WEST INDIAN TEACHERS AND NURSES IN ONTARIO, CANADA:

A STUDY OF MIGRATION PATTERNS

WEST INDIAN TEACHERS AND NURSES IN ONTARIO, CANADA: A STUDY OF MIGRATION PATTERNS.

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In rigidly structured societies where entry into certain occupations and/or social strata are blocked, migration provides the channels of upward mobility. The study shows how West Indians of lower status origins use the professions - teaching and nursing - to achieve this mobility. The evidence also suggests a positive relationship between migration and levels of aspiration, career patterns, and anomie.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Objective.

This study is concerned with the causes of external migration of British West Indian teachers and nurses to Ontario, Canada.[1] Migration from the West Indies is not a recent phenomenon. As far back as the 1880's, West Indians have been migrating to countries like Panama, Venezuela, Cuba, Bermuda, the U.S.A., and Great Britain, in order to seek employment. The migrants have been drawn by the opening up of the Panama canal, need for labour on the sugar plantations in Cuba, the industrial expansion and the general call for migrants in the United States in the 1920's. The majority of West Indian migrants, however, have found their way to Britain. This migration has its origins in the wartime situation early in the century, when several thousand men from the islands were recruited into the armed forces of Britain, many of whom were stationed in the British Isles themselves. Some workers were also posted in factories, in order to relieve the labour shortage during the war. When these men returned home at the end of the war, they found that the standard of living in the islands was decidedly lower than that to which they were accustomed in Britain. Besides, unemployment was extremely high, and jobs were hard to find. This started the trek to Britain, and the numbers increased steadily, until 1962, when the Commonwealth Immigration Act was introduced in order to limit the numbers of Commonwealth citizens immigrating to the U.K. It is estimated that during the period 1958-1960 some 82,084 West Indians emigrated from the West Indies to the United Kingdom.[2] Without a doubt, the main motivation for such migration has been economic. A sample survey of migrants from Jamaica and Dominica revealed that some 45% of the migrants were between

the ages of fifteen and twenty-five, while a further 20-25% were between twenty-five and thirty. Less than 10% were over forty. Both sexes were equally represented, but in most cases, the men went first while the women followed later, usually with their children. The educational attainment of the migrants has been quite low, the vast majority having barely finished public school. It follows that, for the most part, they have been unskilled or semi-skilled. The Dominican sample for the period 1955 - 1960 revealed that 42% of the migrants were unskilled with 34% skilled in trades like carpentry, masonry, welding. The percentage of clerical and professional migrants recorded were 6% and 3% respectively. Since most of the latter category of workers were recruited from abroad, mainly the United Kingdom, under the colonial government, it is difficult to know how many professional West Indians have emigrated during that period.[3]

West Indian Migration and Canada.

Prior to 1955, there was little emigration from the West Indies to Canada. In that year, the Canadian Government approved the first experimental movement of female household service workers from the West Indies.[4] Both Jamaica and Barbados had approached the Canadian Government on the subject of admitting more West Indians to Canada, and the domestic employment scheme was implemented under a special order of the Governor-in-Council. During the period 1955-1965, 2,600 West Indian girls were admitted to Canada under this scheme.

In 1962, Canada expanded her immigration laws to provide for world-wide rather than primarily European selection of migrants. The Canadian Immigration Act and Regulations permit the admission of immigrants from the Caribbean area under two separate categories:

1. Selected immigrants who are eligible for admission by virtue of their skills, education, training, etc.
2. Unselected sponsored immigrants who are not required to meet any standards of education or occupation and whose admission is based upon the presence in Canada of a close relative legally eligible to sponsor them.[5]

Since West Indian migration to Canada is relatively new, most of the immigrants fall under the first category. Within the last four or five years, Canada has been attracting a good number of West Indian teachers and nurses as landed immigrants. Such persons are able to gain admission by virtue of their professional training, and in view of the shortage of such personnel in Canada. West Indian teachers and nurses immigrate to Canada either direct from the West Indies, or by way of the United Kingdom. Those coming from the U.K. are very largely nurses who obtained their professional training in that country. For the most part, the teachers are recruited in the West Indies on contract by the Separate School Board of Ontario. Due to the acute shortage of teachers in the Catholic schools in Ontario, the Separate School board officials sought permission to recruit trained West Indian elementary school teachers who are interviewed and hired in the West Indies. A similar system of recruitment exists for the nurses in the U.K. Ontario hospital authorities travel to the U.K. for the purpose of interviewing English and English trained nurses for jobs in Canada. Many of the West Indian nurses in Ontario were recruited in this manner.

Nevertheless, this recent migration of West Indian teachers and nurses to Canada, at a time when the islands are undergoing rapid economic,

political and social changes, has caused much concern among the West Indian governments. Earlier this year, the Trinidad & Tobago High Commissioner for Canada is reported to have stated that there is a 'brain drain' of West Indian teachers and nurses to this country, which is due to salary differentials between Canada and the West Indies.[6] A further cause for concern is the loss of trained personnel and the cost of training and replacement. Since the West Indies are unable to attract a sufficient number of immigrants in these occupations, for the obvious reasons, the growing concern is justified. Today, these governments are trying to hold on to their trained personnel by making it increasingly difficult for them to emigrate. Teachers and nurses trained in the West Indies are bonded to work in their countries for a number of years in exchange for the cost of their training.

General Aims of the Study.

Our chief concern is not with the consequences of migration for either the home country or the receiving country, but with the individual migrants themselves and the migratory process. Stated in broad terms, the crucial question is - Why do they migrate? More specifically, the following research problems are presented: To what extent can migration of West Indian teachers and nurses to Ontario, Canada be explained in terms of -

(a) degree of 'commitment' to the profession

(b) desire for economic mobility

(c) pursuit of definite 'goals' eg. opportunities for further study.

(d) Socio-economic background

(e) Level of educational attainment

(f) degree of normlessness, powerlessness, and anomie experienced in the West Indies

(g) desire for adventure.

The formulation of the problem is based on the assumption that at a particular stage in the migrant's life cycle, he experiences a feeling of inadequacy and frustration in his native setting, which in turn may motivate him to migrate. We shall attempt to discover the set of events influencing this motivation, and to reconstruct the story of the migrant from the first moment he decided to migrate until the present time. Finally, we shall examine the direction of his migration by country as well as occupation. Our approach to the problem leads us to consider some of the contemporary literature on migration, to which we shall now turn.

Contemporary Literature on Migration.

Migration as a universal social phenomenon is not recent. However, to date, there is no systematic body of sociological theory designed to provide a framework for the analysis of migration as a social process. Moreover a great deal of migration studies have been undertaken by demographers, economists, statisticians, anthropologists, and historians with their specific orientations to the problem. Sociologists, for the most part, have been concerned with migration as a problem creating phenomenon, as a result of which the theme of assimilation is dominant in the sociological literature on immigrants.

Migration, whether internal or external, involves geographical mobility, and can be viewed as a response to new opportunities due to unmet needs of the migrants. Eisenstadt defines migration thus:

> We define migration as the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. This transition usually involves abandoning one social setting and entering another and a different one.[7]

Brinley Thomas offers this definition

> Migration is defined in this chapter as the movements (involving change of permanent residence) from one country to another which take place through the volition of the individuals or families concerned.[8]

Hagerstrand states

> Henceforth we will use the term migration for the change of residence of an individual from one parish or commune to another.[9]

In all these definitions, migration involves spatial mobility, that is, the crossing of boundaries whether local or national. Moreover, migration is voluntary and involves two societies or local settings.

Traditionally, studies of migration have concentrated on mass migratory movements or planned migration. The method of analysis used in these studies has been largely statistical drawn from census data, or historical drawn from documentary records concerning immigrants. Nevertheless, many studies have attempted to build a theoretical framework within which to conceptualise the problem, and have isolated useful variables in the analysis of migration data. Such variables have been physical, biological, bio-social, socio-demographic, and psychological, for example, age, sex, race, education, occupation, intelligence, attitudes, aspirations, opportunities, and distance. While most of these studies have not underestimated the strength of the economic motive as a powerful pull in the why of migration, such a deterministic explanation would oversimplify the problem.

One of the most important sociological studies of migration is Thomas and Znaniecki's monumental work "The Polish Peasant in Europe and

America". Viewing migration as one aspect of human behaviour, the authors developed a theoretical scheme for the study of contemporary social life in general. Their theory hinges around two main concepts - attitudes and values. Stated in their own words, Thomas and Znaniecki assert

> The cause of an individual or social phenomenon is never another social or individual phenomenon alone, but always a combination of a social and an individual phenomenon. Or, in more exact terms:
> The cause of a value or of an attitude is never an attitude or value alone, but always a combination of an attitude and a value.[10]

The social researcher must therefore identify values and attitudes, ascertain their interaction, and isolate the causal relations between them. Thomas and Znaniecki contributed significantly to the study of social life by their introduction of these social-psychological factors. Values are the "objective cultural elements of social life", while attitudes are the "subjective characteristics" of the individual. The two are interdependent. Thus the authors speak of "1. The problem of the dependence of the individual upon social organisation and culture, and 2. the problem of the dependence of social organisation and culture upon the individual".[11] With regard to the problem of migration, the authors have argued that the best method for studying migration is to examine how the values of the migrants act upon their pre-existing attitudes resulting in their migrating or not migrating. Thus the role of the human experience in social life is crucial in their theoretical framework. Another major contribution of Thomas and Znaniecki is their recognition of the need for examining the conditions and characteristics of the social organisations in which the migrants were involved in order to understand their problems in the area of destination.

Dorothy Thomas asserts that the interplay of demographic and socio-economic factors in producing internal differentiation of population and of communities is a problem which can only be enlightened in terms of historical analysis. She points to such variables as age, sex, marital endowment, income level, occupation, and social status, as well as stratification or elasticity of occupational structure, supply of and demand for labour, accessibility to natural resources, industrialisation and urbanisation as contributory to population movements.[12]

Oscar Handlin, the historian, sees immigration as a response to the demands for manpower in a growing labour force. Thus immigration is directly related to changes in the economic cycle. In his other studies he focuses on the problems of alienation and adjustment of the migrants.[13]

Donald Bogue, in his study of internal migration, specifies twenty-five migration-stimulating situations for persons, at least fifteen of which are not related to economic factors. Moreover, he suggests a framework within which to conceptualise and study the phenomenon of migration. He asserts that there are no laws of migration, nor is the migration of human beings an instinctive action. He admits that reasons for migration may not necessarily be known to the migrants but may "spring from many aspects of life - economic, social, political, medical and psychological", or a combination of all or some of these aspects. In sum he states,

> The individual migrant may experience a stimulus to migrate as a subjective impression of socio-economic conditions in his community. He may also have subjective reactions to his objective social and personal position in his community or to events that happen in his private life (deaths, marriages, etc.) By comparing his position in the present community of residence with envisaged or possible

> positions in other communities, he arrives at a decision to move or remain. When this process is viewed behaviouristically, it can be quoted that a certain measurable incidence (rate) of migration is associated with the occurrence of each of these situations or combinations of situations.[14]

In reviewing much of the contemporary work on migration, Bogue points to the need for pooling ideas contained in mobility analysis with ideas on migration, since 'the study of migration shares common concepts and common methodological problems with these other fields.' We agree with Bogue that migration is intimately related to labour mobility and social mobility. Later in our analysis, we shall examine this relationship with regard to West Indian teachers and nurses in Ontario.

