



STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENTAL OPPORTUNITIES FROM DIASPORA TOURISM: THE JAMAICAN PERSPECTIVE¹

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Abstract: This paper, which is based on ongoing research, explores some of the socio-economic benefits associated with the return to Jamaica of non-resident Jamaicans living in London. These short return visits to one's homeland or place of origin, birth or heritage is referred to as Diaspora tourism and is an important element in the migration-tourism nexus. The paper will examine the motivations for Diaspora tourists visiting Jamaica from London, one of the major global cities that Jamaicans have historically migrated to. Based on the analysis of in depth interviews conducted in Jamaica and London with key stakeholders, as well as a situational analysis of secondary data, the paper will explore the patterns and motivations behind Diaspora tourism. It will also examine the economic, social, cultural, political and environmental impacts of this movement on Jamaica and further explore strategic opportunities for trade and investment and the implications for future development for Jamaica.

Keywords: *Diaspora tourism, Jamaica, London, strategic opportunities, developmental potential*

INTRODUCTION

When one examines the advertisements, the link with 'our country' becomes much more concrete. The pages are stuffed with advertisements for shipping lines, airlines, freight handlers, money transfer services (send your cash in a flash one says), plots for sale in Jamaica, architects, removal companies, vacation accommodation and export houses selling tropicalized refrigerators... (Cohen, 1997)

The above is a typical portrayal of the ancestral homeland in the *Weekly Gleaner*,

a popular Caribbean newspaper in the UK. It is also indicative of the strength of a transnational Caribbean identity and the emotional attachments that Caribbean migrants have with their home countries. This attachment is often accompanied by a sense of loyalty, belonging, yearning to return and sometimes obligations to the homeland. It is within this context that Jamaican Diaspora tourism will be examined in this paper. Within the context of transnationalism, return and attachment, the impact of Diaspora tourism and its

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potential for the Jamaican economy and society will be assessed.

With the prediction that by 2031 the population of UK will rise to over 70 million, with 70% of this rise over the next 20 years attributable to immigration, a new type of tourism is set to have a major impact on the travel industry—Diaspora tourism. This multi country, multi participant case study is an ongoing research project focusing on the strategic opportunities from Caribbean migration, its trade and developmental potential. Specifically, it examines the travel and tourism impacts of the Jamaican diaspora in one of the major migration destination cities—London. It will examine the patterns and motivations behind reciprocal migratory flows between Jamaica and London. Further, it will examine economic, social, cultural and political impacts of these flows while pointing to further implications for trade and investment opportunities and development in Jamaica.

JAMAICAN RETURN AND THE RISE OF DIASPORA TOURISM

The process through which migrants promote and maintain ties between the countries where they reside and their home community is referred to as transnational migration (Basch and Blanc-Sznaton, 1992). Caribbean migrants, even after decades abroad, identify strongly with their homelands, retaining what observers will call an

‘ideology of return’ (Gmelch, 1992; Philpott, 1973). A desire to return to the homeland has been cited as one of the defining characteristics of the Diaspora (Cohen, 1997) and is closely associated with the existence and nature of transnational linkages established between migrants and their home country (Thomas-Hope, 1999). Transnationalism, together with a psyche to return, has contributed to the phenomenon we know today as diaspora tourism.

Today there are some 2.5 million Jamaicans in the Diaspora, almost as many in the Jamaican population at home. Of this figure, some 15% account for Diaspora tourists. Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4 show figures for returning nationals to Jamaica for several years. Table 1 shows returning residents to Jamaica between 2003 and 2007. It shows a slight and steady increase among returning residents for these years.

Between 1997 and 2006 returning residents accounted for 20% of all immigration to Jamaica (Table 2). Table 3 shows that although most Jamaican emigrants go to the United States, in terms of return flows most returning Jamaican nationals come from the UK. Diaspora tourists are part of returning resident flows and in 2004 they accounted for 6% of return flows in Jamaica (Table 4).

