggest that imperfections related to smallness have not necessarily affected growth and development in some small states; and Read (2004) found that small size is not an insurmountable obstacle to growth. This mixed evidence points to the need for more research, and especially on the volatility and vulnerability of growth and development in small jurisdictions.

Interestingly, under the NELM framework, not always do entire families move, which means that return is an anticipated outcome and is in fact an indicator of success as it signals that individuals/families would have achieved their targets and prefer, in the ultimate analysis, to stay put (Cassarino, 2004). This interpretation suggests that continuing weaknesses in the origin economy, such as the vulnerabilities that are inherent in small states, are not necessarily or always deterrents to return under the NELM framework.

Phan (2012) tested the NELM hypothesis that rural households in Vietnam migrate to accumulate capital to return and invest, thereby alleviating credit constraints, and found it to be valid. Hence, migration is both a survival mechanism and a livelihood strategy, that are inseparable (McDowell and De Haan, 1997; De Haan, 1999). Migration could therefore be seen as a norm, an essential element of peoples' livelihoods (De Haan, 1999). This type of embeddedness of migration is exemplified as normalized in the Caribbean Small States where migration is believed to be part of the peoples' psyche; a 'culture of migration' (Mishra, 2006; Patterson, 2000; Thomas-Hope, 1992).

Citing numerous studies in support, Massey et al. (1994, p. 712) contended that the new economics of labour migration theory has been proven for migrants to North America

and for migrants from the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, English-speaking Central America and, of course, the classic case of Mexico.

A notable criticism of the NELM framework is its underlying assumption that intra-household relationships are harmonious and that unanimous collective decisions are made (King, 2012). However, this assumption might not be so far-fetched for small states, because King (2009) noted too that small islands often evolve as relatively homogenous and intimate societies. Thomas-Hope's (1999) example of Jamaica is a case in point, where the author stressed the ways in which the sustained interconnectedness of transnational migrant households are beneficial to return migration and development. However, this connection could eventually result in whole families migrating rather than single individuals.

The NELM model, with regards to why people migrate and return, reinforces the notion of selectivity in migration and return; despite the fact that return migrants might be negatively selected (Wahba, 2015). The work of Borjas and Bratsberg (1996) predicted that the skills composition of the return migration flow depends on the type of selection that first generated emigration. Selectivity therefore, has been shown to exist in return (Rooth and Saarela, 2006). Gmelch (1980) also acknowledged the issue of selectivity by indicating that both the extremely successful and the very unsuccessful individuals do not return. Therefore, returnees are neither great successes nor failures. Of course, being successful as a returnee at origin is subject to the intervening circumstances of structural constraints, which are also known to fundamentally influence migrants' behaviour (De Haas, 2010; Carling, 2002), and more in comparison to non-migrants.

2.4.5 Structuralism, Return and Smallness

To address contextual factors, the structuralist approach can be very useful (Cassarino, 2004). From this viewpoint, if return takes place there is no guarantee that the returnee will have an impact on the society (or that his/her individual agency would be effective), and re-emigration becomes an option instead of reintegration, which can be difficult and problematic. As the reasoning goes, given the structural constraints in the origin country and perhaps also a lack of information, the return migrant is placing a bet on how well he/she will fit in; and because structural rigidities did not allow for keeping up-to-date with the origin country, reintegration can be difficult. Such limitations make predicting the development impact of return migration on the origin country ambiguous. Nevertheless, Cassarino (2004, p. 259-260) pointed out, ‘the structural approach to return migration is essential to show how influential contextual factors may impact the returnees’ capacity to innovate and to appear as actors of change. Not only do skills and financial capital shape return experiences, but local power relations, traditions and values in home countries also have a strong bearing on the returnees’ capacity to invest their migration experiences in their home countries’. Hence, ‘structuralists have in fact focused more on how returnees’ initiatives could favour economic development when faced with local power structures than on the return migration phenomenon per se’. In a broader/global context, structure is examined within a world system approach; see ahead, section 2.4.7.

In the globalized and highly structured (in a hierarchical sense) world system, the issue of smallness does matter in terms of international relations and negotiations; an example being multilateral negotiations, where small states are disproportionately dependent on non-reciprocal preferential trade (Heron, 2008). Yet, certain empirical evidence has not shown the same level of concern (Easterly and Kraay, 2000; Read, 2004). To the contrary, it has been demonstrated that growth rates in small states are comparable with other states notwithstanding the above-mentioned challenges; and some solutions have been proposed to

counter the challenges of smallness in international negotiations (Panke, 2012). In the area of international mobility, a manifestation of smallness being used to influence migration policy is the example given by Mainwaring (2014), who showed how Malta and the Republic of Cyprus were able to use small country size and high population density to indicate how overwhelmed they were by the recent tide of inward migration. These two island states, as defined small states in the European Union, further made the case that the cost constraints involved for them were insurmountable. These indicators were used to influence EU regional policy on irregular migration. This situation does not hold for the case of Guyana with a small population, and the issues are different in that the country's preference is for migrants to return to build the nation.

Additionally, based on the power relations of small states versus others, there is the argument that multilateral negotiations, for example in the General Agreement on Trade in Services, do not give small states the sovereign policy space required to guide vital economic sector development, for example tourism (Turner, 2010). Consequently, despite useful recommendations on how to treat issues of smallness and concomitant constraints in international power relations in negotiations under the multilateral trading system for such nations, there is clear evidence of how selected issues of smallness for small states matter in their economic survival. Imperfections, be it in markets or otherwise due to smallness, might very well have roots in the structure of small countries internally or, in a comparative sense, internationally. This has contributed to hegemony among small states to combat some challenges and to be recognized in international negotiations. From this perspective, the world classification of developed versus developing is more apt, but this does not reduce in any way the specificities of smallness and, in countries like Guyana, the challenges of development owing to human capital.

2.4.6 Dual Labour Market Theory

Comparisons between developed and developing states make the case for demand-driven migration, which arises as a result of pull factors in the destination country. As a result, the dual labour market theory focuses on how macro-level economic developments shape migration (Massey et al., 1994). This model is influenced by Marxist notions of capitalism and development (King, 2012). In the European context, post-war reconstruction and industrialization created a demand for labour from developing countries. Small states are well-experienced with demand-driven migration, a case in point being the Caribbean where Thomas-Hope (2002, p. 2) noted that the ‘timing, volume and direction of migration flows have been driven by the extent and location of external metropolitan demand’. Khonje (2015) also alluded to international recruitment and the weight of the pull factor for labour migration.

In advanced industrialized countries, there exists a dual labour market consisting of a primary labour market of secure, well-paid jobs for native workers, and a secondary labour market of low-skill, low-wage, insecure and generally unpleasant jobs in factories and the service sector. These latter jobs are mainly filled by migrant workers, because such jobs are shunned by local workers (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). Given conditions in their home countries, such jobs are desirable to migrants, who would otherwise remain as either unemployed or on low incomes.

King (2012) posited that demand-driven immigration is intrinsic to the continued growth and development of industrialized and post-industrial societies. This arguably perpetuates migration and the subordination of developing countries to major capitalist economies, as advanced by the dependency school (Massey et al., 1994). Therefore, as noted by King (2012), the dual labour market theory deviates fundamentally from the

developmentalist framework where migration is seen as being positively linked to development. As an example, Portes and Bach (1985) investigated Mexican and Cuban immigrants in the US and found support for the dual labour market theory, as Mexicans and Cubans entered and remained in the secondary market for a number of years after entering the US.

The dual labour market theory, as well as the neo-classical and new economics of labour migration theory, all allude to economic conditions in the origin country, which are assumed to be below those of destination countries in the West, as drivers of outward migration. For small states this statement is challenged by the fact that some small states have a GDP per capita that is above the world average and are featured among the highest and upper middle-income countries. King (2009) links this to the ability of some small states, particularly islands, to identify and specialize in high-income growth niches (such as tourism and financial services, especially offshore banking). Even so, the exposure of small states to external shocks constitutes a disadvantage to economic development by magnifying the element of risk in the growth process (Briguglio et al., 2004). For this and other reasons, governments have to institutionalize measures to benefit from migration, and protect migrants, through return and diaspora policies, which recognize the social and other capital of its citizens abroad. Consequently, small states are locked into a globalized system of trade in people and goods.

2.4.7 World Systems Theory

World systems theory, like the dual labour market theory, deviates from the neo-classical notion that migration is driven by differentials in wage rate, and instead argues that

migration is guided by the dynamics and structure of the global economy (Hagen-Zanker, 2008).

World systems theory (Wallerstein, 1974), with its affinities to dependency theory, takes a historical structural approach where it conceptualizes one world system with layered spatial parts (Peet and Harwick, 2009). In essence, it argues that economic activities have become fragmented as a result of economic globalization, with the core (North America, Europe, Japan, Australia and New Zealand) capitalist economies (and multinational firms) dominating global economic activities. Consequently, economic and social structures have been transformed at a global scale. Noteworthy in this model is the fragmentation of the production process, with labour-intensive and extractive activities located in low-wage countries and capital-intensive activities located in high-wage countries. However, small (island) states may miss out on this productive division, precisely because of their smallness. In fact, Skeldon (1997) made the observation that small states in a global system are economically and politically weak. This stymie the process of integration into the world productive system for small states.

In a world systems approach, out-migration can also be perpetuated, in the small state case, based on a family-related, family reunification processes. Bristol (2010) posited the notion that for small states the build-up of large diasporas abroad, in some cases estimated to be as large as the resident origin population, has created a momentum in which outflows of migrants will continue to be sizeable in comparison to the small population size at the country of origin. Gmelch (1980, p. 153) referred to this as chain migration, where emigration is further encouraged by example or by direct encouragement, or by unfulfilled or pessimistic expectations of return. Already evidence exists which shows that out-migration from Guyana continues to happen in large part because of family reunification (Vezzoli,

2014); which coincides with family reunification being among the top justifications for legal immigration to OECD countries (Honohan, 2009).

Another hypothesis (Massey et al., 1994; Morawska, 2007) of world systems theory is that international migration is especially likely between past colonial powers and their former colonies, because cultural, linguistic, administrative, investment, transportation, and communication links were established early and were allowed to develop free from outside competition during the colonial era, leading to the formation of specific transnational markets and cultural systems. These support current migratory trends from small states in the Pacific and the Caribbean, as noted by Skeldon (1997) in his discussion of the role of colonial history. But deviations to this has been occurring for Guyanese migrants emigrating to the CARICOM Region.

Massey et al. (1994) argue that one corollary of changes in the structure of the global economy is that populations in developing countries have become more mobile and prone to migrating as they seek to migrate to the core capitalist countries in search of sustainable sources of income due to ruptures in their traditional livelihoods and lifestyles. This might have roots in historical relations, and is sustained as migration becomes more of a cultural expression, as it does in Caribbean small states. Hence, the world systems approach has been useful in understanding migrant patterns especially in the context of small states and their former colonial ties, and in the ensuing trade and other relationships developed over decades.

As there are ties based on colonial relationships at the macro-level, there are also ties through cross-border connectedness at the micro (household) level. The micro-level ties are made possible in the transnational context, complemented by former colonial powers and their peripheral subjects at the macro level. As we have seen earlier, transnationalism, 'may become a strategy for survival and betterment, in a globalized world' (Plaza, 2008, p. 4). As

integration deepens, a web of networks is solidified which also recognize migration. This perpetuates in a social network setting that tries to formalize these relationships.

2.4.8 Social Network Theory

Social network theory speaks to the benefit that a returnee can bring to the origin nation through expanding his/her network abroad. This adds complementarity to the notion of transnationalism. In this regard, Hazan (2014, p. 9) points out that ‘Through her/his migration experience the individual also develops other types of social relationships that provide her/him with valuable resources for a successful return beyond tangible resources such as financial capital’. Such benefits include both human and social capital. Social capital is critical in the migration process and especially to adaptation in the destination country.

This theory recognizes the importance of the role of the migrant’s agency and interconnectedness, especially when return or the intention to return creates potential benefits for the origin state. With this, Cassarino (2004) noted that social network theory is more about the commonality of interest (usefulness of migration experience at origin), than the commonality of attributes (religion, ethnicity) in the preparatory actions of the intended return migrant. In fact, the author argued that, while the cross-border relationships of origin and destination countries, situated in organizational relations, suffer gaps based on social, economic, and political content, social network theory may offer bridges to these gaps among migrants intending to return, based on individual and communal interest.

Migrants are often able to adjust their decision-making based on their participation in networks. For example, Corbin (2012) studied how networks allowed emigrants to update their information and modify their target countries in the case of cross-border migration from Brazil to Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana. Garip et al. (2015) explained how social ties

and social structure generate and sustain the flow of remittances. There is also evidence from Chuang and Schechter (2014) noting that social networks in developing countries act as safety nets, especially when there is a lack of financial instruments.

2.4.9 Summing Up

Reflecting on the theories espoused, once it has been discovered that there are consistent and viable reasons to make the distinction between small states and others for the purpose of development, the impetus for recognizing migration effects with such heterogeneity becomes a natural course of academic enquiry. The general migration process theories talk around rather than directly confront the issues of smallness and small states. Return migration does the same, except for the case of NELM. However, once development comes into focus, as per the migration-development nexus, it is difficult to exclude issues of smallness in small states. The usefulness of the theories explaining the migration phenomenon has been the varied and real justification for migration in the face of individual and national constraints to human development. Empirical evidence has been the key justification for recognizing the distinctive impact of migration and return on small states. Policy, given all the challenges small countries face, is a critical component of development, but can only do so much in light of the structural barriers for which there is little or no control. However, on a more positive note, Kulu (2000) noted in the context of Estonia, one of the EU's smallest states, that interest in how institutions affect migrant streams has resulted in the importance of policy as a factor influencing return migration.

On the face of it, diaspora rather than return policies seem more proactive and potentially effective in addressing the development needs of origin countries in CARICOM. Good examples from the realm of small states/islands are St Lucia, St Vincent and the

Grenadines, Dominica, and further afield Estonia. There is a clear gap, however, in research on policy comparison (between return, and diaspora policies) in origin states from an evaluative perspective of their relative effectiveness. There is also syndrome of policy overburden, since there may be overlapping agendas and expectations, perceived or real, between return and diaspora policy.

2.5 Conclusion

Migration in the case of Guyana has largely been about out-migration, the negative effects of brain drain, and the positive payback of remittances. These are the key elements of the migration-development nexus that get the most coverage. The attention given to return has been heavily driven by government action based on the perceived and real development needs of the origin country (or so it is assumed). Issues of asylum and refugees are not a common occurrence, and immigrants are purely dealt with through a security lens.

I suggest that Guyana is an interesting case to study return migration, both at the level of ‘pure’ research and at the policy level. But, with limited data, this presents a formidable academic challenge. What is observed is a notable weakness of the prevailing theories of migration in their emphasis on a single causal factor, or a similar set of factors, for migration (Morawska, 2007). Another weakness Morawska (2007) identifies is the economic reductionism of macro-level theories. Morawska argues for a theoretical approach that can incorporate mutually supportive elements of the major theoretical bodies so that country-specific, institutional and structural considerations are captured when studying migration. This is supported by Kurekova (2011), in line with an ‘interdisciplinary synthesis’ called for by King (2012), when researching migration and its associated phenomena. De Haas and Fokkema (2011) made a similar observation that existing theories are more complementary

than they are competing, to explain the phenomena of migration. This essentially reflects the heterogeneity of migrants, whether leaving and/or returning. As such the major tenets of the theoretical frameworks mentioned all seem to have some role in explaining migration in the Guyana context, more so migrants' behavior. Notwithstanding this, transnationalism and the capabilities approach are the best adapted to ground my analysis, even if these two conceptual frameworks do not fully encapsulate migration and return's complexity.

Dual labour market and world system theories explain historical relationships in terms of colonial linkages and which destinations migrants' cluster at. So too might structuralism be considered but this has what we may call two dimensions: (1) an internal component that speaks to the inhibitions of smallness, and (2) historical relations that structure the stock and flow of migrants in terms of their host and origin destinations. The neo-classical approach may have some merit of migrants emigrating and not returning – for example when prioritizing their utility maximization. But more importantly the NELM and social network theories do bare some relevance to how return migration becomes manifest. In particular, NELM and social network theories are good starting points for conceptualizing new forms of intra-regional circulation of migrants emanating from Guyana. This new direction of migrants regionally is related to regional labour movement policy, cheaper migration costs to regional destinations, a less stringent administrative burden, and a common culture that facilitate integration.

The debate on migration and development has not adequately faced the issue of smallness, but has been useful in examining the challenges surrounding insularity and vulnerability of smallness by focusing on factors such as wage differential, risk management, and colonial ties, the latter often taken in the context of developed and developing countries. Neo-classical theory considered wage differentials irrespective of whether or not countries are large or small; NELM considered risk management by households irrespective of country

and population size; colonial ties can be seen as the legacy of social network theory, world system theory, and dual labour market theory; and structuralism also reflects a kind of developed versus developing countries context, in particular the core-periphery argument.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS AND DATA

3.1 Introduction and Working Sample

The migration-development nexus has been widely accepted as having complex multi-layered relationships (King, 2012; Skeldon, 1997; De Haas, 2012, Faist et al., 2011; Chappell and Srisikandarajah, 2007). By a similar token, data scarcity complicates how accurately such relationships can be captured and explained, with obvious implications for the kind of analysis that can be done and the completeness with which the three research questions can be answered. This complexity and unevenness of data availability has been given extensive consideration with regards to determinants and impact, most notably by Bilsborrow et al. (1984, p. 1997). By extension, empirical analysis suffers as a result of the challenges of migration data, and researchers have had to navigate such data limitations, making sure to reflect on the caveats associated with the nature of the data utilized and their consequences for analysis; see for example McKenzie and Sasin (2007).

Some of the issues in data capture are conceptual, whilst empirical measurements are still evolving. This evolution also presents opportunities for new approaches and/or the application of such from technical developments made in various domains of enquiry. Faced with similar challenges in this thesis, this chapter details the pathways followed conceptually and empirically for gathering the data needed to answer the research questions, describes the analytical tools to be employed, and highlights the caveats that must be considered, with some potential remedies.

My overall approach is one of mixed methods. Quantitative and qualitative approaches are utilized as complements of each other to provide rich data and discussions, and inform the analysis in a way that helps to explain recent developments in return migration in the case of Guyana. My main reliance, however, is on quantitative survey data.

The focus is on highlighting differences in the analytical groups in order to understand the potential and sustainability of return, identify the core determinants of return to Guyana, and the likely impact of return on development.

The data underpinning this thesis comes from three groups for which concomitant descriptive statistics are captured in the penultimate section of this chapter. Data was collected from return migrants (individuals who emigrated to a host destination for at least one year and returned to Guyana for a year or more). These returnees constituted a total sample of 451 subjects. The second group surveyed are non-returning migrants (individuals who emigrated from Guyana, currently reside outside of Guyana, and have not returned for one year or more). These non-returning migrants constituted 210 sample subjects. The third group in the overall sample are non-migrants (individuals who never left Guyana, or briefly so for less than a year, and are domiciled in Guyana). This group has 528 sample subjects. Combining all three groups sampled, there are 1189 respondents. Two of the three groups, return migrants and non-migrants, were interviewed in Guyana using a questionnaire, while non-returning migrants were interviewed online. One overarching questionnaire was used as the survey instrument, containing overlapping parts applied to the various groups.

Detailed information was also gathered qualitatively from key informants representing institutions responsible for return migration policy, data, and adjudication of concessions. The relevant institutions were the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Department of Re-migration; the Guyana Bureau of Statistics, Departments of Demography and Surveys respectively; the Guyana Revenue Authority; and the Guyana Office for Investment. This information and the insights gleaned was necessary to fine-tune the research questions, understand the institutional arrangements and policy surrounding return migration, evaluate the nature of the data usually captured in this field, and to explore other diverse issues

surrounding ‘official’ interpretations of the relationships between (return) migration and development.

In what is to follow, the chapter discusses the research philosophy and the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the methods that led to the acquisition of the aforementioned data. This includes a discussion on the sampling (size and implementation). Of course, the development of the key research instrument, the testing of it, and administrative and logistical challenges, are also described and justified. Further, the chapter looks at caveats noting remedies where possible and useful, and the reach of the analysis in terms of generalizability. In the final main section of this chapter an overall portrait is given of the three samples’ characteristics.

3.2 Research Philosophy

As set out in more detail in chapter 2, this thesis takes a transnational perspective (connectedness of migrants and institutions across borders, through a variety of means, formal and informal) in seeking to understand the determinants of return migration to Guyana. The human development impact is examined through a capabilities approach. In line with the researcher’s training, the research is conducted predominantly through the lens of an economist operating in the broader social sciences field of migration sciences.

Economics may be considered normative (what ought to be) or positive (what is). Two of my research questions – What is the human development impact of return migration? And what are the core determinants of return migration to Guyana? – are positive statements of inquiry. Positive economics comprises ‘non-ethical true or false claims of economics or aspects of economies’ (Weston, 1994, p. 4). However, ‘conclusions on positive economics seem to be, and are immediately relevant to important normative problems...’ (Friedman,

2008, p. 146; also see Caplan and Miller, 2010). Friedman (2008, p. 146) goes on to note that ‘its task is to provide a system of generalizations that can be used to make correct predictions about the consequences of any change in circumstances. And its performance is to be judged by the precision, scope, and conformity with experience of the predictions it yields.’

There is a historical view of the positive-normative tradition in economics that suggests that it flows from what Colander and Su (2015) have referred to as logical positivism, though admittedly they made the case that it was not necessarily developed to philosophically reflect the logical positivist view. In fact, Colander and Su (2015, p. 168) saw the distinction as following pragmatic traditions that emphasize the limitations of theory and empirical work in providing scientific grounding for policy. Hence, the quantitative approach of this study, which will use empirical solutions to predict determinants and impact, will have inherent limitations in its applications. Skorupski (2005) noted that ‘logical positivists shared the empiricist doctrine...’ and there seems to be no great difference between the logical positivist and empiricist modes of thinking (Uebel, 2013). These doctrines necessarily refer to scientific approaches of inquiry that draw conclusions from empirical evidence. The epistemological assumption here is that knowledge is generalizable and is arrived at through the use of empirical cases for testing theories, propositions and hypotheses (Heritier, 2008, p. 61). My question of enquiry – comparisons among return migrants, non-returning migrants, and non-migrants for difference – is answered with the use of statistical measures, also constituting an empirical approach.

‘Objectively’ grounded research is theoretically possible in the social sciences because human actions and structures are capable of generalization; although there is a counter-school of thought which stresses the myth of objectivity, since the very choice of what to study is a subjective one. In fact, social science research and experiments have found that many aspects of human behaviour are consistent, predictable and amenable to

generalization (Thomlinson, 1965, p. 29). Empirical research, therefore, should target information to prove consistent patterns of human behaviour so as to make generalizable knowledge claims. The objective epistemology model stresses that generalization is premised on the view that there are patterns to the social world and these patterns are discernible (Nicholson, 1996, p. 142). In fact, much of the criticism levelled against the notion of the predictability of human behaviour can be made against the hard-core sciences too (Thomlinson, 1965, p. 30).

Accordingly, this research embraces a neo-positivist methodology; a natural extension of the logical empiricist and logical positivist scientific model (Uebel, 2013). Neo-positivism is a methodological approach that approves the use of methods similar to those employed in the natural sciences as the means of acquiring knowledge of realities in the social world (Bryman and Bell, 2007, p. 16). Scientific knowledge must be founded on, tested by, and grounded on observations (Lenski, 1991, p. 188). Neo-positivism acknowledges a clear distinction between scientific statements and normative/value-laden statements, with the former being the main concern of scientific analysis (Bryman and Bell, 2007, p. 16); though it must be acknowledged too that normative value judgment will be taken in my analysis where the data and techniques used are insufficient for scientific statements. Knowledge in the neo-positivist scheme is propositional and requires evidential support (della Porta and Keating, 2008, p. 22).

A valid knowledge claim for neo-positivists must correspond with empirical observations and the evaluation of knowledge claims is generally through hypothesis testing (Jackson, 2011, p. 44). The onus therefore is on the researcher to develop instruments and methods to capture the relevant data to validate knowledge claims (Vasquez, 1998, p. 25-26). In this regard, a closed-ended questionnaire was utilized to collect primary data from three analytical categories: return migrants, non-returning migrants, and non-migrant individuals.

The data is used in statistical and multivariate analyses to examine relationships and formulate conclusions. This is supported by qualitative information that is used to bridge gaps in information and interpretation, and corroborate empirical evidence.

Lenski (1991) advises that because the epistemological claims of positivism have been evolving, it is important to differentiate between early positivism and neo-positivism. According to Lenski early positivism is deterministic, while neo-positivism is probabilistic (Lenski, 1991, p. 190). To clarify, a deterministic system is one in which the properties at any given time are a function of its properties at previous times (Thomlinson, 1965, p. 32). On the other hand, in probabilistic systems, previous events are not accurate predictors of current and future events and reality is only imperfectly understandable (della Porta and Keating, 2008, p. 24). In this regard, neo-positivism accepts a degree of uncertainty. Be that as it may, the reader should not lose sight of the main aim of neo-positivist research, that is, to provide empirically grounded and justified knowledge claims (Jackson, 2011, p. 6). Further justification for the adoption of quantitative techniques used in this research appears in the respective chapters, including the novelty of the specific techniques used.

3.3 Data Collection Challenges and Sampling Issues

Conventional sampling approaches are deemed inefficient to treat data collection on migrant populations; among the key reasons are the ‘rareness’ of the population under investigation and its ‘unknown’ nature (Bilsborrow et al., 1984). A number of sampling techniques have been recommended for sampling rare elements; among them, reverse screening and case control in systematic random sampling (Picot et al., 2001). Reverse screening generally helps to guide the research on where to focus for rare elements, and control helps to limit group size of cases needed and control groups for selection, thereby reducing cost and time. Both the screening and case control techniques have time and cost

benefits that are apt for a student budget and for the time constraints in getting a survey completed. However, no list existed (and access was not given where it did) for the selection of the sample in the case of Guyana, and though one was created regionally, the level of detail (required at the community level) was not sufficient to preselect individuals without a field pilot.

Adaptive sampling designs are another class of technique used for rare elements (Brown et al., 2013). There are many variants of this approach: the cluster sample version, the stratified and two-stage sampling version, the sequential version, complete allocation, restrictive sampling etc. (Brown et al., 2013; Brown and Manly, 1998). For the cluster version, a threshold sample size is chosen and if sampling units meet or exceed this threshold additional units are sampled. The idea is that once a return migrant is found the researcher would want to search in the immediate area for others. It is this neighbourhood searching that is adaptive, according to Brown et al., (2013). The main value of this approach is the search for rare elements. The disadvantage of using this approach is that while you may reach the target sample size, the cost and time of arriving there can become unstable. Further, the sample would lack heterogeneity if it were to focus on few clusters or in similar clusters. However, the principles are in line with what is necessary, and the two-stage stratified variant was utilized in this survey. With regards to the stratified and two-stage version, the study area is divided into sections; in the stratified version, all strata are selected; and in the two-stage version not all are chosen (Brown et al., 2013, p. 111).

The technique used in this research is a two-stage stratified sampling with disproportionate fractions, as recommended by Bilsborrow et al. (1997). Additionally, an online ethno-survey, another approach common in the collection of migration data (Massey and Zenteno, 1999; Sana and Conway 2013), was used to gather information on an important control group.

McKenzie and Mistiaen (2009) also highlighted the utility of chain referral and response-driven approaches for sampling migrant populations, but indicated that these do not generate similar results to probability sampling. Hence, they were ignored for the task at hand, since I wanted to use probability sampling at least for a close-to-representative sample of returnees.

‘The sources of data for measuring return migration can be differentiated according to two main dimensions: the place of collection (in the country of origin or the country of destination) and whether the measurement is direct or indirect’ (OECD, 2008, p. 165). The guidance of Bilsborrow et al. (1997, p. 248-249) on collecting data for assessing determinants and consequences is followed for this thesis, with some modifications. Data was gathered directly for return migrants and non-migrants, and virtually (online) for non-returning migrants. To appropriately study the impact of return migration, data on the analytical categories - returnees and non-returning migrants – are preferred, but comparing returnees and non-migrants, both being present in the origin country, are also acceptable (Bilsborrow et al., 1997, p. 257). For the study of the determinants of return, return migrants at origin must be compared to those who did not return and are still at destination. Specialized surveys of migrants in both the source and destination countries have therefore been the data capture solution (see Gibson and McKenzie, 2009; OECD, 2008).

The aforementioned factors are challenges that broadly had to be taken into consideration in formulating and executing the survey used to gather data for this thesis. In addition, however, it is important to note that available data from the Bureau of Statistics in Guyana only allowed access to the 2002 census report, which is more than a decade old.¹²

¹² Essentially, there are two censuses for Guyana – 2002 and 2012 – that are relevant to this thesis. At the time of developing the proposal for the thesis only the 2002 census was available. The 2002 census was declassified in 2014 and allowed greater access (the questionnaire, detail regional data etc.) which I exploited to frame the sample. The level of detail from the 2002 census however had critically omitted variables (such as migration experience, reason for emigration, return motivation and preparedness, reintegration and resettlement etc.). Hence, the level of detail was not exhaustive. The result was a specialized survey I conducted to build my own

This data was insufficient in level of detail, for example the migration process was not captured (missing variables). Critical aspects of the migration process not captured by the census (2002 and 2012) are: migration experience, return motivation, return preparedness, reintegration and resettlement, transnational linkages etc. The 2012 census results only became available in May 2016. The time elapsed in waiting for the 2012 census was an unnecessary risk of compromising the timely completion of this thesis; and it did not contain important information on the migration process that was necessary. Hence, the 2002 Census data was used to frame the specialized samples taken. The 2002 information allowed for the calculation of an estimate of the population proportion of return migrants, and the identification of where return migrants in Guyana were concentrated from the regional down to the community level.

Early qualitative consultations with the Bureau of Statistics Demography and Survey Departments revealed that using other available institutional data, such as that generated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (the agency responsible for processing return migrants approved for concessions) or the Guyana Revenue Authority (responsible for allocating concessions under the return migration scheme), would cause unnecessary sample selection errors, even within the return migrant group, particularly since individuals who have not spent 4-5 consecutive years abroad before returning are not eligible for the Government's return migrant benefits. Hence, the data collated in these datasets would naturally exclude many different classes of return migrants. Data from the Ministry of Housing and Water also presented similar challenges, including the exclusion of return migrants who are residing at origin, though that dataset includes non-returning migrants with an intention to return. In light of these challenges, this research utilizes a specialized survey as the remedy to gather the data required for the analysis. Dumont and Spielvogel (2008), and as previously

dataset. In the year 2016, information from the 2012 census was published. When the 2012 census report became available, my field sampling work was completed. The 2012 census was therefore only use to correct age, gender, and ethnicity for the sample of non-migrants.

mentioned Gibson and McKenzie (2009), recommended specialized surveys in light of omitted/missing variable biases of existing datasets, and the resolution to location challenges in addition to data quality deficiencies associated with indirect collection. This approach allowed for understanding migration history, causes (determinants) and potential consequences, being able to better succinctly capture the migration process by the instrument used.

Ideally, the source, and more specifically the type of data should be longitudinal, as in the case of Constant and Massey (2002) measuring return migration from the perspective of the host country; or a Labour Force Survey in the case of Dustmann and Weiss (2007), also measuring return migration from a host-country perspective. Single-round household or individual surveys of return migrants are also common for assessing return migration for origin countries. Some examples are Germenji and Milo (2009), Strachan (1980), St. Bernard (2005), Thomas-Hope (1999), and De Vreyer et al. (2010). As was previously mentioned, this thesis uses a specialized single-round survey. The design and selection regarding this survey are explained next.

3.4 Sample Design and Selection

3.4.1 Qualitative Aspects and Institutional Context

Key informants' qualitative interviews were done with sector specialists representing institutions that had some degree of relationship with returning migrants, immigrants, and allocation of returnees' government concession benefits. These interviews were done informally, though an introductory letter and explanation were dispatched prior to the interview. These interviews were conducted long before the fieldwork survey commenced.

The interviews guided my understanding of what migration data existed, how data on return was gathered and processed by the various agencies responsible for migrants, how information collection and processing took place, institutional interpretations of migration policy, and migration plans and programmes for the future.

This round of qualitative enquiry enabled a better understanding of how to frame the research questions and whether there were answerable with secondary data. The interviews also helped to clarify the distinctions between the direct and indirect benefits that return migrants are associated with. They also shed light on many other areas germane to my enquiry, including kinks in the return migration policy regime, challenges with the CSME framework and using such to fill labour gaps in Guyana, understanding of the institutional context in terms of roles and responsibilities, and feedback on motives behind return, resettlement issues and the concept of how potentially development is impacted, from the policy operatives' perspective.

These interviews necessarily took an informal format, given that the information was considered highly sensitive at that time, coming from government agencies. Such sensitivities were understood because migration has become a very political issue. Hence, on the bureaucratic side, disclosure had to be sanctioned by the Minister, and it is only on that basis that agency representatives were willing to speak formally – on the record. In fact, leaked information in the media (see for example *Guyana Times*¹³) suggested abuse of the re-migration (i.e. return migration) scheme, which created unease, and made it further difficult for me to garner formal interviews from those in the public sector. As it turns out, the current Minister of Foreign Affairs indicated that the re-migration programme is riddled with corruption of tax exemptions, document falsification to qualify as returnees under the programme etc., and these issues goes back as far as the year 2008.

¹³ <http://www.guyanatimesgy.com/2014/02/24/gra-to-crack-down-on-remigrant-fraudsters/>

The issue of corruption and how it affected returning migrants was also documented by one returnee in a book titled *A National Cesspool of Greed, Duplicity and Corruption: A Remigrant's Story*, published by GHK Lall in 2012. Corruption in the re-migration programme gained so much notoriety during that period that the former Auditor General, and at the time, President of Transparency Institute Guyana Incorporated, Mr. Anand Goolsarran, penned an article on the re-migration scheme, under the column 'Accountable Watch' in *Stabroek News*, 15 September 2014¹⁴, where he catalogued the weaknesses of the re-migration scheme in terms of evidence, verification and oversight. Even more recently, after a change of Government, this claim is still 'alive', and is of such consequence that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, under whose portfolio the programme is currently implemented, is suggesting that it be moved to the Ministry of Public Security¹⁵. This is indicative of return migration now being viewed as a security issue for functional reasons, while concurrently, based on calls from the existing President, it is also seen as developmental in a political and growth context.

The suggestion of politics at play reflects the calls for migrants to return by all political parties before and after the elections cycle, a trend that is prevalent. Politics and ethnicity have always been linked in the case of Guyana; hence Strachan's claim, in his 1983 assessment of return to Guyana, that the Government was not actively demonstrating ethnic balance in the return programme that started in 1967. Return migration in this context seems to be propagated on the notion of personal characteristics and not development interest.

The implications of the above issues for this thesis are threefold. Firstly, names and positions are not quoted for those involved in the qualitative evidence gathering. Secondly, figures given, for example on the number of return migrants to Guyana, may or may not be

¹⁴ <http://www.stabroeknews.com/2014/features/09/15/remigrants-scheme-shortcomings/>

¹⁵ <http://www.kaieteurnewsonline.com/2016/02/07/remigrant-scheme-riddled-with-corruption-foreign-affairs-minister/> See also <http://www.kaieteurnewsonline.com/2016/03/02/those-who-abused-remigrant-scheme-must-be-prosecuted-anand-goolsarran/>

accurate given the aforementioned issues, i.e., official corruption might be responsible for more return migrant concessions being given out than is actually the case. Hence, caution is advised on the number of returnees qualified for concessions, despite this issue not being that central to the thesis. Finally, the account of one returnee, Lall (2012), is not heavily referenced, as it is a single personal account.

The qualitative data was utilized in two ways in this thesis: (1) key informant surveys were helpful for wording the research questions, plotting a data collection strategy, understanding agency role and responsibilities, and policy angles; and (2) from the un-pooled quantitative data a few profile/stories from individuals were drawn out to augment the analysis of migrant and non-migrant issues in a qualitative way – see chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Nevertheless, though the qualitative data collection was informal, the information has been used in this thesis briefly to enlighten mainly data and policy issues. The data was helpful in contextualizing the policy framework, as well as deliberating the current thrust and the historical context of migration. Further, the interview data was instrumental in understanding the institutional context of migration and return to Guyana. Finally, it guided an understanding of where to target the fieldwork given cost and time constraints. Eventually, through the network created with the key informants interviewed, when the 2002 census data became declassified I was given access. This enabled the framing of the quantitative sample to collect data on return migrants.

3.4.2 Framing the Sample: Quantitative Aspects

To arrive at the sample size, location targets, and configuration for the quantitative data collection, data were obtained from the 2002 Guyana census database. Based on this source of information, there are three main regions – regions 3, 4 and 6 – containing most

return migrants. Region 3 is named Essequibo Islands-West Demerara, region 4 Demerara-Mahaica, and region 6 East Berbice-Corentyne. Approximately 80% of the return migrant population resides in these three regions (see table 3.1 below). These regions have geographic boundaries delineated (see figure 3.1) to facilitate administration. Within each region there exist National Democratic Councils (NDC) as the next sub-governing authority (below Ministries of Government) with responsibility for a cluster of villages. Each NDC is subdivided into village clusters, and each village entails a cluster of households in an enumerated district. Clusters, for the purpose of selecting the sample, were established at sizes of 100 households. Hence, villages with more households contained more than one cluster, and those with fewer households were combined with others to become a cluster. The three regions where the sample was selected account for approximately 73% of the national population, but disproportionately somewhat more returnees, as noted above.

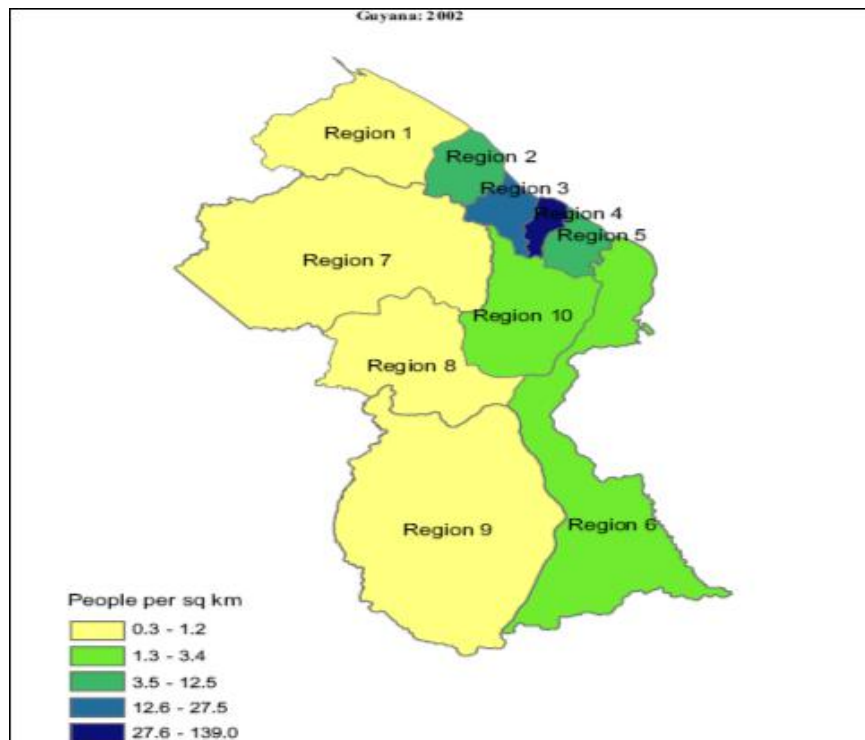
Using the concept of ‘ever lived abroad’ (from the Guyana 2002 census questionnaire) allowed for a larger sample selection of return migrants than the approach of using a temporal cut-off point, as is the norm for the purpose of recall in such sampling (Bilsborrow, 1984). This approach was necessary to capture the widest class of returnees possible in the population. This trade-off for a larger sample meant that recall could be evaluated after the sample was collected. And in fact, the sample shows, on the question of time since last return, 82% having returned within the last five years from the date of the interview, 92.8% within the last 10 years and 96.1% within the last 15 years. Additionally, the consideration of imposing a minimum of one-year duration abroad for a returnee to qualify to be interviewed removed the likelihood of the sample containing returnees with very short spells abroad.