One attempt to provide a systematic sociological framework for the study of migration as a social process has been made by Eisenstadt in his study of Jewish immigrants. He indicates that there are two dimensions to the migratory movement - 1. the physical and more or less permanent change of residence, and, 2. the social psychological processes associated with the movement. Further, he identifies three stages in the movement

> First, the motivation to migrate - the needs or disposition which urge people to move from one place to another; second, the social structure of the actual migratory process, of the physical transition from the original society to a new one; third, the absorption of the immigrants within the social and cultural framework of the new society.[15]

In his analysis, however, Eisenstadt was not so much concerned with the why of migration per se as with how the individual's expectations, par-

ticipation in primary groups, and value orientations before migrating acts upon him in the new environment to determine the extent to which he would be absorbed and assimilated.

So far, no large-scale significant study has been attempted on the migration of professionals. F. Musgrove, in his book 'The Migratory Elite', calls attention to the dearth of material on this topic, and suggests that 'history, sociology, and psychology can between them provide an account of the nature and causes of this change in the patterns of migration, of the modern phenomenon of elite migration'. Historical reconstruction can show the change over time and the circumstances which brought it about; sociological surveys of elite groups today can demonstrate the position which historical processes have created in contemporary society.[16] By elite he appears to refer to the administrative, professional and scientific personnel of a country. Musgrove further points out that modern migrations differ significantly from past migrations in that it is an essentially individual and not a mass movement. He posits a Durkheiman approach to the study of this type of migration - currents of migration should be viewed as social facts, "their explanation will be sought in terms of other social facts such as the local surpluses of highly educated people and the development of industrial and social structures elsewhere which could appropriately absorb and reward them".[17] Along with these sociological explanations, he points to the necessity for psychological interpretations such as a study of attitudes, aspirations, and dispositions of migrants. In stressing the need for psychological explanations, Musgrove is making no new contribution, but his suggestion that these attitudes etc. be matched with non-migrants would certainly make the migration of individuals more problematic.

As far as West Indian migration is concerned, this has in recent years received a fair deal of attention from demographers, economists and sociologists. Most of the studies have been done in the United Kingdom and deal with skilled and semi-skilled West Indians. One Study, 'The Study of External Migration affecting Jamaica' by Roberts and Mills was sponsored by the Jamaican government, and deals mainly with the effects of migration on the Jamaican labour force. Migration is seen as a function of unemployment and population pressure. R.B. Davison's study on West Indian migrants (1961) supports this view, but points to the relationship between migration and economic development.

More substantial studies have been made on the problem of adjustment of West Indian immigrants. Dr. K. Little's book, "Negroes in Britain" deals with the problems of the coloured community in Cardiff, and includes an historical account of the background of race relations in Britain. Other writers, such as Michael Banton, Anthony Richmond, Sheila Patterson and Joyce Egginton have studied the problems of racial discrimination and adjustment of West Indian workers in various communities in Britain, and have made significant advances and recommendations towards the future of race relations in Britain.

So far, the motivation behind West Indian migration has been viewed mainly as economic, involving skilled and semi-skilled workers in search of employment. No attention has been paid to West Indian students who remain abroad on completion of their studies, although recent attempts by West Indian officials both at the governmental and private enterprise level to recruit trained West Indians for employment at home both in Britain and Canada, would suggest that a significant number do not return home. Nor has any work been done on the social

effects of migration in terms of West Indian society. It would appear that both at the skilled/semi-skilled and professional levels, West Indians are dissatisfied with contemporary conditions in the West Indies, and an assessment of the reasons for this 'malaise' would be fruitful.

Analysis.

The brief review of the literature on migration reveals that the problem can be approached from different levels of analysis. Our study is an exploratory one focusing on the why of migration. Due to the smallness of our sample, an analysis in statistical terms would be too ambitious. For our purposes, therefore, migration is viewed as a process starting with the decision to move. In analysing our data, we are partial to an institutional framework in the understanding of the initial reason for migration. For example, we suggest that the West Indian plural society is instrumental in producing a society of potential migrants due to the lack of common values in this type of society.

Chapter two would, therefore, be concerned with an analysis of West Indian society in terms of its major institutions. In Chapter III, Prelude to migration, our analysis of the field notes begins. This chapter would focus on the characteristics of the migrants, their socio-economic backgrounds, and the decision making process. In Chapter IV, Migration and mobility, we would compare the two groups, teachers and nurses, in order to ascertain whether they are mobile socially, occupationally, vertically, or horizontically, and the reasons for their special mobility. Such concepts as career orientation, commitment to profession, level of aspiration and socio-economic background would be utilised in our explanation. Chapter V deals with the direction of their

migration. The purpose of this chapter is to discover whether the migrants are merely birds of passage, whether they intend to return to their country of origin, or to migrate to another country or countries. In this regard, some attention would be paid to the factors influencing their action, for example, membership groups of migrants, ties with kin in their country of origin, and any attempts at assimilation in the host society. Finally, Chapter VI would be a summary and generalisations based on the findings in the study.

Data.

Our subjects are drawn from the Hamilton area in particular, and the province of Ontario in general. The data was collected by means of questionnaires, which were distributed in four hospitals in Hamilton in the case of the nurses, and returned by mail, while in the case of the teachers they were distributed more or less personally. Since the teachers are a more closely-knit group, this was relatively easy. The sample consists of fifty completed questionnaires from nurses and twenty-five from teachers. West Indian nurses constitute a much larger group in Canada than the teachers. According to a feature on West Indians in Toronto in the Toronto Daily Star, there are now an estimated 1,000 West Indian nurses in Toronto, while the Toronto Board of Education last year had twenty on its public school staff and eight in the secondary school system.[18] Contact was also made at the informal level, and the questionnaire was supplemented by informal interviews. Information was also collected from figures on West Indian immigration available from West Indian and Canadian statistical records.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Throughout this study, we refer to the British West Indies, hereafter termed "West Indies" or "The Caribbean". Guyana, formerly British Guiana is also included.

[2]R.B. Davison, West Indian Migrants, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 7.

[3]Another reason for the low percentage of West Indian professionals to the United Kingdom was the difficulty in obtaining jobs due to discrimination.

[4]Ottawa. Distr. General Commonwealth Caribbean - Canada Conference "Immigration to Canada from the Commonwealth Caribbean". B/8, June 1966.

[5]Op. cit.

[6]"Brain-Drain of West Indian Teachers and Nurses", Trinidad Guardian, April 16, 1967.

[7]S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954), p. 1.

[8]Brinley Thomas, "International Migration" in The Study of Population, ed. by P. Hauser and O. Duncan, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959, p. 510.

[9]Quoted from J.J. Mangalam, Human Migration - A Guide to Migration Literature in English during 1955-62", unpublished paper, University of Kentucky, 1967, p. 31.

[10]W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Vol. I, (New York: Alfred Knopf Inc., 1927), p. 44.

[11]H. Blumer, Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences, Vol. I, (New York: Edward Bros. Inc., Michigan, 1949), p. 20.

[12]Dorothy Thomas, Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941), p. 5.

[13]Oscar Handlin, Immigration as a factor in American History, (U.S.A.: Prentice Hall, 1959).
--------, The Uprooted, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951).

[14]Donald Bogue, "Internal Migration" in The Study of Population Op. cit., p. 501.

[15]S.N. Eisenstadt, Op. cit., p. 1.

[16]F. Musgrove, The Migratory Elite, (London: Hinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1963), p. 8.

[17]Op. cit.

[18]"The Negro in Toronto", Toronto Daily Star, August 22, 1967.

CHAPTER II

THE BRITISH WEST INDIAN SETTING

Geographical Setting

The British West Indies are a chain of islands situated between Florida, on the southernmost coast of the U.S.A. and Venezuela, the north eastern coast of the South American continent. They lie roughly between a latitude of 10°-25° north of the Equator, and between a longitude of 60°-80°, and separate the Caribbean sea from the Atlantic ocean. The islands which refer to Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados and the Leeward and Windward Islands, though varying greatly in size, are physically alike, with the same basic Caribbean pattern of a central mountain range. They share the same tropical climate, with average temperatures ranging from 90° to 67° all the year round, as well as the same flora and fauna. They have the same short hours of dawn and twilight throughout the year and cultivate the same crops. They are densely populated with about 3½ million people living on roughly 8,000 square miles. The high rates of reproduction and lowering mortality rates due to improved medical and health conditions contribute towards this density.

Geographically, the British West Indies form part of the American continent, but historically they have an affiliation with Europe and Africa. West Indians are English speaking and share the common experience of colonialism, slavery and the plantation. The West Indies is not a national entity but refers to a "characteristic way of life that has grown out of identifiable historical events".[1]

History of the West Indies

West Indian history began in 1492 when Christopher Columbus, (an

Italian) representing the Spanish monarchy, discovered the new world. At the time of their discovery, the archipelago of islands which have become known as the West Indies was inhabited principally by two Amerindian tribes which had close links with the Amerindians of Guiana on the South American mainland.[2] At that time the big powers in the Old World, Spain, Portugal, England, Holland and Germany were all struggling for a share in the colonial possessions. Portugal, which had started the movement of international expansion, claimed the new territories on the ground that they "fell within the scope of a papal bull of 1455 authorizing her to reduce to servitude all infidel peoples".[3] The two powers, Spain and Portugal, turned to the Pope for arbitration. The Pope in turn, after carefully considering the rival claims issued a series of papal bulls in 1493 and established a line of demarcation between the colonial possessions of the new states: the East going to Portugal and the West to Spain.

At first Spain was the only European power in the West Indies. However in 1527, an English ship appeared in the area and this "heralded the establishment of colonies by other European powers and the incorporation of each of these colonies into the exclusive trading system of each metropolitan power.[4] At the time Spain had only colonised Jamaica and Trinidad, the largest of the West Indian islands, while Carib Indians occupied the other islands. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the British gained possession of most of the Leeward and Windward islands, even conquering Jamaica from Spain in 1655.

Out of the Spanish conquest of the West Indian islands developed colonialism and slavery in the Caribbean. Europe was then no stranger to the institution of slavery. Indeed slavery existed in Portugal, Spain

and Southern France, and already Europe was doing a brisk slave trade with Africa. The Spanish monarchy, therefore, first enslaved the Amerindians in their attempts at economic development of the islands through the cultivation of sugar cane, cotton and tobacco. The Amerindians, few in number, fought back and were destroyed in the face of superior weapons and lack of immunity to small pox and measles introduced by the white settlers.

Spain, bent on the cultivation of sugar turned to Africa for her labour force and began importing Negro slaves to work on the sugar plantations of Jamaica and Trinidad. Meanwhile, in seeking to colonize her new lands, she initiated a highly centralized administration in those areas, and Governors with autocratic powers were appointed. But Spain, interested as she was mainly in gold and silver, failed to manage her possessions, and develop the economy as efficiently as she should. Firstly, she lacked the production organization either to satisfy colonial import needs or to handle colonial exports. Secondly, she lacked the ships to carry the colonial trade and the warships to protect her merchant vessels employed in this trade. Thirdly, she lacked the manpower needed to man her colonial possessions. France was called upon to provide white management on the plantations, thus introducing French settlers, (later known as French creoles) French culture and a continuation of the Catholic faith in many of the West Indian islands. It is no wonder, then, in the face of bad management, and ineffective control of her possessions from abroad that the Spanish monarchy quickly succumbed to British invasion in 1797 when the two powers were at war and lost her last remaining colony, Trinidad.