The increasing rates of return among the Diaspora have led to an increasing interest from the Jamaican government, the

Table 1 Immigration to Jamaica, 2003–2007

Year	Returning residents	Deportees	Commonwealth citizens	Total
2003	1170	3940	1215	6325
2004	1208	4226	1000	6434
2005	1299	3320	1500	6119
2006	1236	3004	5930	10170

Source: PIOJ 2007

Table 2 Return migrants to Jamaica (1997–2006)

Year	Returning residents
1997–2001	8133
2002–2006	6018
Total 1997–2006	17 141
% of 1997–2006	20%
Immigration	

Source: Thomas-Hope 2004 (Updated to 2006)

Table 3 Foreign Nationals Arrivals 1995–2000

Country	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
USA	8.8	8.9	8.8	9	8.5	8.4
Canada	13.3	13.3	13.2	13.4	12.4	12.2
UK	21.9	21.7	20.3	20.3	18.1	18.6

Source: Annual Travel Statistics 2000; Jamaica

Table 4 Nationals as a percent of tourists in selected countries

Country	Nationals	Percent	Year
Dominican Republic	523,588	15	2003
Jamaica	57,428	6	2004
Mexico	2,203,100	22	1997

Source: Banco Central, Republica Dominicana, www.bancentral.gov.do

Tourist Board, Jamaica Trade and Invest (JTI) and other interest groups. In addition to the realisation that the Diaspora has become an increasing percent of tourism, the important positive links between the Diaspora and development, the economic crisis and increasing debt burdens of the Jamaican government has spurred on the urgent need to establish ties with the Diaspora, as well as encouraging them back home and to invest in the homeland (Diaspora tourism). Such tourism typically features the packaging, promotion and consumption of Diaspora community neighbourhoods, food and shopping and importantly festivals and cultural events.

The relationships between Diaspora communities, festivity, cultural events and tourism are, therefore, of considerable interest to academic researchers, as well as for arts, social, cultural and tourism policy makers and practitioners.

The Jamaican government has, therefore, established a Diaspora Advisory Board to provide recommendations to the government on Jamaican consulates in cities such as London and New York, with a large Jamaican Diaspora, work actively to support the Diaspora and facilitate connections with Jamaica. Major initiatives have been recently undertaken to mobilize the Diaspora,

strengthen its linkages with home, and enhance its contribution to national development. A Jamaican Diaspora Foundation was launched in 2004, and the Jamaican Diaspora Board in 2005. Bi-annual conferences are also being convened. This is spearheaded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, with Missions in the main destination countries having been assigned community relations officers to assist the Diaspora in various ways, including the settlement or re-settlement of migrants, promoting rights and helping the sick and those incarcerated (Rodríguez, 2006).

OBJECTIVES OF THE PAPER

- Demonstrate the nature and scope of return migration to Jamaica.
- Situate Diaspora tourism within the broader context of return.
- Examine the motivating factors for short term visits by the Diaspora.
- Examine the economic, socio-cultural, trade and environmental impacts at local and national levels.
- Identify trade and investment opportunities for Jamaica from Diaspora tourism.
- Identify tools or means by which Jamaica can increase, sustain and capitalize on Diaspora tourism for future development.
- Implications of Diaspora tourism for sustainable development.

The above objectives were achieved through both an examination and analysis of secondary data and the administering of more specific research questions presented in an interview schedule (see Appendix 1).

LITERATURE REVIEW

The paper provides a discussion on the development potential of returning migrants, of which the Diaspora tourist is a part. It then gives a review of the literature on Diaspora tourism in developing countries, demonstrating how it is undervalued and why its significance should be appreciated in today's global economy. An argument is made that in addition to economic benefits, there are also important socio cultural and political reasons why developing country governments need to encourage, support and invest in Diaspora tourism. Developing countries receive over 300 million tourist visits a year (USAID, 2009). Diaspora makes up a large part of this group. Through tourism, besides stimulating the local economy while visiting, diasporas support their home communities by buying nostalgic goods which typically are produced by micro and small enterprises. Greater efforts can be made to promote Diaspora tourism and to develop the capacity of the makers of nostalgic goods through value chain work.