Table 3.1 Born in Guyana and Ever Lived in Another Country by Region of Residence

Region	Number of returnees	Population
Region 1 Barima-Waini	378	22,120
Region 2 Pomeroon-Supenaam	1,126	47,986
Region 3 Essequibo Island-West Demerara	3,205	100,718
Region 4 Demerara-Mahaica	13,768	296,671
Region 5 Mahaica-West Berbice	1,483	52,501
Region 6 East Berbice-Corentyne	4,655	120,278
Region 7 Cuyuni-Mazaruni	417	16,037
Region 8 Siparuni-Potaro	239	9,539
Region 9 Upper Takatu-Upper Essequibo	817	18,690
Region 10 Upper Demerara-Berbice	1,130	38,841
Total	27,218	723,381

Source: Bureau of Statistics (2002)

Figure 3.1 Map of Guyana with Population Density



Source: Bureau of Statistics

3.4.3 Calculating the Required Sample Size

There are three types of disproportionate stratified sampling approaches, according to Daniel (2012). The one utilized for this survey is disproportionate optimum allocation

stratified sampling. This choice takes into consideration cost and/or precision/variability (see table 3.2). The sample size using this technique is influenced by variability within each stratum, that is, the higher the variability of the stratum the larger the sample size required.

To estimate the sample size collected from each region the following proportional formula used by Bartlett et al. (2001) is applied: $n_0 = t^2 * pq/(d)^2$ Where: n_0 : is the sample size; t is the value for the selected confidence level 95% (1.96); p is the estimated proportion of return migration; q is $1-p$. $(p)(q)$ which is the estimate of variance; and d is the acceptable margin of error for the proportion being estimated.

Table 3.2 Estimated Sample Size per Strata

Source	<i>Strata</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>Variability</i>	<i>t</i> ²	<i>d</i> ²	<i>n</i> ₀
	<i>Region 3</i>	0.031822	0.968178	0.030800	3.841600	0.002500	47.3429
	<i>Region 4</i>	0.046408	0.953592	0.044254	3.841600	0.002500	68.0029
	<i>Region 6</i>	0.038702	0.961298	0.037200	3.841600	0.002500	57.1694
	<i>Sample Size</i>						173

Author's calculations.

A minimum of 173 return migrants was thus required for the sample, according to the calculations in table 3.2. To select the control group of non-migrant households, a matching exercise took place. The matching indicator was a household being the closest household without a return migrant in it. Essentially, this closest household reflects a geographical proximity matching, and more likely to share characteristics 'now' (at time of interview) with data limitations on returnees and their households at the time they emigrated. As such, the researcher cannot be completely sure how similar they were at the time of departure and therefore comparable now (at the time of interview). As such, to select the control group of non-migrant households a crude matching took place. The matching indicator was a household being the nearest neighbour by proximity without a return migrant in it. Depending

on which part of the community enumerators started, the closest house to the right was chosen, always in a straight line. For communities where we could not maintain the straight-line method we stuck to the right-hand side buildings. Such matching¹⁶ was through inquiry of whether a return migrant lived in the house or not, and usually by age – above 18 years old. What was required is a household in the cluster (community) that possessed a return migrant (‘treatment’) and the other without (‘non-treatment’). This allows for the estimation (determinants and consequences) of the ‘treated effects’ (returning migrant), reducing bias and trying to stay clear of confounders. Hence, the return migrant and non-migrant samples were collected together at the same time, from various communities.

The credibility of matching through this type of observation is taken to be fairly sound based on the enumerated district marginality index (EDMI) that tracks communities geographically by their poverty levels, which is based on their access to basic services. The EDM, through its use for a degree of community standardization, suggests a level of uniformity in living standards, deprivation etc. Hence, return migrants and non-migrants in a particular neighbourhood can be seen to be amongst a particular poverty class or geographic group that may or may not be experiencing various levels of poverty.

Of course, implicit in this notion of similarity is that pre-return among households in a community do not demonstrate a difference resulting from migration or at least not majorly so. In reality however, transnational connectedness usually allows migrants to remit prior to returning, which can contribute to household differences in the physical absence of the migrant, and upon return also reflect some characteristics above that of a non-migrant household. For example, returning can reflect a household’s exposure to foreign knowledge, experiences etc. By practical example, a reflection of migration benefits is seen where in

¹⁶ Imbens (2004, p14) noted that matching has been widely used and often is applied when: (1) there is interest in a treatment effect, and (2) there is a large number of controls. This is matching by some characteristics. See also Dudel et al. (2014).

national policy migrant communities are established (for Guyana through the Central Housing and Planning Authority and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), with higher land value, better quality housing and infrastructure and utilities among other factors. Mandeville in Jamaica is a case in point.

In the aforementioned as well, a consumption-based poverty measure might give more insights into migrant households benefiting from remittances, or the repatriated resources of a return migrant, but the marginality index based on geographic location of household and communities with access to basic services is the only available measure to substantiate the comparability. This presents the only justification for why an assumption of a return migrant and a non-migrant living in the same neighbourhood might be comparable.

Application of matching in the field was therefore conducted using: (1) the household next to that of the interviewed returnee household, and (2) using the same questionnaire to cover both groups, which allowed for migrants to be asked some pre-migration questions. While the return migrant sample is probabilistic, this could not be claimed for the non-migrant group since this sample size was not calculated independently or to be representative of its population. However, this non-migrant group was representative in certain regards – age, gender, and ethnicity – when it was reweighted to reflect population proportions, after the 2012 census report was made public. In this exercise, at least for comparability, the goal was to collect a similar sample size for analysis, as per Black et al. (2003). Consequently, collecting these samples as one pool (return migrants and non-migrants) from the field amounted to a great cost-benefit sampling strategy. Further, to analyze determinants, and consequences/impact in particular, two of the three research questions required comparisons of treated units (migrant) versus non-treated units (non-migrant), which justified pooling the cross-section samples. Pooling was also necessary to maintain internal consistency.

Analyzing the data separately would compromise the Cronbach alpha score, especially for the non-returning migrant dataset.

A second technique was adopted for data on non-returning migrants, utilizing an ethno-survey framework. The ethno-survey was conducted online and captured non-returning migrants in several host countries. Facebook was used to snowball the collection of data from non-returning migrants. I sent the questionnaire to all my Facebook friends and asked that they share with others they know who are not a member of their physical household and who lived abroad in order to expand the survey as wide as possible. On a weekly basis, sometimes daily, I sent reminders. This approach has been used before by Massey and Zenteno (1999) to collect a random sample of households in the known origin communities supplemented by a non-random sample of migrants in the destination areas. Questions from the original research instrument were used to collect data from non-returning migrants. However, due to limits by Survey Monkey, only 10 questions were allowed for non-returning migrants.

3.5 Disproportionate Optimum Allocation Stratified Sampling and Implementation

3.5.1 Stage 1: Screening and Listing

In order to screen (count, identify, and note households containing return migrants and the closest household non-migrant neighbour within clusters), the following steps were completed.

Firstly, villages to be screened were randomly selected using SPSS. Data from the Guyana Bureau of Statistics was used to identify villages and their size. Once the villages were selected, screening could be implemented. Before selection a village was ranked based

on its number of households. Households were used since it is a better factor for screening and listing, than persons. This meant that, for the pilot, anonymity could be easily maintained since one question was asked of the household screened, that is, has anyone in this household ever lived abroad? Answers to this question in the screening process brought out the reality of the need to impose duration of stay abroad into the definition of a returnee to reduce the possibilities of including those who were abroad for short spells (less than one year).

The screening process was conducted using 10 hired and trained students. The exercise entailed going to households within villages that were randomly selected to enquire if a return migrant lived there. A return migrant was defined at this stage as ‘returning to Guyana after having been abroad, whether short-term or long-term, in another country and intends to stay in Guyana for at least a year on return’.

Secondly, return and non-migrant households screened were listed and randomly selected.

3.5.2 Stage 2: Sample Selection, and Face-to-Face Interviews

The selection of random samples with replacement was executed, matching the non-migrant household in the neighbourhood. Initially the serpentine method was selected as the random approach for identifying a return migrant house; however, it was recognized that, outside of the urban centers captured in the survey, most villages were straight streets making that technique difficult to apply. As a result, a systematic random approach was used in rural areas and the serpentine method in urban areas. Finally, once the house to be surveyed was identified, the interviews were conducted.

3.5.3 Selection of Interviewees

The survey interview targeted individuals but also collected data on household aspects from those individuals interviewed. Selection of the individual to be interviewed was the return migrant in the case of the return migrant household. If there was more than one returnee in the household then the criterion used to select one was the returnee with the most recent birthdate. All respondents interviewed were required to be at least 18 years old. This is a national requirement. Additionally, the survey was applied using standard ethical procedures formally approved after going through the University of Sussex ethical review process.

3.6 Ethno-Survey: Implementation and Usefulness

For the ethno-survey, Guyanese in the diaspora were asked 10 questions via Survey Monkey applied through the Internet, particularly social media (Facebook). See annex 3.1 at the end of this chapter for questions asked of non-returning migrants, and annex 3.2 for the general questionnaire applied to return migrants and non-migrants. This was a fairly inexpensive way to capture important information from a critical control group. The sample of non-returning migrants is non-random, but purposive. The matching factor was the destination countries of the returnees who are now at origin. It was reasonable to assume, based on information from the survey at origin, that the Guyanese diaspora is concentrated in the Caribbean, Latin America, North America, and the Rest of the World. The online ethno-survey snowballed for two months, March through April 2015.

3.7 Questionnaire Design and Pilot Exercise

The questionnaire components and questions are partially based on suggestions by Melde (2012) and Oberai and Bilsborrow et al. (1984). Other considerations for the questions and design of the questionnaire came from the MIREM Project on Return Migration to the Maghreb Region; and the Sussex-based Migrating out of Poverty DFID project; see annex 3.2 for this questionnaire. The components of the questionnaire are:

- Household characteristics
- Individual characteristics
- Pre-migration history
- Migration experience
- Return motivation, preparedness, transnational links, and social networks
- Re-integration/re-settlement and re-migration

The questionnaire pilot was tested to check the validity and comprehension of questions asked. The screening and listing exercises assisted in understanding the difficulty of locating return migrant households, learning the locations, and establishing logistical cost variations of applying the questionnaire.

Another important test after the data was collected, was a simple analysis of the questionnaire's appropriateness: validity and reliability. Validity looked at the content and constructs established through using expert opinion and the aforementioned pilot testing of the questionnaire (Radhakrishna, 2007). The questionnaire also benefited from prior survey instruments used in other countries, as mentioned above.

To test reliability the internal consistency of the questionnaire was assessed. Internal consistency in this case primarily refers to how well the questions in the questionnaire can be used to measure return migration's impact on development in Guyana at the individual level. Using SPSS, Cronbach's alpha was employed to test the reliability of the questions (see annexes 3.3 and 3.4 respectively for details on the alpha and results of the reliability test).

The result obtained was an alpha of 0.820 after dropping 19 items (questions) out of a total of 92, with 71 remaining. These items were filtered due to the fact that adding them to the other questions reduces rather than improves reliability, as some were repetitive.

3.8 Interviewer Recruitment and Training

Prior to the rollout of the survey, experienced enumerators were recruited, trained, and allowed to gain relevant additional hands-on experience during the pilot test of the questionnaire. To set this up, I consulted with the Habitat for Humanity Guyana, which had a large cadre of volunteers whom I had previously worked with on another survey. Ten of the most experienced volunteers were hired and a salary agreed. Two data entry clerks were also hired at the same rate. These clerks checked questionnaires as they were completed by enumerators for quality control and also assisted with the supervision in the field for the purpose of validation.

The premises of the Habitat for Humanity Guyana meeting room were leased to conduct several training sessions. Simulations and role-play were among the techniques used in the training sessions. A general introduction to the topic of return migration was provided to the enumerators to ensure that they had, at minimum, a basic understanding of the definitional issues and to heighten their sense of awareness and observation of important issues that may not have been captured in the questionnaire instrument, but raised by interviewees.

3.9 Fieldwork and Survey Logistics

Data were collected from regions 3, 4, and 6. Because region 6 is a long distance away from the capital city, enumerators were required to stay overnight. For region 4, mini-buses were taken daily to commute enumerators around the villages identified for data collection. For region 3 a bus was hired for a period to transport enumerators from village to village. These transportation and accommodation costs amounted to more than the combined salaries for all the field staff over the period. Due to ethnic and gender sensitivities, the fieldwork team constituted a balance of males and females and was multi-ethnic. Such ethnic and gender sensitivities reflect underlying racial and political tensions that have strained social relations in Guyana from as far back as the 1960s.

3.10 Caveats and Potential Remedies

Conducting a research of this nature encounters several challenges. The caveats that need recognition here are: 1) definitional subjectivity, and 2) endogeneity when considering the impacts of migration and return on development, specifically selection bias.

On definitional subjectivity, the main issues are related to identifying international migrants in the population. Bilsborrow et al. (1997) deliberated on some of these conceptual challenges, for example, sources of data with implications for empirical analysis and results. Importantly, definitional subjectivity relates to identifying an international migrant, based on the concepts of citizenship, place of birth, purpose of stay abroad, residence, and time/duration of stay abroad. This conceptual challenge has been remedied in this thesis through the adopting of the UN definition with some adjustments for practicality.

In defining the analytical groups (at section 1.3 of chapter 1), returnees and non-returning migrants are defined based on residence, place of birth, and minimum duration of stay abroad. By using duration of stay abroad as part of the means of identifying international

return migrants, the time restriction was useful for defining in part non-migrants as they may be individuals who have travelled abroad for short stints but not for as long a period as returnees. The same applied for non-returning migrants. Definitional issues were also encountered on development, for which human development was adopted to be consistent with the human capabilities approach (this was introduced in chapter 1 and is developed later in chapter 6) and for the purpose of simplifying the analysis at the individual level, using a specially designed household survey.

McKenzie and Sasin (2007) deliberated on other pertinent issues of endogeneity, particularly selectivity, and the indirect socioeconomic effect of migration (and heterogeneity as noticed by De Vreyer, 2010). Remedies to these issues are manifold. First, the issue of the latent or indirect effects (indirect socioeconomic effect) of migration is treated through the adaption of novel tools - factor analysis. Such are grounded in the theoretical framework of the capabilities approach for impact assessment. This thesis is among the first to adopt such a combination of conceptual and empirical approaches to return migration impact assessment.

Endogeneity, McKenzie and Sasin (2007) indicated, is manifest in issues of reverse causality (does migration cause development, or development cause migration), selection bias (the assumption of how comparable non-migrants would be to migrants if they migrated), and omitted variables bias. The omitted variable bias may reflect both a selection issue (if self-selection is based on unobservable variables, there may be omitted variables) and a data capture issue. On the latter, the case in point relates to data not captured by the research instrument on characteristics of the analytical groups that affects the development outcome but also are correlated with some of the variables captured.

Return, in the analysis on determinants, is subjected to potential reverse causality, similar to that noted by de Haas et al. (2014). This type of endogeneity is because while it is possible that a returnee contributes to development, return itself may have been prompted by

improving opportunities at home, driven in part by returnees' own savings, earlier remittances etc. In this situation, I cannot be sure which side of the causality equation dominates. As a result, the return migrant sample is not as random as previously perceived and as such the results are not generalizable. Endogeneity due to selection is another complicated case demanding to be resolved in the thesis. With the single cross-sectional data used, an attempt at the instrumental variable approach was taken but the problem of finding instruments became insurmountable. It is challenging to find an instrument which is correlated with return but not with any of the associated development outcomes, using this micro dataset. Instead, a simple OLS and Ordered Probit (because the development variables used were interval) was put in place to reflect some correlates with development in chapter 6.

Selection bias is not taken to be particularly harmful in this analysis, but the interpretation of results risks being over-exaggerated in its presence. This also does not affect the general thrust of relationships depicted by the OLS and Ordered probit used for understanding the potential consequence of having migrants return. Wahba (2015) explores this issue in depth, indicating that many papers do not treat this problem, among various other biases in return migration research. Possible heterogeneity is mostly treated by the use of dummy variables in chapter 6.

The omitted variables problem can very well be an issue for determinants of return, but this is partially treated through a specialized survey I conducted. The challenge otherwise resides in the absence of the data collection tool gathering more comprehensive data from non-returning migrants. Information such as the migration experience, preparedness, etc., that shed light on non-returning migrants' potential contribution in the event they decided to return. Despite a limited number of questions available for the analysis of determinants, the data still allows for the capturing of individual development aspects which includes

household components as well. As such, wider institutional aspects are not inquired about as motivations or determinants of return migration – proponents of building capabilities.

The comprehensiveness of the analysis on determinants in relation to transnational ties is not fully achieved. But this does not affect the primary goal, which is a reasonable understanding of what individual and household factors, and some aspects of indirect institutional elements and the development context at origin, may affect optimal migration duration. Factors influencing the increase or decrease in time abroad are grounded too in the conceptual issue of migration and return related to utility maximization, risk sharing, or plain involuntary return, *inter alia*.

From the perspective of unobserved factors however, the impact analysis presents a proxy opportunity to understand potentially which variables might have been omitted because the unobservable weakness benefits from the use of conceptual and empirical techniques.

Another main set of challenges is attached to the trade-off between comprehensiveness and representativeness. Comprehensiveness relates to sampling all the relevant groups (return migrants, non-returning migrants, and non-migrants) to the extent possible considering mainly cost, time, disclosure (for the qualitative aspects from interviews with key informants representing Government agencies), and the administrative complexity of achieving direct reporting from all respondents. Representativeness relates to the sample sizes and distribution/proportions of the analytical groups in relation to their respective population, and the randomization of selecting respondents during the survey implementation for interview from all groups.

The compromise attempted was to get as close as possible to a representative sample of return migrants (which may have selection bias), reducing the randomness. Return migrants remained the main focus in comparison to the other groups. The samples of non-migrants and non-returning migrants are not randomly selected but were corrected using

population data from the 2012 census with regard to age, gender, and ethnicity. Preliminary analysis of the 2002 census data was undertaken in conjunction with qualitative interviews with the Guyana Bureau of Statistics Department of Demography and Survey to concentrate sampling in areas where the most returnees clustered. This solution mitigated somewhat the cost and time associated with finding rare elements. It also offered the best opportunity for reducing administrative complexity to capture these groups through direct face-to-face contact and hence acquire direct/self-reported data. Measuring the potential impact/consequence of return migration was therefore possible, and this is considered an acceptable rather than an ideal comparison for such purposes (Bilsborrow et al., 1997, p. 257).

To capture non-returning migrants, the optimal solution at the time was to use Internet-based platforms that addressed cost and, to some extent, time challenges, with reduced administrative complexity in terms of direct reporting. Social media resources were the most inexpensive way to achieve this via the Internet, but with the compromise of no ‘known’ population from which representativeness can be tested, and no randomization. Direct contact was of a virtual nature, in a snowball strategy, with the restriction of only asking 10 questions (7 of which are taken from the original questionnaire). The needs for sampling this group arose out of wanting to identify determinants. However, there was no population data on non-returning migrants other than stock data bilaterally available, for example from the US Census Bureau that reported on its immigrant and foreign-born population, and ‘multilateral’ or more comprehensive stock data by the Sussex Global Migrants Origin database (2007) and that of Ratha and Shaw (2007). To offer some insights into the samples – return migrants, non-returning migrants and non-migrants – see a brief description below.

3.11 Brief Description of Samples Taken

Here the sample sizes for each of the groups sampled are reproduced (table 3.3). Selected indicators and briefs from each sample give insights into the data collected and reflect peculiarities that are immediately noticeable and associated with some of the aforementioned caveats. Table 3.3 reflects the samples and sizes collected in the field. Return migrants constituted 451 or 37.9% of the respondents, non-migrants constituted 528 or 44.4%, and non-returning migrants constituted 210 or 17.7%.

Table 3.3 Sampled Groups

	Sample size	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Samples Return Migrants	451	37.9	37.9	37.9
Non-Migrants	528	44.4	44.4	82.3
Non-returning Migrants	210	17.6	17.7	100.0
Total	1189	99.9	100.0	
Missing System	1	.1		
Total	1190	100.0		

Source: Generated in SPSS from final sample collected

3.11.1 Returned Migrants' Sample

At a first glance, it is immediately obvious that the majority of returnees were hosted in the CARICOM region from where they returned. Table 3.4 disaggregates the return migrant sample to show where migrants returned from, and most returnees (46.8%) of the return migrant sample had resided as migrants within the region. This suggests that migration-and-return is mostly a regional phenomenon. Migrants, usually not a random group of individuals, emigrated to and returned from regional jurisdictions where there has been in effect since 1996 a CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME) Free Movement of Skills Regime. North America, a traditionally favoured destination in the 1960s through 1980s, is where 26.2% of returnees resided prior to returning.

Table 3.4 What was your main destination/host Country, Region, City?		
	Frequency	Percent
CARICOM Region	211	46.8
Latin America	57	12.6
North America*	118	26.2
Rest of the World**	65	14.4
Total	451	100.0

Source: Generated in SPSS from final sample collected.

*North America consists of Canada and the USA

**Rest of the World includes Asia, Europe, United Kingdom, and all others.

Summary statistics on the return migrant self-reporting sample by main destination shows a wider gender gap from migrants who returned predominantly from North America and the Rest of the World, than countries closer to home in CARICOM and Latin America. Table 3.5 below indicated however, that the differences in gender of return migrants from the various jurisdictions returned from, as measured by chi-square, are not significant. On the contrary, differences in age are significant. Only in the case of Latin American were return migrants 30 years and under proportionately higher than the 30 plus age group. In fact, returning migrants are mostly older when returning from North America and the rest of the world, where the differences in age are among the most significant.

Table 3.5 Return Migrants' Summary Statistics

	Return Migrants			
	CARICOM%	Latin America%	North America%	Rest of the World%
Gender				
Male	55.5	47.4	61.0	61.5
Female	45.5	52.6	39.0	38.5
<i>N = 451</i>				
<i>Chi-Square = 3.67 at 0.299%</i>				
Age				
30 years and under	36.0	77.2	12.7	30.8
31 plus	64.0	22.8	87.3	69.7
<i>N = 451</i>				
<i>Chi-square = 71.5 at 0.000%</i>				
Educational attainment (current)				
None/Nursery	1.0	1.8	1.7	1.6
Primary	9.5	14.0	8.5	14.5
Secondary	36.7	...	40.2	37.1

Post-Secondary	15.2	84.2	14.5	9.7
University/Tertiary	36.2	...	33.3	37.1
Other	1.5	...	1.8	...
<i>N = 446</i>				
<i>Chi-Square = 54.92 at 0.000%</i>				
<i>Educational attainment prior to emigration</i>				
None/Nursery	1.0	...	0.9	7.3
Primary	9.2	1.8	10.5	12.2
Secondary	45.4	71.4	49.1	48.8
Post-Secondary	17.9	3.6	12.3	9.8
University/Tertiary	26.6	23.2	26.3	22.0
Other	0.9	...
<i>N = 418</i>				
<i>Chi-Square = 31.92 at .007%</i>				

Source: Generated in SPSS from final sample collected

Significant differences are also reported on educational attainment, both post and prior to migration, at various levels in table 3.5. Education, a much-needed resource at the place of origin, whether or not the absorptive capacity exists, shows fewer returning migrants reporting secondary level educational attainment overall. The sample demonstrated more tertiary educational attainment at the time of interview post-return. This is consistent for all host locations, for migrants who emigrated and returned. Such a situation implies that migrants are returning with higher levels of educational attainment, as a result of migration. These results are consistent with the data also showing that many of the migrants who emigrated did so for the purpose of studying. In fact, among the major reasons for emigration from Guyana migrants who returned reported they emigrated to further their studies – 27.9%, followed by those emigrating for income and financial gain, 27.4%, family reunification 21.2%, and job search 14%, among other reasons.

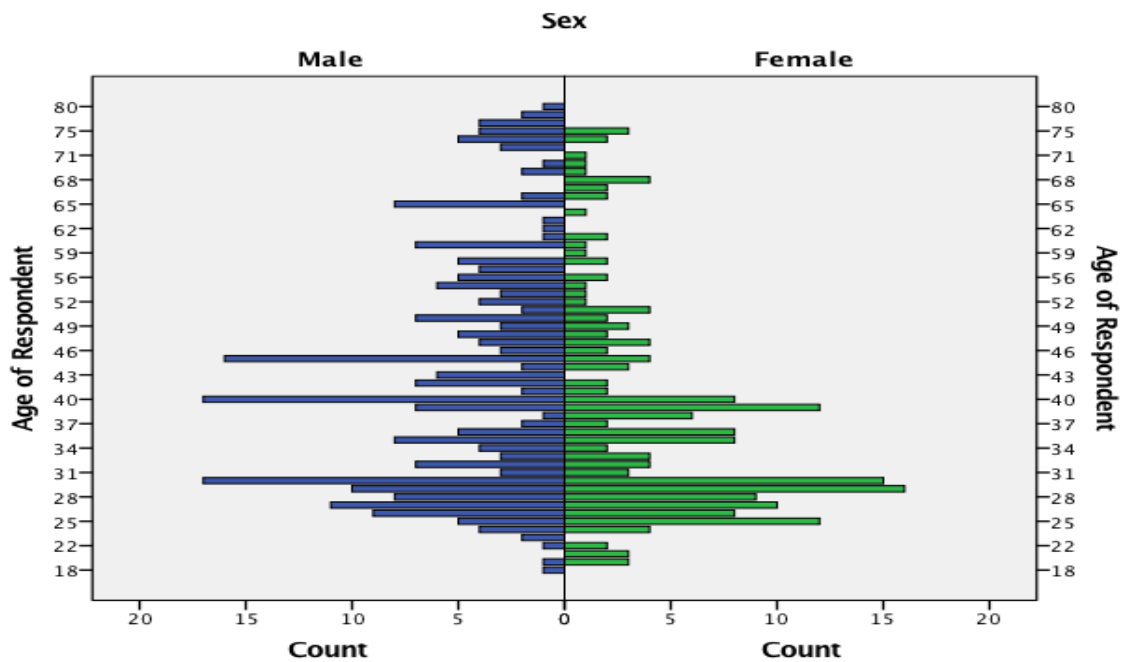
Another noticeable feature of the return migrant sample in table 3.5 is that educational attainment prior to emigration shows that migrants going to various destinations across the world were dominantly those with tertiary-level education, above those with post-secondary qualification. Those with higher learning, above secondary educational attainment, are a large component on those emigrating. The national data on brain drain seems to be consistent too

with the notion of a tertiary-level skills depletion from Guyana, which in part could be driven by the CSME Free Movement of Skills regime, due to higher utility sought after (utility maximization) in the CARICOM region, usually the cheaper option of emigration. But, as returned migrants have self-reported, emigration from Guyana, as per this sample of returnees, also suggests a risk-sharing model of migration to improve capacity (mainly education, income, and jobs), more than likely facilitated through some form of transnational connection, formal or informal.

In fact, some form of connectedness to Guyana would be the context under which the individuals captured in the return migrant sample returned as well (excepted those deported). Examples given for returning by return migrants range from reuniting with family (23.3%), completion of studies (13.8%), and job offer (13%) to economic downturn abroad (9.8%), life-style conveniences in Guyana (9.3%), and contract expiry (8.6%), among others.

Revisiting the males and females interviewed for the return migrant sample, returning being an issue mostly of family reunification, suggests a dominance of partial family migration. This of course is a reflection mostly of the CARICOM region and Latin America, where the gender parity is not as wide; North American and the rest of the world reflecting mostly a male-dominated return. The gender profile captured in the return migrant sample pyramid (figure 3.2), indicates that men are more likely to return across their productive and retired life versus women.

Figure 3.2 Return Migrants Sample Pyramid



Source: Generated in SPSS from final sample collected

3.11.2 Non-Returning Migrant Sample

Another of the groups sampled were non-returning migrants who are still domiciled abroad. In this sample, 210 individuals responded through an online ethno-survey using part of the questionnaire developed. Like that of the return migrant sample, most individuals who left Guyana and did not return, according to the non-returning migrant sample, left primarily to further their education/studies, 26.9%, family reunification 19.7%, income/financial gains 19.2%, and job search 7.2%, among other reasons. Emigration for the reasons of furthering education, income/financial gains, and family reunification have consistently been shown, through self-reporting, by return and non-returning migrants as important causes of emigration.

Unlike that of the return migrant sample, most of the non-returning migrants captured in the sample reside in North America – USA (51.2%) and 14.6% in Canada – while 23.9% of this sample resides in the CARICOM region. The gender ratio also showed that more females (69.9%) were captured in this sample than males (30.1%). In the non-returning migrant sample, one-quarter of the sample are age 30 and below; the other three-quarters are above 30 years old. This sample is not randomly selected, but its purpose – to capture key sentiments of the non-returning migrant group – has been useful as one of the control groups. A second control group of non-migrants were also captured purposively in the survey at origin.

3.11.3 Non-Migrant Sample

In the non-migrant sample 528 respondents were found, contacted at the same time as the return migrant sample in Guyana. The non-migrant sample utilized most elements of the same questionnaire, following a pilot and screening process. The non-migrant sample was collected using a closest household geographical proximity matching exercise that does not guarantee that return migrants were matched with their domicile equivalent. This sample was collected in a non-random fashion and had to be revised to reflect Guyana's 2012 population proportions in age, ethnicity and gender. Like that of the return migrant group, the non-migrant sample contains marginally more males (52.8%) than females (47.2%). Similarly, most non-migrants in the sample had predominantly secondary education. More than a third of the non-migrant sample are individuals 30 years and below, the others (less than two-thirds) are above 30 years old.

Overall the samples totalled 1189 respondents that were selectively combined for the analysis to follow in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

3.12 Conclusion

This chapter has laid out the methodological approach that forms the basis for the collection of data required to answer the three main research questions specified at the outset in chapter 1. It has highlighted the complex and multi-layered challenges faced during the data collection process, not only related to technical aspects, but also to the administrative and real-world circumstances. Philosophically there is a basis for attempting the empirics to be undertaken in chapters 4, 5, and 6 with the data collected, but the technical hazards constrain generalizability on aspects involving non-returning migrants and non-migrants. There may even be an exaggeration of estimates due to selectivity bias.

The qualitative component was instrumental in framing the data collection exercises, and in situating the policy and institutional context. These insights provided perspectives that have, to some extent, brought a better understanding to the issue of return migration, while supporting stories used as examples of migrant and non-migrant situations. Already, they shed light on some of the socio-political dimensions of return migration (prompting the first-hand recount of a deflated return migrant), normally difficult to capture in measurement, and in the domain of policy which has the potential to shape intentions to return. As we have already seen in chapter 1, such intentions are critical to the much-needed remittances already flowing to Guyana. Further, it is not known what the unintended consequences of any irregularities in the return migration policy framework can potentially escalate to, but it is useful to know that qualitative data provided this feedback in a more comprehensive way than a quantitative account would have.

Caveats were identified showing how closely integrated the challenges are to the tasks of this research. Much of this was repetitive; connoting how, in reality, much of the time

spent in constructing this thesis surrounded addressing these limitations, as least from a data capture perspective. A brief description on the samples collected is reflected on for some common differences – gender, age, collection idiosyncrasies etc. Already the non-random nature of some of the samples collected begins to give insights into the challenges to follow. As the thesis proceeds to the next chapter, the data harvested is described in more detail to reveal both how the challenges affected generalizability and how it begins to address those analytically.

Annex

3.1 Questionnaire used with Survey Monkey for non-returning migrants ONLY

1. Are you Guyanese living outside of Guyana?

(1) Yes (2) No (if no this survey is not for you) (3) Born to Guyanese parentage

(1)Where outside of Guyana do you live (Country)? _____

(2)How long have you been living outside of Guyana (years)? _____

(3)When last have you visited Guyana (years ago)? _____

(4)What is the main reason you emigrated/left Guyana?

(1) Further Education (2) Income / Financial Gains (3) Family Reunification (4) Political Instability (5) Life style convenience (6) Job Search (7) Holiday (8) Other (specify)

6. What would be your reason to return to Guyana?

(1) Job uncertainty in the immigration country (2) Job offer (3) Family Reunification

(4) Life style convenience (5) Economic downturn abroad (6) Retired (7) Contract expiration (8) Deportation (9) Other (specify)_____

7. Why have you not returned to Guyana? _____

8. What is your gender?

1. Male 2. Female

9. What is your ethnicity?

(1) East Indian (2) African (3) Amerindian (4) Mixed (5) Other

10. How old are you? _____

Annex 3.2 Return Migration Questionnaire

QNUM.	Questionnaire number [assigned at time of Final coding]	IDNUM
Regions: 3. West Demerara/Essequibo Island 4. Demerara/Mahaica 6. East Berbice/Corentyne		R

Household Characteristics

Members of Household	HH1. Sex 1. Male 2. Female	HH2. Age	HH3. Highest level of education currently attained 1-None/Nursery 2-Primary 3-Secondary 4-Post Secondary 5-University/Tertiary 6-Other (specify below) 7-Not stated/Don't Know	HH4. Current Occupation (1) Employee (2) Employer (3) Self-Employed (4) Retired (5) Student (6) Seeking employment (7) Stay at home spouse (8) Do not want to work (9) no	HH5. Ever lived abroad 1. Yes 2. No	HH6. How long have they lived abroad	HH7. Length of time since last returned
Head							
Spouse							
1 st Child							
2 nd Child							
3 rd Child							
4 th Child							
5 th Child							
Other relative							
Other Inhabitants							

HH8. For returning resident (that is the respondent), do you intend to stay in Guyana for at least one year?

(1) Yes (2) No

Individual Characteristics (Respondent)

IC1. What would you say your ethnicity is? (1) East Indian (2) African (3) Amerindian (4) Mixed (5) Other	IC1
IC2. Where did you acquire your highest level of education/certification? (1) Guyana (2) CARICOM Region (3) Latin America (4) North America (5) United Kingdom (6) Europe (7) Asia (8) Other (specify) _____	IC2

IC3. Into which of the following income ranges does the total monthly income of this household fit, (00) No income (01) Less than 20,000 (02) 20,001- 30,000 (03) 30,001-40,000 (04) 40,001- 60,000 (05) 60,001-90,000 (06) 90,001-120,000 (07) 120,001-150,000 (08) 150,001-200,000 (09) 200,001-250,000 (10) Above 250,000 (8) DK/DR	IC3
IC4. Is this household in receipt of remittances? (1) Yes (2) No	IC4
IC4a. If yes to IC4 , how often does the household receive remittances? (1) Weekly (2) Fortnightly (3) Monthly (4) Quarterly (5) Half-Yearly (6) Yearly (7) In emergency situations only (8) Whenever Requested	IC4a
IC4b. How much remittance did the household receive, as a percentage of household income, in the last month?	IC4b

Pre-migration History (only apply to those with a history of migration - Returnees)

PMH1. What was the main initial reason/condition under which you left Guyana? (1) Further Education (2) Income / Financial Gains (3) Family Reunification (4) Political Instability (5) Life style convenience (6) Job Search (7) Holiday (8) Other (specify) _____	PMH1
PMH2. What was your level of education prior to emigrating? 1-None/Nursery 2- Primary 3-Secondary 4-Post Secondary 5-University/Tertiary 6-Other (specify below) 7-Not stated/Don't Know	PMH2
PMH3. What was your Main destination/host Country, Region, City? (1) CARICOM Region (2) Latin America (3) Canada (4) United States of America (5) United Kingdom (5) Europe (6) Asia (7) Other (specify)_____	PMH3
PMH3A. WRITE HERE: Specify country if region, specify main city if country	PMH3A
PMH4. Did you work prior to leaving Guyana? (1) Yes (2) No	PMH4
PMH4A. If yes to PMH4 , where were you occupied? (1) Employee (2) Employer (3) Self-Employed (4) Retired (5) Student (6) Seeking employment (7) Stay at home spouse	PMH4A
PMH5. How was your financial situation prior to emigration?	PMH5

(1) Very good (2) Good (3) Average (4) Not good (5) Very Bad (6) No opinion	
PMH5A. On returning to Guyana are you residing at a place different to where you live prior to emigration?	PMH5A
(1) No (2) different village (3) different region (4) Other	

Pre-migration history Social and Economic conditions prior to leaving	
(1) Yes (2) No	
PMH6. Had Child/Children?	PMH6
PMH7. Had married/Unmarried spouse?	PMH7
PMH8. Had own house (or jointly owned with spouse)?	PMH8
PMH9. Had Investment small or other business?	PMH9
PMH10. Had Extended family members (mother and/or father) living in Guyana?	PMH10
PMH11. Had planned to emigrate and take advantage of opportunities in the main country of destination and return to Guyana at some point in time?	PMH11
PMH12. Had planned to emigrate and take advantage of opportunities in the main country of destination but did not plant to return to Guyana?	PMH12
PMH13. Had you received any support from your family for your journey?	PMH13
PMH14. Did you feel any pressure from your family to emigrate?	PMH14
PMH15. Was hoping that institutional and social factors change for the better so that I can return?	PMH15

Migration Experience

ME1. What was the main reason for choosing the main country of immigration? (1) Easiest country to reach (distance and cost) (2) Ease of immigration laws (3) Better job opportunities (4) Better salary (5) Better working conditions (6) Had a job offer (7) Better living conditions (8) Family reunification (9) Studies (10) I got a visa (11) I had contact/network (12) I did not choose	ME1
ME1A. Did your family/friends/network help you while abroad? (1) with accommodation (2) find a job (3) financially (4) obtain residency permit (5) to establish contact/network (6) no help at all	ME1A
ME2. How would you describe your relationship with public authorities in the main country of immigration? (1) Very good (2) Good (3) I had some problems (4) I had many problems (5) No opinion	ME2
ME3. In general how you describe your relationship with the host society? (1) Very good (2) Good (3) I had some problems (4) I had many problems (5) No opinion	ME3
ME4. For most of your time in the main country of immigration, how was your legal status? (1) Permanent residency (2) Temporary residency (e.g. Student) (3) undocumented migrant.	ME4
ME5. In the main country of immigration, did your marital status change? (1) Yes (2) No	ME5
ME5.a If yes to ME5 , you became? (1) Single (2) Engaged (3) Married (4) Separated or divorced (5) Widowed	ME5a
ME6. Did you have any children in the main country of immigration? (1) Yes (2) No	ME6
ME7. Did you face difficulties in the main country of immigration? <i>Multiple answers</i> (1) Access to housing (2) discrimination/racism (3) could not find a job (4) Unsatisfied with salary level (5) Working conditions (health, security, contract, rights etc.) (6) Access to health and welfare systems (7) Administrative problems (8) Legal problems (9) Lack of social networks (10) Family conflict (11) Other specify _____	ME7
ME8. How many persons lived in your household while in your main country of immigration?	ME8
ME10. In your opinion did your financial situation in the main country of immigration...? (1) Improved considerable (2) Slightly improved (3) remained unchanged (4) Worsened (5) Worsened considerably (6) no opinion	ME10
ME11. Did you work abroad? (1) Yes (2) No	ME11

ME12. For how long did you work abroad in your main employment? _____ YEARS	ME12
ME13. Are you receiving some form of support from your main country of immigration? (1) Pension (2) remittances (3) in-kind support (4) Other specify _____	ME13
ME14. Did you invest or run your own business abroad? (1) Yes (2) No	ME14
ME15. During your stay abroad did you acquired any asset in Guyana? (1) Built a house (2) started a business (3) saved in a local bank account (4) acquired land (5) Other (specify) _____	ME15
ME16A. Were the certification/qualification obtained before emigration recognized in the main country of immigration? (1) Yes (2) No (3) I don't know	ME16A
ME16B. Have you ever studied in your main country of immigration or acquired any formal training or certification? (1) Yes (2) No	ME16B
ME17. If yes ME16B , what qualification or certification did you receive? (1) Primary (2) Secondary (3) Vocational training (4) Post graduate (5) Graduate (6) Other specify _____	ME17
ME18. Did you use the skills acquired abroad, in your main occupation abroad? (1) Yes (2) No	ME18
ME19. Have you used you main skills and training acquired abroad, in Guyana since you have returned? (1) Yes (2) No	ME19
ME20. Do you have extended family/relatives living abroad (1) Yes (2) No	ME20
ME22. Did you benefit from a social protection system (welfare, health insurance, unemployment benefits, pension etc.) in the main country of immigration? (1) Yes (2) No	ME22
ME23. What was your main occupational status before returning to Guyana from the main country of immigration? (1) Employee (2) Employer (3) Self-Employed (4) Retired (5) Student (6) Seeking employment (7) Stay at home spouse	ME23