At this time Britain was in her hey-day as a leader of seafaring

exploits and industrial innovations. She quickly recognized the need for labour expansion on the Plantations. Sugar needed labour, and she accelerated the African slave trade by importing thousands of Negro slaves into the islands. In her ruthless pursuit of economic gains, she had no concern for the well-being of the slaves. Families were disrupted, households broken up and kinsmen distributed randomly among the colonies in order to prevent uprisings. The slaves were commodities, they were nameless.

> "The African who arrived in the island had already survived two terrifying experiences, one was the physical shock of capture, confinement, sale, and of a long sea voyage under conditions of indescribable hardship. The other was the more severe psychological shock of being torn from family, kinsmen, the familiar supporting structure of the tribe, and the protection of ancestral spirits and of being completely at the mercy of men so different in colour and in culture"...[5]

Previous to the importation of African slaves, however, a number of poor European whites were sent to the islands to augment the labour force of slowly-dying Amerindians. These constituted indentured servants, bound by contract to serve in the islands for a period of time, as well as convicts who were sent out on hard labour as a form of punishment by the home government. According to Williams, "this emigration was in tune with mercantilist theory of the day which strongly advocated putting the poor to industrious and useful labour and favoured emigration, voluntary or involuntary, as retrieving the poor rates and finding more profitable occupations abroad for idlers and vagrants at home.[6] But the supply of labour from this source was low and the white servants succumbed

often fatally to the rigours of plantation labour in a tropical setting. Besides appearing best fitted to labour on the plantations, Negro slaves were cheaper and the money which procured a white man's services for ten years was said to buy a Negro for life. Negro slavery in the West Indies was therefore, born out of the need for cheap labour in the pursuit of economic gains. The fact that the Negro was black was incidental. The inferior connotations now designated to "blackness" in the West Indies are an offshoot of the peculiar social structure that evolved out of the plantation economy with its white masters and black slaves.

The abolition of slavery in August, 1833 began the second era of the Negro in the Caribbean, and the birth of the West Indian creole. Some historians argue that the movement for abolition was largely humanitarian. Eric Williams in his thesis "Capitalism and Slavery" disputes this assertion and points out that the abolition of slavery in the West Indies was due to economic reasons.[7] When sugar failed, it was no longer profitable to keep or import Negro slaves. Whatever its causes, the abolition of slavery brought to the Negro a period of freedom - freedom mainly from the slave masters and from forced labour on the plantations. At first, the ex-slaves were to be made apprentices, required to work under specified conditions and for stipulated wages from their former masters. To this they objected violently, and small wonder, since they were reminded of the hostility of the masters towards any measures on their behalf proposed by Britain. Britain was determined to continue the plantation system, the Negroes were equally adamant in their refusal to work for masters in a similar relationship as under conditions of slavery. They sought to own land, but Britain's economic policy still pursued the cultivation of sugar. This meant more labour. With the

diminished supply due to Negro freedom, she turned to Europe. In 1834 and 1839 some labour came in from Portugal, in 1839 others came from France while in 1840 some more came from Europe. This supply was, however, far from adequate. Thus it was that Britain in the latter part of the 19th century, turned to one of her largest colonial possessions, India, in an attempt to recruit labour for the sugar plantations. East Indian workers were brought in on an indentured labour system. Another racial and ethnic group was introduced into the West Indies. Between 1838 and 1917, 238,000 Indians were introduced into British Guiana; 145,000 into Trinidad; 21,500 into Jamaica; 1,500 into St. Lucia, 1,820 into St. Vincent, 2,570 into Grenada - a total introduction of nearly half a million East Indians into the Caribbean.[8] At the same time a small number of Chinese coolies were introduced into the West Indies, also on an indentured labour system, but these were found unsuitable for plantation work and today are engaged in the laundry and grocery businesses to which they turned.

Thus briefly we have examined historically the growth of West Indian society. Born of colonialism and exploitation, it comprises today a heterogeneous population of several ethnic and racial origins - European, Indian, Chinese, Negro. Moreover, the plantation economy and the cultural content of these various groups have left their imprint on West Indian society. It is now left to examine West Indian society at the economic, political, demographic and social levels, in an attempt to paint the full picture of the structure of contemporary West Indian Society.

The Economic Structure of the West Indies.

Basically, the West Indies are largely agricultural. Today, they are listed among the developing countries of the world, which though not possessing large amounts of industrial resources are attempting to modernize their techniques both in their economy and administration. Aside from bauxite in Jamaica, and oil and asphalt in Trinidad there are no major industries in the West Indian islands, and the cultivation of sugar, cocoa, coconuts, bananas, citrus fruits and spices form the bulk of West Indian economy. The fishing industry is developing but dairy farming is at a minimum and the West Indies depend on foreign markets, e.g. Venezuela and Argentina for its meat supply. Tourism also contributes significantly to the economy of the islands, in particular, Jamaica, Antigua and Tobago - the total number of tourists visiting Jamaica in 1964 were 227,000. By and large tourists are drawn from the North American continent, and this type of contact has introduced North American values of materialism into the islands. Today some of the islands are very commercialized with drive-in cinemas, drive-in banks, hot-dog and hamberger stands and restaurants which serve Southern fried chicken.

The islands all depend, in large measure, on external markets, with export economies based on the exchange of a limited range of primary products for a wide variety of foodstuffs and other consumption goods. Thus they are extremely vulnerable to the policies and practices of foreign governments, in particular Britain, Canada and the U.S. Since the islands are small, their production costs are high. Today there is some talk of a Caribbean Economic Community to foster trade between the islands, but this is still at the discussion level.

The recent political independence of most of these islands has set in motion a drive for foreign investment (outside of Britain) in the offer of a ten year tax holiday, free entry of construction materials and capital equipment, full repatriation of foreign investment capital and dividends etc., as well as a planned campaign to support local industry in the buying of local foodstuffs and locally manufactured goods.[9] Most of the islands have set up an Industrial Development Corporation geared towards initiating pioneer industries.

The West Indies also rely on external aid both in the form of technical assistance and grants from the developed countries, Britain, Canada, the U.S.A. Under the British Government, they received Colonial Development and Welfare Grants but these have ceased with independence. On the commercial level, a number of foreign owned banks, Canadian, American, British, as well as insurance companies have been established in the islands. It is only within the last three or four years that the independent islands of Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados set up their own national banks. Free enterprise is encouraged and there has been little or no attempt made at nationalising already existing industries, although the Governments play an active part in planning for economic development in their drive for economic security.

As far as the labour force is concerned, roughly about one-third of the whole population of the labour force is employed directly on the land, and in the smaller islands in particular, many of the other occupations are kept in existence by the demands of agriculture. According to Cumper

> With the exception of Trinidad and the two mainland colonies, (British Guiana, and French

> Guyana] the economic structure of the West Indies is a pyramid based on the agricultural workers and tapering up through the urban class and the small professional class to an apex in the investors and administrators, often foreign, who control banking, insurance and the higher ranks of government. The chief West Indian industries which exist in their own right and not as aids to agriculture or servants of the farming population are oil and pitch mining in Trinidad, gold, diamonds and bauxite in British Guiana, forestry in both the mainland colonies and tourism. These are all economically important but even that which is financially the largest (Trinidad oil) has a very small labour force being less than one-third of the number of workers employed in agriculture. Agriculture is more important to the social life in Trinidad than oil.[10]

It is evident that the West Indies, though handicapped by smallness of size and lack of mineral resources and hydro electric power especially in the smaller islands, are not as poor as some of the developing nations of Asia and Africa. Yet they have a major problem of unemployment among the skilled and unskilled, and poverty, the former reaching between 10% and 20%. This, coupled with a rising population, has made the future of the West Indies very precarious. Moreover the spread of the industrial ethic and the infiltration of North American values of materialism into West Indian society has created a desire for luxury items which it can ill afford, e.g. American cars, T.V. sets etc. West Indian

governments thus face a problem of unrestrained spending and not enough saving and investment among the population. This bears directly on the problem of migration in so far as the economy becomes stagnated while people perceive their material needs as being unfulfilled and begin to compare their own standard of living with that of a highly developed country. In our analysis of the field notes we would examine the reasons given for migration in order to determine to what extent economic and material considerations contribute to this phenomenon.

The Political Front.

Historically, the West Indies have moved through three political phases - Crown Colony Government, Self Government and Independence. Government has its roots in the slave colony period, in the form of a governor, nominated council and elected assembly. It was an attempt to give due representation to the interests of England and the politically significant elements in the colonies. Speaking of Jamaica in the 18th century Edward Long describes this system of government

> "It is composed of three estates, of which the governor (representing the king) is head. Having no order of nobility here the place of a house of peers is supplied by a council of twelve gentlemen appointed by the king, which in our system of legislature, forms the upper house. The lower house is composed (as in Britain) of the representatives of the people, elected by the freeholders"[11]

The members of the lower house were elected by persons on a franchise that favoured landowners as against merchants, while high

qualifications for election meant that large landowners and slave owners would be the ones to occupy positions of local leadership in the political system.

Crown Colony government was introduced about the middle of the 19th century, after emancipation. English governors continued to be appointed to the islands while the legislative assembly comprised nominated and elected members, the former appointments made by the governor.[12] The nominated members who were the majority formed the executive council, while the elected members represented the people. Under this type of government, Britain's control was supreme, since she could keep in check both the white oligarchies as well as give a little consideration to the vast majority of Negroes and East Indians. However the black masses were not easily satisfied, and political agitation for better representation marked the beginning of the movement towards self-government. As early as 1865, there was an insurrection by ex-slaves in the island of Jamaica in protest against unsatisfactory working conditions. During the present century in the 30's various localleaders began to emerge -- Bulter and Cipriani in Trinidad, Bustamante in Jamaica, Adams in Barbados, all championing the cause of the worker, and various labour unions were formed. This marked the beginning of several constitutional changes in the West Indies, the first occurring in Jamaica in 1944, when a new constitution provided for universal adult suffrage and a bicameral legislature in which power rested with a wholly elected House of representatives. Nominated members had delaying powers only. In 1950 Trinidad and Tobago was granted a new constitution with a unicameral legislature in which there was an elected majority. By 1951 all the other British West Indian islands had this type of representative government.

The road to Independence was marked by an attempt to federate. Britain, by this time, was preparing to shed responsibility for the islands and to establish an independent West Indian nation. A temporary federal government was set up in 1958 with its capital in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, headed by a Federal Governor General, an Englishman appointed by Britain and a Federal Prime Minister, a West Indian. Party politics along British lines were also introduced with two party system -- a ruling party and an opposition. In the same year the Federation was dissolved, Jamaica led by Sir Alexander Bustamante, who was then leader of the opposition, opted out by means of a referendum. Trinidad, the next largest island, decided she could not bear the burden of the smaller islands which were all economically underdeveloped, and decided to press for Independence. Thus in 1962, both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago achieved political Independence -- with the other islands following closely in their wake. Today, all the islands except Anguilla are politically independent.

The break up of the Federation is yet another instance of the deep ravages of colonialism in the West Indies. Under the colonial system of government "an island was a world"[13] and there arose a tradition of insularity and separatism that persists today even among West Indians abroad who fail in any attempt at organisation on a West Indian and not an insular basis. "For West Indians, the island is, in most contexts, the most compelling area symbol. A man who says 'I am a Jamaican' or 'I am a Barbadian' is very likely expressing the broadest allegiance he knows."[14] A recent example of this insularity is the unrest now prevailing in Anguila with an area of thirty-five square miles and a population of a mere 5,500, due to its objection to political

dominance of nearby St. Kitts, with a population of roughly 38,300. Anguilla is now pressing for political Independence.

The Social Structure.