RETURN MIGRATION AND ITS DEVELOPMENTAL POTENTIAL

Although Diaspora tourists are nationals returning home for short visits, they have sometimes been conceptualized as part of return migration. This is because the Diaspora tourist shares the same feelings of attachment to home is a potential permanent returnee and can contribute in the same way as returnees to development of home countries. Caribbean migrants, even after decades abroad, identify strongly with their homelands, retaining what observers will call an 'ideology of return' (Gmelch, 1992; Philpott, 1973). A desire to return to the homeland has been cited as one of the defining characteristics of the Diaspora

(Cohen, 1997) and is closely associated with the existence and nature of transnational linkages established between migrants and their home country (Thomas-Hope, 1999). Return migrant has important implications for the development of the home country. It has been argued that returnees bring back human, financial and social capital gained abroad (Olesen, 2003). Return migrants have the potential to make different kinds of contributions to national development—some through their skills, educational and professional experience, others through remittances and the financial capital which they transfer for investment or as retirement income.

Ghosh (2000) argues that one of the two most important factors in determining whether return will benefit local development is the preparedness of the returnee. This depends on the ability of migrants to obtain and share current information about their places of origin, such as that pertaining to business opportunities, labour market openings and housing market conditions (Sorensen et al., 2003). The second factor according to Ghosh (2000) is the extent to which the country of origin provides an enabling social, economic and institutional environment in which the returnee can effectively make a contribution. Indeed problems such as poor infrastructure, limited social services and corruption not only make it more difficult for returnees to contribute to local development but it can also act as strong deterrent to return (Olesen, 2003).

This study purports that the transnational practices enacted by social networks can be seen to contribute to the propitious conditions required for return to benefit development even though migrants do not actually return home. This can be achieved by maintaining affinity with home, channeling and

disseminating information about home and contributing to the creation of an enabling environment for investment.

According to Henry (1990), other benefits include that fact that financial resources, whether spent in the Caribbean or in host countries, are nonetheless spent on Caribbean goods and services in one form or the other. While this has not been quantified, it is still clear that Caribbean goods abroad and the promotion of Caribbean culture and its export are directly linked to the existence of large and active Caribbean communities abroad (Nurse, 2004; Thomas-Hope, 2004).

The potential developmental impact of the Diaspora has been increasingly recognised in the literature especially in light of lobbying by several Diaspora communities to get governments and international agencies to recognize their contributions to home. For example, Meyer and Brown (1999) found that 41 expatriate knowledge networks existed at that time and that they promoted themselves and the potential benefits of knowledge and skills transfer. There is a large reservoir of social capital associated with these Diaspora networks. They offer a wide scope for tourism, ethnic, specialty and niche markets (Nurse, 2004). However, strategies for maximizing their benefits have yet to be elaborated either in terms of human resource development schemes or in terms of trade relations. The Caribbean has yet to formulate a concrete strategy to tap into diasporic communities as a viable means to diversify their economies and for further regional development. All of these aforementioned developments and issues within the migration literature have served to influence a re-conceptualization of skilled labour migration and are relevant to the study of nurse migration.

VALUING THE DEVELOPMENTAL POTENTIAL OF DIASPORA TOURISTS

While governments spend millions in investments in foreign tourists, little attempt has been made to attract or encourage overseas based nationals to visits home. Diaspora tourists deserve greater consideration and investment given their potential benefit to local and national development (indicated above). Diaspora tourists also have the potential to become permanent returnees and thus make more long terms contributions and investments in home countries.

Developing countries' tourism efforts rarely target Diaspora tourists. Barkin (2001) notes that the Mexican government focuses current efforts on meeting the needs of foreign, high-end and high-spending tourists. Even among countries with specific policies to support domestic or Diaspora tourists, practical commitments doesn't often live up to the rhetoric, for instance, while the Kenyan Domestic Tourism Council has an impressive set of objectives, it is hard to see how they might be achieved when the government still devotes most of its resources to promote international tourism. The bias against domestic and Diaspora tourists has to do with government's preoccupation to move tourism upscale and attract foreign exchange.

Travel by both domestic and Diaspora tourists can expand their knowledge and understanding of home country with subsequent increase in national pride. Themes such as identity, belonging and nation building are key in Diaspora maintaining meaningful ties with homelands.