Return motivation, preparedness, transnational links, and social network

RPTS1. What has been your main reason for returning to Guyana? (1) Job uncertainty in the immigration country (2) Job offer (3) Family Reunification	RPTS1
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------

(4) Life style convenience (5) Economic downturn abroad (6) Retired (7) Contract expiration (8) Deportation (9) Other (specify)_____	
RPTS2. Would you say your decision to return has been mainly: (1) Positive, based on my own initiative (2) Negative, based adverse circumstances	RPTS2
RPTS3. Have you participated in the government return programme? (1) Yes (2) No RPTS3A. If yes, which one? _____	RPTS3 RPTS3A
RPTS3B. What did it involve? (1) Tax and duty exemptions (2) access returnee housing development (3) concessional investment opportunities for re-migrants (4) Other, specify_____	RPTS3B
RPTS4. Have you returned to Guyana since you have emigrated, prior to your last time? (0) Never (1) Repeatedly (2) Once	RPTS4
RPTS6. Do you have citizenship or residence outside of Guyana? (1) Yes (2) No	RPTS6
RPTS7. Did you keep in touch with issues affecting Guyana when abroad? (1) Yes (2) No RPTS7A. If yes to RPTS7 , What type of issues mainly,_____?	RPTS7 RPTS7A
RPTS8. If YES to RPTS7A , How often? (1) Daily (2) Monthly (3) Quarterly (4) half-yearly (5) annually (6) on a need to know basis	RPTS8
RPTS9. If YES to RPTS7A , using what medium? mainly? (1) Online social media (2) online newspapers (3) phone (4) Other (specify)_____	RPTS9
RPTS10. Did you send any remittance to Guyana while abroad? (1) Yes (2) No	RPTS10
RPTS11. If yes to RPTS10 , How often did you remit? (1) Weekly (2) Monthly (3) Quarterly (4) half-yearly (5) annually (6) on a need to know basis	RPTS11
RPTS12. How much money did you remit in US\$ on average monthly (including the value of in kind remittances?) over the period of one year_____	
RPTS13. Did your marital status change after returning to Guyana? (1) Yes (2) No	RPTS13

RPTS13A. If yes to RPTS13 , you became? (1) Single (2) Engaged (3) Married (4) Separated or divorced (5) Widowed	RPTS13
RPTS14. Did you have any children since returning to Guyana? (1) Yes (2) No	RPTS14
RPTS15. When you returned, did you intend to stay...? (1) Permanently (2) Temporarily (3) I do not know	RPTS15
RPTS16. Today, do you intend to leave for abroad – re-migrate? (1) Yes definitely (2) Maybe (3) Not now (4) Never (only for vacation) (5) I do not know	RPTS16
RPTS17. Upon return, did you undertake any investment in Guyana? (1) No (2) Yes in business for profit (3) Yes in not for profit venture (4) Yes in profit and not for profit ventures	RPTS17
RSPT18. What would you say the value of your investment initially was (US\$)?	RSPT18
RSPT19. What has been the main source of financial support for your investment projects? (1) Self finance from savings brought back (2) local bank loans (3) Bank loan from main country of immigration (4) public subsidies (e.g. return programmes) (5) local partnerships (6) partnership from abroad (7) Other specify _____	RSPT19
RPTS20. Since returning have you had difficulties realising your projects, settlement etc.? (1) Yes (2) No	RPTS20
RPTS20A. If yes to RPTS20 , what are those challenges (may select multiple answers)? (1) Corruption (2) Administrative problems (3) Social and cultural resistance (4) Insufficient capital (5) No difficulties (6) Other specify _____	RPTS20A

Return re integration/resettlement and remigration

RR7. The experience you acquired through migration represents...? (1) An advantage (2) A disadvantage (3) irrelevant (4) Don't know	RR7
RR2. Would you say you financial situation has _____ in comparison to the main country of immigration? (1) Improved considerable (2) Slightly improved (3) remained unchanged (4) Worsened (5) Worsened considerably (6) no opinion	RR2
RR3. Which is your main source of financial income currently? (1) Salary/money from my job (2) Remittances from family (3) Financial support from family in Guyana (4) Investments I made in Guyana (5) Investment I made abroad (6) Other	RR3

specify_____	
RR4. Do you benefit from local protection system in Guyana? (1) Yes (NIS, pension, etc.) (2) No	RR4
RR5. Have you been able to transfer any social rights (unemployment benefit, pension, etc.) from your main country of immigration to Guyana? (1) Yes (2) No	RR5
RR6. In comparison to the main country of immigration, what would you say are the main advantages of returning and living in Guyana? _____	RR6
RR7. What was your main source of assistance with settling in on return? (1) Family (2) family and friends (3) Government (4) Private organization (5) Other (specify)_____	RR7
RR8. What were the main challenges to settling in? (1) Cost of living (2) Employment (3) High Customs duty (4) Government Services (5) Household services (6) Other (specify)_____	RR8
RR9. Do you feel your return was viewed as _____ by the community you reside in? (1) Favourable (2) less than favourable	RR9
RP10. What would be your main reason for leaving again? (1) I already know the immigration country and I wish to stay there (2) I cannot adapt to being in this country (3) I have not future in this country (4) To renew my documents/legal matters (5) I cannot find a job here (6) New opportunities abroad (job, investment (7) For family reasons (8) for health reasons (9) Other specify_____	RP10

Annex 3.3 Test of Questionnaire Reliability

Cronbach's alpha was adapted to test reliability (Tavakol and Dennick, 2011, p. 54), as one of its key functions is essentially a test of the internal consistency of the questionnaire, often referred to as a random error in measurement (Tavakol and Dennick, 2011; Radhakrishna, 2007).

A comprehensive depiction of Cronbach's alpha can be seen in Cortina (1993) who indicated that the coefficient alpha tests *questionnaire* construct and use. Cronbach (1951) was concerned with test accuracy or dependability, otherwise referred to as reliability. The general statistic is as follows:

$$\alpha = \frac{n}{n-1} (1 - \sum V_i / V_t)$$

where:

- n = number of questions
- V_i = variance of scores on each question
- V_t = total variance of overall scores for the entire test

Since reliability is essentially a ratio of two variances (V_i , V_t); alpha approaches 1 or 0 (Streiner, 2003). High alpha is caused by high variance V_t , which means that it is easier to differentiate various analytical categories; conversely, a low score means it is difficult to make such a differentiation. There are many interpretations of alpha and even the aforementioned decisions do not always hold (see Cronbach, 1951; Cortina, 1993; Streiner, 2003). For evaluating reliability, the criterion is a reading of 0.70 or higher, commonly considered acceptable (Radhakrishna, 2007; Qu et al., 2009; Santos and Clegg, 1999), that is, the questionnaire is measuring what it intended to measure.

Annex 3.4 Validity and Reliability Test of the Questionnaire

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.820	71

Item Statistics

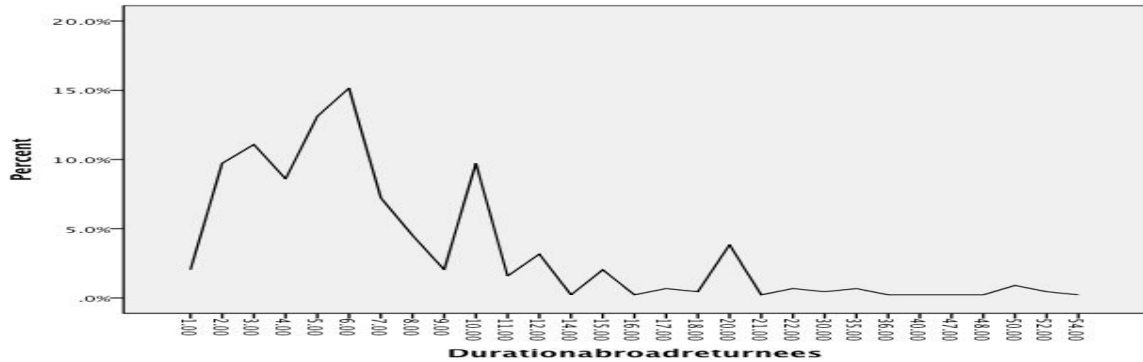
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Did you work abroad?	1.00	.000	3
For how long did you work abroad in your main employment? _____ YEARS	26.00	19.053	3
Are you receiving some form of support from your main country of immigration?	1.33	.577	3
During your stay abroad did you acquire any assets in Guyana?	1.67	1.155	3
Were the certification/qualification obtained before emigration recognized in the main country of immigration?	2.67	.577	3
Have you ever studied in your main country of immigration or acquired any formal training or certification?	1.33	.577	3
Member of Household	1.33	.577	3
Sex	2.00	.000	3
Age of Respondent	65.67	14.434	3
Educational Attainment of Respondent	4.33	1.155	3
Region	4.00	.000	3
Employment status of Respondent	3.00	1.732	3
Have you ever lived abroad?	1.00	.000	3
How long have you lived Abroad	36.00	27.713	3
Length of time since you returned	2.33	1.155	3
For returning resident (that is the respondent), do you intent to stay in Guyana for at least one year?	1.00	.000	3
What would you say your ethnicity is?	2.00	.000	3
Where did you acquire your highest level of education/certification?	3.00	1.732	3
Into which of the following income ranges does the total monthly income of this household fit.	8.33	2.887	3
Is this household in receipt of remittances?	1.00	.000	3
If yes to IC4, how often does the household receive remittances?	3.67	1.155	3
How much remittance did the household receive, as a percentage of household income, in the last month?	36.67	23.094	3
What was the main initial reason/condition under which you left Guyana?	4.33	1.155	3
What was your level of education prior to emigrating?	4.33	1.155	3
What was your Main destination/host Country, Region, City?	4.00	.000	3
Specify Country if Region, specify main city if Country	1.00	.000	3
Did you work prior to leaving Guyana?	1.00	.000	3
If yes to PMH4, where were you occupied?	1.67	1.155	3
How was your financial situation prior to emigration?	1.67	1.155	3
On returning to Guyana are you residing at a place different to where you live prior to emigration?	1.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving had Child/Children?	1.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving had married/unmarried spouse?	1.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving had own house (or jointly owned with spouse)?	1.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving had investment small or other business?	2.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving had extended family members (mother and /or father living in Guyana?	1.00	.000	3

...prior to leaving had planned to emigrate and take advantage of opportunities in the main country of destination and return to Guyana at some point in time?	1.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving had planned to emigrate and take advantage of opportunities in the main country of destination but did not plan to return to Guyana?	2.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving had you receive any support from your family for your journey?	1.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving did you feel and pressure from your family to emigrate?	1.33	.577	3
...prior to leaving was hoping that institutional and social factors change for the better so that I can return?	1.67	.577	3
What was the main reason for choosing the main country of immigration?	4.33	1.155	3
Did your family/friends/network help you while abroad?	3.33	1.155	3
How would you describe your relationship with public authorities in the main country of immigration?	1.33	.577	3
In general how you describe your relationship with the host society?	1.33	.577	3
For most of your time in the main country of immigration, how was your legal status?	1.00	.000	3
In the main country of immigration, did your marital status change?	1.33	.577	3
Did you have any children in the main country of immigration?	1.33	.577	3
Did you face difficulties in the main country of immigration?...Access to housing!	7.00	5.196	3
What would be your main reason for leaving again?	3.00	1.732	3
Do you feel your return was viewed as _____ by the community you reside in?	1.00	.000	3
What were the main challenges to settling in?	1.00	.000	3
What was your main source of assistance with settling in on return?	1.00	.000	3
Which is your main source of financial income currently?	2.00	.000	3
How many persons lived in your household while in your main country of immigration?	6.67	1.155	3
In your opinion did your financial situation in the main country of immigration...?	1.00	.000	3
What has been your main reason for returning to Guyana?	6.00	3.000	3
Have you participated in the government return programme?	2.00	.000	3
Did your martial status change after returning to Guyana?	1.33	.577	3
Do you benefit from local protection system in Guyana?	1.67	.577	3
Have you been able to transfer any special rights (unemployment benefit, pension, etc.) from your main country of immigration to Guyana?	1.00	.000	3
Would you say your financial situation has _____ in comparison to the main country of immigration?	3.67	2.309	3
The experience you acquire through migration represents...?	1.00	.000	3
Upon return, did you undertake any investment in Guyana?	1.00	.000	3
Today, do you intend to leave for abroad -re-migrate?	3.33	1.155	3
When you returned, did you intend to stay...?	1.67	1.155	3
Would you say your decision to return has been mainly:	1.00	.000	3
Did you have any children since returning to Guyana?	2.00	.000	3
Did you send any remittance to Guyana while abroad?	1.00	.000	3
Did you keep in touch with issues affecting Guyana when abroad?	1.00	.000	3
Have you returned to Guyana since you have emigrated, prior to your last time?	1.00	.000	3

Annex 3.5 Duration of Time Abroad, at Return, and at Interview

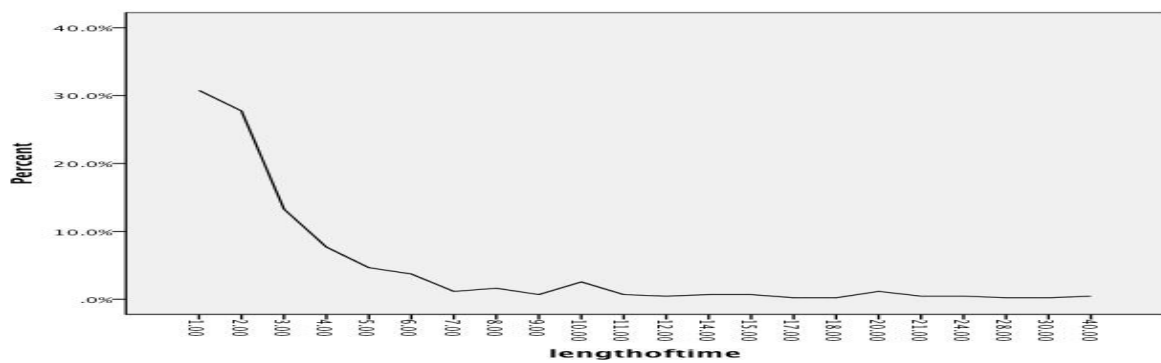
Distribution of Time Spent Abroad by Return Migrants Taken at Time of Interview

Mean = 8.14; N= 442

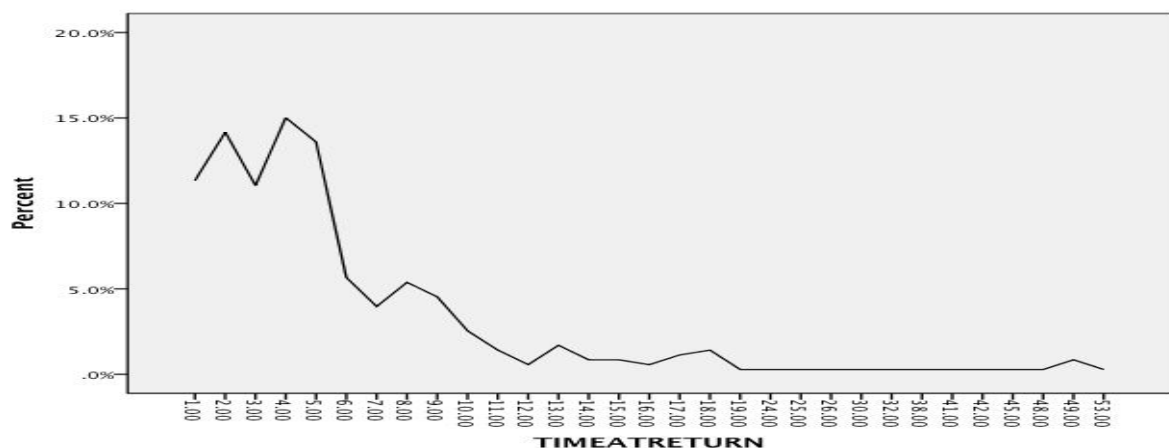


Distribution of Return Migrants' Time: Time Since Returned Taken at Time of Interview (Time Gap between Returning and Being Interviewed for the Survey).

Mean = 3.73; N=429



Distribution of Return Migrants' Time: Time at Point of Return Calculated by Subtracting Time since Returned from Time Spent Abroad. Mean = 6.53; N=353



CHAPTER 4: MIGRANTS' MOTIVATIONS TO EMIGRATE, RETURN, AND RE-EMIGRATE

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore to what extent return migrants, non-returning migrants, and non-migrants are different from each other [see box 4.1]. The chapter presents self-reported data on the motivations of migrants to emigrate and return, and reports on the desires of re-emigration among return migrants as a measure of understanding the sustainability of return migration to Guyana.

This approach to presenting the information delves into the attributes/characteristics of migrants who returned in order to shed light on return motivations in comparison to those who did not return, and, following their return, comparative differences to those who did not migrate. Such comparisons are attempted in order to appreciate the influence and achievements of return migrants, and by extension their potential usefulness for the development of Guyana. For assurance on the practicality of return migration as an impetus for development, an examination of re-emigration is conducted as a measure of the sustainability of return migration. This analysis is facilitated through the lens of 'mixed embeddedness' proposed by Van Houte and Davids (2009) and seen as analogous to the 'subjective conditions' aspect of return migration sustainability as defined by Black et al. (2004). Mixed embeddedness constitutes factors that reduce thoughts of re-emigration and includes economic, social, and psychosocial components; while subjective conditions relate to the lack of desire for re-emigration, the perceived socio-economic status of returnees, and their perception of their overall security. Observable indication variables collected in the sample are used directly or by proxy to explore these concepts and their realities for the case of Guyana.

Box 4.1: Returned, non-returning, and non-migrants explained

1. Return Migrant – Chris (not his real name)

Chris, a retired East Indian return migrant to Georgetown Guyana, left at an age which was not known precisely, but spent 9 years in Canada. At the time of the interview he was 78 years old. Chris's highest level of education is post-secondary and this was prior to emigration. During his years living in Canada, Chris did not pursue any other learning avenues, but entered Canada as a permanent resident. During his time, he worked and sent remittances back home for his family inclusive of his spouse and children he left behind. Chris did not leave (went abroad) with 'nothing' to his name; he had a house that was jointly owned by him and his wife. Over the nine years abroad he would have fathered additional children who by virtue of birth were Canadian citizens.

When Chris made the decision to migrate it was mainly because of family reunification. To this end his family supported him. He also claimed that his family, friends and network helped him abroad with accommodation. What brought him back was the family he had left behind. This corresponds to the LAPOP (2010) report that noted most households had a close family member living abroad and reflects the culture of migration that Mishra (2006) spoke of, migrating as a way of life in the Caribbean, and that Patterson (2000) noted. When Chris left for overseas he fathered children abroad, possibly as a way of embedding what was already a reality, because he emigrated as a permanent resident but alone, and hence the loneliness of being away from his family. Theoretically speaking Chris's attitude towards migration, as exemplified by social and economic attachments prior to leaving Guyana, was due to family reunification but also borders on a family risk management mechanism. Notwithstanding, the concept of interconnectedness as featured by a transnational approach is also still very prevalent as demonstrated by Chris's family support for his journey – an interconnectedness that led to his eventual migration.

2. Non-Migrant – Stacy (not her real name)

Stacey is a 46-year-old East Indian woman who has lived in Guyana all her life. Stacy's highest level of education is primary and she is currently self-employed. Her household monthly income is reported to be USD 150 to 200 monthly and her household does not receive any remittances from abroad.

While Stacy is not representative of the average non-migrant household in Guyana, her situation is representative of her disposition with regards to emigration. Based on that information it is difficult to imagine how Stacy would meet the cost of migration, especially if she does not have any connectedness with a migrant household abroad. At the same time this is the typical kind of situation on the ground that motivates someone to leave. Theoretically speaking, someone like Stacy would want to manage risk better, even optimize her income. However, in the absence of support from abroad, as may be reflected in transnational households, it is difficult for Stacy with her income to entertain thoughts of leaving.

3. Non-return migrant – Pauline (not her real name)

Pauline is a 50-year-old East Indian non-return migrant woman who left Guyana young. She spent 27 years out of Guyana with no intention of returning. Pauline left for the United States of America when she was young and according to her the reasons were numerous; Pauline wanted to further her education, reap income and financial gains, reunite with family, change her lifestyle convenience, she was fed up of the political instability (at origin), job search and holiday. These were all important aspects of life that were important to Pauline. Pauline however, when asked what would lead her to return to Guyana, cited that retirement within the US will be the only factor. In a further probe, Pauline said that her reason for not returning is the lack of development in her home country.

Source: Author's survey data, 2015

In this chapter too, any differences found to be significant and important act as an early signal, first of determinants, and second of potential development impacts, the focus of chapters 5 and 6 respectively. Bilborrow et al. (1997) noted the relevance of the comparisons among return, non-returning, and non-migrant groups for the determination and consequences

of migration. As detailed previously in chapter 3, this has been a critical guide for the data collected and the analysis conducted for this thesis.

Explained earlier in chapter 3 too, it is useful to reiterate the principle challenges with the data used here. Essentially, the reader should note that, due to the presence of sample selection error in the non-returning migrant group, conclusions made referencing this group are not generalizable beyond the sample, but are informative comparatively. As a result of potential recall bias among return migrants, caution is exercised when indicators of their achievements are based on variables subject to change between the time of return and the time of interview (Bilsborrow et al., 1984, 1997). The average time since returning is 3.7 years, while Bilsborrow et al. (1984) recommended 5 to 10 years recall maximum. Remember too that in small states, particularly in the lives of those who migrate, migration is considered to be a significant life event that is reinforced by a culture of migration and the status symbol it attracts in these jurisdictions. Finally, the non-migrant sample has been corrected to reflect population proportions in gender, age, and ethnicity.

As the chapter continues, migrants' motivations for emigration and return are first presented, following which differences intrinsic to motivations and other attributes are explored. This is followed by an examination of re-emigration amongst returnees, after which the chapter concludes.

4.2 Guyanese Migrants' Motivation to Emigrate and to Return

4.2.1 Emigration (from Guyana)

There are some broadly acceptable findings on emigrants from small states, which apply to those in CARICOM as well: see box 4.2.

Box 4.2: Emigration Characteristics

Based on what the literature has said about emigration from small states and the sample on Guyanese, a few things are evident: 1) emigration is predominantly of skilled individuals; 2) many households in Guyana have close relatives living abroad; 3) emigrants cluster in North America traditionally; 4) emigration from small states is linked very much to their colonial past; 5) emigration motives can sometimes be masked; 6) in the CARICOM there is a regional free movement emigration policy which allows labour to move ‘uninhibited’, while to travel to developed countries there are many administrative and costs barriers; 7) Guyanese migrants seem to be going for cheaper, more uninhibited emigration in the CARICOM region than further afield; 8) host nations policy can influence the emigration pull, while origin country policy can influence a push-selectivity; 9) emigration seems to be a livelihood and coping strategy more generally; and 10) the reasons for emigration from small countries like Guyana seem to be changing, historically for economic and social reasons, today for family reunification as the size of the diaspora expands.

Emigration from small states is about scale and skills. For example, Docquier and Schiff (2008, p. 27) concluded that in small states ‘three out of every seven individuals lived outside their country of birth in the year 2000’. These authors also found ‘that emigrants arriving in the host country after the age of 22, who acquired education from their origin-country university, accounted for 70% of skilled emigrants from small states’. In a nationally representative sample of domiciled Guyanese, the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) showed that of the 1554 households surveyed countrywide during 2010, 79% or 1227 indicated they had a close family member from their household living abroad.

Evidence from Castellani (2007) noted that normally emigration from the Caribbean region is of highly skilled emigrants, which correlates with high public costs and

consequences for growth and development. In this regard Wong and Yip (1998) have already demonstrated that migration in small states is highly sensitive to (lack of) growth. Skilled emigration especially, seems to be a particular characteristic of CARICOM and, as Mishra (2006) noted, the remittances from those who do not return do not compensate for this loss of skills. Zong and Batalova (2016) tempered this view by noting that in the USA, following independence in the 1960s, most Caribbean immigrants varied in their skills level, language background, racial composition, and pathways taken overseas, depending on which country they originated from.

Emigration flows from Caribbean small states are concentrated and selective. For example, Castellani (2007) observed a critical characteristic of Caribbean emigrants noting that they cluster in specific destinations – mainly in North America. The data collected for this thesis, however, shows that emigration from Guyana is now largely a regional phenomenon. In fact, most regional emigrants come from Guyana, Grenada, Haiti and St. Vincent (ILO, 2017; Thomas-Hope, 2000). Zong and Batalova (2016) noted through evidence from US census data that an estimated 13% of Caribbean emigrants went to the USA after the year 2010, 25% went during 2000 to 2009 and 62% before 2000. Based on the data collected for this thesis, emigrants from Guyana to North America represent 26.2% of returnees that emigrated, pre-2010 levels.

Thomas-Hope (1992) made the case that Caribbean migrants, both inter-regionally and extra-regionally, are highly selective; that is, they are not the least educated, poorest, or the least employable. Hence, international migration, she noted, is a ‘selection-of-the-fittest’, and generally highly selective in all its aspects and at all of its locations – origin and destination. However, such evidence might in effect suggest that Caribbean migrants are not necessarily highly selective – they are not ‘the best of the best’ or the ‘worse of the best’. In fact, the data on which Caribbean emigrants are labelled as highly skilled are defined to be

immigrants abroad with a tertiary level education as a proportion of those remaining at origin (Carrington and Detragiache, 1999). In small states this is likely to be the case, especially where population size is the reason the state is considered small.

While the aforementioned broadly characterizes emigration from the Caribbean as skilled (educational attainment), very concentrated (movement/direction), and of a proportionally intensive scale, other characteristics of these immigrants are lesser-known. Examples are the income, assets and wealth status of migrants, their occupational choices, area of expertise etc. However, the age, gender, and ethnicity profile, according to Thomas-Hope (2000), using census data, usually reflect migrants' reasons for conditioned migration, including occupational selectivity. Notwithstanding, the shifting choices and options of migrants indicate that the data from this sample can analyze migrants' changing practices. For instance, the literature tells us that migrants from the Caribbean are predominantly tertiary or post-secondary level skilled, but in terms of educational attainment this data reflects that prior to leaving most emigrants possess secondary level education, despite a high level of tertiary qualified emigrants. This evidence suggests that many artisans/craftsmen etc., leave to pursue their trade abroad going to the core of the origin country's small business culture. Further, regional labour policy on migration provides for all levels of individuals, skilled, domestic, and artisans to move. This, coupled with less costly migration, demonstrates a shift in location from the dominance of North America receiving and returning migrants. Hence the data collected in this thesis reflects more the current trends in migrants' actions and behavior offering some of the aforementioned new insights.

Notwithstanding the characteristics of Caribbean small-state emigration mentioned above, Guyanese emigrants show some similar patterns. For example, Roopnarine (2013, p. 25) identified various motivations for migrants leaving Guyana, and noted crime, perceivably linked to political and economic situations. Thomas-Hope (2002) indicated similarly for

Jamaica, where she too suggested that crime is an emigration push factor. Importantly, Roopnarine highlighted the influence of host nations' policies, and the work of Vezzoli (2014) on migration in Guyana reinforced this contention. Prior to independence, noted Roopnarine (2013), policies and the push/pull dynamics led to the large-scale emigration of Guyanese to North America and the UK, and the consequent shifts to either side of the Atlantic by Guyanese migrants owing to the 'opening' and 'closing' of these countries' respective borders.

Standing and Sukdeo (1977) had explained earlier too that international migration from Guyana, which strained national development, could be described mainly as skilled emigration. Later, Degazon-Johnson (2007) and Thomas and Hosein (2005) complained about this situation of highly skilled emigrants from Guyana and the deleterious effects it was having on the health and education sectors. Thomas-Hope (2011) too highlighted this highly skilled and educated emigration characteristic in looking comparatively at the cases of Ghana, Samoa, and Guyana. More on the positive side, Mayr and Peri (2008) looked at return migration as a brain gain and noted that highly skilled out-migration often reflected two concurrent effects: 1) educational upgrading and selective out-migration by those who are skilled; and 2) in the longer-term return migrants were not seen as negatively selected.

Further, Government policies of the 1960s through to the mid-1980s reflected the belief that imports created balance of payment problems and import elasticity affected price, labour, and output to the extent that rural households were moving to towns and neighbouring countries for jobs, while urban unemployment escalated and propelled emigration. Hence, proactive views on nationalization created nervousness amongst the private sector and the skilled, so thoughts of emigration became widespread. This was also supported by external policies that de facto were encouraging emigration. It was rational for the Government of Guyana therefore to advance rural development schemes to ease urban unemployment

(Standing and Sukdeo, 1977), and return migration policy, attempting to bring back skilled individuals who had emigrated (Strachan, 1980, 1983).

Vezzoli (2014) summarized most of the relevant factors why Guyanese emigrants left, noting that emigration grew following independence. International migration post-independence was due to the policies pursued by the Government of Guyana under cooperative socialism that had an internal focus resulting in ‘unintended’ consequences. At a macro scale, emigration was largely explained by the eventual economic and social conditions in Guyana. After the Guyanese economy collapsed in 1985, liberalized policies followed the Washington Consensus reforms that started in 1989 (Armendariz et al., 2007), but emigration continued, this time being explained through family reunification with those in the diaspora (Vezzoli, 2014).

Notwithstanding such characterization of emigration, those who returned span a cross-section of sentiments on the motivation for returning. This does not take away from lesser-known facts as to whether those returning are the best of the worst, the worse of the best, or the best of the best, but it is assumed that they were a combination thereof. Evidence by Conway and Potter (2007) to suggest that those returning are making a positive impact in the region’s small states is a reinforcement of such an outcome.

Using Ichou’s (2014) selectivity analysis on educational attainment, the relative, more than the absolute attainment is what matters in terms of where in the national educational distribution migrants’ status is located. This status is subjective in relative or positional terms, suggesting that migrants who return and demonstrate higher social status at origin may be inconsistent with what obtained for those very migrants in the host country. The result is not a clear enough revelation of institutional disparity, that is, differences in state apparatus that allow migrants’ potential to be realized especially at origin, and influences the future generation in terms of their educational aspiration. However, in the sample collected, relative

enhancement of educational and training/experience capabilities between what migrants' status was before migration and after return is appraised from their self-reporting. The relative achievements of migrants returning over those who did not migrate is assessed, and some level of selection is noted to be taking place; that is, migrants leaving with lower levels of education and returning with higher levels of achievement.

The motivations for migrants to emigrate are reported in table 4.1. The last column captures all migrants in the sample and shows that 27.5% reported they emigrated primarily to further their education. The next three most important reasons that migrants indicated that they left Guyana for are income/financial gains (24.7%), to reunite with their family in the diaspora (20.7%), and in search of jobs (11.8%). The variations in emigration motivation between returnees and non-returning migrants are revealed (by the chi-square test) to be significant, if not dramatic. The most notable between-group differences that draw our attention are the factors of income/financial gain, job search, and holiday.

It was found that, of the 115 migrants who left for income/financial gains, 27 returned as a result of the economic downturn abroad, 22 for family reunification, 20 because of expiry of a work contract, 10 because of job uncertainty abroad, and 9 were offered jobs back in Guyana. Hence, more than two-thirds of the sample leaving for income or financial gain were not successful according to the neo-classical view of migration, and less than one-third were successful as 8 of the individuals leaving for income/financial gains returned due to retirement, and another 8 for lifestyle convenience in Guyana. Two individuals in this group were deported, and 9 were unaccounted for due to item non-response. In the neo-classical view, the justification of leaving would indeed be for income/financial gain or maximization. Hence, 'return of failure' would mainly describe migrants returning given the above explanations.

Further, in the return migrant sample 59 returnees indicated they emigrated to search for jobs and 56 valid responses were captured in relation to why those who left for this reason returned. For this reason of emigration, 20 returned for family reunification, 10 were deported, 6 returned due to economic uncertainty in the host country, another 6 because their contract expired, 5 as a result of the economic downturn, 5 were offered jobs at home in Guyana, and 4 returned for lifestyle reasons.

Finally, for those who went abroad initially on holiday (a total of 20), they spent an average of 3.1 years abroad, minimum 1 to maximum 9 years. Undoubtedly opportunities presented themselves that resulted in these migrants staying beyond their expected holiday time, but also potentially migration motives were masked, as is the belief anecdotally.

Table 4.1 Main Motivation for Emigration by All Migrants in the Sample*

Motivation to emigrate	Non-returning migrants	Return migrants	All migrants
	Valid %	Valid %	Valid%
Further Education	26.9	27.9	27.5
Income/Financial Gains	19.2	27.4	24.7
Family Reunification	19.7	21.2	20.7
Political Instability	4.8	2.4	3.2
Life style convenience	5.8	2.1	3.3
Job search	7.2	14.0	11.8
Holiday	2.4	4.8	4.0
Other (combined reasons)	13.9	0.2	4.8
N = 628	100	100	100

Source: Author's Field Data, 2015 *Note: Chi-square = 74.127 at 0.000%.

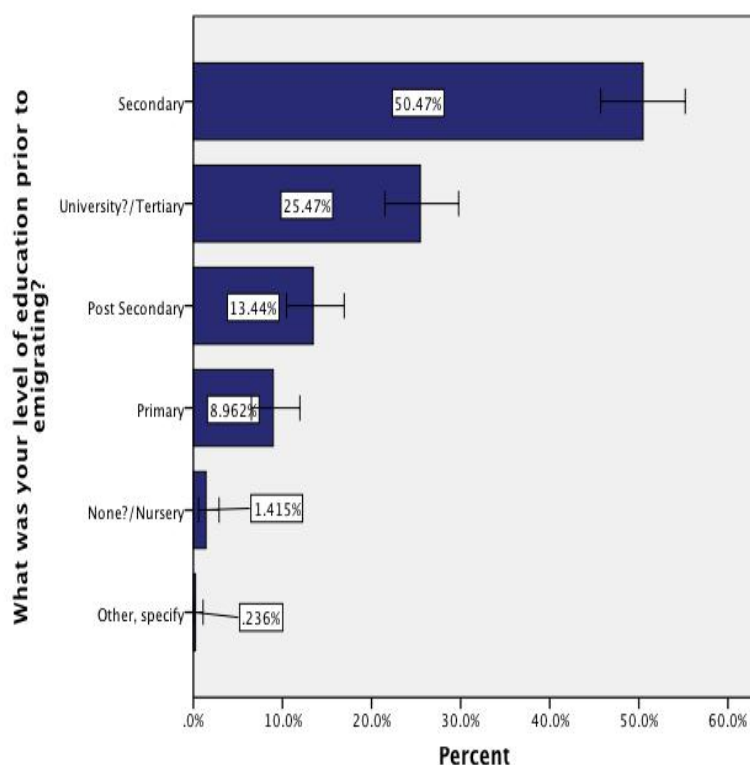
The views of migrants in the sample collected are somewhat similar to previous findings on emigration from Guyana. The feature of family reunification abroad noted by Vezzoli (2014) continues to exert a pull. Seeking out jobs and financial opportunities in destination countries are more generally likened to the economic constraints referred to by Roopnarine (2013), or lack of opportunities locally, which continues to create a major push and pull combination. But as Thomas-Hope (2000) indicated, pressures of the local economic

and political situations are sometimes greater than labour need exhibited in the destination countries.

References to skilled emigration in Guyana by Standing and Sukdeo (1977) are also a relevant feature of migrants in this sample, as migrants' preference for emigration is mostly for furthering their education, which would have meant demonstration of some form of educational attainment prior to departure, particularly where visas and other administrative hurdles had to be crossed. Knowing the educational level of migrants at the time of emigration helps to determine this¹⁷.

In the sample of migrants, those who eventually returned were asked about their education level at the time of emigrating: of the 424 returnees who responded, figure 4.1 shows that 50.5% reported secondary education, 13.4% had post-secondary education, another 25.5% indicated university/tertiary-level education, and 9% primary.

Figure 4.1 Educational Attainments of Return Migrants at Time of Emigration



Error bars: 95% CI

¹⁷ Emigration by education level data captured in Docquier and Marfouk (2004) and Carrington and Detragiache (1998, 1999), represent migrants at host (already emigrated) with tertiary level education, without taking into consideration where the tertiary education was acquired, as a proportion of those remaining at origin with similar qualifications.

This evidence from returnees on their educational attainment level at the time of emigration does not allow this research to draw a parallel inference that emigrants from Guyana continue to be primarily of university/tertiary level education. Instead, there is some evidence that many artisans, craftsmen among others have been leaving, as part of the new wave of emigrants shifting to CARICOM destinations due to cheaper migration costs and the CSME institutional mechanism to source labour. However, from the data collected too, it should be noted that, broadly, migrants are emigrating for historically the same reasons. Nevertheless, expanding opportunities within the CARICOM is a potential explanation for large-scale emigration regionally; if not simply to escape economic and political hardship, but also for addressing labour shortages within the CARICOM under the Single Market and Economy (CSME) free movement regime¹⁸. This expanding labour demand option presented by the CSME explains the skills selection. In some media¹⁹ reports data continue to show that Guyanese are large contributors to intra-regional emigration. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been quoted as issuing 2829 certificates from 2006 up to 2010. This regional regime is the most recent addition to the opportunities for emigration in comparison to places historically important, in North America, the United Kingdom, and the immediate border territories of Latin America. Now the added competition for skilled labour is fast outpacing developments in the return migration regime, and is attractive because countries intra-regionally offer a similar culture and way of life for Guyanese emigrants. Thus, this represents a new phase in driving emigration locally due to regional policy.

¹⁸ The CARICOM Single Market and Economy is based on the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas. Article 45 of the revised Treaty allows qualified and professional citizens of members to seek employment in any member country without need for a work permit. Categories that can move are university graduates, media persons, artists, musicians, and sports persons. The limits of free movement of nationals based on occupational and educational categories are stated in Article 46 of the Revised Treaty, but it is expected that it will evolve towards complete free movement in the future. Provisions for contingent rights have also been established in the Revised Treaty.

¹⁹ <http://www.kaieteurnews.com/2010/07/17/guyana-issues-almost-3000-free-movement-certificates/>

Notwithstanding the various motivations for emigration from Guyana over time by skilled individuals, or individuals seeking more skills, the stock of skilled Guyanese in the diaspora continues to grow (Castellani, 2007) as the limitations of small size encourage the utilization of migration as a coping mechanism to address the macro-constraints that affect the growth and development of individuals and their families (Thomas-Hope, 1992). However, the migration cycle is not necessarily completed through emigration. Some migrants are also motivated to return as well, whether based on prior decisions, development in the country of origin, or impending crisis abroad.

4.2.2 Motivation and Intention to Return to Ghana

From the total of 661 migrants captured in this sample, 451 returned and 210 did not. This data allows for an inquiry into why some migrants returned and others did not, including the intentions of those who did not return thus far, were they to do so. Migrants who returned to Guyana from the sample were asked what was the main reason for doing so. Almost one quarter of the returnees (23.5% of the valid responses) indicated they wanted to reunite with their families (see table 4.2). Migrants completing their studies are the second most stated reason for returning, 14% recalling this as the primary motivation for returning. In fact, a cross reference between reasons for leaving and reasons for returning among return migrants in the sample shows 117 individuals leaving to further their education, and 52 (less than half) indicated returning due to completion of those studies. Of course, skilled migrants exploit opportunities that arise out of emigration or, as noted before, mask their migration decision. Migrants returning for retirement constituted 7.3%, but only 15 out of 30 giving this reason for return were at least 65 years old. In fact, only about 10% of all of those who returned were actually 65 years and above. So, while some migrants indicated they had retired abroad,

many were returning to start new activities, as 50% of those with this reason for returning were still below the actual/legally stipulated retirement age in Guyana.