In 1848, the Governor of Trinidad, Lord Harris, is reported to have said of that island "A race has been freed, but a society has not been formed".[15] Those words are being echoed today by contemporary writers of West Indian society, who claim that the West Indies display various discordant elements such as bitterness, frustration, inter-group conflict, ethnic cleavages and general dissensus. Similarly all writers on the Caribbean have documented the deep scars and "synthetic" culture left by slavery, the plantation economy and colonial exploitation. Anthony Richmond states

> "There can be no doubt that slavery and its aftermath have created a fundamental disequilibrium in the culture of the West Indies and the consequent social conflict finds many many expressions . . . . . In the West Indies today we see this new society still struggling to its feet. That the process has taken so long is a reflection of the social disorganisation that prevailed during and after the slave regime."[16]

Katrin Norris in her book on Jamaica reinforces this view. In trying to explain the high incidence of unrest and mob frenzy she asserts that "there is deep dissatisfaction within Jamaican Society".

> "The price Jamaica had to pay for her fulfillment of the political theorists' dream is that she is a society completely lacking faith in herself and whose vital energies and drive are often perverted

> in the pursuit of ideals which are the relics of colonialism, which do not arise from the needs of her people and which serve little useful purpose in a modern Caribbean context".[17]

Madeleine Kerr in her study of Jamaica addresses herself to culture conflict and speaks of mental and emotional hangovers that persist in the society and a high degree of frustration that manifests itself in such movements as Pocomania and revivalist cults.[18]

The most unique feature of West Indian society and the one that spills over and colours its major social institutions is the peculiar colour-caste stratification complex. According to Madeleine Kerr "class and colour interweave to such an extent that a problem which has its origin in class structure may appear to be a conflict over colour".[19] This colour class complex finds expression in the Creole culture of the West Indies. Creoles[20] are natives of the Caribbean and the Creole complex has its origins in slavery, plantation systems and colonialism.

> "Its cultural composition mirrors its racial mixture. European and African elements predominate in fairly standard combinations and relationships. The ideal forms of institutional life, such as government, religion, family and kinship, law, property, education, economy and language are of European derivation . . . . . In consequence, despite their shared traditions, Creoles and metropolitans differ culturally in orientations, values, habits, and modes of activity. These differences alone would be quite sufficient to distinguish the Creole culture from its metropolitan model. The immi-

grant who adapts West Indian culture as a way of life "creolizes" in doing so."[21]

The Creole culture therefore, includes elements of both European and African derivation. African elements are manifested in language, diet, folklore, economic organisations such as the Susu,[22] magic and religion, and music. But the Negro-white pattern which developed within the Creole culture serves to devalue anything African including racial traits. Because of miscegenation during the days of slavery, there arose a number of racial hybrids so that West Indian society has a significant number of brown or coloured people in its population. These are the custodians of the Creole culture, standing as they are between the white minority and the black masses. Shades of pigmentation, hair texture and facial features carry either high or low prestige, the former accruing to more European type persons, the latter to more Negroid type. Thus West Indians speak of "good hair" and "bad hair" or "fair complexion", "brown-skinned, spice colour and black". Since colour was a status symbol, many educated black men sought to marry white or coloured women in order to raise their status.[23] Colour, therefore, came to have cultural rather than racial connotations, and in so far as the Creole culture continues to associate colour with high prestige, in other words, to allow ascriptive elements to predominate in its status allocation, it is a divisive force in West Indian Society. The term "nigger" used freely among West Indians refers to a cultural rather than a racial trait since it carries with it all the overtones of lower class life -- poor diet, belief in witchcraft, concubinage, and manual work.[24]

The Creole culture draws its inspiration from external sources, from Britain and the United States. The mass media reflect this amply.

Until recently all the commercials in the newspapers displayed white characters, the radio highlighted a number of American serials which were avidly consumed by West Indians, and American films, the thrillers and Westerns continue to be favourites among the population. In this type of film, the West Indian audience displays lively participation by issuing comments from the floor. This type of culture has also left its mark on the West Indian personality in terms of aggressiveness, preoccupation with trivia and irresponsibility.[25]

Education.

Education in the West Indies has existed since emancipation. Under the Crown Colony Government, a board of Education was established and elementary (primary) education was available to the children of freed negroes. The established churches, in particular Irish Roman Catholic and the Church of England, and later the Canadian Mission (Presbyterian) played an important role in education in the colonies, both at the primary and secondary level. The education system is patterned along British lines. Elementary schools take children from the age of five to fifteen years old, while average ages of pupils in secondary schools range from 12 to 18. Until less than a decade ago, secondary education was limited to those who could pay for it and thus excluded the large majority of the black masses.

In content, education in the West Indies was unsuited to West Indian conditions. West Indian students were taught British history, were educated in the classics, were well versed in English literature and took examinations set by London and Cambridge local examination syndicate. Text books had a British orientation, highlighting English

weather conditions, English flowers and even illustrations of English children. It is small wonder then, that West Indians today consider themselves British and display a strong allegiance to England.

Although conditions in elementary schools were far from satisfactory, with inadequate buildings, few books, crowded classes and largely untrained teachers a large number of West Indians managed to secure elementary education. In the 1943 census in Jamaica 98% of the black population had elementary education.[26] Secondary education was restricted to a privileged few, mainly the coloured and white sectors. Education however was and still is the main avenue of mobility for the West Indian Negro. The white West Indian did not need a complete secondary education in order to gain employment. Banks and large business firms, e.g. shipping and insurance companies reserved employment for the whites and near whites and these jobs came to be ranked as high status jobs by many West Indians. The white community who wished an education usually obtained it in Britain.[27] Today the stress on education by the West Indian Negro is undiminished. Moreover, education is viewed as procuring a certificate which would qualify one to obtain white collar employment. This is best expressed in a recent calypso by the "Mighty Sparrow", the leading Trinidadian calypsonian

"Children stay in school and learn well.
Otherwise later on in life, you go catch real hell
Without an education in your head
Your whole life would be pure misery,
You better off dead"

Prior to 1946 the vast majority of University educated West

Indians received their training in the U.K., and emphasis was placed on the older professions of law and medicine as well as degrees in English literature and history. University education in the West Indies began in 1946 when the University College of the West Indies was established in Jamaica. Formerly a college of London University, the University of the West Indies is now autonomous since 1962. Branches were established in Trinidad and Barbados in 1963, with faculties of Arts, Sciences, Engineering, Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad, and Medicine in Jamaica. There is great need for higher education in the West Indies, especially in the field of technical education. In 1960 only .7% of the Trinidad and Tobago population had received university education, while Barbados registered .6% and Jamaica .3%.[28]

Historically, education in the West Indies has served to widen the gap between the educated minority and uneducated black masses. With its stress on British institutions and its identification with the coloured strata it served to bolster the prevailing values of the Creole culture. The uneducated lower class black Negro was considered ignorant, was treated rudely by public officers and kept waiting when an appointment was made in a government office or hospital. Insofar as the lower class Negro strives to be educated, he strives to be assimilated into the Creole society. One reaction of the lower class Negro who becomes educated and rejects the Creole society would be to leave the West Indies and seek a home elsewhere. An attempt to re-orient the whole system of education in the West Indies has begun with political independence. How successful this would be is left to be seen but education could play a vital role in bringing about greater equilibrium in West Indian society.

The Occupational Structure.

The main occupations in the West Indies has been classified according to the census classification.[29]

1. Professional, technical and related workers
2. Managerial, administrative, clerical and related workers
3. Sales workers
4. Farmers, fishermen, hunters, lumbermen, and related workers
5. Workers in mine quarry and related occupation
6. Workers in operating transport occupations
7. Craftsmen, production process workers and labourers not elsewhere classified
8. Service workers

Very little empirical research has been attempted in the ranking of occupations in the West Indies. However bearing in mind the subtle status distinctions which exist in West Indian society and holding constant the particularistic ascriptive prestige elements that accrue to any one occupation that remains exclusive to the elite, for example, bank clerk, we would agree that occupations are ranked along a prestige continuum with the brain workers at the top and the brawn workers at the bottom.[30] Historically, the professional and administrative stratum comprised expatriate or local whites, and socially mobile West Indian coloureds sought to enter these fields through education. For the middle class and mobile lower class, the main occupations open to high school graduates are teaching, nursing, clerical or technical work in the Civil Service or private concerns. According to Lloyd Brathwaite in his article on Trinidad

> "The other professions teaching, drugs and nursing, where the rewards both in material terms and in terms

> of status were not high were for the most part staffed by Trinidadians with only the supervisory and most senior positions held by white persons. In all these, provision for training and examination of persons was made locally and there were no heavy expenses involved. At the same time the financial returns were so low as not to be really attractive to upper class person or persons from abroad".[31]

Kathleen Norris reports a similar situation in Jamaica

> "Employees of public hospitals, such as doctors and nurses, also get paid less and are given less consideration than their equivalents in private medicine, so that at one stage sixty government doctors were on the point of resignation from the service; just as the poor are less important, so are those who serve them."[32]

Traditionally, nursing required less formal education than teaching. Candidates, mainly women, were not required to be high school graduates with School Certificate (equivalent to grade 12) but were recruited on the basis of a simple written examination at the level of grade 8. For admission into teaching, the requirements were more formidable and the remuneration greater. Prospective teachers were either required to have School Certificate or, if recruited out of public school at age fifteen, had to pass a series of examinations over a period of about five to six years, the period normally spent in high school, in order to qualify as a teacher in public school. Entry into the Civil Service as clerical workers, on the other hand, required higher educational attain-

ment as well as a competitive examination and therefore excluded a large number of lower qualified individuals. Moreover the Civil Service with its metropolitan affiliations and expatriate administrative staff came to be regarded as a prestigious place of employment by the local people. Teaching and nursing remained attractions for West Indian Negroes and consequently carried relatively low status. Michael Smith attempted to assess the ranking of occupations in Grenada and found that primary school teachers fell within an occupational category that occupies a low position on the status scale, "typically near the border between elite and folk, these people may themselves be drawn mainly from the strata in which they are ranked, and in their occupational roles, they deal mostly with the folk".[33]

Under the circumstances it is difficult to determine how many individuals enter these professions out of a genuine commitment to them. For the vast majority of lower class West Indians teaching and nursing are avenues of mobility especially for women. Michael Smith's study of occupational choice of rural Jamaican school children corroborates this view. He found that 33 per cent of Jamaican school girls between the ages of ten to fifteen wanted to become nurses, while 19.5 per cent selected teaching. This tallied roughly with their parents' aspirations for them. Among the boys, although they showed a relatively strong preference for professional careers, only 7.1 per cent selected teaching.[34]

In this section we have dealt mainly with teaching and nursing in order to define the position of these occupations in West Indian society. In the West Indies, because of their association with the native Negro population, these occupations hold little status and draw

their staff from the West Indian black population with average or low social standing. In contrast to this, F. Jones found that High School teachers in a Canadian city are drawn from families whose social standing is above average.[35] D. Ellis in his study of nurses in Hamilton also reports an over representation of nurses from above average families,[36] while in the U.S. a Pennsylvania study revealed that "the nursing profession is attracting more than its appropriate share of applicants from the upper end of the social class scale."[37]

The Plural Society of the British West Indies.