When nationals return home for holiday or family function, they bring foreign exchange as well as rekindle cultural links

which ensure enduring economic and social ties with home (Coles and Timothy, 2004). They may be an important source of foreign direct investment. Barkin (2001) found that when expats returned to Mexico on holiday their actions had significant developmental benefits. As well as giving money and gifts to family members and spending in local areas, they also supported community organisations such as schools and religious groups.

Asiedu (2005) found that Ghanaian nationals returning home for visits spend 2769 pounds on average including international travel, 585 was spent on incidentals such as contributions to community funds and expenses for funerals, 433 used to purchase food and entertainment for family and friends, 274 on commercial accommodation.

The links between social connections and economic development should not be overlooked. Lew and Wong (2004) show how travel home by members of the Chinese Diaspora can build social capital and thus economic development. Many of the 60 million ethnic Chinese who live abroad belong to voluntary overseas Chinese associations that contribute funds to help develop home area. For example, contributions by American Chinese from Taishan country between 1978 and 1998 amounted to 14 million U.S. dollars and funded numerous educational, medical and infrastructural projects in that area (Lew and Wong, 2004).

Duval's (2003) research on Eastern Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto revealed that maintenance of social and cultural ties was a key motivator for return visits. Potter (2005) found that second-generation Caribbean persons returning to their

homelands—most of whom brought skills with them that were in high demand, had almost all visited their home country a number of times before deciding to emigrate.

METHODOLOGY

This study adopts a case study approach, and therefore, provides an exploration of a bounded system or a case (or multiple cases) over time through detailed in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context (Creswell 1998). The bounded system is bounded by time and place and the case could be an individual, event, activity or programme. A multi country approach has been adopted with stakeholders from Jamaica and London being interviewed on their knowledge on, lived experiences and views on the issue of Diaspora tourism for Jamaica.

The first stage of the study involved a review of the relevant literature, government policy documents, available data and other documents on Diaspora tourism. This is intended to identify the existence and evolution of any policy or practical plans for the Diaspora and their development potential. Secondly, key stakeholders have been identified through snowball sampling and chain referrals and interviewed through face to face interviews. All interviews were audio taped (with the consent of the participants) and notes were made during the interviews. Interviews generally lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. Finally, there has been some participant observation for this study. The researcher has attended and observed two major workshops with Diaspora and interest groups in Jamaica. The first workshop 'Knowledge Networks for Connecting Jamaica and its Diaspora' funded by the EC/UN aimed

at a more structured engagement with the Jamaican Diaspora, especially through links to community projects. The second workshop or working group meeting was hosted by the Jamaica Diaspora Institute at the University of the West Indies, Mona and brought together key stakeholders to discuss the set up of a web portal and databases for the Jamaican Diaspora so that they can connect, communicate and get together more effectively.

To date 10 in-depth interviews have been conducted both in Jamaica and London. The study is ongoing and hopes to interview another ten stakeholders, bring the total to 20. The second round of interviewing will be conducted this June at the Jamaica Diaspora Convention taking place in Ocho Rios Jamaica June 14th to 17th 2010. Some 900 delegates from the Diaspora are expected to attend and will be coming from the United States, Canada and the UK. This convention provides an excellent opportunity not only to target stakeholders in the Diaspora who can be interviewed for this study, but it also allows for after interview engagement and discussions with Diaspora groups over a 3-day period.

SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

This section examines data on arrivals to Jamaica (non-resident Jamaicans and foreign nationals) from major destination countries.

Table 5 shows arrivals to Jamaica from the major destinations from 2006 to 2009. The figures which are the most current (January 2010) were obtained from the Jamaica Tourist Board in London during fieldwork conducted there. While the figures represent all tourist arrivals from those main destination regions, it should

Table 5 Stopover arrivals to Jamaica by region (figures inclusive of non-resident Jamaicans)

Region	Dec-06	Dec-07	Dec-08	Dec-09
USA	109,491	114,192	109,726	109,783
Canada	23,700	29,561	35,195	36,616
Europe	27,329	26,728	25,375	26,697
Total	168,434	180,026	179,614	181,816

Source: Marketing Dept. Jamaica Tourist Board, Jan 2010

be noted the non-resident Jamaicans (Jamaican Diaspora) are included in these figures. The United States represents the largest source of tourist arrivals for Jamaica for all years with 65% of total arrivals in 2006 and 60.4% of total in 2009. While Europe represented the second largest source of arrivals to Jamaica in 2006 at 16.2% of total arrivals, by 2009 Canada had taken over as the second major source of arrivals with 20.1% of total arrivals.