Those returning involuntarily represented 7% of the return migrant sample. Originally, members of this group left primarily for family reunification, in search of jobs abroad, and for holiday and income/financial gains. Most deportees, 29 in total, of the return migrant sample, were males (79%). For most of their stay in the host country, 11 were undocumented, 9 were temporary residents, and 8 were permanent residents. These were migrants who left Guyana with mostly secondary education, mainly for the CARICOM region, Canada, and the USA respectively. Most of the deported returnees worked prior to leaving – 24 out of 29. Recorded involuntary returnees are mostly now self-employed (38%), some are employees (17%), others are seeking employment (20%), 7% are neither, and 14% do not want to work. Hence the experience of being thwarted by their international migration experiences has not resulted completely in a situation where these deportees are unproductive in their country of origin. Other return migrants (12.9%) were offered a job. Migrants also returned on completion of their contracts abroad (8.7%). Additionally, some migrants found the lifestyle in Guyana attractive and returned, 9.4%.

Migrants who returned were mainly heads of their households, 58.4%, while 15.1% of the return migrant sample were spouses, and 11.1% the first-born in their families. The sex profile of the return migrant sample showed that they were 56.8% males and 43.2% females. The age profile of the sample goes on to show that 34.4% of returnees were 30 years old or less the remaining 65.6% are above 30 years old. When number of years lived abroad are subtracted from current age of the return migrant it shows that 51.7% are 30 and below while 48.3% are above 30. Since the return migrant sample suggested that returnees came mainly from the CARICOM region, and ILO (2017) and Thomas-Hope (2002) indicated that emigrants of an intra-regional nature reflected Guyanese among the main, regional migration

is assumed to be selective on gender in the nature of opportunities and the labour markets (specifically, opportunities for craftsmen and tradesmen). Since return was mainly an issue of families reuniting, and returnees are mostly from the CARICOM region, it follows that partial family migration was emerging as a trend, as oppose to traditionally where entire families emigrated (or eventually so) to the USA and Canada based on possibilities offered in their migration policy. Vezzoli (2014) observed this in recognizing a trend of family reunification as a phase in the migration trends from Guyana to North America and the Rest of the World, even in the days of liberal economic policies post-1992. Further, to demonstrate partially that family migration was not part of the new migration trend from Guyana, the LAPOP (2010) report indicated that 79% of domiciled Guyanese households had a close relative living abroad. This reinforces the impression as to why most of those who want to reunite with their families are mostly male heads of household.

Migrants who did not return were asked to state their intentions, were they to return to Guyana. Table 4.2 reports that 180 out of 210 non-returning migrants answered this somewhat hypothetical question. Returning at retirement (29.8%) was most common, although 21.5% would return if offered a job, 19.9% would return for family, and 13.2% for lifestyle reasons. Hence, even among those who did not return, the ideas of returning are associated predominantly with non-economic intentions. Preservation of an intention to return is nevertheless critical as an impetus for migrants remitting (see chapter 1, section 1.4). Depoo's (2013) work provides further evidence that many non-returning Guyanese migrants in the USA have been remitting and exhibit intentions of returning.

Table 4.2 Motivation and Intentions to Return by All Migrants*

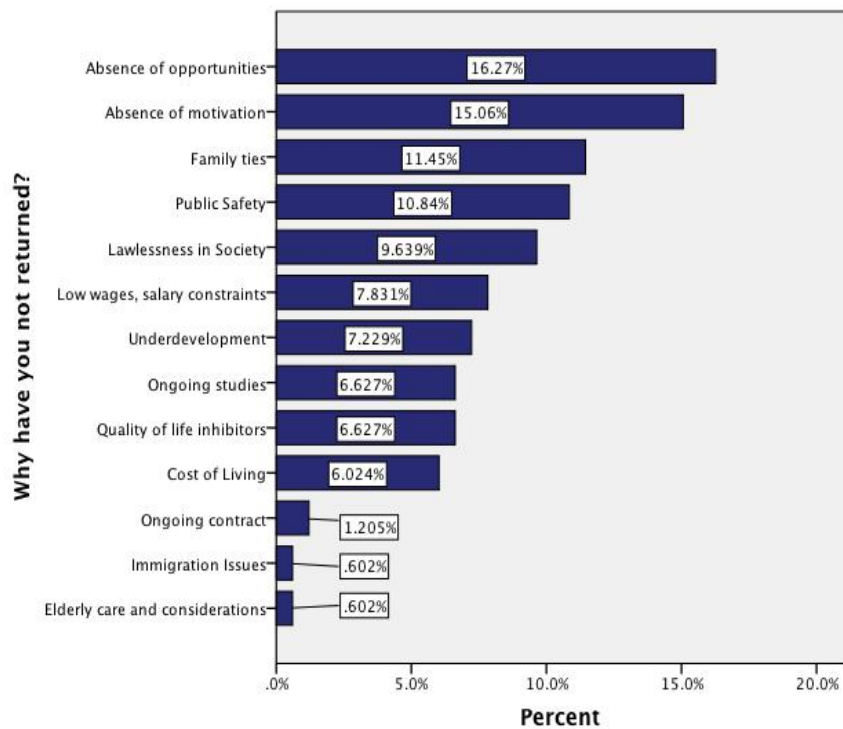
	Reason for Return		Intention to Return	
	Returnees		Non-returning Migrants	
	Count	Valid %	Count	Valid %
Job uncertainty in the immigration country	31	7.5	8	4.4
Job offer	57	12.9	39	21.5
Family Reunification	93	23.5	36	19.9
Life style convenience	39	9.4	24	13.2
Economic downturn abroad	40	9.7	9	5.0
Retired	30	7.3	54	29.8
Contract expiration	36	8.7	3	1.7
Deportation	29	7.0	7	3.9
Completion of Studies	58	14.0	-	-
N	412	100	180	100

Source: Author's Field Data, 2015

*Note: Chi-square = 77.907 at .000%.

While the views of return migrants and non-returning migrants from Guyana seem to have echoed similar sentiments about returning or the intention to return respectively, those in the diaspora are still there for a multiplicity of stated reasons. Figure 4.2 below reveals the top three reasons as to why migrants have not returned. These are related to their belief that Guyana lacks opportunities, they are generally not motivated to return, and they have no longer any strong family ties to the country. Many of their motivations for not returning are also related to the perceived societal ills related to weak institutions (lawlessness, public safety) and other macro-level issues (quality of life, cost of living, underdevelopment).

Figure 4.2 Stated Reasons for Not Returning among Non-Returning Migrants



Source: Author's Field Data, 2015

Following the motivations for emigration, reasons for return immediately typify the success/failure dichotomy indicative of signals of potential development impact. Return reasons are broadly seen as a combination of economic and non-economic justifications. What is also instructive about the revelation of return and non-return typologies to Guyana is that it is further symbolic of the socio-cultural attachments of Guyanese to their homeland; for example, family attachments and lifestyle. Piotrowski and Tong (2010) found similarly that, in the case of Thailand, economic and non-economic factors are important but with independent effects on return. Above all, non-economic variables (family) were an important predictor of return, demonstrating continuing social attachment to the place of origin.

It was Cerase's (1974) typology of return that perhaps first questioned whether returnees can act as vehicles of social and economic development, taking the case of southern Italy. Cerase proposed four typologies, namely the return of innovation, return of retirement,

return of failure, and return of conservatism, including the contingent factors that characterize these classifications. Later, Gmelch (1980) touched on the issue by introducing duration abroad to categorize return migrants as temporary or permanent. Closer to a small-state example, Thomas-Hope's (1999, p. 190) typology of return migrants to Jamaica was based on duration abroad and purpose of migration, as she indicated they were the important factors behind intention to return, including the stage at which return occurred, and the potential for re-emigration.

One addition that the findings of this research can suggest is the need for a typology that gives credence to returning for lifestyle conveniences²⁰, in the Guyana context meaning quality-of-life based on natural capital and the natural environment (biodiversity and ecosystem services). In fact, Guyana's newly adopted paradigm shift to grow and develop is increasingly based on policies that engender 'Green economy' solutions. Soon, return policies will adjust to motivate return similarly, as policies in tourism and other service providers in this sector already market 'nature-based tourism'. Whilst the policy framework has played an important role in framing emigration in North America, and regionally through the CSME free movement regime, it is not known whether policy is instrumental in inducing return. This is investigated next.

4.2.3 Does Policy Motivate Return Migration?

In chapter 1 we saw briefly how overall development policy tried to incorporate return migration and diaspora policies in Caribbean small states to influence growth through repatriation of skills and other resources. The UNDESA also lamented the deficiency, but

²⁰ While Cassarino's (2004) interpretation of Cerase's 1974 typology of return as conservatism could speak to returning for family and other personal attachments that could constitute the socio-cultural context mentioned here, my suggestion takes on the value and choice of origin to destination based on the broad development policy that captures and values the natural environment - biodiversity and ecosystems - for which Guyana is richly endowed; this lends in part to the lifestyle conveniences enjoyed on return. See the REDD Desk for features of Guyana's natural environment and how prominently it is situated in this respect in the world: <http://theredddesk.org/countries/guyana/statistics>

also the importance, of policy in determining migrants' flow, conditions and consequences. And Thomas-Hope (2002) demonstrated that migration has been selective in the region along policy opportunities lines. We saw too that return policy can extract obligations, bestow rights and build capacity where necessary. But, has this been the case for Guyana?

With regards to motivation for returning, policy is often used as one such promotional tool. In Guyana's pursuit of growth and development following independence, there was a demand for such a return policy to build local capacity, Strachan (1980) noted. The Guyana Government observed large reservoirs of skilled Guyanese residing in the diaspora. But their capacities were needed 'back home' for the drive to self-sufficiency, under the inward focused development framework of cooperative socialism. This fueled the need and the commencement of a return migration policy regime in 1967. The return policy was designed to complement the spontaneous return migration already occurring, and more importantly to fill much-needed capacity gaps in the public service, according to Strachan (1980). Strachan did not mention the various motivations for returning, but it was implicit that return migration policy, pursued by the government's coordinated approach, gave some guarantees to those returning that acted as a stimulus for motivating return, in part or whole. Such a reason for returning was attributed to less than 400 returnees annually during 1970-1977, but these individuals were returning with the required skills that government needed to fill public sector human capacity gaps. At this time, the state sector accounted for 80% of the economy, hence the return scheme could give guarantees, according to Strachan (1980).

Roopnarine (2013, p. 27-29) too observed a return policy being used to promote return to Guyana among other speculated reasons of success and failure. The government return migration policy was re-launched in the 1990s, but was deemed of little influence due to the low number of returnees it attracted. Generally, return migration policies across a wide range of small states try to target 'wanted' migrants, but they also attract a relatively low

number of returnees, as measured by those accessing government concessions offered by the return facilitation programmes.

Some countries make the appeal of policy in motivating return attractive through added incentives. For example, in table 1.1 Saint Lucia's return policy is explicit that returnees are entitled to allowances for investment. In St Kitts and Nevis, policy is also explicit in the support offered in areas of employment referrals, employees' assistance, small business incentives, counselling etc. Further, it is also acknowledged that some small states (Dominica, Belize, Saint Lucia) complement their return migration policy with that of diaspora policies. In this way, the origin state tries to set up mechanisms to benefit from migrants whether they return or not.

In Guyana there exists no incentive, outside of concessions on personal effects, to motivate Guyanese to return at the level of policy, and no explicit acknowledgment of such additional support or incentives in the most updated version of the policy (June 2016²¹). There has only been a recent addition of a draft complementary diaspora policy that is expected to stimulate interest in return, plus other aspects for migrants' contributions whether they choose to return or not. At the moment, the Guyana Office for Investment (GOINVEST) gives no preferential treatment to Guyanese living in the diaspora for investing in Guyana; all overseas investors are treated the same, according to this agency.

In the survey, returnees were asked if they benefited from the government's return migration scheme that offers concessions, as a measure of understanding the influence of the program for return migration in Guyana. Of the 451 returnees, 327 responded to this question; only 8.4% did benefit, so 91.6% did not, indicating the scheme's weak effectiveness and impact.

²¹ http://www.minfor.gov.gy/docs/re-emigration/policy_guidelines_for_remigrants_revised_jun_2016.pdf

In a prior publication, the author (Bristol, 2010) noted for the wider English-speaking Caribbean small states that return policy acted as a facilitator and not necessarily a motivator of return migration per se. Black et al. (2003) also found, in the cases of Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, that policy was not a major motivator of return, though there was evidence of relatively more access to such policy by 'elite' (skilled, legal) returnees in Ghana. Notwithstanding, the more general public policy has been deemed as important for migration (UNDP, 2009), that improves the overall living conditions and addresses issues in development such as crime, growth, jobs etc. This was the case originally in Guyana, where Vezzoli (2014) lamented the influence of migration policies abroad, and (the lack of) development policy in Guyana, that together drove Guyanese outward. Hence, it is a cluster of public policies that intervene in the decision making of migrants that seem important, as their considerations for returning are multidimensional and multi-layered, which goes beyond specific incentives in any given return migration policy. Return policy, as a stand-alone motivational tool, does not seem to carry much influence in the number of migrants returning, but is useful in the determination of the quality of returning migrants it selects for incentives and concessions. Time or duration abroad is perhaps a more significant component of policy and the quality of returning migrants it selects, especially for the style of development that the government wants to inculcate. This is now examined in relation to remitting and assets acquired prior to returning.

4.2.4 Duration Abroad, Remitting and Asset Transfers of Guyanese Migrants Prior to Returning

Motivation to return is sometimes a function of the success that migrants have targeted prior to leaving. In other cases, nostalgia, pilgrimage, ancestral links, and even failure precipitate return. Of course, development at the point of origin is also a stimulant for

returning. These can be attributed to return migration's conceptualization, from frameworks such as the New Economics of Labour Migration to those of transnationalism, social networks, neo-classical thinking etc. (Cassarino, 2004). Underlying all these conceptual frames is the importance of time (duration abroad) as a critical element in returning, both for policy eligibility, and the potential for migrants to be impactful on development in the origin country owing to their capital accumulation, preparation, and resource mobilization (King, 1986; Djajic, 2010; Djajic and Vinogradova, 2014; Dustmann et al., 2010; Dustmann, 2003).

In chapter 1, it was observed that duration abroad was a key eligibility criterion in return migration policy, and it was pointed out that Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago are two among 15 CARICOM countries that have the lowest duration of stay abroad requirement. The opportunity is taken here to investigate the association between duration abroad and resource mobilization/accumulation for migrants returning to make positive development contributions.

Table 4.3 Duration of Stay Abroad of Return Migrants

Years abroad	Return Migrants	
	Count	%
1 thru 5 years	197	43.7
6 thru 10 years	171	37.9
11 thru 15 years	31	6.9
16 thru 20 years	23	5.1
21 thru 25 years	4	0.9
26 thru 30 years	2	0.4
31+ years	14	3.1
N	418	100

Source: Author's Field Data, 2015

In the sample data, the modal group (43.7%) of the returning migrants had stayed abroad for a period of up to 5 years (table 4.3). Another 37.9% returned within 6 to 10 years of leaving. Rather few returnees in the sample had been abroad for more than 15 years – 9.5%.

For a local policy-maker pondering the importance of duration abroad, I ran a few correlations in SPSS to assess its relationship to remitting prior to return, and acquiring assets prior to return as well. It was found that duration abroad was significantly correlated with sending remittances prior to returning (p-value = .022, correlation coefficient = -.117), though with a poorly fitted $r^2 = 0.033$, $N=375$; while the association between duration of time abroad and assets acquired prior to returning did not show a statistically significant relationship. This presents an additional compensatory perspective on evaluating migrants' impact on return. Migrants can be assessed on whether they remitted or not prior to returning in lieu of accessing concessions at origin, as an additional criterion of their contribution to local household, individual, or national development.

In fact, in this survey respondents were asked about the resources they acquired in Guyana prior to returning. Table 4.4 shows 278 returnees disclosing a range of assets held or acquired in Guyana prior to returning. A useful revelation from this table is the fact that nearly 55% maintained a local bank account, but there is no diaspora bond or other framework in place to optimize on this. This could also be migrants continuing a life in Guyana because of family left behind and/or intention to return. Many of the respondents acquired land as well.²² Such acquisitions or maintenance of assets locally hint at migrants' intentions to potentially return-migrate at some future date.

Table 4.4 Resources Transferred by Return Migrants prior to Return

Transfers	Return Migrants	
	Count	%
Built a house	28	10.1
Started a business	16	5.8
Saved in local bank	152	54.7
Acquired land	56	20.1
Combined house, land and savings	4	1.4
Other	22	7.9
N	278	100

Source: Author's Field Data, 2015

²² The Central Housing and Planning Authority, under the Ministry of Housing and Water, established a return migrant housing scheme in 2011 and by 2012 there were 1200 applicants for land acquisition.

Having established that return migrants do transfer physical capital, this can be considered a show of return intentions, and also signals selectivity in return. This is now interrogated to understand better their human capital and other possible attributes that may or may not be important to local development in Guyana, having actually returned.

4.3 Selectivity in Migration

So far, the previous account has highlighted differences in migrants' motivation for emigration; and for return versus the intention to return. In the process, the diverse assets transferred by migrants prior to returning were identified. This section now examines further differences between return and non-migrant attributes. The approach is to see if there is selectivity of return migrants in comparison to non-migrants (recall Chris the returnee and Stacy the non-migrant in box 4.1). Usually, selectivity is understood to be a bias of exposure (in this case to migration) of one group over another. This bias is pertinent for the purpose of understanding better return migrants' individual attributes in comparison to those of non-migrants, especially in the context of returnees who can be considered an impetus for development resulting from their capabilities and human agency.

It has been found that, among the many factors that influence the developmental impact of return migration, the 'degree and direction of selectivity' is potentially relevant (De Vreyer, 2009, p. 2). Selectivity has also been studied in order to gauge the socioeconomic status of immigrants (Feliciano, 2005). Further, Ammassari (2004, p. 3) indicated that this is also an important determination of the variation in migration impact as well. Selectivity in migration is synonymous with differences in migrants' attributes. Hence, exploring return migrants' and non-migrants' differences can give early hints on the potential areas where return migrants could contribute to development.

4.3.1 Migrants' and Non-Migrants' Differences: Clues from the Literature

I start with the fairly neutral argument that returning, non-returning and non-migrants all have the potential to contribute to development; the reason being that research on internal migration hints at this. On the one hand, neighbourhoods/communities can upgrade their socio-economic status resulting from 'in-migrants', as is the case through gentrification, a result of higher-status inward urban migration (Hochstenbach and Van Gent, 2015). On the other hand, changes in the socio-economic status of non-migrant residents of that neighbourhood/community may also influence its upgrading or downgrading (Teernstra, 2014). In fact, Teernstra (2014, p. 985) opined that 'neighbourhood change is often linked to mobility: upgrading and downgrading are related to in- and out-migration of lower- and higher-income groups'. Since the function to upgrade or downgrade is based on the socio-economic characteristics of the migrants, such features of the migrant group are not restricted to internal migration but can also result from international migration as well.

Recall in chapter 1 that there is empirical evidence of international return migrants contributing positively to entrepreneurship, investment, community and housing development, and alleviating household income poverty through remittances and savings (Klagge and Klein-Hitpaß, 2010; De Vreyer et al., 2010; Germenji and Milo, 2009; Ammassari et al., 2004; Thomas-Hope, 2009). These positive impacts provide the reason for which governments look to the diaspora for inputs to development.

Other important clues from the literature have noted differences in educational attainment, occupational choice (Dustmann and Kirchkamp, 2002; McCormick and Wahba, 2001; Mesnard, 2004; Wahba and Zenou, 2012), and earnings and investment (De Vreyer et al., 2010). Some of these differences are expected to feature in the case of Guyana. Even within a single group there are different classes of migrants, with varying characteristics. Confirming intra-group differences, Hunt (2004) observed that return migrants are a

heterogeneous group of successes and failures; the case of voluntary and involuntary returnees is noted as one such example from the data, based on reason for returning.

To further emphasize the point of return migrants' selectivity, Nawrotzki et al. (2012) noted the case of Madagascar, where return migrants acquired greater access to natural resources on return than non-migrants because they possessed on average greater financial, physical, human, and social capital. This usually occurs from the opportunities of international migration, leading to the accumulation of these assets.

However, suggestions from the literature are not all in favour of return migrants as being positively selected over non-migrants. For example, Gibson and McKenzie (2014) observed that academic return migrants have no more of an impact on publications in small states than non-migrant academics. Some evidence also reveals that return migrants (males in some villages of Mexico) may have worse self-reported health conditions than non-migrants (Ullmann et al., 2011), owing both to their migration experience, some of which was due to acculturation, and returning because of poor health itself. This shows that return migrants can be negatively selected in comparison to non-migrants, which may not be useful for development at origin.

4.3.2 Sample-Based Differences between Returnees and Non-Migrants in Guyana

Based on clues from the literature and my own survey data (bearing in mind its limitations), differences are explored in gender, age at time of interview, ethnicity, education, employment status, and income as a way of reflecting the human, social, and economic variations of the return and non-migrant groups. Recall from chapter 3, the non-migrant sample was weighted using ratios from the 2012 Census to be representative in a few regards (age, sex, and ethnicity). Given the proportions reported in table 4.5 below, there are significant differences in human, social, and economic aspects of returnees and non-migrants

as suggested by the chi-square p-values. These are noticeable in gender, education, income, and employment status. Males are predominant amongst returnees while females are more numerous than males in the non-migrant sample. The descriptive account in the latter part of in chapter 3 indicated that gender disparity of returnees is more an issue for those returning from North America and the Rest of the World. Return migrants are likely to have acquired higher levels of educational attainment, this occurs even though those emigrating for the purpose of study return at half the rate they left. Based on the sample too, return migrants earn more in the upper income ranges in comparison to non-migrants, possibly a reflection of their exposure to migration – knowledge, skills etc. – and achievement of targets through migration. Return migrants are heavily engaged as employees and self-employment versus non-migrants who featured as more likely to be employers. Returnees often become employees' due to returning from studies abroad where experience generally might be limited, whereas returnees have a propensity to be self-employed through raising capital to start economic activities of their own.

Table 4.5 Human, Social, and Economic Facets of Return and Non-Migrants

	Return Migrants		Non-Migrants	
	Count	%	Count	%
Human Capital				
<i>Age range*</i>				
20-29	114	25.8	90	29.3
30-39	121	27.4	52	16.9
40-49	95	21.5	73	23.8
50-59	50	11.3	54	17.6
60-69	35	7.9	28	9.1
70-79	26	5.9	8	2.6
80+	1	0.2	2	0.7
N = 749	442	100	307	100
<i>Chi-square = 14.70 at 0.023%</i>				
<i>Education attainment level</i>				
None/Nursery	5	1.1	6	1.4
Primary	40	9.0	73	16.6
Secondary	155	34.8	219	49.9
Post-Secondary	55	12.3	53	12.1
University/Tertiary	186	41.7	87	19.8
Other	3	0.7	1	0.2
Not stated	2	0.4	0	0.0
N = 885	446	100	439	100

<i>Chi-square = 52.38 at .000%</i>				
Social				
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	256	56.8	209	48.3
Female	195	43.2	224	51.7
N = 884				
<i>Chi-square = 1.55 at .212%</i>				
<i>Ethnicity</i>				
Amerindian	8	1.8	46	10.5
Afro Guyanese	185	41.5	136	31.0
Indo Guyanese	163	36.5	178	40.5
Mixed	87	19.5	79	18.0
Other	3	0	0	0
N = 885	446	100	439	100
<i>Chi-square = 12.61 at .013%</i>				
Economic				
<i>Income (GUY\$)</i>				
No income	12	2.7	11	2.5
Less than 20,000	12	2.7	22	5.0
20001-30000	19	4.2	28	6.3
30001-40000	20	4.4	39	8.8
40001-60000	35	7.8	82	18.6
60001-90000	76	16.9	114	25.8
90001-120000	100	22.2	90	20.4
120001-150000	71	15.8	25	5.7
150001-200000	69	15.3	18	4.1
200001-250000	29	6.4	12	2.7
Above 250000	7	1.6	1	0.2
N = 892	450	100	442	100
<i>Chi-square = 114.17 at .000%</i>				
<i>Employment status</i>				
Employee	242	54.1	182	41.5
Employer	8	1.8	15	3.4
Self-Employed	88	19.7	71	16.2
Retired	44	9.8	23	5.2
Student	8	1.8	51	11.6
Seeking Employment	23	5.1	72	16.4
Stay at home spouse	18	4.0	20	4.6
Do not want to work	12	2.7	3	0.7
None	4	0.9	2	0.5
N = 886	447	100	439	100
<i>Chi-square = 27.48 at .001%</i>				

Source: Author's Field Data, 2015

*Note: for age comparisons respondents below 20 years of age are omitted, as the focus is adults. Age here is based on the point at which the interview was conducted and not at the time point of return.

Given the attributes shown in table 4.5, return migrants display differences in comparison to the non-migrant group, and expectedly so. On the indicator of age, the findings of this investigation differ somewhat (but not markedly) from those of Strachan (1983, p. 126), who found that 60–66% of returnees were within ages 16 to 44; approximately 75% of this sample returned between 20-49 years old, and 81.5% of the sample for those who were in

age range 20-49 at time of return (age at time of interview subtracted from time since returned).

Some Caribbean small state examples showed younger second-generation returnees characterizing return, for example Jamaica (Reynolds, 2008a; 2010b). Potter (2005) and Phillips and Potter (2009) observed similar for Barbados, while Potter's (2005) work recognized this phenomenon in the case of Saint Lucia as well. As previously noted, Conway et al. (2005) acknowledged young returnees in their productive age range as particularly beneficial to development in Caribbean small islands.

Generally, there is some support for a male-dominated return migration, as noted by Momsen (1992) for the wider Caribbean. Anecdotally, it is felt that men cope less well with the fast-paced lifestyles and rule-based Western city life, and so this gave way to the type of male-dominated return from North America that is experienced in the region, though this result indicated by my survey data may simply reflect more males returning during the period under enquiry.

Further, a critical issue that should be introduced for Guyana is that of ethnicity. Premdas (1996) noted that Guyana has a cultural plurality based on ethnic division. Strachan (1980, p. 166-167) also looked into whether return migration policy favoured one ethnic group over another. He found, at that time, that 67% of returnees were Afro-Guyanese, with only 28% Indo-Guyanese returning. Hence, the conclusion he made was that the government-sponsored return migration scheme was doing little to address ethnic imbalance, especially in the civil service, where Afro-Guyanese greatly outnumbered Indo-Guyanese returnees. Of course, this can also reflect the body politic, especially the component of campaigning for returnees prior to elections in ethnic enclaves abroad.

Ethnic return migration policies do exist in some countries; for example, Skrentny et al. (2007) highlighted such in Asia and Europe, and Kulu (2000) gave the example of

Estonia. However, while Guyana's return policy cannot be considered ethnic, the presumption of ethnicity in the policy implementation context is usually based on the politicization of return migration, touted by various political parties visiting the diaspora, typically prior to elections, propagandizing return in ethnic enclaves where their support bases are located.²³

Notwithstanding the aforementioned, the variables listed in table 4.5 above, which includes ethnicity, were processed in a robustness check to discern if elements of such exist in returning. So far, the descriptive presentation reflected that return migrants at the time of interview show better education and current monthly income earned. Return may also be a male-dominated phenomenon for which some evidence in the Caribbean already attests. But the ethnic question still remains.

Two logistic regressions are run in a multivariate analysis. Logistic regression is a statistical technique that helps to explain an outcome that is binary (categorical) using multiple independent variables. In the analysis to follow, model 1 compares if the probability that the explanatory variable is more or less likely to reflect a return migrant versus a non-returning migrant. Hence, the model 1 dependent variable is equal to one if the migrant is a return migrant and zero if the migrant is a non-returning migrant. Given the comparison is between return and non-returning migrants for model 1, the sample is drawn from 661 respondents of whom 451 are returnees and 210 are non-returning migrants. The variables included in the model 1 regression as explanatory variables are those captured for returnees and non-returning migrants – gender, age, duration abroad, and categorical variables for reasons for emigration, and ethnicity. Model 1 therefore looks at whether or not, on average, return migrants are selective relative to their non-returning counterparts in the aforementioned attributes.

²³ <http://guyanachronicle.com/the-diaspora/>; <http://pridenews.ca/2015/08/13/guyana-welcomes-you-with-open-arms-government-minister-assures-diaspora-in-canada/>

Model 2 reflects a second logistic regression of a comparison between return migrants and non-migrants where the dependent variable is equal to one for a return migrant and zero if a non-migrant. The independent variables in this model 2 are gender, age, ethnicity, and at the time of being interviewed: employment status, household income, and current educational attainment. Data on these variables were collected for both of these groups and reflect a sample size of 979, of whom 451 are returnees and 528 are non-migrants.

The idea is to identify attributes that are potentially useful for development in Guyana, in a less than ideal manner based on the available data. These regressions are processed and reported next.

4.3.3 Results of the Multivariate Analysis

The results presented in table 4.6 are for the regressions indicated in the previous section. Model 1 compares attributes between return migrants and non-returning migrants; model 2 reports on return migrants and non-migrants. The different independent variables reflected in model 2 that are not in model 1 and vice versa are based on the data collected for the respective groups.

Model 1 includes categorical variables on ethnicity, and reasons for emigration. The reference category omitted for ethnicity is ‘other’, therefore interpreting the result would mean that a return migrant is likely, more or less so, to be one of the included groups relative to the reference group. The same applied for emigration reasons where the reference category is ‘other’ too, and therefore a migrant is more or less likely to leave based on a given reason relative to the reference (omitted) reason. In model 2 the categorical variables are ethnicity, educational attainment, employment status, and household income ranges. The reference groups are: ‘other’ for ethnicity, ‘no education’ (a composite of responses none/nursery and other) for educational attainment, ‘not in work’ (a composite of student, stay-at-home spouse,

no employment, and do not want to work) for employment status, and 'no-income' for household income.

Table 4.6: Differences among Migrants and Non-Migrants

Model 1 Dependent variable equals one if respondent is a return migrant relative to zero if a non-returning migrant. Model 2 Dependent variable equals one if respondent is a return migrant relative to zero if a non-migrant.	Model (1) Results			Model (2) Results reported		
	Reported with covariates for return migrants and non-returning migrants			With Covariates for return migrants and non- migrants		
Variables in Equation	B	Exp(B)	Sig.	B	Exp(B)	Sig.
Constant	- 4.554	.011	.000*	1.234	3.436	.172
Gender (male=1)	.879	2.408	.000*	.184	1.203	.202
Age	.094	1.099	.000*	.012	1.012	.054***
Duration of stay abroad [†]	-.112	.894	.000*			
Emigration reasons:						
Further studies	.800	2.226	.020**			
Income/financial gain	.502	1.652	.147			
Family reunification	.115	1.122	.751			
Political instability	-.322	.752	.632			
Life style conveniences	.082	1.086	.894			
Job search	.358	1.430	.412			
Ethnicity:						
East Indian	2.986	19.810	.000*	-.421	.657	.509
African	2.033	7.636	.001*	-.504	.604	.429
Amerindian	1.650	5.206	.090***	-1.183	.306	.125
Mixed	1.804	6.074	.005**	.026	1.027	.968
Educational attainment:						
Primary				-2.141	.117	.000*
Secondary				-1.481	.228	.002**
Post-secondary				-1.191	.304	.022**
University/Tertiary				-0.742	.476	.138
Employment status:						
Employee				.188	1.207	.426
Employer				-1.115	.328	.043**
Self-employed				.397	1.487	.141
Retired				.633	1.884	.094***
Seeking employment				.429	1.535	.246
Income (GUY\$):						
Low income (at or below 60,000)						

Middle Income (60001-200000)		-1.101	0.333	.014**
High income (above 200000)		-.393	0.675	.372
		.895	2.447	.125
<i>Model Summary</i>	<i>N</i> = 636 <i>Log Likelihood</i> = 610.259 <i>Nagelkerke. R-Squared</i> = .344 <i>Predicted</i> = 77.7%	<i>N</i> = 963 <i>Log Likelihood</i> = 1203.859 <i>Nagelkerke. R-Squared</i> = .164 <i>Predicted</i> = 65.3%		

*Significant at the 1% level

**Significant at the 5% level

*** Significant at the 10% level

[†]Duration abroad for non-returning migrants was captured by asking this group how long are they abroad.

The results of model 1 and model 2 can be expressed and interpreted using the estimate of the logit or the log-odds (B) and/or the odds ratio $\text{Exp}(B)$. Using the estimated coefficient (B) tells us about the relationship between the independent variables and dependent variable. Attention of course should be paid to the sign: a negative sign means that there is less/decreased likelihood, and a positive sign means more/increased likelihood by the amount of the coefficient value (the log-odds) that would be predicted by the independent variable when there is a one unit change in that independent variable, holding all other independent variables constant. Due to the complexity of using the log-odds for interpretation, the odds ratio $\text{Exp}(B)$ can be used alternatively, which is the exponent of the coefficient. This gives the odds of being in one group over the other and the magnitude of such. The constant is usually referred to as the intercept, for which the value of the coefficient obtains if all the independent variables are equal to zero.

The results of model 1 indicate that the gender coefficient is positive and significant. This means that males were more likely to return than females, an especially North American phenomenon. Strachan (1980, p. 167) noted more males returning to Guyana than females several decades ago when the return scheme started in 1967. Of course, this result can also be reflective of the data, simply demonstrating more males than females returning, but this has a long tradition as noted.

In fact, more generally there seems to be some support for this finding of a male-dominated return according to Girma (2017), in particular the cases of Romania and Somalia in Vlase (2013) and Hansen (2008) respectively. Other anecdotal insight here is that the odds of Guyanese men assimilating as immigrants in the host destination are not as encouraging as for women. Further, the intra-regional migration among small states in the region, reflected in the return migrant data, is indicative of labour market and other opportunities being male-dominated – hence the selectivity on gender here. This of course might be very different in the extra-regional migration trend to North America where women’s traditional roles in Guyana are easily adaptable and family migration is permitted – in some cases automatic. Further, in the Caribbean context, including Guyana, girls have been outperforming boys in educational attainment and other spheres. This gives women greater access to the job market, complemented by their adaptiveness to learning and retraining in host countries, where equity principles in employment and labour markets are more likely to be maintained. That more men return relative to women is also indicative of men’s traditional role as well, where they are the household’s ‘bread-winner’ in Guyana and might be returning in continued fulfillment of that role; the data did indicate that heads of household are more prone to return. Hence, the dynamics of a male-dominated return migration might be rooted in their ‘traditional’ roles in the home in the country of origin.

However, Sakka et al. (1999, p. 742) noted changing gender-role beliefs and behaviours resulting from migration, as explained by increased participation of (Greek) women in the labour force in the host destination country (Germany), and the acculturation process. Bailey and Charles (2010) highlighted the gender gap occurrence in the Caribbean, acknowledging the numerical underperformance of males, but also recognizing the societal, institutional, and other norms that favour males. This latter point highlights the possibility of a gender imbalance of labour market and other opportunities in the Caribbean.

Further, in model 1 migrants who emigrated for the stated purpose of furthering their studies are more likely to be a return migrant. Such return can be associated with a myriad of intervening influences – students being bonded, document control, personal ambition - to name a few. The government has been engaging a number of bilateral arrangements, which entail training programs in Cuba and China to redress the depletion of skills in the health sector especially, which has been affected by emigration. These programs bond students, and host destinations with such command-type economies ensure students return. In fact, Cuba has been sending doctors to support the public hospital, while some private hospitals and clinics have recruited nurses and doctors from India to address the acute shortages of medical personnel in Guyana attributed to the continuous emigration of health (and education) workers.

Age in model 1 is also significant and positive. This indicates that, as age increases, the likelihood of being a return migrant also improves; that is, return migrants are more likely to be older than a non-returning migrant captured in the sample. But, older returnees would include those still in their productive age ranges. This seeming confusion comes from students returning, predominantly in their younger age ranges, plus older migrants returning from North America. These occurrences are happening all at the same time. Noteworthy too is that the longer migrants are away the less likely they are to return. Most returnees are back within 10 years according to the sample; not many of those who returned were away for much longer. Such can be a function of where they emigrated to (in CARICOM for instance), and their legal status while there. Lastly, model 1 reveals that all ethnic groups are likely to return, but this is very pronounced for Indo- and Afro-Guyanese, according to the sample, of course these are the two largest ethnic groups according to Guyana's census.

Model 2 also reports age as positive and significant, indicating that return migrants are more likely to be older than non-migrants in the sample, especially those from North

America, as was the case in comparison to non-returning migrants. Educational attainment at lower levels – primary, secondary, and post-secondary – is negative and significant, revealing that return migrants are less likely to have these lower levels of educational attainment than non-migrants. Return migrants therefore, are positively selected on university/tertiary educational attainment than non-migrants. Concomitantly, returning with higher levels of education puts returnees among the skilled elite at the place of origin, sometimes manifested in higher monthly wages. This key finding is noted particularly with regards to the possibility of re-emigration, owing to the embedded culture of skilled emigration from Guyana, as it is among the small states of the Caribbean Community more generally.

Additionally, model 2 shows that employees are less likely to be a return migrant relatively to a non-migrant, but more likely to be a retired individual in comparison to a non-migrant. Interestingly, this is not related to being older than 65 years per se as most of those who give retirement as a reason for return have given up their job as opposed to reaching the retirement age of 65 plus. Further, when compared to individuals with no income, low-income individuals are less likely to be returnees and more likely to be non-migrants. Migration has afforded the returnees resources, human and otherwise. Thus, return migrants, as shown descriptively in table 4.5, reflect the fact that returning with human capital earns this group among the highest income ranges, but also quite a few are not in work since returning (students, stay-at-home spouses, not interested in working, and do not have a job).

In the return migrant to non-migrant comparison, the data and model 2 confirm that return migrants differ in that they are among the highly skilled, among the highest income earners, and are likely to be older in some situations [see Box 4.3 on selectivity].

Age is important with regards to human capacity endowment, so too is educational attainment as it relates to experience (and exposure in this case). Income can be an intervening factor crucial to educational outcomes for development. Such a positive difference of return migrants makes them suitable for potential development if their knowhow and expertise can be absorbed and utilized in the local economy.

Box 4.3: On Selectivity

Return migrants, as suggested by the regression results, show differences, in comparison to non-migrants, on age, aspects of educational attainment, employment status, and monthly income. In comparison to non-returning migrants, the sample collected shows that returnees differ on age, gender, duration of stay abroad, emigration reason of furthering education, and ethnicity. Only on the issue of age are return migrants different in comparison to both analytical categories.

In Guyana historically, and as recently as the May 2015 general elections, government continued to issue calls for Guyanese in the diaspora to return and contribute to the country's development owing to the presumption that capacity (human, financial, and otherwise) exists there. Sure, it did many years ago, as noted by Strachan (1980, 1983), and it continues to be the case based on the findings revealed here. Already Strachan indicated how useful these resources were in strengthening public services following independence, but Vezzoli (2014) found that emigration continued unabated, beyond import substitution in the 1990s. Census emigration statistics signifies this continues to be the case, and possibly more so with the advent of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy free movement of skills regime. This, in fact, reinforces the need to continue the call for the diaspora to support national development.

For the case of migrants returning and contributing to development, growth volatility (Armendariz et al., 2007), among other factors, threatens the sustainability of return

migration especially if the gains (income) enjoyed by returnees are likely to be affected by such economic swings. In fact, Ratha et al. (2011) underscored the heavy weights attached to outward migration for mainly economic purposes. These are the likely challenges usually presented in small states, as reported in chapter 3.

In the case of Guyana, this is no different; economic challenges are amplified for example due to smallness and inherent lack of diversification. The World Bank²⁴, despite graduating Guyana to an upper middle-income country status, still indicates that the country is the third poorest in Latin America and the Caribbean. Having regard to this, I inquire next into the desire for re-emigration by return migrants, particular as the government continues to express the belief in return migration as an impetus for the development of Guyana.