So far, this chapter has been concerned with a description of some of the major institutions of West Indian society without attempting to place them within a theoretical model. Although the West Indies have attracted a number of sociologists and anthropologists, and studies have been pursued in terms of West Indian family structure or African survivals, the only sociologist to attempt to construct a framework for West Indian studies has been Michael Smith. In trying to understand the complexity of a society which manifests such diverse and conflicting values, and differing status systems, he posits a holistic, functional approach, and finds J.S. Furnivall's theory of the plural society a useful point of departure in his theoretical construct. Furnivall was concerned with colonial societies after having experienced several years in Burma, India and neighbouring countries, and used the term "plural society" as comprising a "medley of peoples".

> "It is in the strictest sense a medley, for they mix but do not combine. Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture, and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals, they meet but only in the market place, in buying and selling.

> There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately within the same political unit. Even in the economic sphere, there is a division of labour along racial lines ..... The society as a whole comprises several racial sections; each section is an aggregate of individuals rather than a corporate or organic whole .... In each section, the sectional will is feeble, and in the society as a whole there is no common will. Few recognize that, in fact, all the members of all sections have material interests in common, but most see that on many points their material interests are opposed ..... In religion and the arts, in the graces and ornaments of social life, there are no standards common to all sections of the community .....
>
> The plural society is in fact held together by pressure exerted from outside by the colonial power; it has no common will."[38]

The most significant feature of the plural society is the lack of "common will", i.e. consensus among the various segments, and such a society displays divergent value systems and ideational patterns, making for general dissensus and discord within the society. This theory is in direct contrast to the contemporary equilibrium theory as propounded by Parsons. Action theorists assert that common values are essential for the maintenance of any society. The stability of any society depends on normative consensus, shared goals and value orientations. "Indeed, one of the most functional imperatives of the maintenance of social systems is that the value-orientations of the different actors in the same social system must be integrated in some measure in a common system."[39] "There is (in a social system) interdependent and, in part, concerted action in which the concert is a function of collectkve goal orientation

or common values, and of a consensus of normative and cognitive expectations."[40]

For action theorists these common values are manifested in the stratification system of a society, where stratification is the distribution of rewards, and status positions are regarded as functional to the stability of society as an on-going system. A plural society, on the other hand, because of its discrete cultural sections with their specific values that are not necessarily articulated into a composite whole, lacks integration within its stratification system. As Smith argues

> Within each cultural section of a plural society we may expect to find some differences of stratification or social class. These cultural sections themselves are usually ranked in a hierarchy, but the hierarchic arrangement of these sections differs profoundly in its basis and character from the hierarchic status organisation within each severally. The distribution of status within each cultural section rests on common values and criteria quite specific to that group, and this medley of sectional value systems rules out the value consensus that is prerequisite for any status continuum. Thus the plurality is a discontinuous status order, lacking any foundation in a system of common interests and values, while its component sections are genuine status continua, distinguished by their differing systems of value, action, and social

> relations. Accordingly, insofar as current theories assume or emphasize the integrative and continuous character of social stratification, they may apply to each cultural section, but not to the plurality as a whole.[41]

Basic to Smith's theory is the prime importance of institutional forms in defining the social structure and value system of any given population. A society which displays differing cultural and structural components but which at the same time is regulated by one dominant cultural sector through government can be termed pluralistic.

The merit of Smith's work is that he tested his theory empirically in a study on social stratification in Grenada, a West Indian society. Insofar as it has pluralistic elements, one can generalise that West Indian society is a plural society. Smith identified main cleavages in the society -- the folk and the elite.

> "We can define the basic cleavage in Grenadian society as that between the majority who are black - mainly rural, ill-housed, ill-educated, poor, of low status, and who have a "folk culture", and a small minority who are of light or mixed pigment, mainly urban, having fair housing, education, wealth, and so forth. I shall describe the "illiterate" majority as the "folk" and the minority as the "elite".[42]

Within the elite groups, there are four further sub-divisions ranging from more elite-like to more folk-like. These very largely corresponded with gradients of skin colour so that the elite is mainly white while the intermediate groups comprise the coloured Creoles or racial hybrids.

Smith found the various divisions to hold specific cultural forms which clearly regulated their status placements within the society. The most diverse groups are those in the middle or the bi-cultural Creoles, who combine both elite and folk elements, "their conduct and valuations vary situationally, and the most constant principle regulating their behaviour in different situations is preoccupation with their own social status."[43]

The plural society exhibits a number of strains due to the divergence of values. One of the main consequences of such dissensus is instability. This has been the case in Jamaica and Guyana, the latter having undergone serious conflict bordering on civil war less than five years ago. Besides political unrest sociologists have on different occasions described West Indian society as "schizophrenic", suffering from a "profound spiritual malaise", searching for identity, aggressive etc.[44] It is our contention that another major consequence of pluralism in the West Indies is the continuous upsurge of potential migrants. We further contend that the migrants would be drawn largely from the upwardly mobile folk or lower-elite folk-like strata, individuals who see themselves blocked in the status hierarchy or who reject the dominant Creole culture. Such individuals would display a high incidence of anomia due to the divergences between their level of aspirations, which extends beyond their specific stratum and their level of expectations. This anomia has been labelled differently by different writers -- such terms as search for identity, frustration, self contempt are common in West Indian literature.

Norris observed the symptoms in Jamaica

> "Another sign of the absence of faith in Jamaica is the attitude to migration. In the Jamaican

> village, where the horizon is empty of opportunity for a young man or woman entering the adult world, a ticket to England is regarded like a win in the football pools -- the only hope for a better life ..."[45]

Conclusion.

We have tried to present a fairly comprehensive picture of contemporary West Indian society in terms of its major instititions. In supporting a holistic approach to the analysis, we are not insensitive to the individual variations and range of the societies of the different West Indian islands, for example, in the islands of Trinidad and Jamaica and the Guyanese territory, there are further complications due to large pockets of distinct racial groups. However we feel that our position is justified insofar as West Indian society shares the same historical tradition of slavery and colonialism, and manifests great uniformity in its major institutional forms. Moreover the Creole culture remains basic to all the British West Indian islands.

FOOTNOTES

[1]P. Sherlock, West Indies, (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1966), p. 7.

[2]E. Williams, History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago, (London: Andre Deutsh Ltd., 1964), p. 1.

[3]--------, Capitalism and Slavery, (London: Andre Deutsh Ltd., 1964), p. 3.

[4]P. Sherlock, Op. cit., p. 21.

[5]--------, Op. cit., p. 43.

[6]E. Williams, Capitalism and Slavery, (London: Andre Beutsh Ltd., 1964), p. 10.

[7]--------, Ibid.

[8]--------, History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago, (London: Andre Deutsh Ltd., 1964), p. 100.

[9]The identification of high prestige with the European way of life led to the derogation of locally grown foodstuffs and other commodities, so that imported Irish potatoes were preferred to a diet of locally grown sweet potatoes. These were considered "low-class", just as imported furniture was preferred to locally manufactured furniture.

[10]G. Cumper, The Social Structure of the British Caribbean excluding Jamaica) Part III, (Jamaica: University College West Indies, undated), pp. 7-8.

[11]E. Long, The History of Jamaica, (London: T. Lowndes, 1774).

[12]There were some variations in the form of the legislative assembly between the islands.

[13]This is the title of a book by the West Indian novelist, Samuel Selvon.

[14]D. Lowenthal, "The Range and Variation of Caribbean Societies", in The Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, Vol. 83, 1960, p. 787.

[15]E. Williams, History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago, (London: Andre Deutsh Ltd., 1964), p. 96.

[16]A.H. Richmond, The Colour Problem, (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1955), p. 220.

[17]Katrin Norris, Jamaica, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 38.

[18]M. Kerr, Personality and Conflict in Jamaica, (London: Collins, 1963).

[19]Ibid., p. 93.

[20]The term "Creole" refers to locally born West Indians of any ethnic origin, for example, there are French Creoles, White Creoles and Negro Creoles, as distinct from immigrants.

[21]M.G. Smith, "West Indian Culture" in Caribbean Quarterly, Vol. 7, No. 3, Dec. 1961, (University College West Indies, Jamaica), p. 115.

[22]The "Susu" is of Africanderivation. It is a locally organised system of saving, in which a group of people, about twenty, decide to contribute a set sum of money over a specified period. Thus twenty people may contribute ten dollars monthly over a period of twenty months. The total sum is distributed monthly to one member according to a priorty list decided upon by the members of the Susu.

[23]F. Henriques, Family and Colour in Jamaica, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953).

[24]A recent Trinidadian Calypso (1967) which carries a refrain "Don't come back again, nigger man" drew a protest march from a small number of black intellectuals, but this was considered bad taste by the bulk of the population.

[25]P. Sherlock, Op. cit., p. 130.

[26]Ibid., p. 132.

[27]W.M. Macmillan, Warning from the West Indies, (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1935), pp. 146-7.

[28]P. Sherlock, Op. cit., p. 132.

[29]J. Harewood, "A System of Labour Force Statistics" in Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 5, No. 1, March 1956, (University College of the West Indies, Jamaica).

[30]We are indebted to the lectures of A. Epstein, Manchester University who found this to be the case in the developing country of Zambia.

[31]Lloyd Braithwaite, "Social Stratification in Trinidad" in Social and Economic Studies, (University College of the West Indies, Jamaica), Vol. 2, (1953), p. 62.

[32]K. Norris, op. cit., p. 66.

[33]M. Smith, Stratification in Grenada, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), p. 119.

[34]--------, "Education and Occupational Choice in Rural Jamaica" in Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 9, 1960, (University College of the West Indies, Jamaica).

[35]F. Jones, "The Social Origins of High School Teachers" in Canadian Society, eds. Blishen et. al., (Canada: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1954).

[36]D. Ellis, "From Neophyte to Nurse", unpublished M.A. Thesis, (McMaster University, October 1964).

[37]E.C. Hughes, H. Hughes and I. Deutscher, Twenty Thousand Nurses Tell Their Story, (Montreal: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1958), p. 22.

[38]Quoted from M.G. Smith, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

[39]T. Parsons and Shills eds. Toward a General Theory of Action, (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 24.

[40]--------, Ibid., p. 55.

[41]M.G. Smith, "Social and Cultural Pluralism" in the Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, Vol. 83, 1960.

[42]--------, Stratification in Grenada, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), p. 16.

[43]--------, Ibid., p. 241.

[44]T.S. Simey, Welfare and Planning in the West Indies, (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1946). Further accounts of the West Indian personality are given by C.V.D. Hadley, "Personality Patterns and Aggression in the British West Indies", Human Relations, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1949.

[45]K. Norris, op. cit., p. 86.

CHAPTER III

PRELUDE TO MIGRATION

Introduction.

A recent article in the Toronto Star last August on the "Negro in Toronto" stated that a surge in immigration of Negroes to Toronto, particularly from the West Indies has meant that for the first time Negroes form a sizeable minority in the city. According to statistical data, between 1946 and 1965, a total of 22,402 West Indians immigrated to Canada.[1] This does not include those West Indians who came to Canada via England, but unfortunately, figures on these are not available in the statistics. Most of the West Indians find their way to Toronto and to a lesser extent, to Hamilton. The West Indians in Hamilton also comprise a sizeable number, in the vicinity of about five hundred. They are, for the most part, recent arrivals of about six years' standing. While there is no concentration of West Indians in any one part of the city, the majority of them live on the Mountain or in the East end of the city. Occupationally, they are skilled workers, mainly in the Steel companies, nurses and teachers. West Indian nurses are employed in all the hospitals in Hamilton, and number about one hundred. The teachers are a smaller group, about sixteen in all, and they work for the Hamilton Separate School Board. West Indians in Hamilton are not a closely knit group and cannot be said to form a community. So far there is no formal West Indian association, but they often hold dances which are attended mainly by West Indians. As far as we know, the only prominent West Indian in the city is Reverend Legge, a Jamaican whose church congregation comprises, for the most part, West Indians or Canadian Negroes.