Tables 6 and 7 are more revealing, with Table 6 showing arrivals from London, the country with which this study is concerned and Table 7 showing the number of non-resident Jamaicans comprising total arrivals for 2009. More importantly, the arrival figures in Table 7 are presented for each month which is important in analyses of the impacts of the Diaspora. By knowing the months in which most Diaspora tourists visit home, policy makers can be more strategic in their plans for development based on Diaspora tourism. For instance, the month of December represents the month when most Jamaicans came back home to visit for 2009 (12.7% of total arrivals) and so policy planners can capitalize on this by organizing activities/events during that month to bring those persons together and engage them in discussions or problem solving for future development plans. Alternatively, the months September

to November represented the period for which the least numbers of Jamaicans came home to visit (about 9% and less) and so policy planners can target those months as the period for the most aggressive marketing with incentive packages to encourage more Jamaicans home.

SUMMARY OF UK ARRIVALS

During 2009, the number of visitors from the UK decreased by 2.1% from 188,436 in 2008 to 184,512 in 2009. According to the Annual Travel Statistic (2009) a total of 122,591 or 66.4% of UK visitors visited Jamaica for leisure, recreation and holiday, 34,068 or 18.5% visited friends and relatives, 14,528 or 7.9% came on business and 13,325 or 7.2% visited for other/not stated purposes (Figure 1). The visiting friends and relatives category (20% of UK arrivals) represents the Diaspora tourists or non-resident Jamaicans and this is the category that this paper is most concerned with.

The gender break down of arrivals from the UK for 2009 was 83,878 or 45.5% males and 100,634 or 54.5% females. The age distribution for UK arrivals for 2009 was 15.7% under 18 years, 8.2% between 18 and 24 years, 49.8% were between 25 and 49 years old, 18.2% were between 50 and 64 years old and 8.1% were over 65 years old.

Table 6 Stopover arrivals from London, UK to Jamaica (figures inclusive of non-resident Jamaicans)

Region	Dec-06	Dec-07	Dec-08	Dec-09
London	7685	7607	6942	7193
Total UK	18753	18360	17981	18046

Source: Research & Marketing Intelligence Unit, Marketing Unit, Jamaica Tourist Board 2010

Table 7 Tourist arrivals, Jan–Dec, 2009

Month	Foreign nationals	Non resident Jamaicans	Total arrivals
Jan	139,481	9,405	148,886
Feb	150,608	9,674	160,282
Mar	164,997	10,932	175,929
Apr	151,241	12,849	164,090
May	143,241	10,202	153,443
June	155,036	13,525	168,561
July	177,714	18,226	195,940
Aug	138,826	13,747	152,573
Sept	86,561	8,702	95,263
Oct	100,174	8,646	108,820
Nov	117,163	8,331	125,494
Dec	158,804	23,012	181,816
Total	1,683,846	147,251	1,831,097

Source: Research & Marketing Intelligence Unit, Marketing Dept. Jamaica Tourist Board, 2010