4.4 Re-Emigration of Returnees: Is Return Migration to Guyana Sustainable?

4.4.1 Perspectives on Re-Emigration from the Literature

Re-emigration is defined to mean emigration by return migrants from their origin country after returning, following a prior emigration for a year or more. In effect, after returning to their country of origin, migrants may re-emigrate for various reasons. Hence, in examining the potential development impact of return migration, and importantly so for the consideration of policy-makers intent on using return migrants as instruments of development, a natural concern arises over return migrants' desire to re-emigrate after returning; that is, whether return migration can be deemed sustainable or not.

Van Houte and Davids (2009, p. 1413) noted that, 'in order to have the potential for development, return migration must be sustainable for the individual returnee'. Sustainability of return migration, therefore, as argued by these authors, has to be defined by the level of

²⁴ <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/guyana/overview>

what they called mixed embeddedness: economic, social, and psychosocial aspects. Van Houte and Davids (2009, p. 1414-1419) defined these three aspects of mixed embeddedness where, firstly, economic embeddedness indicates whether a returnee can rebuild a sustainable livelihood. In practice, a livelihood comprises the extent to which an individual owns, or has access to resources and assets, such as income, housing, land, livestock, transportation, education and healthcare. Moreover, it is about individuals' livelihood capabilities to maintain and expand on these assets. The psychosocial needs are equally essential to finding one's place in society, and to get a sense of belonging and attachment to that society. Social networks, the third dimension of embeddedness, deals with migrants' feelings of acceptance, as social networks are important for acquiring information as well as sharing personal and intimate relations. The extent to which a returnee can benefit from social capital depends on the type of social networks he or she has, both in terms of emotional and material support.

On the other hand, Black et al. (2004, p. 25) presented sustainable return migration as having elements of subjective perception, plus the objective conditions of returnees, and the aggregate conditions of the home country, all of which have physical, socio-economic, and political-security dimensions. The subjective perception considers physical aspects, which relates to the lack of desire for re-emigration, perceived socio-economic status, and the perception of security by the return migrant. For the objective conditions, consideration is given to the proportion of returnees who do not re-emigrate, their actual socio-economic status, and actual persecution and violence perpetrated against returnees. Finally, with regard to the aggregate condition of the home country, attention is given to trends in the level of asylum seeking abroad, trends in poverty and well-being, and in the levels of persecution, conflict, and violence.

Return migration sustainability, based on the subjective conditions identified by Black et al. (2004), and on mixed embeddedness as defined by Van Houte and Davids (2009), is

used to better understand if return migration is sustainable in the case of return migrants to Guyana. In comparing the concepts of mixed embeddedness and subjective perceptions used to assess the desires of re-emigration among returnees, three further conceptual observations are noteworthy. Firstly, economic embeddedness defined by Van Houte and Davids (2009) mirrors the perceived socio-economic status of return migrants identified by Black et al. (2004). Second, social embeddedness (emotional and material support) is likened to the perception of feelings of security. And thirdly, psychosocial embeddedness (acceptance and belonging) is matched to the presence or absence of the desire for re-emigration.

Essentially, the subjective condition component of the Black et al. (2004, p. 25) definition (lack of desire to re-emigrate, perceived socio-economic well-being, and perception of safety and security threats) could be explained through Van Houte and Davids' (2009) mixed embeddedness (economic, social and psychosocial). In moving this conceptual agenda forward, the chapter now explains the data used to incorporate these concepts to understand the possible re-emigration desires of Guyanese return migrants.

4.4.2 Assessing Return Migrants' Desire for Re-Emigration

Returnees were asked what their intentions were, at the time of the interview, with regards to staying temporarily or permanently in Guyana. The sample data indicates that, of the 422 out of 451 returnees who responded, 40.1% indicated they were undecided at the time of return whether they would settle permanently or not. However, 39.1% indicated that their view of return at that point was to return permanently. This is well above those who, at that juncture, considered their return temporary 20.6%. Notwithstanding, returnees were also asked if they were now contemplating re-emigration, after returning for some time. Some 15.3% of the 412 who responded indicated that they will definitely re-emigrate, 63.9% were

undecided, and 20.8% stated that they would definitely not re-emigrate. Naturally, having spent time ‘on the ground’ generated differences in their desires about re-emigration.

Moving on to test desires of re-emigration, guidance was provided by Van Houte and Davids (2009), who highlighted income and education as components of economic embeddedness, and by Black et al. (2004) who mentioned income and jobs as part of the socio-economic components that should meet the basic needs of the return migrant at the individual level for return to be sustainable. From the dataset, household income, jobs as proxy by employment status, and educational attainment together capture economic embeddedness.

Social embeddedness proxies in the data speak more to returnees’ material support, such as challenges to resettling, support for resettling, whether or not return migrants benefit from the local protection system, and the transfer of special rights/entitlements of returnees such as employment benefit, pensions etc. Psychosocial embeddedness (acceptance and belonging) proxies are more reflective of returnees’ sense of their own relevance – if the return migrant feels that their return has been favourable or not at origin, and if the return migrant feels their experiences have been useful.

The sustainability of return migration to Guyana, or alternatively the desire for re-emigration, is therefore modeled in a multinomial logistic regression, which is best suited for explaining the three situations of re-emigration desires: 1) definitely will not re-emigrate, 2) definitely will re-emigrate, and 3) undecided. The dependent variable defining re-emigration is therefore specified as: 2= definitely will not re-emigrate, 1=definitely will re-emigrate, and 0=undecided. I modeled the odds that a return migrant will definitely not re-emigrate (the baseline category) relative to being undecided or being sure about re-emigration. The results are presented next: see table 4.7.

The results indicate some notable findings. They show that return migrants are more likely to remain undecided relative to those who definitely will not re-emigrate with regards to possessing post-secondary educational attainment. There is no surprise that a returnee would more likely be undecided in the presence of having post-secondary-level education, as his/her options are fairly lucrative, that is, being amongst the higher income ranges in Guyana as a result of their educational status, while still having access to the option of re-emigration, being potentially among the skilled elites locally. The logit regression results earlier in comparing return migrants with non-migrants indicated that returnees are more probably positioned among the skilled elites and as such are more 'marketable' to re-emigrate, but also are among the higher income groups. The return migrant who is undecided is trading off what he/she can enjoy in Guyana versus having access to the option of re-emigration should it become necessary.

On the other hand, with regards to support with resettlement, return migrants are less likely to remain undecided about re-emigration in comparison to being surer about not re-emigrating in the presence of family support on returning. This is consistent with earlier insights on motivation for returning, that suggest return migrants are likely to return predominantly for family reunification. Family therefore plays an important role in supporting actual return – transnational interconnectedness – and sustaining it after it has materialized. Clearly, there is a link between migrants wanting to return as a result of their family at origin, and their respective family at origin offering the support required in the return process.

Government support, however, is more likely to be associated with return migrants' continued indecisiveness about re-emigration. In fact, cost of living and challenges associated with public services and employment are all more likely to make return migrants remain

undecided about re-emigration relative to definitely not re-emigrating. Hence, systemic institutional and structural issues produce desires of re-emigration among return migrants.

Table 4.7 Desire for Re-Emigration

Re-emigration is the dependent variable, where (2=definitely will not re-emigrate, 1=definitely re-emigrate, and 0=undecided). Definitely will not re-emigrate is the reference baseline category	Undecided			Definitely will re-emigrate		
Variables in Equation	B	Exp(B)	Sig.	B	Exp(B)	Sig.
Constant	.739	-	.449	-3.598	-	.008*
Gender (male=1)	.002	1.002	.996	-.588	.555	.198
Age	.001	1.001	.921	.058	1.060	.001*
Educational attainment ^v :						
Post-secondary	1.318	3.738	.038**	2.225	9.256	.003*
University	.532	1.702	.174	1.191	3.291	.029**
Income (GUY\$):						
Middle income (60001-200000)	.081	1.084	.848	-.262	.769	.631
High income (above 200000)	.255	1.290	.730	-.480	.619	.607
Support with resettlement at origin:						
Family	-.930	.394	.008*	-.536	.585	.254
Government	17.935	61549087	.000*	18.890	159919693	-
Challenges with settling after return:						
Cost of living	.860	2.363	.020**	.862	2.369	.117
Employment	1.911	6.759	.002*	.838	2.313	.397
Public services (customs duty and Govt. services)	1.955	7.066	0.027**	2.020	7.540	.051***
International migration experience useful:						
Advantage (useful at origin)	-.428	.652	.436	-.850	.427	.222
Disadvantage (not useful at origin)	1.668	.189	.060***	-1.724	.178	.213
Investment made on return:						
For profit investment	-.672	.511	.139	.690	1.993	.187
Not for profit investment	18.916	1641179	.000*	17.727	49981778.	-
Transfer special rights	-.957	.384	.102	1.039	2.826	.090***
Benefited from local protection system	.671	1.956	.057***	.059	1.061	.903
Community's receptiveness of migrants' return	-.042	.959	.939	.610	1.840	.448
<i>Model Summary</i>	<i>N = 347</i> <i>Log Likelihood = 476.625</i> <i>Nagelkerke R-Squared = .404</i> <i>Chi square = 142.987; Pvalue=.000</i>					

*Significant at the 1% level

**Significant at the 5% level

*** Significant at the 10% level

Reference groups are as follows: no-income for household income, no education (a composite of responses none/nursery and other) for educational attainment, not in work (a composite of student, stay-at-home spouse, no employment, and do not want to work) for employment status, non-government (private organization and other) for support with resettlement; domestic issues (household services and other) for the variable challenges with settling in; irrelevant experience (irrelevant and don't know) for the variable international migration experience; neither (profit or non-profit) is the reference group for investment undertaken on return.

The fact that return migrants who engaged in not-for-profit investments and benefited from the local protection system are more likely to be undecided about re-emigration relatively to definitely not re-emigrating is indicative of their continued skepticism about the local benefit systems and satisfaction with philanthropic endeavours. Finally, reflecting on the negative but significant variable about perceptions in relation to international migration experience as disadvantageous locally, undecided return migrants are less likely to be associated with such a view. In other words, return migrants who are undecided about re-emigration are not certain if their international migration experience on return puts them at a disadvantage in Guyana. These are all part of what Strachan (1983) concluded contributes to the low level of satisfaction of returnees that engenders re-emigration.

For the group of return migrants who envisaged definitely re-emigrating, age (younger return migrants) is an important predictor, relative to sample respondents who express that they will definitely not re-emigrate. Here again education, both at the post-secondary and university levels, was revealed to be positive and significant. Challenges with public services are also more likely to be associated with those wishing to definitely re-emigrate relative to those who definitely will not re-emigrate. Being able to benefit from the local protection system makes little difference. Taken overall, it seems like those who will definitely re-emigrate have mostly made their minds up. The only two factors that are associated with a lower likelihood of definitely re-emigrating relative to definitely not doing so are: being able to transfer special rights from the host destination to the country of origin, which Guyana does not allow at the moment; and return migrants' feelings of acceptance or receptiveness by their community, so that they feel returning is favourably viewed.

Summing up, mixed views among return migrants about the desire for re-emigration have pointed to a few important features in the case of Guyana [see box 4.4].

For the returnees who are persistent about re-emigration, their psychosocial embeddedness (acceptance and belonging) is important for abating such desires. Acceptance by their community featured as a significant proxy; as such their relevance at origin matters. Additionally, for those whose minds are made up about re-emigration, facilitating the transfer of rights may act as an incentive for them not to do so. These are important factors that underscore the wider institutional dimensions that are important in the migration-development nexus. This was also obvious with the increased likelihood of re-emigration owing to issues with public services.

Box 4.4: Sustainability of Return

Clearly some migrants on return are motivated to stay while others are not, depending on some critical factors. On the one hand, a return migrant will stay on if a support system exists, which includes their families, government enablers such as public services, and more broadly employment opportunities and a cost of living situation that is considered reasonable. Further, return migrants feel encouraged to stay if they can transfer special rights from host destinations, but this is difficult especially with countries outside of CARICOM. Return migrants will stay as well if they feel accepted or experience good reception by their community. On the other hand, re-emigrating is possible with return migrants, especially those with post-secondary education and above who are still young, once the situation at home becomes tenuous in terms of public services, employment challenges, and cost of living.

As regards return migrants who are undecided about re-emigration, economic and social embeddedness are important in return migration sustainability, as these features of return anchoring relate to reducing desires for re-emigration. Based on the variables that were revealed to be significant, that of educational attainment serves to increase potential rather

than desires of re-emigration. On social embeddedness, family support proved to be important. But institutional aspects and macro-issues were critical too. In fact, macro-institutional issues are common across all groups as factors that lend themselves easily to producing an aspiration for re-emigration among returning migrants.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has revealed some important features of the sample data collected to study return migration to Guyana. Notwithstanding the limitations of the data, the results identify, or at the very least suggest, important differences between returning migrants and those who did not return, and also the non-migrant population. Return migrants are better qualified as per their educational attainment, earn higher incomes, and were mostly males. However, this finding was not fully conclusive as it could be subject to time among other factors. These features are useful potential indications of where and in what ways return migrants can be a positive impetus for local development. However, the asset of educational attainment puts returnees among the elite group of skilled individuals, which reinforces this group's potential for re-emigration. Further, since migrants are not a random group, and might be returning simply because this was their intention originally, then selectivity may also exist within the return migrant group itself. Hence, the return migrant sample might not be as random. Nevertheless, this is not seen as harmful since the thesis still benefits from knowing why migrants return, from among those who have done so.

A typical return migrant to Guyana therefore looks like a male in his early 40s or female around the age of 35. Hence, migrants are returning in their productive age range, and especially as heads of household to fulfill family obligations, or naturally so based on their original intentions, or involuntarily. Return migrants are more likely to be those who emigrated to further their studies, but return mainly due to family reunification among other

reasons. Even for emigrants still residing in the diaspora, there are some intentions for returning someday, mostly at retirement. In the meantime, even if migrants do not return, households with a migrant member abroad generally benefit through financial and in-kind remittances. For some of those who eventually return, they remit or acquire assets locally before doing so. It was found as well that the duration spent abroad is an important impetus to remitting, as it has been noted in the literature for being important for mobilization of resources and preparation prior to returning. In fact, duration abroad is a key pillar in return migration policy in the Caribbean region and an essential eligibility criterion for benefiting from return migration concessions.

Re-emigration among return migrants is subject to a level of mixed embeddedness, but this can be counter-productive in a small state like Guyana. For example, economic embeddedness, which should act to reduce desires of re-emigration related to cost of living and ability of the returnee to afford a fair quality of life, also enables return migrants to afford re-emigration, assuming that they can now easier afford to overcome institutional and structural factors that are likely to contribute to such desires as well.

The early signals given in this chapter, therefore, are that while returnees are positively selected on attributes that can support local development, especially through human capital transfer, those factors are also enablers of re-emigration, and therefore a potential threat to the sustainability of return migration in the same way that institutional and structural challenges are; and these challenges are rife in small jurisdictions. As a result, economic and non-economic factors are traded-off, in navigating return and re-emigration.

CHAPTER 5: DETERMINANTS OF RETURN MIGRATION TO GUYANA

5.1 Introduction

Having explored the various motivations for return migration in the previous chapter, along with insights on return migrants' differences and return migration sustainability, this chapter proceeds by enquiring more concretely about what determines return migration to Guyana. A comparison between return and non-returning migrants is what affords an analysis into the determinants (see box 5.1). This task is undertaken with reference to the context-dependent nature of migration and return.

Box 5.1: Returned and non-returning migrants in perspective. Remember Chris, the return migrant from chapter 4 who went abroad for nine years after which he returned. Similar individuals in the sample went abroad and returned (in both cases for a year or more) are compared to Pauline's group, which are migrants who went abroad but did not return for a year or more to take up residence in Guyana. Hence, for analyzing determinants, Chris's group, who returned to Guyana, is compared with Pauline's group, who are residing outside of Guyana.

Source: Author's survey data, 2015.

Summarizing the views of return migrants in relation to reasons for returning to Guyana reflected broadly a non-economic socio-cultural context, wherein migrants stated mostly that they returned to reunite with family. Similarly, based on the sample of non-returning migrants, were they to return, it would primarily be at the end of their migration cycle, for retirement. Policy did not seem to be influential as a motivator for return; more probably it was a facilitator of return based on the number of returning migrants signing up for the concessions offered and meeting the criteria.

Having regard to these observations, some of the aforementioned factors are now tested for their importance as determinants of return migration to Guyana, where the scope of the data allows. Determinants are unveiled based on time to the event of returning and how individual and other characteristics might increase or decrease that time. Duration of stay abroad is the critical time factor underscoring the development potential of a return migrant in terms of the time required to acquire resources and strengthen their capacity to be of benefit individually – to their household, community, and nationally – on return. Additionally, the chapter inquires as to the relevance of transnational ties in relation to host location, and return visits as aids to determining return. Simultaneously, reasons for emigration are included to discern if these are critical as a potential driver of return migration to Guyana, since it was found in the previous chapter to be a good gauge of which migrants, prior to leaving, would possibly return.

As the chapter continues, the literature on determinants of return migration is reviewed for insights and policy relevance. The data and method for discerning determinants are then clarified, noting once again the challenges of the sample and associated limitations. The chapter then offers some provisional conclusions using estimation results from non-parametric and semi-parametric techniques.

5.2 Literature Review on Determinants of Return Migration

5.2.1 Subjective Reasoning

In the case of Guyana, the government's return migration policy was previously posited as important for return (Strachan, 1980). It coordinated and institutionalized the process. Such a policy influence was not independent; the government which offered incentives under the policy was very powerful and those who returned to the public service

had offers of employment. As such, to what extent policy influenced return comingles with other major reasons for returning. Thus, how much the policy influences return is not truly known, but so far from this data it seems miniscule. Concomitantly, it is this notion of comingling influence that makes it difficult to conclude if the return migration policy really was responsible for skilled labour returning to Guyana in the late 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, Strachan (1983) highlighted that return migration to Guyana was also related to patriotism, and the threat of becoming undocumented in the host country.

Variations in motivation to return can be rooted in the context-dependent nature of migrants' circumstances (Bastia, 2011). For example, at the individual level, Efstratios et al. (2014) found that discrimination against Albanians partly instigated their return from Greece. Vadean and Piracha (2009), also examining return to Albania, confirmed return due to 'failure', but also return based on family reunification and achievement of the savings target, consistent with NELM theory. Saarela and Rooth (2012) discovered that uncertainty in the initial migration decision is a critical instigator of return migration. Dustmann and Weiss (2007) found that the return of immigrants could be determined by preference for origin-country consumption, especially given the enhanced purchasing power and human capital gained in the host country, which complements their activities at origin. Comay (1971), investigating return determinants, indicated the importance of the sector of employment, and specifically that those working within government and education, are most likely to return. Phan (2012) confirmed, in the case of Vietnam, that credit constraints encouraged migration and subsequent return once savings or repayment of loan targets are met. Return is also influenced by higher returns to capital in the country of origin (Djajic, 2010).

In more aggregated terms, factors determining return are classified as economic, social, or political by King (2000); Constant and Massey (2002) reference failure or success abroad; Piotrowski and Tong (2010) and Gmelch (1980) mentioned economic and non-

economic factors; Tucker et al. (2012) connoted socio-economic motivations driving return; whilst Hare (1999) makes a distinction between individual-scale and household-level variables, noting that return migration is more influenced by the latter. Mengoni (2008) highlights classes of factors such as migration experience, socio-economic background, and environmental factors such as structure of origin country and territorial conditions there. Yahirun (2009) made a distinction between older and younger returnees and found that older returnees were negatively selected on economic resources; host- and origin-countries' family ties were influential in determining return too. Thomas-Hope (1999) found that transnational linkages between migrants and their families are chiefly associated with an eventual return to Jamaica. Makina (2012) found that reasons for emigration – number of dependents, education level, economic engagement in the host-country economy, level of income, and duration of stay abroad – mattered in the case of Zimbabweans intending to return from South Africa.

Notwithstanding all this guidance from the literature on determinants of return to origin, de Haas and Fokkema (2011) and de Haas et al. (2015) produced empirical results indicating that return migration determinants are not conclusive, but are subject to the interpretation of different postulates, that is different or rather competing theoretical hypotheses, which may be complementary. De Haas and Fokkema (2011) also concluded that sociocultural integration has a negative effect on return propensity, while integration and transnational ties are more ambiguous and are sometimes positive influencers of return.

5.2.2 Objective Reasoning

Given the evidence above, return migration seems to vary along with the individual country context, though some recurring reasons are presented; a subjective position noted by De Haas and Fokkema (2011). A more objective identification of return migration as taken

from the various postulates can be found in chapter 2, but is summarised again here as necessary.

Transnationalism hypothesizes that the return outcome is less ambiguous as the interconnectedness of transnational households leads to a kind of information symmetry that makes the migrant return more predictable – favouring easier reintegration. Thomas-Hope (1999) noted this as a critical reason why Jamaicans in the diaspora returned. It was noted by Carling and Erdal (2014) in chapter 2 as well: return migration and transnationalism reinforce each other, especially in the presence of globalization.

Notwithstanding the possibility of re-emigration by the returnee, as demonstrated in chapter 4, it remains useful for returnees to keep their overseas network alive after returning, as the origin state can benefit from this, according to social network theory. To this end Cassarino (2004) indicated that, within this conception, return is more an issue of the commonality of interest – migration experience and exposure – than the commonality of attributes – religion, ethnicity etc. In this framework therefore, such personal differences should not be significant drivers of return in the context of development. However, in the previous chapter, personal attributes have already seem to be important factors of return in the case of Guyana.

NELM risk-sharing insurance theory assumes return as a direct outcome of careful target setting, target achievement, and risk management. The situation of imperfect markets in small states, as noted by Khonje (2015), leads to situations where families spread and share risk as a livelihood and coping strategy (Massey et al., 1994). In this framework return is a matter of time, and not returning suggests some lapse in target achievement. On the other hand, the neo-classical view of return is predominantly that of a failure, reducing the situation of the migrant to one of unmet or unattainable utility maximization, assuming that their

rational choice of changing geographical location did not deliver on it's expectation (Massey et al., 1994).

Further, Cassarino (2004) illustrated that the structuralist interpretation presented ambiguity for the outcome of return because of the highly contextual factors present in small states. This is amplified if information asymmetries exist, that is, the interconnectedness as exemplified by transnationalism did not hold. Market disparities that worked in favour of developed countries extracted labour from the periphery, demonstrating strong demand in some cases and lucrative incentives that explains dual labour market theory in others. This also makes return ambiguous. According to King (2012), this is not consistent with the developmentalist perspective of peripheral sending countries like Guyana that find it difficult to compete on the global labour market with the incentives offered in current return migration policy. This is no different in the world system theory that argues for the perpetuation of the core-periphery relationship.

What does this mean for the main variables used in the determinants analysis as it regards their relationship to the notion of returning? Already, De Haas and Fokkema (2011) and De Haas et al. (2015) advise that determinants are not conclusive, but are subject to the interpretation of different postulates; that is, different or competing theoretical hypotheses may be complementary. The application of the determinants' model results is interpreted using the precedence of objective guidance. As inputs to the model, personal attributes, such as gender, age, and ethnicity, already seen as positively related to return, are not expected to be as important (size of coefficient) to the development agenda as interests. Transnational ties, reflected via migrants' main destination/host country and last visit to Guyana, should be positively related to return. Migrants' motivation for returning should be ambiguous and self-explanatory in their relationship with return migration, as would be migrants' reason for emigrating.

Having regard to the subjective and objective positions on the determinants of migrants' return, the data to be included in the analysis of determinants is examined next, in order to understand the level of caution applied to drawing conclusions about determinants of return migration to Guyana.

5.3 The Data

Recall from section 3.9 of chapter 3 my earlier discussion on the caveats of the working sample for this thesis, mainly documented by Bilsborrow et al. (1984, 1997) and McKenzie and Sasin (2007). To reiterate: firstly, there is a sample selection error, which is due to the lack of representativeness of the non-returning migrants' sample, and for which no correction could be attempted, as there is no population data reference to do so. Secondly, there are differences referred to as selectivity bias, which shows the attributes of one group being due to the exposure that another group did not have. Thirdly, the issue of recall bias arises because return migrants' data was collected retrospectively at the time of the interview, while non-returning migrants were interviewed at the time of exposure. Particularly on this former element, bias is not deemed to be hugely present, though not totally absent, because migration experiences are normally significant to the migrant as important lifetime decisions. Moreover, in small-state cases, repetition of such experiences is common given the status symbol of returnees both in terms of the culture of migration noted in chapter 2, and perceived preferential treatment given to returnees in housing, tax concessions, and other spheres, without any explicit extraction of obligations other than being abroad legally for a minimum specified period. Finally, as was mentioned before, with the limitation of only being able to put ten questions to non-returning migrants, the analysis of determinants here only utilized seven factors; and as such may not reflect a very broad dynamic of how return is

determined, especially as regards structural factors. However, the data collected fits the key purpose of this chapter, that of exploring the determinants through the lens of migration duration. But nevertheless I need to caution that the results of this chapter are not generalizable beyond the sample insights.

The variables for this analysis and their sources are listed in table 5.1. The variables are restricted to those that were collected for both return and non-returning migrants. Despite the data not being to capture structural characteristics, these elements were at work. Structural factors are important in migration analysis. In particular, they are inputs to the achievements of migrants and strengthen their capabilities, including capabilities that benefit the migrant directly. Structural factors can also be incorporated if, for instance, migrants returned to origin and this return was related to some economic, social, political factors. Structural factors have been difficult to capture in my modelling, but descriptively the point has been made. For example, socially and politically, the elections of 1992 and 2011 created hope for a new government, with implications also for return. This can be linked with the increase in arrival statistics of those years, or the decline in the departure statistics. Additionally, return migration, normally quicker from closer destinations in the CARICOM region, occurs because Guyana was not as affected by the global financial crisis. For example, socially and economically the global financial crisis of 2008-2009 deeply affected the Caribbean with the exception of Guyana, Haiti, Suriname and the Dominican Republic (Kouame and Reyes, 2010). Relatively stable growth and a stable home-base was definitely an incentive for some migrants to return to Guyana. Hence, despite returning based on original intention, migrants could have been induced by these structural elements to return as well. However, improvements in personal attributes are related to the quantum and diversity of opportunities available to migrants who emigrated to more developed countries, those opportunities resulting from structural factors.

The personal attributes referred to are classified as individual-level variables – gender, age, and ethnicity; migrants’ main motivation for leaving Guyana; migration duration; and those that proxy transitional ties – main destination/host country, and last visit to Guyana. As noted in the previous chapter, individual-level variables were significant predictors of who was likely to be a return migrant but this is not necessarily expected to be influential to the interest of development.

Table 5.1 Classification of Selected Variables

Class of variables	Variables and Sources
Individual	Gender, age, and ethnicity are collected from all migrant respondents.
Migrants’ motivation (to leave)	Main reason/conditions under which you left Guyana were collected for all migrants
Migration duration abroad	Duration of stay abroad was collected for all migrants.
Transnational Ties	Main destination/host country, region, city, and when last did you return were collected for all migrants.

Sources: Melde, 2012; Carling and Pettersen, 2014; Chappell et al., 2010; Chappell and Sriskandarajah, 2007; Oberai, 1984, p. 165-166.

The variables identified in table 5.1 are further described in proportions and measures of central tendencies disaggregated by returned and non-returning migrants (table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Guyanese Migrants’ Sample Characteristics: Return and Non-Return Migrants

Variables	Return Migrants	Non-Returning Migrants
	N = 451	N = 210
Duration of stay Abroad MEAN (years) <i>Chi-square Pvalue = .000; N = 650</i>	8.14	12.01
Age MEAN (years) <i>Chi-square Pvalue = .000; N = 646</i>	41.08	35.74
Gender (%)		
Male	56.8	30.1
Female	43.2	69.9
<i>Chi-square Pvalue = .000; N = 657</i>		
Ethnicity (%)		
Amerindian	1.8	2.0
Afro-Guyanese	41.5	52.3
Indo-Guyanese	36.5	15.6
Mixed	19.5	28.6
Other	0.7	1.5
<i>Chi-square Pvalue = .000; N = 645</i>		
Host Destination (%)		
CARICOM Region	50.5	23.9
Latin America	13.6	1.5
Canada	6.5	14.6
USA	21.8	51.2

UK	5.5	3.9
Europe	0.2	3.4
Asia	1.7	0
Other	0.2	1.5
<i>Chi-square Pvalue = .000; N = 623</i>		
When last visited (for returnees this reflect the visit prior) MEAN	3.74	4.42
<i>Chi-square Pvalue = .002; N = 622</i>		

On average the data collected on non-returning migrants show younger respondents who are mostly females, while return migrants are mostly males who are on average older. Indo- and Afro-Guyanese are the dominant ethnic groups in the sample for all migrants. The return-migrant main host location was the CARICOM region followed by the USA, while the sample of non-returning migrants displayed the opposite, the latter being mostly in the USA followed by the CARICOM region. Based on their last visit to Guyana, non-returning migrants on average visited over 4.4 years ago as compared to returnees' 3.7 years average prior to returning. Classifying temporary versus permanent migration, returnees who constituted the temporary migrants group stayed abroad on average for 8.1 years before returning, compared to non-returning migrants in the permanent migrant group who are in the diaspora for an average of 12 years. These differences between the return and non-returning migrants in the sample are significant, as revealed by Chi-square tests.

Sample selection errors in the non-returning migrant sample immediately spring to light when, for example, the information on gender is examined (table 5.2). Rarely, if at all, do Guyana's population distributions of gender reflect the disparity shown, and even if it was true there is no way of knowing or verifying. Further, based on both historical census data and anecdotal conjecture about Guyanese migration, it is not unlikely that the ethnicity distribution of the Guyanese population in the diaspora would reflect a proportionally small number of Indo-Guyanese in the diaspora compared to the mixed-race group, unless much of the mixed-race group are Guyanese by citizenship and not birth. These are the types of

potential bias in the sample that can lead to conclusions drawn on determinants that are not generalizable. As such, a statement in the conclusion can say a Guyanese migrant is more or less likely to return (increased or decreased duration of stay abroad) if s/he is of Indo-Guyanese descent, but this would be based purely on the sample findings.

Hence, while sample selection error does not allow conclusions to be generalizable, at a minimum the sample does allow us concretely to have a sense of whether or not ethnicity matters as a determinant and which ethnic denomination is more or less likely to be away for a longer or shorter time respectively. The theoretical and empirical approaches that explain how this is done are presented next.

5.4 Method

5.4.1 Theoretical and Empirical Relationships

The main theoretical lens adopted to explain the pattern of mobility of Guyanese migrants is transnationalism. Transnationalism (often referred to as the transnational lens or transnational ties, even transnational linkages) is defined as the existence and functioning of multiple ties and connections between migrants in the diaspora and their homeland, which can include travel/visits back home, sending of remittances, communication and transfers, among other things (Quayson and Daswani, 2013). The transnational model is useful for this analysis because it goes beyond the success-failure paradigm (Cassarino, 2004). Guyanese mobility has many empirical attributes that have come to shape the migration-development debate locally and for which the evidence of transnationalism is strong. For example, chapter 4 revealed elements of transnational ties based on migrants remitting prior to returning, saving in local bank accounts, and returning mainly for family ties. Additional empirical evidence indicated in chapter 1 highlights high levels of remittances to Guyana, and a high

level of brain drain associated especially with the liberal economy policy reforms of the early 1990s, which facilitated such transnational linkages and possibilities to return.

Additionally, it is important to recognize, as part of the conceptual foundations attributed to Guyanese migration in this thesis, the intersection between transnationalism and host-country integration as not being mutually exclusive. Carling and Pettersen (2014) alluded to this phenomenon, where integration (in the host country) and transnationalism (between host and origin countries) are not viewed as zero-sum, but intersecting; and that integration (at host) and return (to origin) are not mutually exclusive because of transnationalism as an intervening factor in facilitating return. Hence, Guyanese migrants' integration in the diaspora context is not assumed to completely eliminate sentiments or intentions of returning when they assimilate. Even when they do assimilate abroad, intentions to return are sometimes manifested through the sending of remittances (Depoo, 2013). Therefore, in the empirical approach to modeling determinants, the variables identified in table 5.2 do not have a priori relationships that are strictly negative or strictly positive. A good example of this hypothesis ambivalence is identified in the motivation for returning where migrants return voluntarily or involuntarily. Even among voluntary returnees it is not assumed that they are likely to all have positive impacts on development; the literature and its associated analysis tell us that outcomes can be mixed (positive or negative), usually owing to the context-dependent nature of returning.

5.4.2 Empirical Approach

In this analysis, there is a departure from traditions given new techniques and methodologies to facilitate the collection of data relating to the 'time' variable, and which avoid collecting data over long periods and with the expense of such collection procedures, for instance large datasets such as panel/longitudinal surveys. For example, Dustmann (2003)

used the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP) to capture the determinants of return of immigrants from Germany; and Dustmann and Wiess (2007) used the British Labour Force survey to determine immigrants' return from the UK. Instead, I collected cross-sectional data, which is relatively much less expensive, with several incorporated retrospective variables on time (duration of stay abroad, time since return, time since last visit to Guyana etc.). Further, some of the variables collected vary with time, for example age, knowledge, and work/migration experience, amongst others.

The appropriate technique to collect and analyze such data is one usually used in the medical sciences and demographic studies, known as survival analysis. The appropriateness of survival analysis for capturing event history is explained by Mills (2011, p. 1) and Flynn (2011, p. 2789) as 'an umbrella term for a collection of statistical methods that focus on questions related to timing and duration until the occurrence of an event', or the 'follow-up in time of individuals from an initial experience or exposure until a discrete event'.

Survival time, a critical factor of the analysis, is, in this case, how long have respondents been emigrants abroad before they return. The hazard (risk) is the probability that someone in the diaspora will return. The dependent variable is known therefore as the hazard rate. It is a conditional probability of the event of return and the time by which it occurs. The use of a time variable creates an event history, a concept that is highly germane to migration and survival analysis. Consequently, the dependent variable is a composite of two elements: the duration of stay abroad and the event of returning or not. In this way, consideration is given to both permanent and temporary migrants/migration, that is, those who stay and those who return (Bijwaard, 2007), which relates to two fundamental theories of return – the neo-classical approach and the new economics of labour migration (NELM). Modeling time spent abroad until the event of return occurs has been seen as critical to the return decision (de Arce and Mahia, 2012; Carrion-Flores, 2006; Bijwaard, 2007; Dustmann,

2003). And duration of stay abroad, what return migration policy refers to as duration of absence, has been a critical component of policy eligibility in small states of the Caribbean (Bristol, 2010). Further, return migration, when viewed in the context of duration abroad/duration of absence, can be seen as one component of temporary migration, the others being transient, circular, and contract migration (Dustmann and Weiss, 2007), which may reflect other reasons for returning. Given this reality, duration becomes an important aspect of modeling the return migration decision or rather a pillar in its determination. Duration of stay abroad, after which return is triggered, is therefore the event that is modeled.

5.5 Econometric Model Specification

From the survival analysis framework, the study employs the Kaplan-Meier (KM) estimator and Cox Proportional Hazard Model (CPHM) to ascertain the factors that drive return migration. The former is a non-parametric approach; the latter is a semi-parametric approach. KM and CPHM are superior to the traditional Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression and binary choice models because they are capable of overcoming estimation issues such as time-varying covariates and partial information or censoring (see Mills, 2011; Audretsh and Mahmood, 1993; Agarwal, 1997). In this analysis, the KM estimator is used primarily for the migration duration analysis for individual variables, which it facilitates with no a priori assumption about how that variable will affect return or the duration abroad (survival function). The CPHM also does not make any a priori assumptions about predictors of duration and return, but has the added value of analyzing more than one predictor at the same time. The KM and CPHM are explained in their general form in annex 5.1 to this chapter.

The Kaplan-Meier (1958) estimator is a product-limit approach to survival and the hazard function estimation (Green 2003). It is represented concisely as (Machin et al., 2006, 31):

$$S(t) = \prod_t \left(1 - \frac{d_t}{n_t}\right)$$

where $S(t)$ is the overall probability of survival to time t obtained by taking the product of all the survival probabilities $\left(1 - \frac{d_t}{n_t}\right)$ up to and including that of time t . In the equation above the entity which exited are represented by d_t and those at risk denoted by n_t . The estimates from KM estimator in this analysis are reported in both tabular form and graphically using survival curves (Machin et al., 2006).

These curves exhibit features of selected variables over time. Everyone starts as ‘migrants abroad’ and therefore the curves start at 100% given all have ‘survived’; that is, no one returned. The curves then decline progressively over time due to observed return. Difference in time/variations in survival curves based on KM estimates are pronounced on using three test statistics: the Logrank (Mantel-Cox) test, which confirms or not a difference early in time at the top point of the curve; the Gehan (or Breslow or Generalized Wilcoxon) test confirms whether or not there is a difference at the middle of the curve; and the Tarone-Ware test confirms or not if there is a difference in the curves at the end (Machin et al. 2006, 76, 226, 227).

On the other hand, the general form of the CPHM model is specified as follows:

$$\log [\lambda(t; X_i)] = \log [\lambda_0(t)] + \beta_1 \text{IND} + \beta_2 \text{TN} + \beta_3 \text{MM}$$

where: $\log[\lambda_0(t)]$ denotes migration duration and IND (individual characteristics), TN (Transnational ties) and MM (migration motivation) represent the covariates, which cause the

migration duration to either increase or decrease. The dependent variable is time to event, and the event is return migration to Guyana. Further details on the CPHM are presented in annex 5.1. The results of the KM and CPHM are presented next.

5.6 Migration Duration Analysis: Kaplan-Meier (KM) Estimation Results

As the data showed in table 5.1 above, the average survival time for return migrants in the sample is 8.1 years, while the non-returning average time in the diaspora was revealed as 12.0 years. For the combined sample of returnees and non-returnees, table 5.3 below reveals that the mean and median return times are 15.3 years and 8 years respectively, with nominated ranges of upper and lower bounds at 95% confidence level.

Table 5.3 KM Means and Medians for Survival Time

Mean ^a				Median			
Estimate	Std.	95% Confidence Interval		Estimate	Std.	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper
time	Error	Bound	Bound	time	Error	Bound	Bound
15.315	.807	13.734	16.896	8.000	.415	7.186	8.814

a. Estimation is limited to the largest (54 years) survival time if it is censored.

On further inspection of duration of stay abroad, it is found that the distribution is not normal. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show histograms A and B, which captured the sample distribution with and without non-returning migrants respectively, showing that the time is not normally distributed. Given the non-normal distribution, the median (midpoint) duration is used to reference average time. Hence, migrants in the sample spent on average 8 years abroad.