West Indian nurses and teachers were chosen for our project (a) because of our interest in West Indians (b) because they are two homogeneous groups in terms of occupations (c) because they form a significant number of West Indians in Hamilton and the Southern Ontario area. Details of our research procedure are attached in an appendix.

Before attempting to analyse the reasons given by the migrants for leaving home, a description of them in terms of their socio-economic and intellectual background becomes necessary. This does not only throw light on the types of individuals with whom we are dealing, but socio-economic and educational characteristics have been identified as important variables in the phenomenon of migration.[2] Our information is drawn exclusively from questionnaire responses, and we realise that it must be treated with caution. In eliciting data about the characteristics of the migrants, the following variables are considered:-

(a) Age

(b) Sex

(c) Marital Status

(d) Religious Affiliation

(e) Educational Attainment

(f) Residential Origins

(g) Socio-economic background

Characteristics of the Migrants.

Age, Sex, and Marital Status.

Most of the migrants are within the age category of thirty or over, with an overwhelming number of females. This is due to the fact that the nursing profession is largely staffed by women. In the teaching

group, however, the men outnumber the women by more than fifty per cent. As for marital status, the majority in the sample are single. Again the nursing group carries a higher percentage of single people, exclusively women, while in the teaching group more than fifty per cent are married. Out of these all but two are males. Later, in the analysis, we shall see whether sex and marital status are significant variables in mobility patterns and career aspirations. The following tables indicate the distribution of the migrants by age, sex and marital status.

TABLE I

Age and Sex Distribution of Migrants

	Teachers		Nurses	
Age Category	Male	Female	Male	Female
20-24	1	-	-	1
25-29	7	3	1	14
30 or over	10	4	3	31
	18	7	4	46

TABLE II

Marital Status of Migrants by Age

Teachers

Age Category	Single	Married	Divorced	Separated
20-24	1	-	-	-
25-29	6	4	-	-
30 or over	-	13	1	-
	7	17	1	-

Nurses

Age Category	Single	Married	Divorced	Separated
20-24	-	1	-	-
25-29	6	4	-	-
30 or over	32	5	-	2
	38	10	-	2

TABLE III

Marital Status of Migrants by Sex

Category	Teachers Numbers		Nurses Numbers	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Single	2	5	-	38
Married	15	2	3	7
Divorced	-	1	-	-
Separated	-	-	1	1
	17	8	4	46

Religious Affiliation.

Since all the teachers in the sample were recruited by the Separate School Boards of Ontario, they are all Catholics, so that religion cannot be held a significant variable in this instance. The religious affiliation of the nursing group, however, is by and large Protestant with only seven out of fifty professing to Catholicism, the remainder showing a high percentage of Anglicans, roughly 40 per cent, while other denominations such as Methodist, Baptist, Adventist and Brethren claim a small number of participants. This Protestant affiliation among the nurses can be understood in terms of their ethnic background. Most of them hail from the island of Jamaica in which the Protestant religion is the dominant one. The Catholics in the nursing sample originate from the predominantly Catholic islands of Trinidad and St. Lucia.

Educational Attainment.

In Chapter II, we stressed that for the average lower middle and lower class high school graduate in the West Indies, the two main avenues of employment are teaching and nursing. Historically the minimum

requirements for admission into these two professions were not very high but the period of training has been more stringent and the stipend more remunerative for the teaching group vis-à-vis nurses. Consequently all the teachers but one have finished Secondary (High) School, while more than 50% of the nurses have not finished Secondary School. Table IV shows the distribution.

TABLE IV

Educational Level Attained by Migrants up to Present Time

	Teachers	Nurses
Finished Primary School	-	8
Some Secondary School	1	18
Finished Secondary School	24	24
Some University	4*	2‡

*Includes those teachers who have finished Secondary School and are currently pursuing courses at University.

‡Includes those nurses who have finished Secondary School and have taken or are taking courses at University.

Residential Origins.

The findings reveal that more than fifty per cent of the migrants lived in a large city prior to migrating, although the nurses show a higher percentage with rural origins. This seems to indicate that geographical and social mobility are higher for the nursing group than the teaching group.

TABLE V

Distribution of Migrants According to Residential Origins

	Teachers		Nurses	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Rural	3	12	10	20
Small Town	7	28	15	30
Large City	15	60	25	50
	25	100	50	100

Socio-Economic Background.

In evaluating the socio-economic background of the migrants, we asked questions leading to information about father's occupation and educational attainment. Both variables have been recognised as indices of societal position. In Chapter II we pointed to Smith's classification of Caribbean society into two main strata - folk and élite. While the folk element is predominantly black, rural or urban working class, the élite stratum contains four sections. Within the élite group but nearer the folk end are found the white collar and skilled workers. These would correspond roughly to the lower middle class of Industrial Society. Our sample can be said to have folk or lower middle class origins. For both groups, very few fathers had any Secondary schooling (i.e. High School) and their occupations range from farmers to white collar jobs such as store clerk, clerical officers in the Civil Service and skilled trades as plumber and carpenter. In isolated cases, teaching and engineering have been claimed as father's occupation.

TABLE VI

Occupational Origins of Teachers and Nurses

Occupational Class	Teachers		Nurses	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Folk - Farm	1	4	10	20
Unskilled Manual	-	-	6	12
Skilled Manual	16	64	19	38
White Collar	8	32	12	24
Professional	-	-	3	6
	25	100	50	100

TABLE VII

Educational Background of Fathers

	Teachers		Nurses	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Some Primary School	1	4	10	20
Finished Primary School	21	84	25	50
Some Secondary School	3	12	8	16
Finished Secondary School	-	-	5	10
Some University	-	-	2	4
	25	100	50	100

These findings collaborate the views of Smith and Braithwaite about the stratum from which teachers and nurses are drawn in the West Indies.[2] They may be contrasted with research conducted in Canada and the United States. In the United States' study, it was found that about half of the fathers of nurses were engaged in middle-status occupations,[3] while F.E. Jones found that high school teachers in a Canadian city were drawn from families with above-average social standing.[4] Further analysis, however,

reveals that the younger teachers are more likely to be drawn from lower social origins. We are of the opinion that the opposite would be true for West Indian society, since educational opportunities are open to a greater number of people and the fields of teaching and nursing are expanding. Further, there is a move by West Indian governments to raise the standard and quality of both teaching and nursing training, while at the same time the clerical Civil Service has lost some of its original status in an attempt to bring it in line with the teaching and nursing professions. The effect of this could be that children of above average families may be drawn into teaching and nursing instead of the Civil Service. Besides many of the fringe benefits in the Civil Service, designed largely for the expatriate staff viz: long leave to the U.K., have been removed.

The Decision Making Process.

Methodology.

Studies of migration stress the push-pull factors that are associated with the movement out. The push relates to the country of origin, while the pull comes from the country of destination. Given the push and pull, how does one assess the casual relationship between them? Lazarsfeld presents a method for handling this type of analysis, in the form of an accounting scheme. This scheme takes into account the set of elements to be considered in reason analysis. According to Lazarsfeld:

> "The purpose of such an accounting scheme is not only to limit the scope of the study, but also to order the elements under consideration into a number of categories. In migration studies, for instance, we distinguish the pushes which drove a man away from his former place of

> residence and the pulls which attracted him to the new place. Within each of these categories, we will then want to decide which of a series of pushes and which of a series of pulls were more effective."[5]

This seems a reasonable method for analysing the decision of individuals to move. However, since we must depend solely on the questionnaire responses of the migrants, there is a problem of interpretation. Moreover a "why" question could produce a congeries of answers. It is left to the researcher to piece out the answers in an attempt to find some pattern to them.

Our questions on the why of migration are open-ended as we felt that leading questions would only point to those answers we consider relevant. Two sets of questions were asked about the push from the West Indies - (a)"What made you first think of leaving the West Indies? (b) What made you finally decide to leave?" We were also concerned with any influences on the decision, for instance, the part played by kin or friends, as well as any concern on the part of the migrants about their decision. Finally, we asked questions about the time lapse between just thinking of migrating and actual leaving.

The pull questions were also open-ended. These were (a)"Why did you choose to come to Canada? (b) What were your reasons for coming to Ontario?" In attempting to discover the link between the push-pull factors, we sought to discover the significance of kin, friends, fellow professionals and/or West Indians and the profession in drawing the migrants to Canada. A further question "How would you rank these countries in terms of obtaining the best training for your professional requirements?" was included in order to see whether the country of destination was rated for its professional assets.

Analysis.

According to our field notes, migration has been a two-way process for the nurses, but a one-way process for the teachers. It would appear that the movement out started earlier for West Indian nurses than teachers. This is due in large measure to the availability of professional training in the U.K., without cost to the individual, for nurses. Teacher training, however, was only available at high cost to the individual while this remained part of the professional training for teachers in the West Indies. Besides, educational requirements were relatively low for admission to nursing training in England. In addition to this, the large shortage of staff and free entry of West Indians into Britain prior to 1962 accounted for a great many individuals entering that country in order to acquire professional training. In our sample of nurses all but eleven received their training in the U.K., the others were trained in the West Indies and migrated directly to Canada.

The Nurses.

Insofar as the nurses left the West Indies as students to Britain we regard them as temporary migrants, i.e. as non-residents intending to remain in the country of destination for a specified period for the purposes of training. In this respect when asked whether they intended returning home on completion of their training, all the nurses replied a definite "yes". An analysis of the initial push-pull elements in the movement out among the nurses yields the following categories.

(1) Unavailability of training in the West Indies.

(2) Greater opportunities and scope for self-advancement in the U.K.

(3) Curiosity and desire to travel to foreign lands.

(4) Inability to find a job in the West Indies.

Category I: Unavailability of training in the West Indies includes those individuals whose initial occupational choice was nursing. These are drawn largely from urban white collar and skilled manual origins and have all completed high school. Some of these claimed that training facilities were scarce and the waiting list for admission too long. By virtue of their English oriented education, England seemed the logical choice for training. The nurses in this group, therefore, were committed to nursing from the beginning of their working life. Thus in category one, the push factors seem more important than the pull.

Category II: Greater opportunities and scope for self-advancement in the U.K. In this group, the pull factors are emphasized. Individuals in this group are drawn mainly from "folk" origins. There appear to be two dimensions to the opportunities. (1) Opportunities which facilitate the entry into an occupational group, from which they are barred at home, and (2) opportunities to better themselves in terms of acquiring more status through the incumbency of a particular profession. Some of these worked at other occupations, for example, skilled trades for the men and clerical work for the women.

Category III: Another group of nurses gave as their pull a desire to travel and to see foreign lands. Here again it would appear that nursing becomes instrumental in achieving this end and that at least initially, there was no strong commitment to the profession. We would expect this group to be mobile geographically with less emphasis on rank and professionalisation. They display both "folk" and "skilled manual" origins and have a lower educational attainment, some of them having never attended high school.

Category IV: Inability to find a job in the West Indies. This final category emphasises the push forces of migration. These individuals were redunduncies in the labour force in their own countries. All claim to have either completed high school or at least to have attended high school and are drawn largely from white collar origins. Again, it is suggested that within this group there is no strong commitment to nursing, but that the profession was chosen as an avenue of employment.

We did not find any major divergences between the first decision to leave and the final one. Responses were largely in terms of the first decision, while any additional factors only served to reinforce this. These could be classified broadly as

(a) Completion of plans in home country in terms of immigration and finances to cover cost of leaving.