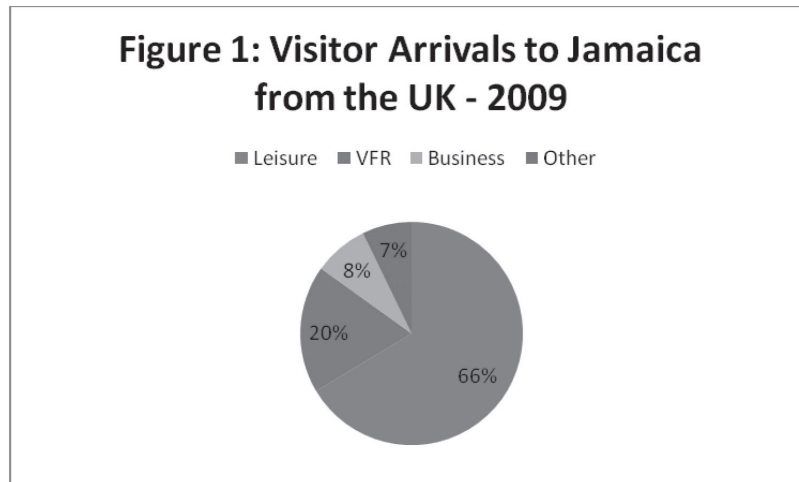


Figure 1 Visitor arrivals to Jamaica from the UK – 2009

Important facts about diaspora tourists

Tables 8 and 9 compare the length of stay of non-resident Jamaicans visiting Jamaica to that of foreign national visitors. The figures show that for all months during 2009, non-resident Jamaicans stay longer than foreign nationals on their

visits to Jamaica. Non-resident Jamaicans stay on average 16.5 nights while foreign nationals stay on average 9.2 nights. Table 9 shows that the months June, July, November and December represent the months when non-resident Jamaicans stay the longest on their visits to the homeland.

Table 8 Average length of stay (nights) 2009 non-resident Jamaicans

January	16.1
February	14.2
March	14.7
April	14.3
May	15.2
June	18.1
July	17.5
August	14.4
September	15.8
October	15.7
November	20.1
December	19.1
Jan-Dec	16.5

Source: Annual Travel Statistics 2009

Table 9 Average length of stay (nights) 2009: foreign nationals

January	9.5
February	8.4
March	8.3
April	8.3
May	8.3
June	9.6
July	10.1
August	9.2
September	9.5
October	8.9
November	9.6
December	10.9
Jan-Dec	9.2

Source: Annual Travel Statistics 2009

Tables 10 and 11 take a closer look at the behavior of non-resident Jamaicans/Diaspora tourists when they visit home. Table 10 shows that those who do not stay in hotels during their visits, generally stay for a longer period (average of 17 nights) than those who do stay in hotel (average of 8.2 nights). This was also evident for all the months for 2009. Table 11 shows that most Diaspora tourists stay in private homes (93.1%) when they come home to visit. Some 5.6% of Diaspora tourists stay at hotels during their visits. While this is a small portion, it is nonetheless an important

figure as it represents those Diaspora tourists who make direct contributions to the tourism sector.

The above data present the scope of Diaspora tourism for Jamaica and prove useful in analyzing the behavior of the Diaspora. There is need for continued monitoring of those figures by policy planners, as they will go a long way in analysing the potential benefit of Diaspora tourism for the local economy and will help to shape strategic plans for facilitating Diaspora tourism and engaging those persons for future development.

Table 10 Average length of stay (nights) by type of accommodation, 2009 (non-resident Jamaicans)

Month	Hotel	Non-hotel
Jan	8.2	16.6
Feb	7.4	14.5
Mar	7.2	15.1
Apr	7.6	14.7
May	7.8	15.7
June	8.3	18.7
July	8.8	18
Aug	8.5	14.8
Sept	7.2	16.4
Oct	6.8	16.4
Nov	8.5	21
Dec	10.6	19.4
Jan-Dec	8.2	17

Source: Annual Travel Statistics, 2009

Table 11 Non-resident Jamaican Arrivals 2009

Accommodation	Arrivals	Length of stay (nights)
Hotel	8282	8.2
Non hotel	1542	12.2
Private home	137,202	17.1
Other	225	13.5
	147,251	16.5

Source: Annual Travel Statistics 2009

REASONS FOR RETURN

In-depth interviews were conducted with key stakeholders both in Jamaica and London. The interviews schedule is presented in Appendix 1. The stakeholders were drawn from institutions which deal with migration, tourism and the Jamaican Diaspora (Appendix 2). The salient themes emerging from the in depth interviews have been presented in sub categories. The classification of these major themes are as follows:

- 1 Motivational factors for return to homelands
- 2 Impacts of return
- 3 Views on trade, investment and developmental opportunities
- 4 Recommendations for facilitating and increasing the impacts of Diaspora tourism.