Figure 5.1 Histogram A: Time Distribution

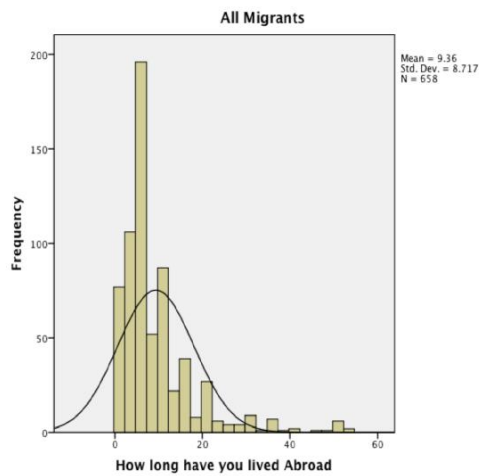
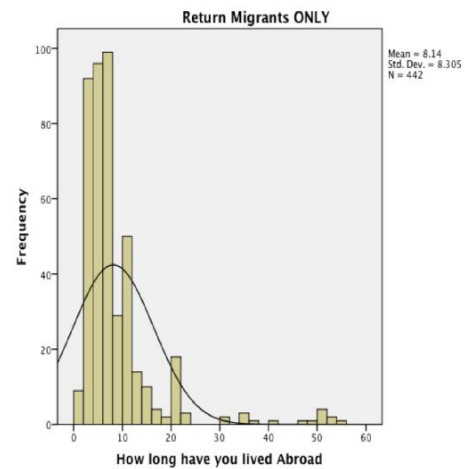


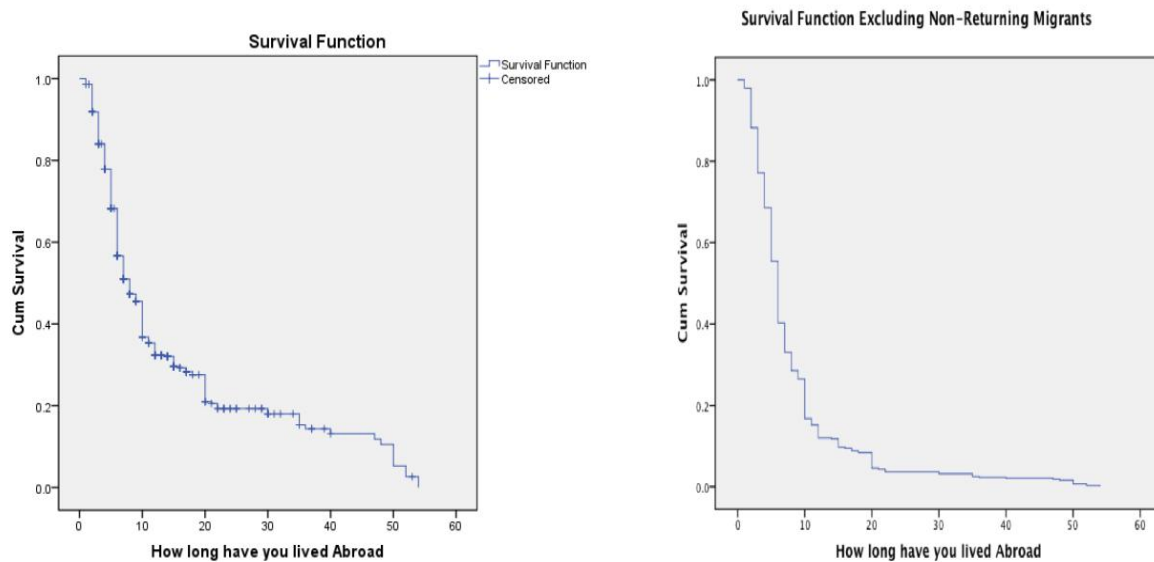
Figure 5.2 Histogram B: Time Distribution



Next the survival functions are presented to show the probabilities of returning or not, over time. Figure 5.3 provides a graphical display of the probability distribution (KM estimate or survival curve), which captures the curve, first for all migrants, and second for return migrants only. As there is a drop in the curve, migrants are returning, the crossing of the curves represents censoring, but censoring does not exist for the survival function where non-returning migrants are excluded, because the data accounts for all those in the subsample. All migrants start out with the probability of 1 at time zero as all are abroad at that time. Hence, the curve starts at 100% and declines at varying rates over time. Based on the survival function with all migrants, after the first year abroad only 1.5% of the migrants returned; with a substantial proportion of the migrants (98.5%) still abroad. However, by the 5th year approximately 42% of the migrants have returned with 58% remaining in the diaspora. In the 8th year, the average time spent abroad, 47.3% of the migrants are still abroad, and 52.7% have returned. This pattern continues and by the 10th year more than 63% of the migrants have returned. At year 15 approximately 30% of the migrants in the sample

are still abroad, and 70% have returned. Return continues until the 54th year²⁵ when the last returning migrant in the sample is back.

Figure 5.3 Survival Functions of All Migrants

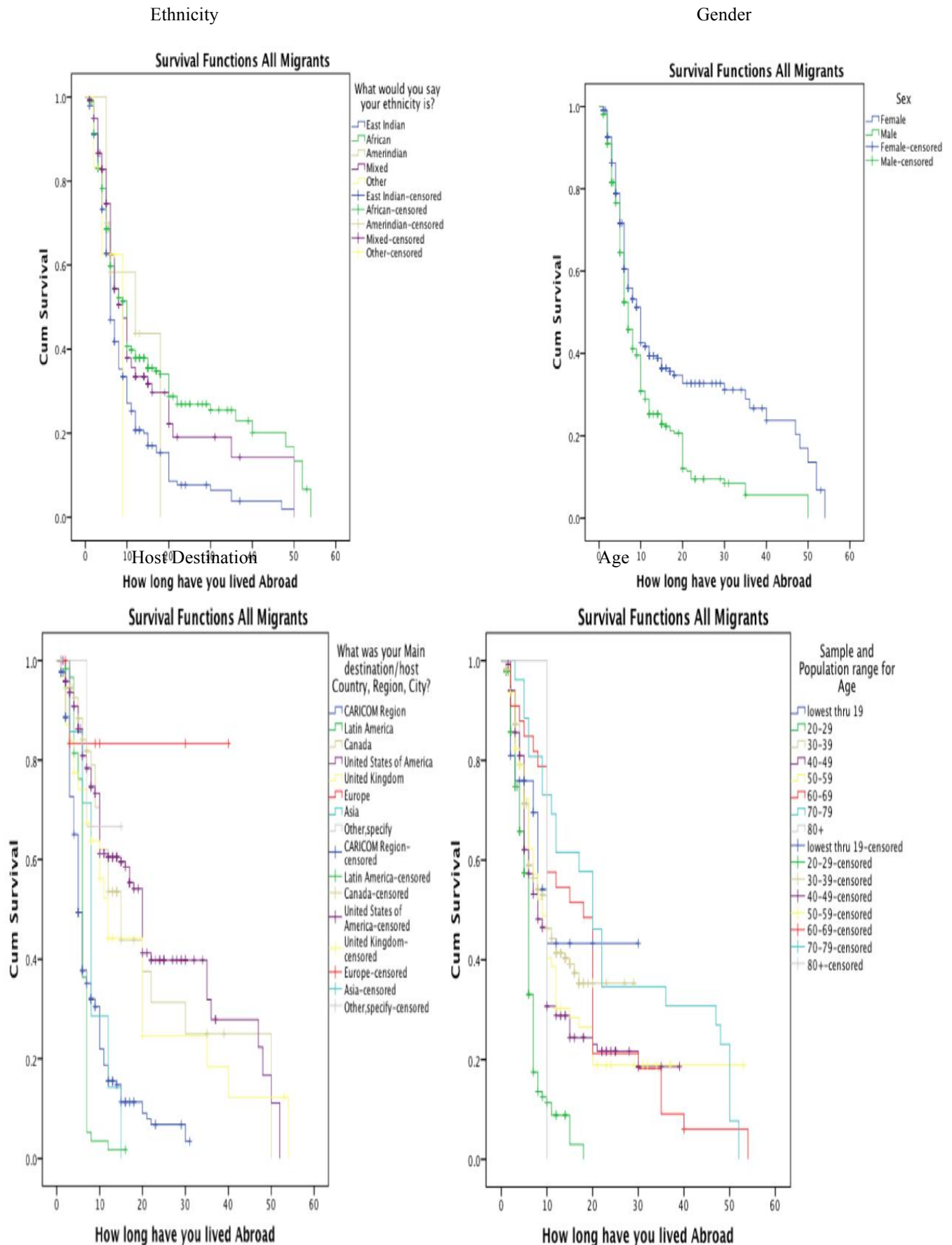


Given this general idea about the pattern of Guyanese migration based on duration of stay abroad for returning migrants, individual characteristics that were found to be important in the previous chapter are examined separately here to tease out any insights in establishing core determinants of return migration that the sample prescribes. Ethnicity, gender, host-country destination, and age are interrogated using graphical KM curves for all migrants as heterogeneity may be contained within these variables noted for some countries. They offer some insights for the two groups based on responses provided on these variables in the sample. Of the total number of respondents on the question of ethnicity (N=645), the mixed-race group (144), East Indians (194), and African Guyanese (249), are the groups among which migrants returned as late as 50 plus years after emigrating (figure 5.4). Amerindians and other ethnic groups exited the sample after averages of 18 and 9 years respectively. KM

²⁵ From the sample, this returning migrant is a 67-year-old female spouse who returned a year prior to the interview from Canada.

curves on gender (N=657) also indicate both males and females surviving beyond 45 years abroad, but females (339) exited after males (318).

Figure 5.4 Survival Functions for Selected Individual Characteristics



On migrants' host destinations (N=623), figure 5.4 shows that migrants return much quicker from the CARICOM region and Latin America than from host destinations such as Canada, the USA, and the UK. Host destinations closer to Guyana hazard a much quicker return, according to the sample. In other words, migrants spend short times in the CARICOM closest to home. This could be related to cost, distance, and low or no initial administrative barriers, unlike countries further afield like USA, Canada, UK etc., which erect visa and other pre-qualification costs.

In fact, disaggregating the data by jurisdiction returned from shows that, of those returning from the CARICOM region, 8.3% or 17 were permanent residents, in comparison to 65.9% or 135 who were temporary residents, and 25.9% or 53 were undocumented. Returning from the region therefore would be a natural occurrence, especially too because the economic situation in the region is likely to be more volatile in these small states, for which the opportunities created by the CSME free movement labour regime might be shorter-lived. This differs vastly from those in the USA where 53.4% or 47 were permanent residents, 38.6% or 34 were temporary residents and 8% or 7 were undocumented. The data on returning Canadians (however, based on small numbers) are similar to those returning from the USA: 54.2% or 13 were permanent residents, 37.5% or 9 temporary residents, and 8.3% or 2 were undocumented. Migrants to these larger and more economically stable countries are afforded the opportunity to recover costs over longer periods. Desired destinations, it would seem, allow migrants more leverage and longevity notwithstanding the cost and other barriers associated with migration. The level of support by family and friends in countries of the North – USA and Canada – offers migrants more help in the form of accommodation (76.8% combined) and finances (47.1% combined), than is the case when migrants are in the CARICOM region, 34.3% and 20.9% respectively.

With regard to age (N=639) at time of interview, return is suggested to be quickest among those within age range 20 to 39. However, when time since returned is subtracted from age at time of interview, the data shows that 39.8% returned by age 30, while just less than 60% returned above the age of 30. Of those returning in the first 5 years, 44.7% were 30 years and below. The 30 years and below age category also returns mostly within the additional 5 years class. Migrants above age 30 were the individuals returning beyond the 10-year mark, and especially those above 50 years old returned beyond the 15 years mark.

Byron and Condon (1996, p. 92) noted that destination linkages with origins in the Caribbean are more an issue of labour demand and political relationship. Moreover, Castellani (2007) noted that Caribbean migrants have usually clustered in the strong countries which are the product of the former colonial power. Historically, Guyanese showed a preference for emigration to Canada and USA (Strachan, 1983), and previously the UK too (Vezzoli, 2014). Intra-regional return is seen as the dominant strand of return cluster in the sample, versus that of return from more desirable locations afar. Closer distance to Guyana is indicative of lower migration and return costs, also easier labour market access due to the regional policy framework that makes it less bureaucratic, complemented by very similar culture (language, music, etc.) that presents less stressful integration issues.

As was noted in chapter 4, the CSME framework is clearly facilitating the notion of an expanded labour market for Guyanese labour migrants as shown by this result, and consequently labour is moving to where there is a demand, and rewards are higher. However, this finding does not in any way suggest that return migrants from CARICOM have been making more or less of a contribution to development than migrants located in Canada and the USA, though De Vreyer et al. (2010) noted the level of development in a given host country could also influence the level of development contribution at origin. In essence, most

migrants are looking to maximize income, and manage risks, using their transnational interconnectedness where possible.

A caveat to note with age, is that this variable is analyzed as age at time of interview and not age at time of return, the average difference between the two being 3.7 years. Given this, the age variable could be overestimating its importance as an indicator of migrants' selectivity.

Explaining age and the multiple categories that showed migrants returning earlier and later are rooted in the reasons for return, the most prevalent being completion of studies abroad and family reunification. The revelation that younger migrants were returning from studies abroad has a historical significance in the pattern of Guyanese migration. Strachan (1983, p. 126) found a few decades ago that the age of the majority of return migrants to Guyana were young adults between the ages of 15 to 44. Further, Conway and Potter (2006) found these younger returnees to be effectual in the case of the Caribbean where younger return migrants were becoming agents of change in their small islands, even in small numbers.

To confirm the differences mentioned above for the samples the Logrank (Mantel-Cox), Gehan (Breslow or Generalized Wilcoxon), and the Tarone-Ware tests are presented to corroborate whether or not the observations are meaningful.

Table 5.4 below shows that the duration of absence was influenced by gender, age, ethnicity, and host-country location. The median absence of duration for males (7 years) was significantly shorter compared to females (10 years). In terms of age, the returnees who were below 30 years old returned faster when compared to older returnees. Hence, the returnees continue to flow, but such a flow is associated with diverse migration reasons. Based on the host-country destination, the quicker return (within 5 years) from the CARICOM region overall is rooted in the nature of the migrants' status there, and the economic stability of

labour market outcomes. This is indicative of return migrants being more prone to return from shorter distances. The Logrank, Gehan, and Tarone-Ware tests confirm these findings, mostly at the 1% level.

Reasons for the initial emigration, for which both return and non-return migrants responded, are also reported. This shows that those who left for job search, furtherance of education, and holiday returned quickest based on the migration outcome. Given similar average return times for those who went abroad on holiday versus those furthering their studies, the small standard error for the latter suggests a more accurate median duration. The revelation that outgoing job searchers returned, hints at the presence of the phenomenon of return of failure, additional to involuntary return, which is also often linked to ‘failure’. The existence of returning students, having graduated, presents a very different and potentially useful capacity for development in the place of origin, but remember that chapter 4 concluded that such capacity also presents a syndrome of mobility that makes re-emigration a reality.

Table 5.4 Migration Duration by Individual Characteristics of All Migrants

Variables	Median duration of absence (years)	Std. Error	Log Rank (Mantel-Cox)	Breslow (Generalized Wilcoxon)	Tarone-Ware
Sex					
Male	7.0	0.681	19.247 (0.00)	8.630 (0,003)	12.217
Female	10.0	0.372			(0,000)
Age**					
Lowest thru 19yrs	10.000	1.599	82.131	74.609	80.612
20-29yrs	6.000	0.177	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
30-39 yrs.	10.000	1.195			
40-49 yrs.	8.000	0.671			
50-59 yrs.	9.000	1.150			
60-69 yrs.	18.000	2.392			
70-79 yrs.	20.000	2.118			
80+	8.00	-			
Ethnicity					
East Indian	6.000	0.354	22.845(0.000)	11.992(0.017)	15.811(0.003)
African	10.000	0.654			
Amerindian	12.000	7.189			
Mixed	9.000	0.762			
Other	9.000	0.000			
Main country of destination					
CARICOM Region	5.000	0.232	159.254(.000)	129.357(.000)	145.581(.000)
Latin America	6.000	0.159			
Canada	15.000	2.495			
United States of America	20.000	1.024			

United Kingdom	12.000	1.576			
Europe*	-	-			
Asia	8.000	0.797			
Other, specify*	-	-			
Reason for Emigration					
Further education	6.000	0.165	77.679(0.000)	67.387(0.000)	74.480(0.000)
Income/financial gains	8.000	0.809			
Family reunification	10.000	0.287			
Political instability	12.000	1.962			
Life style	52.000	0.000			
Job Search	5.000	0.442			
Holiday	6.000	1.241			

*Note: Only 1 observation for 'Europe' and 'other' was reported, which does not allow for the calculation of the median.

** Age at time of interview

While all the selected variables so far have shown their relevance to migrants' behaviour on individual characteristics for the issue of return migration, the Cox regression results are presented next with all the covariates in a more dynamic way to identify determinants of return to Guyana and which significant factor(s) increase(s) or decrease(s) duration of stay abroad as indications of likelihood of a quicker or slower return.

5.7 Determinants of Return Migration: Cox Regression Results

For the interpretation of the Cox regression results, variables with positive coefficients (values of B) are associated with increased risk of return, which means a decrease in duration of stay abroad; that is, as the predictor increases the likelihood of the event of return increases, and the predicted survival duration abroad decreases. For variables with negative coefficients, this means a decreased likelihood of return and an increase in duration of stay abroad. $\text{Exp}(B)$ is the magnitude of the return probability. For the results in table 5.5 below, only the significant variables are interpreted; the asterisks indicate these at the three conventional probability levels.

Based on the significant predictors, every class of variables included had some factor as a meaningful determinant of return migration. For the individual class of variables, age, gender, and ethnicity (East Indian group) are significant determinants of return migration; emigration motivation (job search), and host locations (Canada and USA) are also significant predictors of return migration in the sample.

Gender is positively related to migration duration and as such is associated with an increase in likelihood of returning to Guyana. This increased likelihood to return to Guyana is mostly a male phenomenon, as revealed in chapter 4. However, despite the return migrant sample being randomly chosen, the proportion of male to female emigration is not known. Hence, this observation of a male-dominated return is questionable.

Age is negatively related to migration duration and as such reduces the likelihood of return migration as migrants get older, increasing the likelihood of stay abroad. In chapter 4, the age coefficient was positive, despite being significant. The presence of age as a determinant is significant in all cases, but this is age at which the return migrants and non-returning migrants were interviewed. The mixed relationships in terms of sign could be noise from the fact that this variable is not reflective of time of return. However, when the return migrant sample is adjusted and disaggregated into age ranges, some insights are offered on the KM curves. Young migrants aged 20-39 were returning the earliest, and amongst older migrants 60+ too. This could also be attributed to why the signs of the relationship between age and return seem mixed as well.

Based on the reason for leaving Guyana – emigration – those who left in search of jobs abroad are more likely to return, decreasing the duration of stay abroad. This result is indicative of Cerase's (1974) return of failure, but also can reflect end of contract, job offer or family reunification at origin.

The Cox regression result also shows that the coefficient for the Indo-Guyanese ethnic group was positive and significant, indicating that the return likelihood increases if the migrant is of East Indian descent.

With regard to destination location, returning from Canada and the USA was less likely, based on the negative coefficient. Hence, the result of the descriptive that showed host destinations closer to Guyana – the CARICOM region – as where most of the return migrants in the sample came from. Consequently, there is no surprise that emigration to longer distances such as Canada and the USA is associated with increasing duration of stay abroad. Historically too, these have been the main destinations for Guyanese migrants, and host the largest number of Guyanese in the diaspora. This would mean well-established Guyanese enclaves such as Queens in New York City being a case in point. The existence of such migrant communities allows for different kinds of support and help also with assimilation, whilst the more economically stable countries accelerate cost recovery, leverage and longevity associated with income maximization, and spreading benefits that allow for subsequent family migration. Hence, it can be reasoned why moves from these distant and more prosperous host locations might not be prone to a quicker return, if attempted. In fact, Strachan (1980, 1983) observed higher costs, and bureaucracy, as reasons for (not) returning to Guyana.

Table 5.5: Cox Regression Results

Dependent variable equals one if respondent is a return migrant relative to zero if a non-returning migrant.	Results reported with covariates for return migrants and non-returning migrants		
Variables in Equation	B	Exp(B)	Sig.
Gender (male=1)	.328	1.388	.001*
Age	-.014	8.484	.004*
Length of time since last visit	-.014	2.044	.153
† Emigration reasons:			
Further studies	.152	1.164	.457
Income/financial gain	.092	1.097	.627

Family reunification	.191	1.210	.333
Political instability	-.363	.696	.337
Life style conveniences	-.450	.638	.236
Job search	.374	2.939	.086***
‡ Ethnicity:			
East Indian	.802	2.229	.081***
African	.457	1.580	.318
Amerindian	.326	1.385	.594
Mixed	.467	1.596	.317
‡ Host location:			
CARICOM Region	.265	1.304	.191
Latin America	.276	1.318	.259
Canada	-.792	.453	.004*
USA	-.826	.438	.000*
UK	-.405	.667	.186
<i>Model Summary</i>	<i>N</i> = 608 <i>Log Likelihood</i> = 4624.347 <i>Chi-square Pvalue</i> = .000		

*Significant at the 1% level

**Significant at the 5% level

*** Significant at the 10% level

Reference groups are as follows: 'other' for ethnicity; 'any other' (a composite of holiday and other reasons) for emigration reasons; 'other region' (a composite of Asia, Europe, and other) for host location.

Preliminarily too, the gendered dimension of return is confirmed, and is consistent with what Momsen (1992) observed in the wider Caribbean with regard to return migration: skewedness towards males. Younger return migrants have also been a feature of return migration to Caribbean small states (Reynolds, 2008, 2010; Potter, 2005; Phillips and Potter, 2009; Lee-Cunin, 2005), but also some migrants returned once they have retired from their jobs abroad.

Box 5.2: What determines return to Guyana

Based on the data that is available in the sample for this thesis, determinants of return to Guyana are a function of age, gender, transnational ties and the reason for which the migrant returned. This is subject to the duration of time spent abroad, which is itself affected by the context of the migrant's situation – reason for leaving and return.

Whilst transnational ties are important for determining return, we can see that it is complementary to other motives that beset the migration issues for a household; for example, migrating to optimize income and managing risks associated with households' varying situations. Clearly, it is not sufficient to ground migration and return analysis in any one specific conceptual framework. What seems to be evolving here is a number of concepts reinforcing each other. Consequently, despite households' transnational ties, that does not reduce in any way their ambitions of optimizing income or managing risks as can be reflected in the neo-classical and the new economics of labour migration (NELM) theoretical frames

The difference is that one group is at the end of their migration cycle, while the other, especially if educated and skilled, has the option of re-emigration. It makes sense too, since returning from completing studies is the second most important reason for returning, and the younger migrants represent mostly that motivation. Notwithstanding, overall, the Cox regression was significant based on the model summary report.

5.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, my objective was to identify the determinants of return migration to Guyana and to do so in a way that the predictors tell us about the probability of increasing or decreasing migrants' duration of stay abroad. This was examined with seven factors

reflecting individual-level data on returning and non-returning migrants. The key determinants analysed were gender, age, ethnicity, host destination, and different aspects of the original emigration decision.

Personal attributes were confirmed as important determinants, beyond simple interest in the development agenda. Migrants, though not a random group, are pursuing their own agenda of progress in livelihoods and coping with other challenges, and in the process, it is thought that national development is catered to. This does not reduce the importance of structural factors, as enhanced capabilities are influenced by socio-economic systems and structures. Abilities and capacities acquired abroad are combined through state policy to make migrants' capabilities enhanced, and by extension meaningful to national development. In fact, it is the difference in state policy that shapes views on migration, even and especially where a migrant's target is for optimizing income and managing risks in pursuit of socio-economic development. Further, limitations on the number of factors used to explain determinants omit certain variables that give insights into structural factors. As a result, this discussion is silent on such factors. The results on how the migrant capabilities have been developed and acquired, owing to structural factors, as shown in their enhanced personal attributes, are not forthcoming in the determinants analysis. However, the enhancement of personal attributes incorporates aspects of those very structural factors; particularly, how the economic stability of desired destinations is maintained and the way in which the lower growth volatility of these nations allows migrants to spread costs over a longer time of migration abroad. Variables on emigration costs and benefits would have captured these structural aspects, but are necessarily omitted. Consequently, determinants are not reflective of such structural factors, and estimates are expected to reflect differently with their inclusion. The results should therefore be taken cautiously in the absence of these factors.

Further, returning is occurring in spite of structural rigidities, which sometimes act to prevent return. Essentially, the innate desire for returning, which sometimes finds its outlet through sending remittances, speaks to the altruistic and cultural connection of migrants to their homeland irrespective of personal and structural factors.

Based on the KM estimates, it should be recognized that migration duration varies according to diverse factors, but for Guyanese return migrants is an average of eight years. This of course differs from the four-year policy requirement that qualifies a voluntary returnee for government concessions as an incentive. The notion of optimal migration duration is subjective, but also ultimately elusive since determinants are highly context-dependent. The CPHM confirmed the aforementioned not only as determinants but also indicated those associated with a higher or lower likelihood of return.

Transnational ties, one of the key conceptual props of this thesis, manifest some relevance in migration and return, and intervene both at host and origin locations. Immigrating to destinations with large Guyanese communities, and to host locations relatively further away, results in a reduced probability of returning. Factors affecting this are seen as costs; bureaucratic impediments combined with reasons for leaving.

Ultimately, the determinants of return are reaffirmed as mainly personal attributes, but also relevant are where a migrant is hosted, and their original reason for leaving, in turn contingent on time. The importance of personal characteristics as critical to the return decision speaks to the notion of channels for transferring human capital capacity as relevant for the potential of actual return having an impact on development.

Annex 5.1 Explaining the KM and CPHM in Detail

It is important to note that the KM survival curves are extremely effective in terms of capturing the empirical distribution of individual and covariates at a given point in time. When the curves are generated for different sub-groups and compared, the heterogeneity of the observations is easily discerned. However, visually drawn conclusions from the graphical depiction of the curves can be misleading. Therefore, test statistics are generally employed to compare curves at various time points. These are: the Logrank (Mantel-Cox) test, which confirms or not a difference early in time at the top point of the curve; the Gehan (or Breslow or Generalized Wilcoxon) test confirms whether or not there is a difference in the middle segment of the curve; and the Tarone-Ware test that confirms or not if there is a difference in the curves at the end. These tests are calculated as follows (Machin et al., 2006, p. 76, and 226-227).

Most researchers employ the three test statistics simultaneously since each places emphasis on different segments of the survival curve. The Gehan (Breslow or Generalized Wilcoxon) tests emphasize events occurring during the early segment of the survival curve while the Logrank test places heavy emphasis on events occurring at the later part of the curves. The computed values from the test statistics are compared with the chi-square distribution with $g - 1$ degrees of freedom to test the null hypothesis of no significant difference between the survival curves generated for different groups. Where the computed values for the test statistics exceed the table value, the null hypothesis is rejected. This is useful for pronouncing on the significance of differences in the migration duration by the various predictors in relation to returning or not, and how late or early that happens.

The Cox Proportional Hazard Model with more than two explanatory variables is explained below (Esteve-Perez and Manez-Castillejo, 2008, p. 238):

$$\lambda(t; X_i) = \lambda(t) * \exp(X_i \beta)$$

where: $\lambda(\cdot; \cdot)$ is a multiplicative model with a baseline hazard rate $\lambda(\cdot)$ that is multiplied by a vector of predictors associated with covariates that either enhance or erode the average survival duration. According to Esteve-Perez and Manez-Castillejo (2008), the above equation may be transformed by taking the log on both sides as shown below:

$$\log[\lambda(t; X_i)] = \log[\lambda(t)] + x' \beta x_n$$

where the predictors (β) are assumed to be additive to the baseline function $\log[\lambda(\cdot)]$, which in turn are assumed to be the same for every observation and constant over time. Unlike other probabilistic models, the CPHM provides two coefficients for each variable. The first coefficient (β_j) captures the extent to which the average survival time would increase/decrease with every unit increase in the explanatory variable X_j . The second coefficient (e^{β_i}) captures the likelihood that average survival time would increase/diminish with changes in the covariate X_i .

Further, in the CPHM the z-statistic, the Wald test and confidence interval are used to determine the significance of the estimated coefficients by testing the null hypothesis that $\beta_j = 0$ and $e^{\beta_i} = 1$ (Machin et al. 2006). The z-statistic follows the standard normal distribution while the Wald test follows the χ^2 distribution with $g - 1$ degrees of freedom, and is computed as follows (Machin et al., 2006, p. 127):

$$\begin{aligned} \text{z-statistics} &= \frac{\beta_j}{SE(\beta_j)} \\ \text{Wald test} &= z^2 = [\beta_j / SE(\beta_j)]^2 \end{aligned}$$

The computed values are compared with the appropriate table values in the normal distribution and χ^2 distribution. Where the former exceeds the latter, the null hypothesis is rejected²⁶.

²⁶ $\beta_j \pm Z_{1-\alpha/2} SE(\beta_j)$ and $\exp[\beta_j \pm Z_{1-\alpha/2} SE(\beta_j)]$ respectively.

The overall significance of the model may be evaluated with the Wald test and Likelihood Ratio (LR) test. Both tests provide similar results. However, the Likelihood test is suitable for large samples while the Wald test is more effective when the sample is small. The LR test is superior to the Wald test when categorical variables in the CPHM have more than two levels. Since most of the covariates are represented by categorical variables with more than two levels, the LR test is used to evaluate the overall significance of the models. The LR test is defined as follows (Machin et al., 2006, p. 150):

$$LR = -2 \log(l_0/l_a) = -2(L_0 - L_a)$$

where L_0 represents the log likelihood of the model without any covariates (the null model) and L_a denotes the estimated model with covariates. The null hypothesis is that the models are not significantly different (Tari, 2011). The LR test above follows the distribution with degrees of freedom (df) equal to the number of variables (ν) (Tari, 2011). When the computed value is greater than the table value at the appropriate level of significance, the null hypothesis is rejected and the model with covariates deemed different from the null model.

CHAPTER 6: POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT CONSEQUENCES OF RETURN MIGRATION

6.1 Introduction

The evidence so far on differences between international migrants and non-migrants in chapter 4 has given insights into the personal transfers and benefits derived from the experience of international migration, including the potential usefulness of migrants and migration for the development of the country of origin. Harttgen and Klasen (2009) showed that internal migrants achieved relatively higher human development than non-migrants, thereby arguing the case that migrants seem to lead, on average, more productive lives as a result of migration and the opportunities it offers. Regarding international migrants, Gamlen (2006) noted that migration lowers wages and raises production in destination countries, and raises wages and stimulates technology advancement in origin countries over time. This reflects the long-term benefit from the optimistic view of the migration-development nexus for both host and origin countries, and for migrants themselves – the ‘triple-win’ scenario.

Guidance from the literature and the sample used in this thesis has furnished some preliminary insights so far on the migration cycle up to the point of return. Returnees prior to returning remitted and acquired assets locally, including holding local bank accounts. Education has been critical so that after emigration, and on return, returnees often achieve an earnings premium. However, these benefits are mainly at the individual level both in terms of being a returnee and their concomitant transfers. In fact, core determinants are mainly individual attributes, and the reason influencing return, conditioned by duration of stay abroad.

The macro development potential of migration exists but is partially untapped. For example, evidence on the level of remittances, and the fact that many migrants hold local

accounts, has not found its way into a diaspora bond framework or any other government initiative. This is symptomatic of the absence of the positioning of policy vis-à-vis national development needs, and political agendas that include calls to the diaspora to return and develop. The jury is still out on the development impact of return to Guyana. But so far in this analysis, migrants' capabilities have materialized into achievements for individual level development in the small economy context where many challenges to growth and development are structurally present, due to smallness of scale.

Exploring research that addresses the impact of return migration on development, there is an agglomeration of areas of impact and potential channels through which these are felt. The literature acknowledges the mixed outcomes of these impacts: their multidimensionality, cross-sectorial nature, macro and micro composition, positive and negative facets (Conway and Potter, 2007; Conway et al., 2005; Gmelch, 1980; Lockwood, 1990; Ratha et al., 2011; Wiesbrock, 2008; De Vreyer et al., 2010; Chauvet and Mercier, 2014; Klagge and Klein-Hitpaß 2010; King, 1986; Ammassari and Black 2001; De Haas, 2012).

In this chapter, the impact of return migration in the Guyanese case is assessed, taking into consideration the challenge that endogeneity due to selectivity bias may over-exaggerate development outcomes, while the potential heterogeneity of returnees is accounted for. The idea is to confirm a core set of indicators of the return-development nexus in Guyana. The main sources of endogeneity, as mentioned in chapter 3, come from selectivity bias, reverse causality, and omitted variables. Statements about which variables are important and their direct and indirect impact are justified using factor analysis. Further, in this endeavour the multidimensionality of migration and development is also addressed where possible, exploring which areas specifically are affected in the nexus with regard to Guyana using the same procedure. This is investigated by comparing return migrants to non-migrants.

The mapping of the nexus by Chappell and Srisakandaram (2007), plus the indication variables identified by Melde (2012) and others, and the scope of the capabilities approach all offer useful entry points, which I adapted to create some kind of impact analysis in this genre of the migration-development nexus debate.

The chapter continues by first providing the conceptual framework and construct used. It then delves into the interconnectedness of migration, capabilities and development. The techniques for analysis are proposed and a discussion is pursued in relation to applied tools (factor analysis). The results are then reported, after which conclusions are drawn.

6.2 Concept and Construct

In this section I outline the theory and tools used in the measurement of return's impact on development. The capabilities approach is used as the conceptual foundation for this chapter and its associated research question. This chapter also continues the 'academic and policy dialogue on measurement, diversity, the value of a list of central human capabilities, or selection bias in identifying capabilities, and freedom' (Feldman, 2005, p. 1). However, it should be noted that, whilst the capabilities approach is salient to human development, it is not considered a 'full-blown' normative theory (Robeyn, 2012), but a very useful normative framework. Notwithstanding, today the quest for human prosperity conceptualizes development as expanding human capabilities and selects at the micro policy level beneficiaries as necessary (Clark, 2006). Consequentially, the capabilities approach is used for underscoring the conceptual discussion on migrants' return and development.

The usefulness of the capabilities approach is manifold. But most importantly, in this framework mobility is intrinsic to human development, and there is a reciprocal relationship between migration and development, providing us conceptually with a framework for

reconciliation (Bonfanti, 2014; Gasper and Truong, 2010; Dang, 2014; Nussbaum, 2003a, 2011b; Robeyns, 2005).

Simply explained by Briones (2009, p. 139) ‘originally theorized by Amartya Sen, the capability approach is a broad and multidimensional framework for evaluating individual well-being and the intrinsic experience of development and justice this entails’. Additionally, Nussbaum (2003, p. 34) observed that, ‘Capabilities provide us with an attractive way of understanding the normative content of the idea of development’. The approach preaches development as the process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy (Sen, 1999).

Central to the concept of the capability approach is ‘a person’s functioning’, which comprises ‘his/her beings and doings, for example, being well-fed or literate, and his/her capabilities, the genuine opportunities or freedoms to realize this functioning’ (Robeyns, 2006, p. 351). Functioning is observed through indicator variables, whereas capabilities are latent. What someone has been able to achieve (functioning) is a result of his or her capabilities. More recently, Preibisch et al. (2016) recommended the capabilities approach for greater use in the area of migration. The authors proposed the capabilities approach as they endorsed Sen’s (1999) and others’ concept that expanding human capabilities is central to human development. In fact, Preibisch et al. (2016) noted that development in this framework is treated as dynamic and diverse, encompassing both obligations of the state and the abilities of individuals.

Therefore, the migration-development nexus explained through capabilities, ‘looks at impacts on individuals’ real freedoms to attain what they have reason to value...The range of relevant values partly mirrors the range of reasons for migration besides economic gain or physical security. Such reasons include religious and political motivations, and searches for sexual or cultural freedom or adventure’ (Gasper and Truong, 2010, p. 341). Consequently, the opportunity to move – a capability also manifested in the functioning of migration – while

creating some negative impacts like the brain drain, is also itself an opportunity for gains (Bonfanti, 2014), including on return.

To clarify further the attractiveness of the capabilities approach as a framework for assessing and measuring the human development impact of return migration, I repeat here the salient features of the approach I earlier outlined in chapter 2, section 2.3. Dang (2014, p. 462) highlighted three key features of the capability approach: ‘(1) it acknowledges the importance of human diversity and accounts for interpersonal variation in the conversion of characteristics of commodities into functioning and capabilities; (2) its multidimensional perspective on human well-being; and (3) the evaluative space which is focused on substantive freedoms and not utility nor that of primary goods’.

Using this framework, the multidimensionality of migration and development can be appreciated, largely through a dualistic focus on what people are able to do (well-being) and to be (agency) as a result of migration. As Briones (2009) noted, the key is seeing people as agents of production, as opposed to merely factors thereof. This is where the precedence of capability over functionality becomes a reality through human agency and wellbeing; capability is therefore a pre-requisite to what a human can actually do and be.

Another leading feature of the approach is the concept of expansion of choices or freedoms that gives the flexibility to define human development in a context-dependent manner; or as is often used in the literature, dimensions of human development. In this way, the capability approach is flexible and plural, and this is what facilitates its various applications (Dang 2014, p. 461).

Finally, the approach can be operationalized. However, for this to happen Robeyns (2006), Dang (2014) and Leßmann (2012) indicated three specifications from the literature on the capabilities approach that must be treated: (1) choice between functioning and capabilities; (2) selection of relevant capabilities; and (3) weighting of different capabilities.

Based on the mapping of the migration-development nexus presented by Chappell and Sriskandarajah (2007), capabilities constitute the migrants' achievements, because they are revealed via observable variables. In the empirical formulation that is presented, capabilities exist as a latent construct, while observed variables will reflect the achieved functioning. Weights are attached in the variation of correlation of variables to components, produced by factor analysis. Mobility as a capability, as an explicit feature, can be demonstrated through choice, and can form part of the core freedom humans enjoy (Nussbaum, 2003). Such choice is reflected in the migrant/non-migrant comparison.

The philosopher Nussbaum (2003, p. 41) suggested a list of central human capabilities and noted as part of bodily integrity the need for 'being able to move freely from place to place...'. Mobility as a choice, therefore, can reflect a fundamental capability and an important dimension of human wellbeing. In small states, especially those of the Caribbean and the Pacific, mobility was essential historically, and currently as part of their development, now enshrined in their way of life and normalized as a 'culture of migration' (Mishra, 2006; Patterson, 2000; Thomas-Hope, 1992; Khonje, 2015 p. 333; Connell, 2007, 2008, 2009).

To be consistent, the econometric technique (factor analysis, Ordinary Least Square approach) explores what the relevant capabilities are in this analysis and is prioritized further with regression analysis to test specified relationships. In this case, information on functionings/achievements is used to derive conclusions about migrant capabilities (Robeyns, 2006). Latent variable techniques allow for the capabilities approach to facilitate the measurement of unobserved behavior through a set of observed indicator variables (Krishnakumar, 2007).

Additionally, as was the case in this research, the selection of capabilities can be treated with the collection of micro-data on the achievement of individuals in each dimension (Leßmann, 2012). In fact, Leßmann, (2012, p. 99) indicated that 'to comply with the special

feature of freedom of choice in the capabilities approach, one can either use specific methods when analyzing secondary data or specific items can be developed and used for collecting primary data’.

Since capabilities are latent, they cannot be measured directly (Krishnakumar, 2007). For this reason, the analysis in this chapter enquires into the options of tools to effect a latent variable approach in quantitative analysis to be consistent with the adoption of the capabilities approach. In this regard, Robeyn (2006, p. 358) noted that, empirically, ‘the main measurement techniques that have been explored so far for the application of the capabilities approach are descriptive statistics of single indicators, scaling, fuzzy sets theory, factor analysis, principle component analysis, and structural equation modeling’.

Some of these techniques were already being used in the analysis of migration and return, for example the use of regression analysis (Carling and Pettersen, 2014; Barrett and Mosca, 2012; Bouoiyour and Miftah, 2014; Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2007); and factor analysis (Bang and Mitra, 2010; Voth et al., 1996; Viji, 2013). Krishnakumar and Nagar (2008 p. 483) further indicated the use of multiple indicators multiple clusters (MIMIC), structural equation models (SEM), and factor analysis as the most appropriate for capturing latent variable models for addressing multidimensional concepts adequately.

In this thesis, factor analysis (see annex 6.1) was employed because it is a data reduction technique that is not as stringent as other parametric applications, and useful in taking observable data to identify underlying latent constructs. It was also used to extract the relevant variables that explored the return-development nexus promptly, so that the analysis can immediately follow; and as noted before it addresses the issue of multidimensionality. The dataset utilized for this chapter contained household and individual data; data on social, economic, and demographic factors, all of which had to be synthesized to be meaningful to

commence the impact analysis. The variety of variables included speaks to part of the multidimensionality of return migration and development proposed for Guyana.

Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and not confirmatory factor analysis was adopted as it explores rather than confirms factors (Kim and Mueller, 1978) – factors which in this case study can be indicative features of Guyanese return migrants with the likely potential to influence development. The main limitations of EFA are related to the naming of components²⁷, sometimes considered subjective, and the loading of one variable to more than one factor (Yong and Pearce, 2013).

Once EFA produced the observable indication variables clustered under components, the discussion on those components is where the impact conversation begins, since those represent variables indicative of latent capabilities that were potentially enhanced. These achievements are taken at the time of interview, sometime after immediate return, and so there has to be caution exercised in the interpretation of the indication variables susceptible to change since then. For example, gender and ethnicity are not likely to change during the time from immediate return to the time at which the information used in this analysis was taken, whereas age, education, and views on re-emigration, *inter alia*, which can influence achievements, are likely to change.