(b) Acceptance by school of nursing in the U.K.

The Time Element.

The earliest migrant in our sample of nurses left the West Indies in 1950 while the latest left in 1961. On an average, however, the majority left home in the mid-fifties. Responses regarding the time lapse between just planning to migrate and actual departure reveal a great deal of quick action on the part of the migrants. It appears that, the initial decision having been made, no time was lost in seeking information about training and immigration. The time lapse recorded ranges from one year to three months.

Factors Influencing Decision.

Respondents were asked whether friends or family influenced their

decision in any way. More than fifty per cent replied in the negative. Roughly twenty per cent were encouraged by both kin and friends to leave the West Indies, while some fifteen per cent were encouraged to remain in the West Indies. A further question pertained to the respondents themselves and any doubts they might have had during the period of planning. Again, roughly sixty-two per cent declared that they had no doubts about leaving. Of the remaining thirty-eight per cent, their replies can be broken down into three main classes viz; (1) Fears of loneliness (2) Problems of adjustment in a new environment (3) Climatic conditions.

In the foregoing discussion, we pointed to the reasons given by the migrants that influenced their decision. These could be broken down into (a) socio-economic (b) social-psychological factors. On the socio-economic they would include such factors as frustration in the West Indies, desire for adventure and the ambition "to better oneself". The decision to move appears to have been an individual one and the role of family or friends is not a significant variable in the urge to move.

Moreover, once the initial decision was made, very little time elapsed between it and the date of departure and the migrants did not harbour any serious doubts about leaving the West Indies.

Migration to Canada.

In this section we shall deal with two groups of migrants, the teachers and nurses, in order to compare and contrast the factors influencing their decision to migrate to Canada in general and to Ontario in particular. Legally the majority in the sample live in Canada as landed immigrants. For the nurses, the trek to Canada began in 1961,

with the majority arriving between 1964-1966. The teachers are more recent arrivals, having migrated to Canada a little over a year ago. As far as we know, this flow of West Indian teachers and nurses to Canada is continuing. Whereas in the initial stages the migrants came as strangers to a new community, today, as these migrants become "old" settlers, they play an important part, not only as a source of information and encouragement to would-be migrants, but also in the sphere of adjustment.

The Nurses.

The same questions were asked concerning migration to Canada - (1) Why did you choose to come to Canada? (2) What were your reasons for coming to Ontario? Economic factors loom large in replies to the first question. Respondents listed the following reasons in this order of priority:

(a) High salaries

(b) Greater opportunities for jobs in nursing

(c) Encouragement by relatives and friends

(d) Proximity to the West Indies.

There can be no doubt that one of Canada's main attractions for people from developing countries is the payment of higher salaries. Compared with Canada, salaries for nurses both in the U.K. and the West Indies are relatively low, and the majority of nurses were strongly influenced by an economic motive. But the other factors are also worthy of consideration. Typical replies are "Better job opportunity in Canada", "Unlimited opportunity in education and a higher standard of living", "Fast developing country and thus more opportunities for widening knowledge". It is signi-

icant that in all cases respondents seem concerned with individual advancement and not with the status of the profession in general. Only about six per cent made any reference to advanced nursing techniques as the reasons behind their migration.

The second question, i.e. regarding migration to Ontario, elicited much the same response. None of the migrants have worked in any other province and for many of them the choice of Ontario appears arbitrary. Here again replies could be listed under broad headings;

(a) Wealthiest province and higher salaries

(b) Presence of friends and relatives in Ontario

(c) Climatic conditions better in Ontario than in the other provinces.

Typical replies were usually one or a combination of these factors. The data further revealed that a significant number of nurses trained in the U.K. returned to the West Indies before migrating to Canada. Roughly about twenty-six per cent claimed to have returned home for a period ranging from two years to six months for the purpose of working with an intention to reside. Informal interviews with a sample of these admit their movement out revealed that (1) they were dissatisfied with primitive nursing techniques and lack of modernisation in hospitals (2) unfriendly and suspicious attitudes of West Indian trained nurses, and (3) demands made by parents, mainly in terms of personal freedom. Because of the close knit nature of the family structure in the West Indies, these girls, on their return home, came once more under parental supervision. This last reason was stressed by the respondents. Other factors mentioned briefly were loss of friends through marriage and inability to

adjust to life in a small society. It might be, also, that these women found themselves to be superfluous females on the marriage market. In all cases they were single and in their mid to late twenties, so that the lack of local marriage partners could be an important factor in the urge to migrate. This seems to be definitely the case for those nurses who migrated directly from the West Indies. In all cases they were single and in the age category of twenty-five and over.

The Teachers

The same type of analysis may be followed with respect to the teachers. In terms of the push-pull elements in their reasons for migration, responses could be categorised thus:

(1) Stagnation in job due to limited opportunities for advancement

(2) Opportunities to further studies at University level while working

(3) Incentive to travel and gain experience abroad

Category I emphasises the push factors. The frustration experience seems to be common to the great majority of teachers. It is significant that these are mainly men, for whom teaching remains a marginal profession. Categories II and III both emphasise the pull factors. Of the two, the opportunities for further study carry more weight than the incentive to travel. Almost all the teachers cited the first two categories as their reasons for migration.

The teachers display greater homogeneity both in terms of socio-economic and educational backgrounds and in their reasons for migrating. All but three signify their intentions to return to the West Indies on completion of their studies or after gaining experience

in Canada. It must be borne in mind, however, that these are recent immigrants whose ties with their countries of origin have not yet been attenuated. Their final decision to move rested by and large on (a) an offer of employment in Canada, (b) acceptance by Canadian Government as a landed immigrant. The choice of the province of Ontario rested to a large extent on the availability of jobs with the Separate School Boards. As mentioned earlier, all the teachers in the sample were recruited in their country of origin. However, other causes listed for their choice included climatic conditions - Ontario being claimed as the warmest province - and the tremendous opportunities in this province for both economic and academic advancement. Most of the teachers display great concern for self-advancement.

The Time Element.

Unlike the nurses the time lapse between their first thinking of leaving the West Indies and the actual movement out embraces a longer period. In two extreme cases this was as long as fifteen years and as short as five months, but on an average, the time lapse ranged from five years to one year. However, once the process about gathering information about jobs and immigration started, there was very little time involved before the actual date of departure. The migration of teachers, therefore, seems largely dependent on the guarantee of a job, since unlike the nurses, who left the West Indies in search of training in the first instance, they were all employed in a teaching capacity in the West Indies.

Factors Influencing Decision

The role of kin and friends appear more important in the decision to migrate among the teachers. About fifty per cent claimed to have been

influenced by both relatives and friends to leave the West Indies. Only nineteen per cent stated that friends and relatives encouraged them to stay in the West Indies, while some thirty-one per cent claimed no interference in their decision. Further, all but five of the respondents stated that they experienced some doubts during the planning stage. These fall under the following categories:

(a) Acceptance within the Canadian school system

(b) Suitability of climatic conditions

(c) Adjustment in a new environment.

The responses contain implicit confidence in their professional competence and ability to teach.

Finally an attempt was made to discover the link between the push and pull factors influencing the decision to migrate. For both groups, friends, fellow professionals and relatives appear to have played a significant part in drawing the migrants to Ontario, Canada. The teachers, however, appear to be more closely knit. Only nineteen per cent claimed to have known no one in the province, prior to migrating, while some sixty-two per cent had either friends or fellow teachers or both in Ontario; and a further nineteen per cent had relatives in the province. Moreover, informal interviews revealed that most of the teachers were friends in the West Indies and made their decision to migrate in groups rather than individually. Encouragement was also received from teachers who had migrated previously about the favourable conditions existing in Canada. The nurses, on the other hand, are a more loosely-knit group. Some thirty-one per cent claimed no knowledge of any friends or relatives in the province, and came as strangers to a job. Nineteen per cent had

relatives in Ontario, while the remaining fifty per cent reported the presence of friends and fellow nurses or a combination of both in or around the city in which they are employed.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we began by describing the characteristics of the migrants. Both groups appear relatively homogeneous in terms of age, socio-economic and educational background. They can be placed in three broad classes - (1) folk-farm (2) urban unskilled manual (3) white collar and skilled manual. The large majority of migrants either completed secondary school or had some high school training. The sample contains a majority of women, largely nurses, however the teaching group has more male migrants.

Age, sex, marital status and religious affiliation are not considered significant variables in the decision to move. For the average migrant the decision to migrate was a personal one, however, the role of kin and friends in the pull to Canada appears to be a very significant variable for both groups. They provide the major link between the push/pull elements of the migration. Economic factors in the form of higher salaries, and frustration in the West Indies in terms of inability to find employment and opportunity blocks in terms of promotion are also considered important variables in the decision to migrate.

To reconstruct, the typical West Indian nurse or teacher who migrates is one who by virtue of his education avails himself of a professional training in order to better his social status and secondarily to provide him with useful employment. The acquisition of certain

skills, in this case, nursing and teaching, heralds the movement out to whatever country he perceives favourable to his life goals. The two groups are convergent in the search for goals but diverge about the nature of the goals. For a significant number of nurses their goals seem to be more geared towards adventure rather than professionalisation, while the teachers, mainly men, are more concerned with achievement in terms of financial and academic success. Both groups, however, use the profession as a means of achieving their goals. In Chapter IV we shall examine the degree of mobility displayed by the migrants, their career patterns and level of aspirations, and the relationship between their migration and mobility.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Ottawa, Distr. General Commonwealth Caribbean - Canada Conference, "Immigration to Canada from the Commonwealth Caribbean", B/8, June, 1966.

[2]See M.G. Smith's chapter on "Occupation and Status" in Stratification in Grenada, op. cit., and L. Braithwaithe, "Social Stratification in Trinidad", op. cit.

[3]E. Hughes, H. Hughes and I. Deutscher, Twenty Thousand Nurses Tell Their Story, (U.S.A.: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1958), p. 23.

[4]F.E. Jones, "The Social Origin of High School Teachers in a Canadian City", in Canadian Society, edited by B. Blishen, F.E. Jones, K. Naegele, J. Porter, (Canada: The Bryant Press Limited, 1964).

[5]P.L. Lazarsfeld & M. Rosenberg, eds., The Language of Social Research, (New York: The Free Press, 1955), p. 388.

CHAPTER IV

MIGRATION AND MOBILITY

Introduction

In Chapter I we suggested that since mobility studies share common methodological problems with migration, it would be useful to pool the ideas contained in both types of analysis, in order to examine their relationship with regard to the present study. In this chapter, we shall be concerned with the mobility patterns of the migrants in terms of intergenerational and intragenerational mobility, career patterns and levels of aspirations. Such analysis necessitates a definition of these concepts.

The Concept of Social Mobility

Sociological literature abounds with studies of social mobility. The concept of mobility refers to the movement of individuals from one social position to another - positions which have been ranked in a hierarchical manner in society. Sorokin identifies two principal types of social mobility, horizontal and vertical.