Reasons/motivation for return

Jamaicans come home for a lot of different reasons. If you look at Christmas time...Christmas in Jamaica is very special in terms of family, so families tend to come home to visit family. Some people come home in summer but I think its more Christmas, but they come home for those kinds of celebrations. They will come home for funerals, weddings etc. (R #001)

The above is a snippet from an interview and represents stakeholder views on reasons why Jamaican Diaspora come home for visits. In terms of motivations for return or the main reasons why Jamaicans go back home for visits, the following main themes have emerged and are ranked based on the level of importance attached to each by the interviewees. This section also deals with factors that may deter the Jamaican Diaspora from returning:

- Family obligations
- Maintain links with authentic Jamaica

- Specific festivals and events
- To scope out investment opportunities
- Crime and perceptions of crime as a major deterrent
- Government taxes imposed on travel is another major deterrent

In terms of impacts of Diaspora tourism, both positive and negative impacts were noted during the interviews. These included:

- Community involvement and projects
- Donations to institutions at home
- Spending on local good and services to boost economy
- Political activism which can be both good and bad
- Skills and knowledge transfer

According to one stakeholder,

It does affect the economy in a way, maybe not as much as a regular tourist. Wedo stay in hotels you know and actually you finding more and more people staying in hotels because they do like freedom, you know not wanting to be constrained by family...so now we stay with family part way and hotels part way, so that is an opportunity actually there...

(R#002)

In the area of trade and investment opportunities and developmental potential of Diaspora tourism, the following ideas were put forward:

- Many opportunities for investment
- Need for information on investment opportunities at home
- Small scale investors have little impact
- Need for collaboration
- Tap into cultural icons

The development potential of the Jamaican Diaspora in London has been linked to the strength of UK dollar and disposal income of the Diaspora. For instance, one stakeholder noted:

UK Diaspora are seen as economically very powerful...for the past few years the economy has been strong and the UK pound is very strong in Jamaica (R#004)

In conceptualising the impacts of Diaspora tourism, we may place these short-term visits within the migration return and circulation framework. When migration is conceptualised as a circular process, the debate then takes on a new direction. The circularity of migration is evidenced by not only the return of emigrants to the home country, but also when they go back and forth, maintain attachments with the home community and there is circulation of people, goods, technologies and ideas. In the latter case, the analytical construct of 'social location' becomes relevant. Social location according to Mahler and Pessar (2006) provides a reference term for how individuals and groups are situated in multiple, intersecting and mutually constituting hierarchies of gender, race, class, ethnicity, nationality, etc. This has benefits for source or home countries because according to Commander et al. (2003) through return, networks or repatriation, such as through remittances, emigrants provide essential inputs to new businesses and productive activities in the home countries. These are important aspects of the development of the national economies in home countries.

This study found social capital benefits from Diaspora tourism in the form of social networks and links forged between home and destination countries. The existence of these networks suggest there is a wide scope for investment, as well as trade in goods,

services and culture which could be facilitated by and capitalized upon by Caribbean governments for national long-term development. As Diaspora tourism grows, it can also lead to a burgeoning tourist industry through the increase also of international tourists. This is because the Diaspora may also encourage friends and persons in their international networks to visit as well, leading to greater visibility and investment opportunities for the Caribbean region.

Finally, in terms of recommendations for future policy on increasing linkages with the Diaspora and facilitating the developmental potential from Diaspora tourism, the interviewees noted:

- Diaspora in London needs information (general information)
- Need for greater collaboration among various Diaspora groups
- Institutions need to facilitate the Diaspora
- Need to meet regularly with the Jamaican government/ outreach to the Diaspora community
- Need for specifically tailored packages for the Diaspora (different from other tourists)

This paper is part of on-going research and has presented preliminary findings on the strategic opportunities from Diaspora tourism for Jamaica. The research intends to continue with data collection and stakeholder interviewing during June and July. Data analysis will be completed in August and then the final paper will be completed by September at the conclusion of the research. The researcher intends to place the findings within the conceptual and theoretical frameworks and make recommendations for viable and strategic policies for realizing the potential for development for Jamaica.

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