To assess the link between the components and how they are meaningful to return's impact on development in the case of Guyana, the suggestions given by the indication variables that loaded, which reflect return migrants' capabilities through achievements, are discussed with guidance from the literature. In particular, this discussion incorporates references to where similar situations have been shown to be useful for return's impact on development. It is through the lens of analogous achievements of return migrants captured in

²⁷ The use of factors or components depends on the technique used in EFA.

this investigation and those highlighted in the literature that the latent areas of impact are revealed.

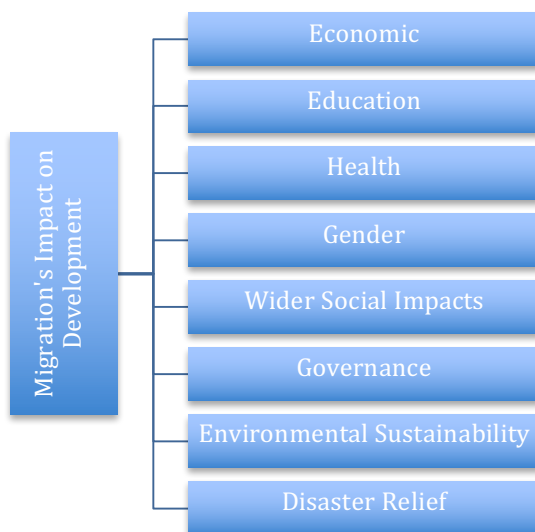
However, the idiosyncratic features of the Guyana case follow from determinants of return migration to Guyana. Despite the importance of the commonality of interest in influencing development at origin, the determinants of return show that some personal characteristics are important – gender, age, etc. – in the case of Guyana. These aspects demonstrate the human diversity that the capabilities approach speaks of with duration of absence, which are important for converting commodities into functionings and capabilities. Such personal aspects, too, say something about the individual abilities that Preibisch et al. (2016) mentioned, which interacts with the opportunities and rights accorded by the obligations of the state and makes development dynamic and diverse. It seems that determinants show ‘beings’ and ‘doings’ are more an issue of reason for leaving and where the migrant was hosted, the result of combined individual abilities and liberal versus command type state structures. Consequently, in this impact analysis and measurement process, factor analysis is expected to extract more of what return migrant beings and doings are, to draw on what the capabilities construct is.

On the issue of actual impact as well, a robustness check is conducted using the OLS and ordered probit models to test relationships established. The specification of such models is influenced by theory, human development theory to be exact. First, I argue that factor analysis generates indications of development from return, after which I graduate from indications to indicators of development resulting from return, for which theory is also used to help concretize specific interpretations.

6.3 Migration, Capabilities, and Development: Interconnectedness

For the return migration-development nexus, I grounded this third research question on a mapping proposed by Chappell and Sriskandarajah (2007), who collated the development impacts migration can have on a developing country that primarily sends migrants. The authors' work was guided by the capabilities and the sustainable livelihood approaches. Their results are eight dimensions set out in figure 6.1, and namely: economic, educational, health, gender, wider social impacts, governance, environmental sustainability and disaster relief.

Figure 6.1 Mapping of Migration and Development



Source: Chappell and Sriskandarajah (2007)

These domains linked to migration and development are manifest in Guyana in various ways; some examples follow. In the context of Guyana, the 2005 floods and the role that the diaspora and returning migrants played in the relief efforts immediately comes to mind in the context of migration and disaster relief, at least for households sending,

receiving, or having a migrant relative or friend abroad. Trotz (2008) reported that the Guyanese diaspora mobilized resources, in response to the 2005 flood that affected 85% of the population, for aiding the citizenry and the state. Mobilization took the form of a virtual presence to share information and engaged communities through online discussions, fundraising for relief, and even visits to Guyana to update families and friends in the diaspora of residents and the situation at home that needed their support. The Caribbean Development Bank (2005), noted that inflows of remittances during this period represented the single largest source of foreign exchange in 2005. This of course is complementary to the fact that remittances continue to be larger than official development assistances and foreign direct investment combined (Peters and Kamau, 2015).

Additionally, the environment-migration nexus in the Guyana context is in part rooted in its promotion of nature-base tourism (bird watching, sport fishing etc.) that is especially linked to the reduction in the loss of biodiversity – a form of environmental protection. This is especially attractive to Guyanese in the diaspora, who prior to leaving could not afford to explore the country and its natural wonders in the way the proceeds of migration now allow. They can also demonstrate through investment, stewardship behavior and advocacy the complementarity required to advance this industry, and advertise in their host destinations. Further, the new growth and development drive to value natural capital, and green growth development, which Guyana is pursuing through a Green State Development Strategy²⁸, promotes the environment in a way that attracts migrants with the necessary knowhow and their investment through proposed potential green bonds, and encourages return to benefit from factors not previously seen to have value – air quality, flora and fauna etc. Costa Rica is a prime example of how Guyana intends to link the environment based on the preservation

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<http://www.greengrowthknowledge.org/sites/default/files/Framework%20for%20Guyana%20Green%20State%20Development%20Strategy%2028-03-17.pdf>

and valuation of natural capital to benefit from migrants' returning even if only for the purpose of tourism.

Another critical component, like other Caribbean small states, is the connection between education (and training) and migration. Human capacity has been a lamented issue and challenges cross-cutting sectors and general development in Guyana, as reflected in the country's MDG reports of 2007 and 2011. Migration and return help this effort, especially to fill knowledge gaps as Strachan observed in 1983 for the public sector. Return migrants, especially being selected on education (in comparison to non-migrants), are beneficial to Guyana as Mishra (2006) already noted that remittances do not fully compensate for this void in the small states of the Caribbean.

It should also be noted that health improvements are a direct spillover effect of fostering the linkage between education and migration. Bilateral cooperation, with countries such as Cuba, China, India and other 'non-traditional' development partners offering training to Guyanese in the medical field, and where Guyanese emigrate to for the purpose of furthering their studies and then return to service the nation, is a case in point. This represents an important and continued link between health and migration for Guyana. Of course, it is also true that brain drain is a selection of skilled Guyanese emigrating, especially from the health and education sectors.

Skills also reflect economic links to migration, as labour market requirements may be skewed in this direction, a noticeable feature of Guyanese emigration. The CSME free movement regime in the CARICOM region is an ongoing example of this economic connection to migration. Remittances, which augments consumption, according to Peters and Kamau (2015), smooths consumption, and also has a multiplier effect nationally for Guyana. The contribution to the reduction in rural household poverty (Thomas-Hope, 2011), especially for women (Roberts, 2006), are also examples of how migration and economics

are linked locally. In fact, migrants' acquisition and maintenance of assets prior to returning is a further relationship between migration and economics in Guyana.

In the context of governance, state capacity and its functioning is very much linked to migration and return, being one of the sectors that both suffers and benefits the most in small jurisdictions. A good example of this is when, immediately after independence in 1966, the Government of Guyana ventured on a return migration policy to recruit previously emigrated skilled Guyanese. As noted by Strachan (1980), this initiative was successful in filling human capacity gaps, but only or mainly in the public sector. The pandering to various political constituencies at time of elections is another case in point where migration and governance is linked. The outcome is not always the delivery of expectations of those in the diaspora, but a voice in development planning, demand for better governance, calls for crime reduction and actions that sometimes find their way in public policy.

On the wider social aspects, the changes and improvements in women's participation and roles, human rights issues affecting minority groups, and the advocacy that comes with such are also related to migration and the resource support of migrants that continue such initiatives at origin through non-governmental organizations. This is especially the case for migrants returning from 'liberal' countries in North America, which engenders, in some cases by law, diversity. These positively affect the cultural norms and traditions back 'home' that otherwise would perpetuate regressive attitudinal and behavioural tendencies, whether in family structures or the wider society. Directly and indirectly, these are concomitant with the promotion and advocacy for gender equality, reflecting migrants' development abroad.

The link between migration and development, as it relates to the various domains discussed above, engenders the capabilities that migrants acquire based on a way of life, and the structural and personal factors present in destination countries. Migration, as a livelihood strategy, often selects migrants who possess the desire to develop at minimum their

individual and household capacities. This sometimes materializes into higher order impacts on development at the place of origin. In fact, Chappell and Sriskandarajah (2007, p. 6) noted that the critical difference between the capabilities and sustainable livelihood approaches is that the former focuses on expanding freedoms, and the latter on expanding capabilities. For the distinctions, the authors provided an expansive list of impacts, seen in the areas of the nexus, and clarified from migrants – which impacts matter to them, and which freedoms are enhanced or restricted as a result of migration.

This mapping provides a good starting point for the specification of various domains for the purpose of investigation and measurement in this thesis. It provides some ideas of the manifestation of the migration-development nexus's multidimensionality in the case of Guyana, spanning a wide cross-section of observable variables. At a more micro level, Melde (2012) further disaggregated these linkages to be revealed through specific variables that can be observed. Hence, Melde's work provided a good source of observable indications that can be used to understand better the effects of migration as per the dimensions identified earlier.

6.4 Data and Analytical Categories

Recall that the focus in this chapter is to assess return migration's impact on development *de facto*. However, because of a fairly large dataset in terms of variables, I first need to synthesize those variables to reflect the important links of the impact. What dimension(s) of the return migration-development nexus have been affected is unknown for the case of Guyana, but *a priori* connections are suggested in the mapping of Chappell and Sriskandarajah (2007), and the domains were discussed previously. At what level (individual, household, community, national) the impact has taken place is also assumed to be unknown in the case of Guyana, despite Strachan's dated claim of filling public sector vacancy gaps. But, adopting human development as the scope for which the development context is

analysed, the focus naturally would be individual and household levels. Micro-level variables are used for this purpose. Additionally, an internal consistency check of the questionnaire was conducted to ascertain if it can indeed be used to measure the impact of return migration on development in Guyana at the individual level; see annex 6.2.

The data used is obtained from 451 return migrants and 528 non-migrants in Guyana, and specifically on their individual and household characteristics, pre-migration history, migration experience, return motivation, preparedness, transnational links, reintegration and resettlement, and re-emigration. These subsections of the questionnaire are appropriate to the necessary coverage required for understanding the migration and return process. The data is processed in SPSS using the data reduction technique of factor analysis to reveal the direct and latent dimensions through which return has potentially impacted human development. My procedure is as follows.

In EFA, the loadings are from the Principle Components extraction, though the Maximum Likelihood, Principle Axis, and Principle Components were all tested. The Principle Component extraction produced the best results for the data used and these are reported in the next section. Choosing an extraction method depends on whether the data is normally distributed or not (Costello and Osborne, 2005). The rotation procedure chosen is oblique over orthogonal because it allows for some small level of correlation among factors/components which is more a real-world situation, especially if endogeneity exists.

The number of factors/components is determined using the Eigen Values setting in SPSS at and above one; but this is also supported from interpretation of the scree plot, recommended as a better approach (Costello and Osborne, 2005; Yong and Pearce, 2013). Interpreting the factors/components is not straightforward, because the indications are imperfect measures of the underlying construct. The latent construct revealed is based on aspects of the migration process that are linked to the return move indicative of human

development. Under each component are grouped indication variables with loadings larger than 0.5. These indications are functionings observed, and represent peoples' (migrants') 'beings and doings'. The factor/component onto which these variables load represents capabilities. The results of the aforementioned procedures are now presented.

6.4.1 Exploratory Factor Analysis Results

The procedures identified to report on the EFA results move through three logical steps: appropriateness, component extraction, and component rotation. I take each in turn.

Field (2005) pointed out the Kaiser-Myer-Olkin (KMO) measure captures the *appropriateness* of EFA as being used for specific analysis. The KMO result is a measure of sampling adequacy, whose value ranges from 0 to 1. The closer the test is to one the more appropriate factor analysis is considered to be, as the data properties show 'patterns of compact correlations' indicating that reliable factors/components can be yielded. Field (2005, p. 6) indicated that 'Kaiser (1974) recommended an acceptable value greater than 0.5...' for this test of sampling adequacy to be appropriate. Therefore, the value of 0.7, which is produced from the dataset, and reflected in table 6.1, is considered a good value. Additionally, table 6.1 reports the Bartlett test of Sphericity, which tests if the correlation matrix is an identity matrix, and shows that it is not because the test is significant. This means that there is some relationship among the variables, and factor analysis is appropriate (Field, 2005). The determinant (.045) is significantly different from (0.00001), meaning that there is no multicollinearity, so variables are not highly correlated.

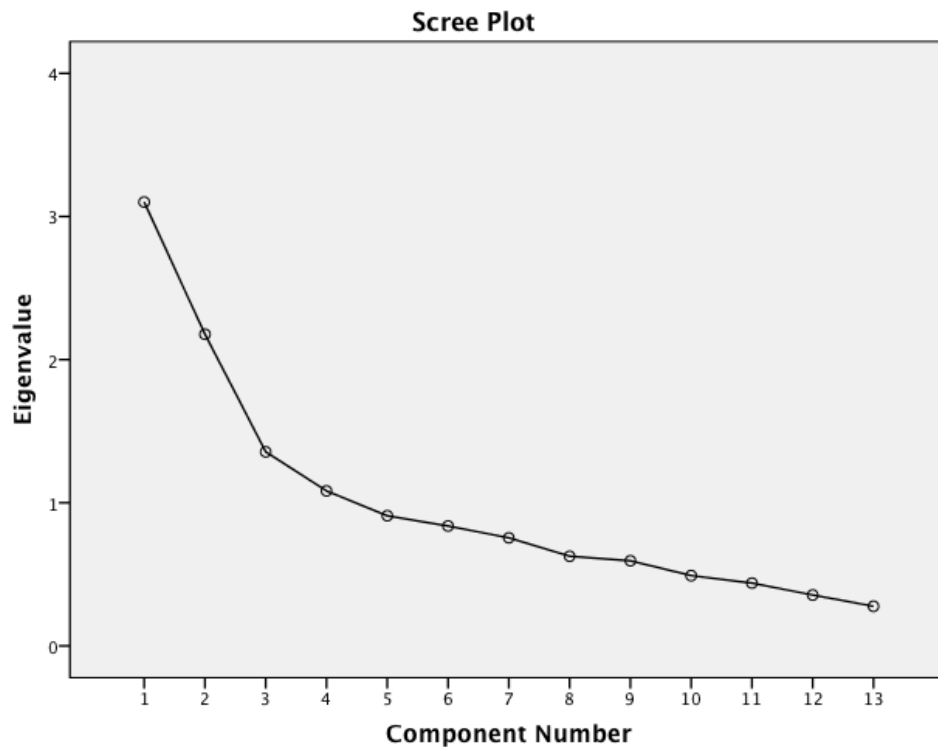
Table 6.1: KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.701
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1026.746

df	78
Sig.	.000

In the next step, the scree plots of the Eigen values against the components are presented to aid the determination of the number of *components to be extracted*. Based on figure 6.2, the gradient of the curve begins to flatten at the 4th component, as this visually is the point of inflexion. As Field (2005) noted, the Eigen values reflect the linear components before and after extraction, and rotation. Figure 6.2 shows a total of 13 components before extraction, but the Eigen value associated with each component explains the percent of variance of each component in descending order. The first four components represent large amounts of variance (59.3%), each additional component with marginal successive additions.

Figure 6.2: Scree Plot of Eigenvalues



In a more detailed manner, table 6.2, which explains the total variance, shows the results of the components before and after extraction and after rotation. It shows that by using

PCA, the total variance explained by four components is 59.3% – additional components explain much smaller amounts of the total variance. Using Maximum Likelihood (ML) extraction, the total variance explained by those four factors amounts to 49% – another reason for choosing the PCA extraction over ML. Reflecting further on the evidence in this table shows that the variance explained by each additional component from 1 to 4, remained the same before and after extraction.

Table 6.2: Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings ^a
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total
1	3.101	23.853	23.853	3.101	23.853	23.853	2.291
2	2.177	16.747	40.599	2.177	16.747	40.599	1.906
3	1.355	10.427	51.026	1.355	10.427	51.026	2.276
4	1.083	8.328	59.354	1.083	8.328	59.354	1.943
5	.909	6.993	66.347				
6	.837	6.442	72.789				
7	.755	5.807	78.596				
8	.626	4.818	83.414				
9	.594	4.572	87.986				
10	.491	3.778	91.764				
11	.439	3.375	95.138				
12	.355	2.734	97.873				
13	.277	2.127	100.000				

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. When components are correlated, sums of squared loadings cannot be added to obtain a total variance.

Costello and Osborne (2005) recommended that once the rotation is oblique the pattern matrix should be used to interpret the component loadings. SPSS *oblique rotation* (direct oblmin) produced four meaningful components/factors. The loading varied in range from 0.511 to 0.874; table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Pattern Matrix

Pattern Matrix^a				
	Component			
	1	2	3	4
What was your Main destination/host Country, Region, City?	-.701			
How long have you lived Abroad	-.686			
For most of your time in the main country of immigration, how was your legal status?	.685			
Age of Respondent	-.555			
What was your level of education prior to emigrating?		.874		
Educational Attainment of Respondent		.785		
Into which of the following income ranges does the total monthly income of this household fit.		.511		
Did you send any remittance to Guyana while abroad?			.772	
Did you work abroad?			.772	
Member of Household			.656	
Employment status				.712
Did you have any children in the main country of immigration?				-.679
In the main country of immigration, did your marital status change?				-.542
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.				
Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.				
a. Rotation converged in 13 iterations.				

6.5 Understanding the Return Migration Latent Construct – Capabilities

Component 1 loaded: what was your main destination/host Country, Region, City (0.701); how long have you lived abroad (-0.686); for most of your time in the main country of immigration, how was your legal status (0.685); and age of Respondent (-0.555). These variables all observed elements of being abroad, where, legal status, and duration. In the migration literature, successful impact is linked to duration abroad empirically (King 1986,

2012; Djajic, 2010; Djajic and Vinogradova, 2014; Dustmann et al., 2010; Dustmann, 2003), and theoretically (Cassarino, 2004). The Black et al. (2003) typology laid much emphasis on the importance of duration abroad too, while Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2007) found that migrating through legal channels (and with legal status) would yield benefits to migration, and migration would be a lucrative livelihood strategy. Recall that Chris, the return migrant from chapter 4, emigrated and returned as a permanent resident, from which he and his future generation are likely to benefit. In all cases, duration abroad has also been a mandatory requirement of return migration policy criteria in Caribbean small states (Bristol, 2010).

As regards the destination/host location a returnee returns from, or those with an intention to return are based, the level of development at this location can influence the contribution to development at origin, as has been shown for some West African Nations (King, 1986; De Vreyer et al., 2010). Further, destination location (notably, returning from Canada and the USA) featured as a significant determinant of positive return in chapter 5.

Despite the low loading of the age variable, it has been proven to be an important facet too. Younger-generation migrants have been instrumental in leading transnational lives and impacting development in small islands of the Caribbean (Reynolds, 2008, 2010; Potter 2005; Phillips and Potter, 2009; Lee-Cunin, 2005); whilst the older generation proves to be significant in terms of sufficient time to accumulate resources, which they may return with post-retirement (King 1986). Age is not seen here as an anomaly because it can also be a proxy measure or intervening variable for experience, and migration experience (international exposure) has been shown to be influential in return migrants earning premium wages over non-migrants in chapter 5.

The aforementioned evidence on migrants returning suggests that international migration experience is critical as an impetus for development, even if that development was

being realized at the individual level and by extension remains a stimulus only to local household development where households contain a migrant and/or returnee.

For a developing small state such as Guyana, plagued by challenges akin to many other small jurisdictions, international exposure, which strengthens migrants' capabilities, is definitely an avenue to bridge critical development gaps. However, for benefits to spread outside the individual level, government must provide an enabling environment beyond concessions available for personal effects for returnees.

Based on the abovementioned discourse, I labelled this component international exposure, not merely for the exposure to shores beyond Guyana, but with the concomitant duration that enriches the international migration experience to the benefit of the migrant and potentially for the broader aspects of their developmental contributions. This will provide justification for a continued focus on the diaspora and return migration policies, but for the case of Guyana a need for more action-oriented and targeted policies. Having international exposure is definitely an impetus for positive development impact in Guyana, even if it is observed at the individual level for now, as was recognized in chapter 4. As Gasper and Truong (2010, p. 341) noted, the impact of migration within the capability approach is also related to the exposure to new worlds of experience, including the creation of new identities and new groups. This reiterates the usefulness of migrants in the development of Guyana as a small state.

Component 2 loaded: What was your level of education prior to emigrating (0.874); Educational Attainment of Respondent (0.785) and; into which of the following income ranges does the total monthly income of this household fit (0.511). Education as an impetus for development is a strong focus of the variables loaded here, despite current monthly income too, seemingly a discordant indication, which loaded the weakest on this component. This is not to discount the income variable, but the presence of the income variable, whose

loading is marginally above the prescription level of acceptability, is interpreted as intervening, mediating the relationship between family income and education. Family income might be used for the acquisition of education, and, since education can influence family income and income can influence education, there exists potential endogeneity. Alternative interpretations can be found in the literature, where return migrants, in some cases, tend to receive premium earnings for their migration experience, within which education acquisition at higher levels can be particularly useful (Wahba, 2007). Further, the brain drain can drive an intensification of training due to an expectation of increasing income returns, sometimes leading to a brain gain – the so-called beneficial brain drain (Mountford, 1997; Beine et al., 2001).

The education indications loading is pre- and post-return educational attainment, which is an important capability feature that the Human Development Index considers a pillar (HDR 2009, 2010). Returning migrants with such capabilities have the potential to transfer knowledge and experience following international migration, and as has been documented in chapters 4 and 5, also constitute part of the army of elite potential emigrants, thus re-emigration becomes a threat.

Notwithstanding, component 2 is labelled education. The interpretation is that education is a critical dimension of how Guyanese migrants' pattern of mobility is influenced, as suggested in chapters 4 and 5, including the evidence of the loadings here. Further, clues from the literature confirm education achieved through international migration experience or directly through training and certification as an important element of capacity strengthening for origin countries through its diffusion via return migrants. Hence, the potential for development by return migrants undoubtedly exists. Recall that Strachan (1980, 1983) had observed the successful return of highly skilled migrants to Guyana under the

government scheme five decades ago, as it plugged human capital gaps in the very dominant public sector at that time.

Component 3 loaded: Did you send any remittances to Guyana while abroad (0.772); Did you work abroad (0.772); Member of Household (0.656). The variable indications loading on this component is indicative of migrant savings, earnings and experience abroad, and responsibility in the household. This component is therefore labelled Economic Involvement Abroad. The usefulness of this finding is in line with Depoo (2013) who observed Guyanese remitting from the diaspora, with an intention to return, and some eventually do. Through migration, Chappell et al. (2010) found that individuals' or migrants' own income improves dramatically. Remitting part of that income is influenced, among other things, by the position one holds in their family (IOM, 2004). Household membership as such is interpreted as an important intervening variable, as status and responsibility in a household may motivate or not the sending of remittances, especially prior to returning if the family are located in the origin country.

While remittances are central to the migration-development nexus, and this is also the case for Guyana, this finding could not suggest that return, after which that migrant can no longer remit, is more or less beneficial for development in Guyana. So, in reality, the evidence on this is mixed. On the one hand, remittances to Guyana have benefited rural households (Thomas-Hope, 2011) and especially women (Roberts, 2006). Peters and Kamau (2015) also concluded that remittances to Guyana are compensatory transfers, possibly to insure against risks or to smooth consumption in households. At the macro-level in Guyana remittances are instrumental in providing foreign currency, which has been relatively higher in comparison to foreign aid and FDI (Thomas-Hope, 2011; Orozco, 2003; Roberts, 2006; Peters, 2009). Ratha (2006) noted, based on global remittances data, that remittances could also improve the creditworthiness of a country and enhance access to international capital

markets. At the same time, Mishra (2006) indicated that for the Caribbean region remittances could not compensate for the brain drain that was taking place. Nonetheless, remitting prior to returning is important in the context of transfers made by migrants, which in chapter 4 were shown to exist, and of course working abroad and responsibilities (at least financial) would have influenced this.

Component 4 loaded: Employment status (0.712); did you have any children in the main country of immigration (0.679); in the main country of immigration, did your marital status change (0.542). Based on the variables loading on component 4, there is an inclination towards elements of economic attachment to the origin place, versus social connections abroad. What the loadings are suggesting here is that migrant social attachment at host destination and economic connection at origin are crucial. As a result, this component is labelled Attachment; and attachments can be economic and social, and personal and professional. The familial component is consistent with the non-economic motivation for return. Integration at both host and return locations, mitigated through transnationalism, are not viewed as zero-sum related, but as intersecting. Hence, despite familial connections at the host location, return may still occur. Notwithstanding, it is also plausible that once migrants are progressively acclimatised at destination, over time it becomes more difficult for them to return permanently (De Haas and Fokkema, 2011). Further, recall that Alberts and Hazen (2005) found that professional commitments at the destination encourage immigrants to stay, but certain societal and personal factors would stimulate return. Social factors abroad may also prompt re-emigration if return occurs unless the migrating unit is an entire family. Altogether, while the literature supports the issue of attachments as important for return or not, there has been no pronouncement of such factors as directly impacting development at origin, though indirectly the personal and professional attributes of the returnee would probably have an impact.

Bearing in mind the variables that loaded on the four components, cues from the literature are also useful in highlighting potential connections to the development consequences of return migration to Guyana. However, its potential is not realized beyond the individual level as noted in chapter 5, owing to structural and policy limitations, notwithstanding the micro level at which this research data is collected. Benefits realized beyond return migrants actually returning are those that come from the diaspora in the form of remittances. No framework exists to realize or optimize the potential of return migration as a positive development catalyst for Guyana. Personal intentions drive return and emigration, and the associated benefits accrue at the individual level as well.

This does not discount the weight of structural and other factors' influence on capabilities, personal decision-making and actions. Variants of benefits at the individual level, based on contributions among returnees, are not known, but looking ahead, investigating this is worthwhile since it is the personal attributes that will matter for a returnee's community and national development contribution, once the enabling framework is provided. In this way having an elite return migration policy can better target those with desirable attributes as well.

6.6 Understanding Impact

Return migration has both a direct impact and an indirect impact, along multiple dimensions of the return migration-development nexus in Guyana. The what, where, and how of impact is detailed by the 13 variables revealed in the factor analysis. The components reflect the latent construct of the 13 observable variables and by extension what is important in the return migration and development nexus in Guyana. Hence, the 13 variables represent areas of impact where capabilities are possibly enhanced as a result of international migration.

Indirectly impact is felt via four capabilities – education, international exposure/migration and its experiences, social attachments, and economic involvement of respondents. Directly, 13 variables suggest specific indications. Areas of impact also represent actual impact as this information is collected *de facto*. Consequently, potential impact is felt both directly and indirectly across most of the nexus highlighted by Chappell and Sriskandarajah (2007), except in environmental sustainability and disaster relief (questions relating to these areas were not included in the questionnaire). Some of the questions are not sufficiently articulated to bring out the full impact considered by each domain onto which migration and development is matched. And, even though factor analysis speculated on impact, this is not sufficient to propose concrete indicators for the return migration-development impact, though it is suggestive of the direct and indirect nature of the potential consequences of return migration and its effects on development. As such, the thesis now moves into more concrete correlates of substantiating indicators of the return migration-development impact and its direct and indirect areas of associated consequences. In other words, I move from indications to indicators.

6.6.1 From Indications to Indicators

It has been argued that secondary data sources of a quantitative nature provide little evidence about capabilities (Anand and Van Hees, 2006). The authors praised Martha Nussbaum's (2000) list of substantive capabilities (see annex 6.2) from which to choose a starting point. However, Robeyns (2005) argued for a somewhat different list as this may matter, and Nussbaum (2000) herself included 'universal' arguments for culture, diversity, and paternalism in making a similar case. Anand and Van Hees (2006) even gave the example that items for inclusion on such a list may vary across cultures, reinforcing the concept of differences of meaning of what has value to different people. However, the

empirical work of Anand and Van Hees (2006) made the case for more research on variables to represent capabilities beyond Nussbaum's prescription, since their production of a questionnaire with 65 questions on capabilities and life satisfaction, only ended up with 17 significant capabilities (at the 5% level), recognizing there are variations especially by gender and age. Anand and Van Hees concluded that '...an important element of the capabilities approach is, ... the fact that people convert goods and their characteristics into functioning and happiness at different rates – a point that has implications for economic justice' (2006, p. 12).

Economic freedoms and justice, therefore, should also be reflected in human development. 'Human development is incomplete without human freedom...any index of human development should therefore give adequate weight to a society's human freedom in pursuit of material and social goals' (HDR, 1990, p. 16). Consequently, the thesis recognizes for the purpose of analysis the more quantifiable variables produced in the human development index as capturing measurable variables that reflect capabilities. The factors covered in the human development index have been consistently and universally tested. As Sen noted in 2000, education, income and health capture the most basic ingredients for human development.

In this regard, and at least on the conceptual side, capabilities are linked to human development, which provides direct connections to concrete variables. The HDR (2010, p. 12) confirmed that 'Human development . . . brings together the production and distribution of commodities and the expansion and use of human capabilities. It also focuses on choices – on what people should have, be and do to be able to ensure their own livelihood.' Additional freedoms include political freedoms, human rights and self-respect (HDR, 1990). As such, at the core of human development are peoples' capabilities consistent with the freedoms and sense of justice that these concepts entail. Furthermore, human development is not simply a

complying concern with basic needs but also with participation and the processes of society (HDR, 2010). In any event, ‘human development is the expansion of people’s freedoms to live long, healthy and creative lives; to advance other goals they have reason to value; and to engage actively in shaping development equitably and sustainably on a shared planet... People are both the beneficiaries and the drivers of human development, as individuals and in groups’ (HDR, 2010, p. 2). In this context, actual migration, according to UNDP’s HDR (2009, p. 15), reflects ‘human mobility as a freedom; to move is an exercise in that freedom. Hence, mobility is considered essential to human rights, dignity, liberty, and development’ (UNDP, 2009). Thus human rights connote, according to De Haas and Van Rooji (2010), an inherent good.

In my dataset used to assess the potential impact human development resulting from return, not only am I imperfectly measuring the human development outcome by comparing return migrants to non-migrants to see if return migrants contribute more to development; I am also using a specialized micro dataset for which tackling possible endogeneity problems – reverse causality, selection and omitted variable biases – can become insurmountable. The endogeneity issue surrounding return migration and its impact here is about selectivity. Recall in chapter 3, section 3.10, a possible caveat related to endogeneity, either selection bias, reverse causality, and/or omitted variable bias. The reality of the instrumental variable approach solution using the 2-stage least square technique is not viable here, because of the difficulty to overcome the absence of suitable instruments in my data.

Wahba (2015) encountered this issue when investigating the impact of Egyptian returnees on wages. Endogeneity due to selection is a serious problem rarely addressed in quantitative return migration papers, according to this author. Wahba (2015) uses an instrumental variable approach to address selectivity of migration and in return. For the Egypt context, the author suggests that waves of out-migration are driven by oil price shocks as

most of the migrants go to Gulf states. Hence, Wahba (2015) uses oil price in year of migration as her instrument for being a migrant. For return, Wahba (2015) uses wars and political conflicts in the host location. The conclusion is that temporary migration overseas by Egyptians results in premium wages on return even after controlling for endogeneity due to selection biases. For this investigation, Wahba (2015) had the benefit of nationally representative data on current migrants, those who returned, and non-migrants. Other studies such as Gibson and McKenzie (2011) were able to identify positive educational self-selection and returns to education driving selectivity, but these authors had at their disposal funding to track and collect comprehensive enough data to undertake this endeavor in their analysis. My thesis did not have the benefit of such resources; a compromise was thus found in the resultant dataset. Nevertheless, Gibson and McKenzie (2011) recognized education itself is a result of migration and not a determinant. By this token the authors indicated that educational selectivity and returns to skill as a notion of selectivity might be misleading, since return migrants to Tonga were not following an income maximization agenda.

However, Wahba's (2015) research enlightens us on two substantive pieces of information that led to my adoption of a simple OLS exploration of correlates between the indicators of the development outcome used in this chapter and characteristics of the returnees versus those of the non-migrant group, notwithstanding the acknowledged limitations. First, the author's evidence highlights that very few papers are able to find a convincing instrument and secondly, that finding valid instruments requires identifying exogenous variables which might explain why a person left or returned but which are not correlated with the outcome variable of interest, in this case income. My compromise is to use monthly household income, a categorical dependent variable, in an OLS and ordinal regression model to reflect a human development outcome of return, subject to a set of individual and other characteristics. As the reader will come to see in the next section, both

sets of results are comparable. Essentially, what I try to show is whether incomes are higher for the returnees than for non-migrants, the clear limitation being that any such difference is likely to be exaggerated because of selection bias. Additionally, the issue of heterogeneity of returnees is treated through the use of a series of dummy variables. The variables and models adapted are explained and demonstrated next.

6.6.2 OLS and Ordered Probit Results

The models used are OLS, which works by minimizing the Residual Sum of Square (RSS), and the ordinal method (ordered probit) that uses a maximum likelihood process. Each capture the same variables, dependent and independent. The dependent variable – household monthly income – is reduced to four ranges in both models. The logic of the models is that income is used as a measure of human development assumed to be a function of age, gender, employment status, education, region of local residence etc.; see table 6.4 for a description of the independent variables included. Be reminded too that heterogeneity of returnees is addressed by creating a set of dummy variables, for example returnees from CARICOM, North America and so on.

Table: 6.4 Description of Variables

Variable	Description
Gender (male=1)	Reference category male
Age	Continuous variable
CARICOM returnees*	Dummy representing migrants returning from CARICOM
North American returnees*	Dummy representing migrants returning from Canada and the USA
Other International returnees*	Dummy representing migrants returning from Latin America, United Kingdom, Asia, and Europe.

Region of local residence = region 3	Migrants returning to region 3 within Guyana- Essequibo Islands-West Demerara- for which region 4 Demerara Mahaica is the reference category
Region of local residence =region 6	Migrants returning to region 6 within Guyana-East Berbice-Corentyne- for which region 4 Demerara Mahaica is the reference category
Educational attainment: Graduate = 1	Respondents with Tertiary/University and post-secondary level education. The reference category is none or nursey education.
Educational attainment: Secondary = 1	Respondents with Secondary level education. The reference category is none or nursey education.
Educational attainment: Primary = 1	Respondents with Primary level education. The reference category is none or nursey education.
Ethnicity: Afro-Guyanese = 1	Afro-Guyanese respondents, the reference category being East-Indian Guyanese
Ethnicity: Mixed-Guyanese = 1	Mixed-Guyanese respondents, the reference category being East-Indian Guyanese
Ethnicity: Amerindian-Guyanese = 1	Amerindian-Guyanese respondents, the reference category being East-Indian Guyanese
Employment Status: Retired = 1	Employment status of individuals in the sample, the reference category being economically active which includes those that are employed, self-employed and are employers.
Employment Status: Economically inactive = 1	Employment status of individual in the sample not in full-time employment which includes students, those looking for jobs, not willing to work, unemployed, and stay at home spouses, the reference category being economically active which includes those that are employed, self-employed and are employers

Note: *The comparison made here are returnees versus non-migrants in the sample.

Table: 6.5 OLS and Ordered Probit Results

Dependent Variable: Household Monthly Income	OLS Result	Ordered Probit
Constant	1.992*** (0.000)	1.969588*** (0.000)
Gender (male=1)	-0.053 (0.223)	-0.057338 (0.187)
Age	0.003 (0.102)	0.003835** (0.042)
CARICOM returnees	0.246*** (0.000)	0.248107*** (0.000)
North American returnees	0.354*** (0.000)	0.351460*** (0.000)

Other International returnees	0.415*** (0.000)	0.406406*** (0.000)
Region of local residence = region 3	-0.140* (0.086)	-0.134284* (0.097)
Region of local residence =region 6	-0.100 (0.151)	-0.098640 (0.155)
Educational attainment: Graduate = 1	0.244 (0.338)	0.241897 (0.342)
Educational attainment: Secondary = 1	-0.013 (0.959)	-0.013513 (0.958)
Educational attainment: Primary = 1	-0.077 (0.766)	-0.082291 (0.750)
Ethnicity: Afro-Guyanese = 1	-0.034 (0.490)	-0.032281 (0.509)
Ethnicity: Mixed-Guyanese = 1	0.052 (0.409)	0.050431 (0.419)
Ethnicity: Amerindian-Guyanese = 1	0.091 (0.466)	0.094403 (0.448)
Employment Status: Retired = 1	-0.081 (0.405)	-0.093454 (0.335)
Employment Status: Economically inactive = 1	-0.129** (0.036)	-0.125132** (0.041)
R-square/pseudo R ² for the ordered probit	0.147	0.146
Model Significance	0.000	0.000
N	827	834

* Significant at 10% level

** Significant at 5% level

*** Significant at 1% level

The results presented are clear that returnees from various parts of the world – CARICOM, North America, and Other International returnees – acquired higher incomes at origin compared with non-migrants.

Both sets of results show that return migrants, relative to non-migrants, may potentially contribute to development through higher income. In all cases, returnees from CARICOM, North America, and Other International locations showed a significant and positive relationship to development in Guyana. In sequence, based on scoring by the size of their coefficient, other international returnees (Latin America, UK, Asia, Europe,) followed by those from North America (Canada and the USA), and CARICOM returnees are making meaningful contributions in comparison to their non-migrant counterparts.

An explanation of why these different groups of returnees do better can be found in the multivariate analysis of chapter 4, which also made a comparison of return migrants

versus non-migrants. Migrants after returning are among the country's elite educationally. This human capital attribute is based on the experience and exposure of international migration. The result of this human capital trait are premium incomes, a finding very similar to that of Gibson and McKenzie (2011) for the best and brightest Tongans who returned. Further, migration beyond CARICOM to developed nations in North America and further afield, are destinations in which duration abroad is generally longer. This time benefit allows for spreading risks over longer periods and sharing such risks within community enclaves. As a result, there is better opportunity for return preparation and resource mobilization. In fact, the differences become much clearer as to why there are these variations in returnees from diverse parts of the world. For instance, when the reasons for return are disaggregated, the data shows that other international returnees (4% from the UK) were less likely to be deported than returnees from CARICOM (44%), and North America (48%). Fewer Other International returnees were likely to go back to Guyana (7.9%) due to economic downturn than those from CARICOM (82.5%) and North America (12.5%). Fewer international returnees went back for reasons of retirement (10%) than those from CARICOM (23.3%) and from North America (60.7%). Another situation of return, job uncertainty, was less of a reason given by Other International returnees (6.6%) for return than those from CARICOM (63.3%) and those from North America (30%). Essentially, other international migrants were returning much more due to completion of studies (63.1%) than those from North America (9.3%) and CARICOM (27.8%). Migrants from Guyana to North America and CARICOM who possessed University/tertiary level education were less likely to return.

Additionally, the two regressions, while confirming that higher incomes are 'explained' by returning migrants, especially those from further afield, justified other explanatory variables. According to the OLS model, the other significant variable explaining the development impact as it regards income was employment status. The ordered probit on

the other hand only confirmed employment status and age as additional significant explanatory variables of impact.

Having conducted the aforementioned analysis, the thesis is in a better position at this stage to recognize attachments (social and economic), economic involvement, education, and international exposure as relevant elements captured in the migration-development link for Guyana. In this regard, the scope of the 13 variables generated by factor analysis can suffice as indicators of the migration-development nexus in Guyana. Sending remittances prior to returning, legal status abroad, in which country the migrant is hosted, employment status, attachment at host and origin, whether the migrant works abroad, etc., are all important to the migration-development nexus in Guyana. As a result, it is no wonder that the simple OLS and Ordered Probit regressions testing correlates of income and returning show that indeed return migrants were beneficiaries of relatively higher income. Their enhanced human capabilities, a function of the aforementioned variables, enable to do and be important to origin country development.

6.7 Conclusion

The mapping of the migration-development nexus as guided by Chappell and Sriskandarajah (2007) was used to set up the framework of the possible links between two multidimensional phenomena, return migration and development. Secondly, factor analysis was used to establish the relationship between return and development in Guyana, taking care to explore indicative relationships using relevant variables. Once these variables were extracted, relationships were explored using OLS and the ordered probit regressions. Critical aspects of the relationship are confirmed for the return migration-development nexus for Guyana.

Despite selectively potentially exaggerating the impact of return migrants, at minimum the exercise of this chapter has confirmed that return migrants have a higher stake in income than their non-migrant counterparts. However, all return migrants are not the same, heterogeneity exists, and my analysis revealed that return migrants from 'Other' locations have a higher apparent income than their North American and CARICOM counterparts. This difference can be explained with reference to the various reasons for migrants returning.

Another critical observation, having regard to earlier findings, is that Guyana is not optimizing the use of its return migrants. The assertion that return migrants possess some inherent characteristics above those of migrants is not truly tested or brought about through policy. Hence, the continuous debate over whether, and why, returnees should be attracted or rewarded will continue to be a thorny issue; not least, it will be questioned by resident non-migrants who do not enjoy such incentives, and who may be deprived in many other ways too.

Annex 6.1 Factor Analysis: Identifying the Latent Influences of Impact

Why Choose this Technique?

The choice of factor analysis over other latent variable techniques for this investigation is mainly due to its data reduction powers, its inability to impose too many a priori restrictions, and its treatment of multidimensionality.

The two main Factor Analysis techniques are Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) and Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) (Yong and Pearce, 2013). ‘Confirmatory factor analysis is powerful because it provides explicit hypothesis testing for factor analytic problems...’Gorsuch (2015, p. 143). EFA explores rather than confirms factors (Kim and Mueller, 1978) driving the return move in this study. Hence, EFA has been chosen over CFA to identify the latent factors. This approach to analyzing impact is useful, since as acknowledged in the previous chapter, the context-dependent nature of migrants’ decisions is what matters, especially for return in this case analysis. Limitations of EFA are related mainly to the naming of factors, sometimes considered subjective, and the loading of one variable to more than on factor (Yong and Pearce, 2013).

EFA tests latent factors using observed variables (Bang and Mitra, 2010, p. 18). According to Jung (2013, p. 90), EFA ‘is attractive because of its ability to investigate the nature of unobservable constructs that account for relationships among measured variables. EFA not only reveals latent constructs but also extracts common sources versus the extraction of maximum sources’.

Gaskin and Happell (2014) noted that several major decisions, taken as steps, are made in conducting factor analysis. These are: 1) sufficient sample size and number of respondents per item or question, which indirectly relates to item non-response being low; 2) choosing an extraction procedure, that is, maximum likelihood, Principle Component etc.; 3)

determining the number of factors to retain; 4) deciding upon the methods of rotation, that is, orthogonal or oblique. Several deliberations and discussions surround the answers to these questions can be found in the standard literature (Treiblmaier and Filzmoser, 2010; Jung, 2013; Costello and Osborne, 2005; Yong and Pearce, 2013). Clarifying these questions helps to treat some common problems (correlation, multicollinearity etc.) and use of this technique in research, (Gorsuch 2015).

How Factor Analysis Works!

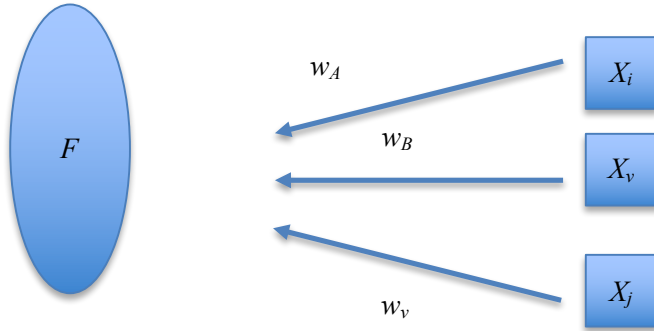
According to Yong and Pearce's (2013, 8) explanation: 'If X_i, X_j, \dots, X_v are variables (observed) and F_A, F_B, \dots, F_f are latent factors (unobserved); and, there is little or no inter-correlation between any pairs of X_i and X_j as the factors themselves will account for this, it means that for all pairs of any two elements, X_i, X_j, \dots, X_v , they are conditionally independent given the value of F_A, F_B, \dots, F_f . Once a correlation matrix is computed, the factor loadings w_{IA} w_{IF} are then analyzed to see which variables load onto which factors'.

In simple terms, diagrammatically (see figure 6.3), the latent factor F is discerned through its link to several observable variables X_i, X_j, \dots, X_v based on weights/factor loadings, $w_{IA} \dots w_{IF}$. The X 's are related to each other through the common relationship with F , and w reflects the correlations between factors and variables.

X_{ij} are the direct observed factors such as age, educational attainment, level of income etc., that capture the beings and doings of respondents – the results measure of variables reflecting structural and other factors. These factors reflect the functionings of migrants and non-migrants as described in the capability approach. In Guyana also, F connotes a reflection of state obligations that allows an individual (non-migrant) to realize his/her potential in the interest of development of the country. As migration and development are both very dynamic, F could range from potential realized positively or negatively in a variety of sectors.

Hence, the direct impact that is spoken of is reflected through the X's while the indirect impact is reflected in F that is usually broader – a combination of Xs.

Figure 6.3: Path diagram



In a singular sense this relationship is captured as follows by Gorsuch (2015, p. 16-17):

$$X_{ij} = f(s_j, o_i) \quad \text{Equation 1}$$

Where X_{ij} is respondent i 's response in situation j , s_j represents the characteristics of situation j , and o_i summarizes the characteristics of respondent i . The relationship between s and o is unspecified because the equation only states that the response is a function of both situational and personal characteristics. In each case, the person has certain capabilities they bring to a situation (or not) and the situation also contributes to the result observed in variable X .

Equation 1 becomes equation 2 when the characteristics are weighted, that is the factor loadings are made explicit, and the linear model is made additive:

$$X_{i1} = w_{1A}F_i + w_{1B}F_i + w_{1C}F_i \dots + w_{1F}F_i + C \quad \text{Equation 2}$$

Where X_{i1} is respondent i 's response in situation 1, w_{1A} is the weight (loading) given in situation 1 to characteristic A , A_i is respondent i 's score on characteristic A , and so on...and

$w_{IF} F_{if}$ is the last weight and score whose relationship is determined. A constant, C , is also added to adjust the mean. The linear model becomes the multivariate linear model when it is used to predict more than one dependent variable, that is, when several different kinds of responses (X 's) are predicted. Each separate response has its own set of weights. For example, one might want to determine not just a single response but the responses to a wide range of variables, X_I to X_v . The multivariate linear model would consist of a series of such equations:

$$X_{i1} = w_{1A}F_{iA} + w_{1B}F_{iB} + w_{1C}F_{iC}\dots + w_{1F}F_{if} + C$$

$$X_{i2} = w_{2A}F_{iA} + w_{2B}F_{iB} + w_{1C}F_{iC}\dots + w_{2f}F_{if} + C$$

$$\cdot \quad \cdot \quad \cdot \quad \cdot \quad \dots \quad \cdot \quad \cdot$$

$$\cdot \quad \cdot \quad \cdot \quad \cdot \quad \dots \quad \cdot \quad \cdot$$

$$\cdot \quad \cdot \quad \cdot \quad \cdot \quad \dots \quad \cdot \quad \cdot$$

$$X_{iv} = w_{vA}F_{vA} + w_{vB}F_{vB} + w_{1C}F_{iC}\dots + w_{1f}F_{ivA} + C$$

Summarizing how factor analysis works, Yong and Pearce (2013) stipulated that the recommended sample size for conducting factor analysis is at least 300 participants, though larger samples reduce errors, and variables should have at least 5 to 10 observations: 10:1 minimum. However, factors are considered stable with a 30:1 ratio; most of the questions used in this factor analysis, based on the primary data collected, surpassed these conditions.

Other necessary properties of data to be used when applying this technique are that there must be univariate and multivariate normality (Child, 2006); for a label to be attached to a factor it must have at least 3 indicators; rotated factors with 2 or less variables should be interpreted with caution (Yong and Pearce, 2013).

Annex 6.2: Validity and Reliability of questionnaire

A simple analysis of the questionnaire's appropriateness (validity and reliability) was conducted. Validity looked at the content and structure, which was established through using expert opinion and pilot testing (Radhakrishna, 2007)²⁹. The questionnaire also benefited from prior survey instruments used in other countries, such as the Migrating out of Poverty project, and the Development on the Move project.

Following such, Cronbach's alpha, a widely used test of reliability (Tavakol and Dennick, 2011, p. 54) was adapted to measure reliability. One of its functions is defined to be a test of the internal consistency of the questionnaire, often referred to as a random error in measurement (Tavakol and Dennick, 2011; Radhakrishna, 2007). Internal consistency in this case primarily refers to how well the questions in the questionnaire can be used to measure impact of return migration on development in Guyana at the individual level. A comprehensive depiction of Cronbach's alpha can be seen in Cortina (1993), who indicated that the coefficient is a good test of questionnaire constructs and use; the alpha applies to any set of items regardless of response scale (1993, p.99).

Cronbach (1951) was concerned with test accuracy or dependability, otherwise referred to as reliability. The general statistic is as follows:

$$\alpha = \frac{n}{n-1} \left(1 - \frac{\sum_i V_i}{V_t} \right)$$

Where:

n = number of questions

V_i = variance of scores on each question

V_t = total variance of overall scores for the entire test

²⁹ <http://www.joe.org/joe/2007february/tt2.php>

Since reliability is essentially a ratio of two variances (V_i , V_t), alpha approaches 1 or 0 (Streiner, 2003). High alpha is caused by high variance V_t , which means that it is easier to differentiate various analytical categories; conversely a low score means it is difficult to make such a differentiation. There are many interpretations of alpha and even the aforementioned decisions do not always hold (see Cronbach, 1951; Cortina, 1993; Streiner, 2003). Evaluating reliability, the criterion is a reading of 0.70 or higher, commonly considered as acceptable reliability (Radhakrishna, 2007; Qu et al., 2009; Santos and Clegg, 1999), that is, the questionnaire is measuring what it intended to measure.

In this investigation, using SPSS, Cronbach's alpha was employed to test the reliability of the questions in the questionnaire. The result obtained was an alpha of 0.820 after dropping 21 items (questions) out of a total of 92, with 71 remaining. These items were filtered due to the fact that adding them to the other questions reduces rather than improves reliability, as some were repetitive. The main questions remained intact and dropping the items did not compromise the analysis. Table 6.6 presents the results of the Cronbach's alpha test and the items retained.

Table 6.6: Results: Reliability Test of Questionnaire

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.820	71

Item Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Did you work abroad?	1.00	.000	3
For how long did you work abroad in your main employment? _____ YEARS	26.00	19.053	3
Are you receiving some form of support from your main country of immigration?	1.33	.577	3
During your stay abroad did you acquire any assets in Guyana?	1.67	1.155	3
Were the certification/qualification obtained before emigration recognized in the main country of immigration?	2.67	.577	3
Have you ever studied in your main country of immigration or acquired any formal training or certification?	1.33	.577	3
Member of Household	1.33	.577	3
Sex	2.00	.000	3
Age of Respondent	65.67	14.434	3
Educational Attainment of Respondent	4.33	1.155	3
Region	4.00	.000	3
Occupation of Respondent	3.00	1.732	3
Have you ever lived abroad?	1.00	.000	3
How long have you lived Abroad	36.00	27.713	3
Length of time since you returned	2.33	1.155	3
For returning resident (that is the respondent), do you intent to stay in Guyana for at least one year?	1.00	.000	3
What would you say your ethnicity is?	2.00	.000	3
Where did you acquire your highest level of education/certification?	3.00	1.732	3
Into which of the following income ranges does the total monthly income of this household fit.	8.33	2.887	3
Is this household in receipt of remittances?	1.00	.000	3
If yes to IC4, how often does the household receive remittances?	3.67	1.155	3
How much remittance did the household receive, as a percentage of household income, in the last month?	36.67	23.094	3
What was the main initial reason/condition under which you left Guyana?	4.33	1.155	3
What was your level of education prior to emigrating?	4.33	1.155	3
What was your Main destination/host Country, Region, City?	4.00	.000	3
Specify Country if Region, specify main city if Country	1.00	.000	3
Did you work prior to leaving Guyana?	1.00	.000	3
If yes to PMH4, where were you occupied?	1.67	1.155	3
How was your financial situation prior to emigration?	1.67	1.155	3

On returning to Guyana are you residing at a place different to where you live prior to emigration?	1.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving had Child/Children?	1.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving had married/unmarried spouse?	1.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving had own house (or jointly owned with spouse)?	1.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving had investment small or other business?	2.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving had extended family members (mother and /or father living in Guyana?	1.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving had planned to emigrate and take advantage of opportunities in the main country of destination and return to Guyana at some point in time?	1.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving had planned to emigrate and take advantage of opportunities in the main country of destination but did not plan to return to Guyana?	2.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving had you receive any support from your family for your journey?	1.00	.000	3
...prior to leaving did you feel and pressure from your family to emigrate?	1.33	.577	3
...prior to leaving was hoping that institutional and social factors change for the better so that I can return?	1.67	.577	3
What was the main reason for choosing the main country of immigration?	4.33	1.155	3
Did your family/friends/network help you while abroad?	3.33	1.155	3
How would you describe your relationship with public authorities in the main country of immigration?	1.33	.577	3
In general how you describe your relationship with the host society?	1.33	.577	3
For most of your time in the main country of immigration, how was your legal status?	1.00	.000	3
In the main country of immigration, did your marital status change?	1.33	.577	3
Did you have any children in the main country of immigration?	1.33	.577	3
Did you face difficulties in the main country of immigration?...Access to housing!	7.00	5.196	3
What would be your main reason for leaving again?	3.00	1.732	3
Do you feel your return was viewed as _____ by the community you reside in?	1.00	.000	3
What were the main challenges to settling in?	1.00	.000	3
What was your main source of assistance with settling in on return?	1.00	.000	3
Which is your main source of financial income currently?	2.00	.000	3
How many persons lived in your household while in your main country of immigration?	6.67	1.155	3
In your opinion did your financial situation in the main country of immigration...?	1.00	.000	3
What has been your main reason for returning to Guyana?	6.00	3.000	3
Have you participated in the government return programme?	2.00	.000	3
Did your martial status change after returning to Guyana?	1.33	.577	3
Do you benefit from local protection system in Guyana?	1.67	.577	3
Have you been able to transfer any special rights (unemployment benefit, pension, etc.) from your main country of immigration to Guyana?	1.00	.000	3
Would you say your financial situation has _____ in comparison to the main country of immigration?	3.67	2.309	3
The experience you acquire through migration represents...?	1.00	.000	3
Upon return, did you undertake any investment in Guyana?	1.00	.000	3
Today, do you intend to leave for abroad -re-migrate?	3.33	1.155	3
When you returned, did you intend to stay...?	1.67	1.155	3

Would you say your decision to return has been mainly:	1.00	.000	3
Did you have any children since returning to Guyana?	2.00	.000	3
Did you send any remittance to Guyana while abroad?	1.00	.000	3
Did you keep in touch with issues affecting Guyana when abroad?	1.00	.000	3
Have you returned to Guyana since you have emigrated, prior to your last time?	1.00	.000	3

Annex 6.3 List of Capabilities Used by Nussbaum 2000

- A. Life: Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living.
- B. Bodily Health: Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.
- C. Bodily Integrity: Being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction.
- D. Senses, Imagination and Thought: Being able to use the sense to imagine, think and reason and to do these things in a 'truly human' way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical and so forth. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise. Being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid non-beneficial pain.
- E. Emotions: Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety. (Supporting this capability means supporting forms of human association that can be shown to be crucial in their development.)
- F. Practical Reason: Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's own life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience and religious observance.)
- G. Affiliation: A. Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine

the situation of another. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech.) B. Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails provisions of non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, and national origin.

H. Other Species: Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants and the world of nature.

I. Play: Being able to laugh, play, to enjoy recreational activities.

J. Control over One's Environment:

A. Political: Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right political participation, protection of free speech and association.

B. Material: Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others, having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Exploring Guyanese Return Migration and Development

The thesis started out as a noble attempt to measure the impact of return migration in Guyana, but was humbled by the data limitations, techniques available, realities of data collection, and sub-optimal utilization of this topic in fulfilling part of Guyana's development potential. In fact, it was a revelation that return migration policy did not witness any significant change since Strachan's work in the 1980s, and even before in 1967, alluding to much political rhetoric about its potential in development. Nowadays, return migration policy continues to be an element for facilitating of relocation back 'home', rather than a tool for stimulating development. This does not mean, however, that the potential to harness return and diffuse the benefits from returning, cannot work for the common good of the country.

The reason for revisiting return migration in Guyana lies in the fact that the government has the sovereign policy space within which to manoeuvre. The regional labour migration policy that the Government of Guyana is already a part of in CARICOM (the CSME Free Movement regime) has suffered many setbacks, like most regional integration issues in distress from a lack of political will. From the labour market perspective, as labour moves to locations of higher returns, this amplifies a migration problem for Guyana – the 'skill' drain, as emigration is characterised by the loss of tradesmen, craftsmen and other professionals who are skilled but may not necessarily possess university-level education. This is combined with the fact that this regional regime does not offer the basis for a national development solution of Guyana as the country is not wage-competitive. However, with the new oil resources that come on stream from 2020, this situation will likely change and the regional labour market regime will offer many solutions to the impending lack of human capital in Guyana. Nevertheless, from the institutional perspective, CARICOM has been very

slow to agree and move forward on solutions to problems experienced in the region, even in cases where some success has been achieved intra-regionally like the Free Movement CSME regime.

The bureaucracy is so burdensome that the regional policy has also involved administrative barriers too, much like that of the more desired destinations in North America. In fact, regional migration opportunities are selective along the lines of vocational skills and amplify this type of skill emigration from Guyana in the same way it has traditionally been for university graduates. The data have suggested that this type of skilled emigration based on selective migration in the region is related to skilled manual artisans (construction workers, upholsterers etc.) and certain qualified services (teaching, nursing assistants etc.), with the result that Guyana is depleted of said types of skills.

We have seen an explicit return migration policy pursued before in Guyana some decades ago, with measurable success (Strachan, 1980). Hence, continuing a return migration framework for what it is worth can be achieved unilaterally, particularly if the government feels that this can constitute part of the wider development proposition for this small state, acting as a vehicle for growth and development in some of the domains identified in chapter 6. The diaspora and its practices of transnationalism has now emerged as a potential pathway to continue facilitating migrants' involvement in local development. And the diaspora continues to harbour much-needed resources for Guyana's development.

Even in the absence of government support, families and friends stay more interconnected as transnationalism is taking full effect through social media, liberalized communication networks, freer trade and exchange market liberalization, including regional integration aspects. The capacity gaps due to the limitation of knowledge workers and low capital capacity for investments are now being felt more than ever before, so much so that there are emerging sentiments of xenophobia towards the influx of foreign workers, even

under the legal framework of the CSME Free Movement regime, and especially against Trinidadians who possess the capacity and investment to function in the new oil and gas sector.

On the face of it, return migration policy has not really evolved, despite the rhetoric and seeming interest expressed as recently as the 2015 elections. From the policy perspective, return migration has not been seen as a stimulus to wider national development in Guyana, since its initiation in 1967. Whatever the reason, there seem to be a lack of political appetite even locally to have this policy realize its true potential by successive governments ever since.

Most probably, the realistic challenges of smallness, the higher demands for quality public services, and yet the poor perceptions about public service needs are responsible. Of course, Guyana is a small state by definition of its population size; and by extension this means a fairly small number of eligible voters that can quickly be altered by a large influx of returning migrants. Moreover, the benefits that accrue to these return migrants, were they to access them, is also cause of much local furore. Alternatively, the government probably does not truly believe in the effectiveness of returning, as there is limited data to make the claim of their positive resultant development, as well as heightened sensitivity of promoting return in a small state, which potentially becomes a worrisome issue for political parties among their locally domiciled voting base. Or, it could be that return policy is more purely a matter of facilitation, as noted by Bristol (2010) – reducing costs and making relocation smoother – rather than a return policy for the purpose of development. In the meantime, the potential of return migration policy in Guyana continues to languish.

Another important observation is that while transnationalism is responsible for the interconnectedness of households, friends and family, aiding migration and support from abroad as demonstrated in the 2005 floods, intending migrants from the country of origin still

have the real need to optimize income and manage risk, given the insularity and other challenges of smallness that affect development, and by extension their own lives and livelihoods. This result leads to the need for a theoretical framework that sees existing postulates as complementary to explain migration and the return of migrants as a wider more complex process. In fact, with the CSME in place, the circumstances that result in labour moving to where there are higher returns makes it difficult for an existing return migration policy that remains undeveloped, and by extension weakens further the effectiveness the policy is expected to have, if that expectation is local development. In any case policy has not been seen to have any significant impact of migrants returning or their agency in local development.

It has been noted too that the public discourse on migration and development in Guyana has always been a very sensitive issue. Sometimes concerns are exaggerated as to why Guyanese leave, and regarding the government's ability, or lack thereof, to tackle the depletion of skills. Despite these concerns, migrants' families are left behind to become 'proud recipients of foreign resources' and appreciate the status symbol that goes with having a family member abroad. But, sometimes children and spouses are left behind too, with unintended negative emotional consequences. Such is the reality of small jurisdictions, and why migration's impact, positive or negative, resonates with these nations. Nevertheless, these are some of the 'real' conversation encounters on this topic locally that makes it multi-layered and indicates the complexity that goes into discerning the costs and benefits of migration by the layman.

The legacy of a closed-economy development system, the absence of basic items during that period, followed by too-hasty immersion into liberalization, are also sometimes attributed to Guyanese 'foreign-mindedness' per se. Often, the macro-data on remittances, in cash and kind, are treated as testimony as to why migration is beneficial to households.

Arrival and departure data, including sights of ‘the combackee’ (return migrant) in the streets, are used as micro-level indicators in the absence of more detailed data of this phenomenon. In a small state like Guyana, such instances are easily identifiable or noticeable, and are the proxy measures used by the citizenry in the absence of others to confirm peoples’ intuition.

Migration is embedded in the social and economic fabric of Guyanese society like it is culturally for most small-states (Mishra, 2006; Khonje, 2015; Connell, 2007, 2008, 2009), crosscutting positive and negative attributes. The evidence exists to show that, for small states, migration effects are particularly intense (Beine et al., 2008; Schiff and Wang, 2008). This is especially the case for Guyana, rated to have the highest brain drain in the world, with large remittance inflows that outweigh all sources of foreign inflows, including FDI and ODA combined. With such prominent elements of the migration-development nexus so apparent, and seemingly the only ones, this thesis investigated other dimensions of the nexus to ascertain their importance as a potential development stimulus for Guyana. Let me now stress the key claims to originality of my work.

The thesis self-evidently explored the potential development impact of return migration to Guyana. The only other attempt of this nature for the case of Guyana was by Strachan (1980, 1983), who evaluated the Government of Guyana return migration scheme using a smaller snowball sample of around 100 returnees. This work mainly concluded that the government scheme was successful in filling human capacity gaps in the public sector. My research has differed in scope, sample size, coverage of analytical categories, and techniques used for analysis.

My research investigated the differences among Guyanese return migrants, non-returning migrants, and non-migrants; identified determinants of return migration; and assessed the potential development impact of return to Guyana. By answering these questions, my ambition was to provide a more comprehensive analysis of the development

consequences of return migration to Guyana, including evaluating its potential impact *de facto*. In doing so, both traditional and novel tools were adapted to conceptualize the phenomenon of return migration, its development impact and to acquire new methods of analyzing the relevant data.

In the first chapter I posited that return migration still has important development relevance to small jurisdictions, and very much so for Guyana, based on various notable features of small economies and their connection to migration as an impetus for development. This has been reinforced by the rise in the use of return migration as a multidimensional tool in the migration-development nexus, which itself developed a global momentum and continuing agenda to optimize the benefits of migration for migrants and the countries involved.

In Guyana, reforms that started in the 1990s facilitated the operation of a variety of channels and tools used for financial and in-kind remittances, and concomitant transnational ties to flourish, which have led to more Guyanese returning, for example on short visits in support to the tourism sector. Recommencement of the return migration scheme to encourage migrants in the diaspora to return on a more longer-term basis, and repeated calls by no less than the President for Guyanese migrants to return and support local development, are attempts to scale-up support from those living abroad for local development. Government sentiments and strategy therefore support the notion that return migration might have a meaningful place in the development process, but this is neither matched by research nor policy. In fact, return migration policy continues to view return through the lens of facilitation and not necessarily as a development tool. At least from the stance of policy, the calls by successive presidents for migrants to return seems to be a matter of rhetoric not matched by any improvement in policy action. There seems to be a never-ending debate on potential, and thus far Guyana has not passed this stage.

The diametrically opposed position of the early independence period of pursuing an inward development focus through import-substitution, required the recruitment of skilled Guyanese from the diaspora to enhance the human capacity requirements locally. But this did not augur well, especially after the failure of the closed-economy approach, which had the opposite effect of many Guyanese emigrating and of returnees re-emigrating. Moreover, the legacy of import-substitution further stimulated emigration through family reunification, as observed by Vezzoli (2014), and bequeathed a ‘foreign-minded mentality’ that makes locals expect more for their individual and household development through migration. The latter has been reinforced as a coping strategy of risk management by individuals and households to address their problematic and volatile socio-economic situation. All of this relates to the doubt by locals that their potential can be optimized, or from those wanting to return who see their benefits of migration as being threatened if they relocate to back home.

The reasons for returning, as described by Strachan (1980, 1983) through the earlier periods and development phases, were very different from those found to be the case in this research, probably because Strachan’s focus was the return migrants’ scheme versus the wider coverage of my thesis. Nevertheless, diaspora communities continue to be nostalgic, and return migration or the intention to return remain as a ‘desirable’ facet of diaspora life that enables both a culture of return and a commitment to remitting in the absence of return. As such, chapter 1 reflected on the currency and continuity with which small states like Guyana might be motivated to look to their diaspora for initiatives and material support. Continuous challenges such as the brain drain, and the movement of labour to higher returns, including the CSME regional framework, reinforce this urgency for research and policy. Both the positive and negative aspects of migration make the pursuit of return migration as a potential development stimulus for small states on the whole worthy; thus, the case is strongly made for revisiting this topic.

In chapter 2 patterns of Guyanese migration were delineated, noting how early mobility entailed the inward flow of slaves followed by indentured labourer, after which labour emigration became a dominant feature of the pattern, which ended in a continuum of brain drain up to more recent times. This embedded the colonial link that shapes migrants' destinations to this day, even though there are some changes to be recognized, particularly the regional dimension of labour movement. Skills continue to emigrate and now it is the skills in support services and trades that are still very much need in Guyana. A number of factors were highlighted that pushed and pulled migrants from Guyana, from external policies requiring immigrants for labour services, and the size of the diaspora stimulating family reunification, to local development policies and associated socio-economic issues. These notions of migration and return were attributed not only to empirical findings and qualitative research presented in the literature but also with a conceptual basis in theory.

Non-economic factors that drive migration and return have shown themselves to be prominent in studies carried out on Guyanese migration. Much reference is made to the political situation, and those factors related to governance and crime, that stretch as far back as the 1960s, including the race riots that are seen as a particularly sensitive reference point, but one that continues to hamper the development of Guyana (DGIA, 2008). Thus, Guyana's ethnic plurality (Premdas, 1996) is still seen as a development challenge, and transcends migration. A number of conceptual ideas were summarized to add context to what has been observed with Guyanese migration and return, and to give a platform from which the thesis presents its arguments. Critically here, what was required is not simply to review the standard approaches that help to guide our understanding of migration and return, especially as they are manifested in small states. Rather, as Morawska (2007) and Kurekova (2011) have suggested, what is important is a range of approaches that can incorporate mutually supportive elements of all the major theoretical bodies, so that the country-specific,

institutional and structural considerations surrounding the study of migration (an ‘interdisciplinary synthesis’ noted King, 2012) are incorporated. In addition to covering standard theories, a special dual focus was given to transnationalism for conceptualizing migration determinants and for comparing migrant and non-migrant groups, and to the capabilities approach for ascertaining the consequences on development.

In reality, policy perspectives did not seem optimal, or reflective of the complexity of return migration types and obligations extracted. As such return migration policy, particularly for Guyana, seemed nationalistic, or as a facilitator of return rather than that of a motivator or development impetus. However, policy-makers in many small states have moved towards strengthening diaspora relations, often through diaspora policies as development complements to an existing return facilitation policy framework, so that such micro-states can benefit from migration whether or not the migrant returns. Guyana is now moving in the direction of having the complement of a diaspora policy, but the development complement is yet to be seen.

To provide insights into the impact of return migration in Guyana and conditioned by key elements of existing policy, chapter 3 chronicled the mixed methods of data collection and analysis utilized. Many dimensions of the migration-development nexus and actual return were confronted using a questionnaire for first-hand recall from respondents. This individual-level approach provides a rich context to ascertain some of the existing positions on the matter of return migration in public discourse locally. Data caveats identified were considerable, but not insurmountable (except the inherent selectivity bias), and allowed for some level of intuitive analysis and generalizability of findings on return and non-migrants, but more limited conclusions with reference to non-returning migrants.

7.2 Main Findings

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 directly addressed the three research questions set out in chapter 1, and therefore these three chapters contain the main findings of this study. Let me take each in turn.

Chapter 4 aimed to capture the key differences between return migrants, non-returning migrants, and non-migrants, exploring whether or not return migrants are different on important attributes, which in turn might be indicatively useful for development in Guyana. Multiple reasons for migrants' motivations to emigrate and return were identified as well, after which the chapter analysed the issue of the sustainability of return migration.

It was found that a typical return migrant to Guyana is a male, 41 years of age. Females in the sample returned to a lesser extent and with an average age of 35. North American returnees returned after spending longer period abroad. Return was generally pursued by males due to a reinforcement of traditional gender roles and based on the level of their assimilation at traditionally desired destinations, but it was found too that their overwhelming temporary and sometimes undocumented migrant status for intra-regional host countries would have contributed to return as well. Structural factors that allow migrants to absorb migration costs over longer periods are part of the choice of migrant destination among other factors. In return, males and females considered their families left behind, dependent on their contributions in the household. Importantly too, Guyanese migrants have more recently mainly emigrated to intra-regional host counties, reflecting shorter distances away in the hope of raising resources to start some form of economic activity back home. Hence, early return was found to be more common amongst younger migrants from closer destinations in the CARICOM region. More generally, motivations for emigration initially were predominantly due to migrants looking to gain better-paid work and furthering their studies; but return was mainly due to family reunification, among other reasons.

Most Guyanese return migrants engaged in some form of remitting from abroad, or acquisition of assets in their home country prior to returning. Migrants would normally remit and/or acquire assets that range from holding local bank accounts to buying land prior to return. Duration spent abroad is an important condition for being able to remit prior to returning, notwithstanding its prominence as well in policy. However, return migration is not necessarily permanent. Frequently, it was not found to be the final stage in the migration process due to contemplation of re-emigration. Further, some migrants were undecided about permanent return; others returned temporarily.

It was found too that re-emigration desires among return migrants are subject to a level of mixed embeddedness, but this can be counter-productive in a small state like Guyana. While economic embeddedness acts to reduce desires for re-emigration, it also enables return migrants to afford re-emigration, adding to the existing list of local institutional and structural challenges that precipitate re-emigration factors.

The signal given, therefore, is that, while returnees are positively positioned based on some attributes that can support local development, especially human capital, those factors are also enablers of re-emigration. This becomes a potential threat to the sustainability of return migration. As a result, economic and non-economic factors are traded-off in navigating return and re-emigration. These decisions are mostly individually based, though major factors, institutional, structural and otherwise, can also powerfully intervene.

This becomes clear in chapter 5 where I sought to identify the determinants of return migration to Guyana, and to do so in a way that the predictors would indicate the probability of increasing or decreasing migrants' duration of stay abroad. This was examined with seven factors reflecting individual-level data on returning and non-returning migrants. The determinants revealed the gendered nature of return migration to Guyana, as well as the relevance of age and ethnicity, age being a less confident predictor as it reflected time of

interview and not time of return. Importantly too were the reason for emigration initially, and where the migrant was returning from.

Based on the KM and the CPHM estimates, migration duration varies according to diverse personal and structural factors, but this analysis was limited since it did not include signals from structural components as those variables were not included in the analysis. Personal attributes were dominant however, which were interpreted as results-based indicators that would have benefited from systems and structural elements to produce enhanced capabilities upon return to Guyana.

An optimal migration duration is less noticeable given the context-dependent nature of individuals in migration and return, and this was in part reflected by returning migrants intra-regionally, whose temporary status compelled them to do so. The heterogeneity of migrants' status is associated with their duration of stay abroad. This allows policy space to target the kind of return migrant the government might be interested in recruiting or favouring by way of incentives, to return for specific development purposes.

It should be recognized too that, in the combined migration and return processes, transnational ties, as reflected through where migrants are hosted, are relevant. Again, this allows targeting by policy, and for specific guidance on where ties are to be strengthened bilaterally to optimize the benefits from the diaspora, and from migration more generally. However, emigrating to destinations with large Guyanese communities, usually to host countries relatively further away, is associated with the reduced probability of returning quickly. These are the clusters and communities from which a major portion of remittances come, and to which the political directorate look for support when needed. Hence, policy should not be discouraged by evidence on migrants not returning, but should try to understand how to optimize the benefits from established migrants through a diaspora policy. This is especially important, since actual return strengthens mostly the human capital needed

in Guyana, which is not guaranteed. If properly and optimally utilized through targeted policy, which is currently absent, this is more likely to be a reality. Return, however, negates the remittance inflows that otherwise proffer a range of socio-economic benefits – foreign exchange, rural household poverty reduction, improved household consumption, support to education expenditures, release of collateral credit constraints for micro-enterprises, etc. (Roberts, 2006; Thomas-Hope, 2011; Peters and Kamau, 2015).

Actual return of migrants who possess the potential for development has to be utilized in a very targeted manner in order to deliver a multiplier effect on human capacity building that will potentially begin to address some of the human resource needs of the country. Return migrants must be utilized in a very pragmatic and strategic manner, as was the case in the 1960s and 1970s, and more recently in the 2000s, when trained medical workers who emigrated on government scholarships returned to the public health sector to deliver better outcomes. However, this, by the government's own acknowledgment in their MDG reports of 2007 and 2011, has not worked fully since the skills deficiencies in Guyana were still hampering the achievement of development, even after the return of trained professionals. It was recognized that development was continuing to be inhibited by human capital shortages particularly affecting health and education outcomes. And research by Mishra (2006) was already convinced that remittances could not compensate for the capacity deficiencies suffered by Caribbean small states, Guyana included. It is for this reason that return, which has been shown in this thesis to have potential, can be an exogenous stimulus to development.

In chapter 6, using the capabilities lens, and reducing the data to components where return migrants displayed features not necessarily found in the other comparator groups, important observations were made for assessing the consequences of return for development. The factor analysis result identified 13 variables out of 71, which can be used to show where

return migrants display important attributes over the other groups. This summarized the return migration-development nexus in Guyana. Clues from the literature have shown how impact has been manifested indirectly, as was suggested by four latent components from the data. Within the 13 observable indicators, return migrants' achievements were captured and demonstrated in terms of the direct impact components. The indirect components – capabilities – were argued to be fourfold. More concretely, return migrants were seen as having an impact on income, though this might be exaggerated. The size of this positive impact was related to which location the migrant is returning from and to their reason for returning.

7.3 Main Contributions

This research has made some useful contributions to the combined domain of return migration and development, situated in the wider migration and development nexus, and with specific reference to small jurisdictions. Here I highlight five key contributions of the thesis.

Firstly, the usefulness of return migration to small states cannot be discounted as not having potential for development, especially since international exposure and duration of time away combine to make some returnees highly capable in terms of their human development contribution. This becomes more possible where the policies harness and diffuse such potential – actualize it – and the political will exists to do so. While the potential might not necessarily be optimized, and the data do not gather sufficient information that is readily available to quantify their impact, return migrants do present an opportunity for enhancing development in their home country. Additionally, even where physical return does not occur, it would still be useful to complement return migration policy with diaspora policies, for fostering an enabling environment for remittances in cash and kind, where

migrants do not return, and for encouraging other developmental inputs which can be made at a distance.

Secondly, migration duration varies, recognizing the context-dependent nature of migration and return, in part driven by migrants' situations and individual characteristics, often with structural elements as complements. As a result, theory cannot be ascribed in a singular way to the multidimensionality of migration, return and development; it is clearly an 'interdisciplinary synthesis' (King, 2012). This variation provides policy-makers with the space to target the type of return migrant of interest. Such policy in the case of Guyana should be highly selective and targeted. This is particularly important, since what matters for development in the country of origin is commonality of interest.

Thirdly, the very characteristics and attributes that make return migrants useful as a development impetus also makes their potential for re-emigration greater.

Fourth, the combined use of the capabilities approach and factor analysis presents a good opportunity to expand the discussions presented in the migration-development nexus debate in terms of how we contextualize the benefits of migration, define individual-level development, and think of how individual-level benefits can be scaled up.

Finally, survival analysis presents a useful way of conditioning return based on time spent abroad, and grasping some aspects of the experiences of migrants with time-varying covariates. It is also a fairly inexpensive and efficient measure for addressing determinants of return migration with the use of cross-section sample data, in comparison to the more expensive longitudinal/panel data.

7.4 Important Recommendations and Policy Implications

There is undoubtedly much more that return migrants could deliver for Guyana, with the right policy and promotion in a programmatic approach that targets specific areas of

development need, especially those related to human capacity building. Exploring the potential impact of return migration on development in Guyana for this PhD commenced at a time when history was being made in politics and government, following the election outcome of 2011. For the first time in its existence, Guyana had a split power system with the Executive controlled by one party and the combined opposition having the majority in Parliament. Further, in November 2014, this situation resulted in a prorogation of the Tenth Parliament for a period of six months after which national elections were called for May 2015. Following that election, the combined opposition won power after 23 years. For the period 2011 to 2015, gathering information particularly from official government sources was especially difficult, and expressly so on the topic of migration, which had been the source of heated debate owing to the large-scale emigration of predominantly government-employed medical and education workers. Further, as highlighted in chapter 3, the dilemma of abuse in the return migration scheme has not been useful for engendering the confidence needed to convince those in the diaspora to return, amidst the call for them to do so by the highest authorities. A potential consequence of this is the reliability of the data generated by the scheme. But, more importantly, the mood of people in the country at the time, and particularly in government as I went about my field research, was very challenging. It opened up the reality that, on the topic of migration, public interest was high but in a rather negative sense. However, secondary data and information were not available for appropriate actions to be taken, and hence doubt led to speculation about the migration process, its complexity, but also acknowledgment of the huge importance this issue has acquired in development thinking. Clearly there is need for policy improvements and clarity in the use of the scheme to contribute to Guyana's development, irrespective of which party holds government office. There is also a dire need for good data sources irrespective of government sentiments and the benefit in research and policy targeting this can achieve. This produces credible evidence-

based policy enhancement. Hence, my basic and very important concluding recommendations are threefold.

First, I reiterate straight away that data is crucially important for evidence-based policy making, especially for the linked area of migration and return in development. The only data collected on returnees outside of registering for concessions, is the diaspora database supported by IOM, where Guyanese abroad can register their interests for work in Guyana and their skillset. What is urgently needed is more information on those returning outside the government scheme, and an understanding of obligations that can be extracted in an arrangement where returnees are rewarded once they can fill specific development gaps. This is indicative of a need for more focus development as well, and not an assumption of development contribution in the event some migrant returns.

Second, a specific diaspora policy is needed, with clear guidance and identified instruments that can be used to support local development by Guyanese living abroad. Currently, a diaspora policy is drafted and moving towards public consultations. Additionally, instruments are needed to channel resources possessed by those in the diaspora in such a way that can benefit the home country.

And finally, return migration policy should be adjusted to be much more of a motivator than just a facilitator of return. It can also be improved for extracting obligations from returnees contributing to specific development outcomes to balance the cost of concessions against previous or impending contributions to local development.

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