> "By horizontal social mobility or shifting, is meant the transition of an individual or social object from one social group to another situated on the same level . . . . By vertical social mobility is meant the relations involved in a transition of an individual (or a social object) from one social stratum to another. According to the direction

> of the transition, there are two types of vertical social mobility: ascending and descending, or social climbing and social sinking."[1]

Although Sorokin's definition of social mobility includes social objects, for example, the radio, automobile, Communism, as well as transitions of individuals from one social group to another, which may be religious or political, studies of social mobility have been almost exclusively concerned with the occupational mobility of individuals. Thus Lipset and Bendix state

> "When we study social mobility, we analyze the movement of individuals from positions possessing a certain rank either higher or lower in the social system. It is possible to conceive of the result of this process as a distribution of talent and training such that privileges and perquisites accrue to each position in proportion to its difficulty and responsibility."[2]

The social system conceived of in this statement is a system of ranked statuses, structurally differentiated in terms of the amount of training and the importance of talent contained within each stratum. In modern industrial society, occupation is regarded as a most important criterion in determining the hierarchical ranking of these positions. It is particularly useful because of its link with economic status and educational background, which provide a basis for the differentiation of beliefs, values, norms, and style of life existent in a stratified society.

Most of the studies of social mobility have been descriptive and deal largely with upward mobility, either inter-generational or intra-generational, without too much emphasis on the processes of mobility.

With this in mind, Lipset and Zetterberg[3] furnished a theory of social mobility and identified two different processes in the stratification system - (1) the supply of vacant statuses (2) the interchange of ranks. The former refers to the expansion of certain higher ranking positions within the society and the relative decline of the low ranking positions, while the latter is concerned with the accessibility to positions either high-ranking or low-ranking by individuals, regardless of ascriptive criteria. This would allow for continuous movement between status positions within the social system. Thus individuals not only strive to acquire the necessary skills for entering higher-ranking strata but also to keep their prestigious positions within the society. The study of social mobility, therefore, includes the study of motivational factors associated with mobility. The motivation of individuals towards mobility depends on the institutional norms that influence the processes of mobility. Bernard Barber refers to these institutional norms as "prescriptive patterns based on internalized moral sentiments"[4] that help to shape stratification systems. Values are thus central to the type of the stratification system. Barber identifies two basic types of stratification systems -

> "One is the "open-class" type which strongly approves of upward social mobility, puts a high value of equality of opportunity for all members of society and encourages everyone to improve his present class position . . . . . The other basic type is the "caste-type" which strongly disapproves of social mobility, considers radical inequality of circumstance and opportunity for the different members of a society as morally right and treats the wish to improve

one's present class position as sinful."[5]

These are ideal types and not completely representative of any one concrete system, but societies have been found to contain elements of both types of institutional norms. However, one can label a system as either more open-class, or more closed-caste type. In other words, according to Parsons,[6] modern industrial societies have institutionalised values of universalistic criteria which makes it possible for status positions to be achieved by whatever means the society provides for so doing, while caste societies like India have little or no movement between castes. A highly stratified society is one of the main features of industrialisation and once the process of industrialisation starts in any country, there develops an expansion of available status positions at any one time. According to Lipset and Bendix, mobility rates are a function of the degree of industrialisation.

Action theorists believe that social stratification is functional to the social system as a whole, in maintaining equilibrium and ensuring that the best available talent fills the most important jobs.[7] In the same way a society is believed to function with the minimum of strains if the degree of mobility between strata is open, and above all if individuals perceive these ranked positions to be accessible to them in terms of objective criteria. When one considers developing countries with pre-industrial norms of particularism and ascription, the system of social stratification and social mobility becomes more problematic. Such societies achieve changes in the occupational structure by virtue of the division of labour and economic expansion that come with industrialisation, but because of the predominance of caste-like norms, there exists a number of status blocks which make for a widening of the gap between the two main

strata. Ralph Beals reported this to be the case in several Latin American countries - "thus there is a marked hereditary aristocratic class which feels itself innately superior by birth . As a result of this the successful bourgeois strives to become a member of this class but mobility in these areas is not approved by either the bourgeoisie or the aristrocracy."[8]

One of the main problems in studying social mobility in underdeveloped or developing nations is analytical. Since we are dealing with two different types of societies, the conceptual tools used in an analysis of Western Societies are not as meaningful when applied to these countries. For one thing, developing countries are more rural then urban and whatever industry exists is brought in by metropolitan countries so that the native population tends to be employed mainly in the lower ranks. Thus positions come to be ranked by virtue of the élite incumbency of these positions rather than by objective criteria such as training and technical skill. The high ranking of bank clerks in the West Indies attests to this view. However, it is evident that some form of stratification is developing within these countries, especially in the face of the rapid political and economic changes currently taking place. The most important avenues of social mobility are through education and occupation.

We have already stated that the occupational hierarchical order as the basis of a stratification system underlies many studies of social mobility. For instance, Lipset and Bendix' study of social mobility in industrial society is an analysis of occupational mobility, and occupations are placed in broad categories of (1) Farm (2) Manual (3) Non-manual. Studies of social mobility in Britain also rest on the ranking

of occupations and Moser and Hall devised a standard ranking as follows[9]-

(1) Professional and High Administration

(2) Managerial and Executive

(3) High-grade inspectional, supervisory and non-manual

(4) Lower-grade inspectional, supervisory and non-manual

(5) Skilled manual and routine non-manual

(6) Semi-skilled manual

(7) Unskilled manual

This classification contains obvious weaknesses, for example, it refers mainly to the gainfully occupied and excludes people such as politicians, titled nobility etc., as well as pointing to organisational rather than individual status. So that while it is reasonable to assert that a ranking of individuals within these categories in any given society cannot give an accurate account of the status placements in that society, they are still useful in providing some measure with which to assess the amount of occupational mobility between and within generations. Mobility studies in the United States differ from the English studies in the distinctions made between rural or farm occupations and manual/non manual or urban occupations. This classification suffers from the same weaknesses as the English one, since within the farm category, farm hands, labourers and farm owners are subsumed under one heading obscuring any mobility within this group. Moreover a person who moves from a rural manual occupation to a white-collar non-manual urban occupation is said to be upwardly mobile.

The main foci in mobility studies are vertical mobility and inter-generational mobility. Chinoy, in his evaluation of recent trends in mobility studies, identifies two main forms of occupational mobility -

(a) inferential (b) direct.[10] The former concentrates upon those factors in American society which may affect the rate of mobility, eg. demographic, institutional or structural change. The second form deals with the relationship between the social origins and career patterns of members of each occupational class at different times in order to determine the frequency or rate of mobility. Thus one focuses on the social structure, the other on the individuals within that structure. Most studies point to a rising mobility rate, in particular from the skilled or unskilled categories to white collar and lower professional, but these results are not conclusive as to the overall rate of mobility in Western societies, and more detailed work is needed in this area.

One of the main channels to upward mobility is through demographic factors, such as changes in fertility rates and migration. The lowering fertility rates of members of the higher ranking occupational class enables the recruitment of members from the lower ranking occupational groups. Similarly migration is an important factor in filling positions due to structural changes in the population. Lipset and Rogoff report that with urban expansion in the United States and Western Europe, the pattern of migrants taking up lower positions is probably uniform.[11] This has been found to be the case where migrants have rural origins and enter the unskilled or semi-skilled manual labour category of workers. The effect of this is to push up the sons of manual workers into the non-manual category.

However, recent migration accounts for the movement of another group of individuals - professional people, who come to particular jobs in a community or country and who therefore settle at a higher level in the class system. Such individuals may be said to migrate because they

perceive greater opportunities for improving their positions in the area of destination. Musgrove attributes this movement of what he calls "the migratory élite" to the discrepancy between the opportunities for advancement in the fields of professional, scientific and higher administrative work, and the expansion of trained personnel in these fields in a fairly rigid society, so that the upwardly mobile individual looks further afield for achievement of his goals.[12] Thus professional persons look to less rigidly structured highly developed countries where they perceive a greater promise of speedy ascent within their career. In this regard, a report on the motives of post-war emigrants from Britain to Australia concluded

> "It can happen without frustration of any present set of aspirations that an individual becomes aware that another society provides easier ways of reaching his goals, or perhaps offers alternative goals which appear more attractive than those for which he is currently striving."[13]

The Canadian experience amply demonstrates this. Porter says in "The Vertical Mosaic" that Canada "has had to rely heavily on skilled and professional immigration to upgrade its labour force in periods of industrial growth".[14] Another reason for the migration of professionals has been attributed to the desire for social acceptance once the individual achieves upward mobility. On the subject of immigrant professionals from Britain to Canada, Porter continues

> "Perhaps one of the reasons that these professionals moved to Canada is because in Britain they found, even though they were highly trained, they experienced difficulty in being accepted socially at the class level appropriate to

> their new professional status. They may have emigrated to Canada where their social origins may not be so apparent, to achieve more upward mobility."[15]

Since the migrants in the study belong to two specific occupational groups, it becomes necessary to ask to what extent does the profession account for their mobility. Teaching and nursing may be regarded as semi-professions. According to Reiss, in his elaboration of Carr-Saunder's four major types of professions, "the semi-professions replace theoretical study of a field of learning by the acquisition of precise technical skill. Technical practice and knowledge is the basis of such semi-professions as nursing, pharmacy, optometry and social work."[16]

Another factor detracting from the full professionalisation of these occupational groups is the preponderance of women. Mason, Dressel and Bain state

> "A contingent commitment is a central tendency for women beginning teaching, as it probably is for women in most occupations, and this tendency very likely inhibits the development of the professionalisation of the occupation."[17]

In a recent study conducted by Jack Ladinsky, it was found that the occupations with the highest migration rates are salaried professions, while those with the lowest are self-employed professionals, for example, architects and dentists. It was further found that professionals with high rates of migration typically work in small or medium bureaucratic organisations, which are geographically scattered and contain short organisational hierarchies. Thus there are relatively few career stages

and levels of advancement for these individuals within the same organisation and migration is their main means of advancement. Ladinsky concludes "thus for numerous salaried professionals, a combination of highly marketable skills, blunted organisational advancement and decentralised work units fosters high rates of migration".[18] Viewed in these terms, teaching and nursing can be considered mobile professions.

Inter-generational Mobility

The migrants in the study all demonstrate a high degree of inter-generational mobility, as shown in the last chapter. A study done by George Cumper in the island of Barbados in 1955 revealed that the highest rate of mobility occurred between the skilled workers and the white collar workers. The main qualification for entry into this group was some degree of formal education. However Cumper's study revealed very little mobility between the white collar and professional group - "To pass from an outside group into the poorest white-collar occupations (policeman, messenger, attendant in a small shop) is easier than passing from this latter level to the professional group."[19] Cumper also found a significant amount of downward mobility, that is, from the white collar to the skilled workers group, due to the lack of formal education on the part of the sons of white collar workers. It may well be that this type of downward mobility has increased in recent years because of the growing emphasis on educational qualifications for entry into white collar jobs today in West Indian society. For example, some of the migrants claimed white-collar jobs for their fathers, although their educational attainments did not go beyond elementary (public) school. Today it is very doubtful whether such individuals would be able to enter those occupational groups. More recently, Michael Smith

conducted a study in the island of Grenada. One of his major findings is the dearth of mobility between the three main groups in Grenadian society - the élite, the middle and the folk. However within the limitations of these blocks to mobility, it was found that the greatest amount of mobility takes place at the lower élite levels, that is, between the skilled manual and the white collar group. These findings of mobility in West Indian society, i.e. at the lower status levels, seem consistent with findings in industrial societies reported earlier.

Intra-generational Mobility

Intra-generational mobility refers to changes in occupations during the life career of the individual. This field remains largely neglected, mainly because mobility studies tend to be statistical and drawn from census data which is inadequate for such analysis. The sample reveals a major difference between the two groups in this regard. In the teaching group, only two out of twenty-five claimed to have worked in other occupations. This seems to imply a commitment to teaching from the beginning of their working lives. In the nursing group, however, fifty-three per cent claimed to have worked at other occupations prior to entering nursing. Of this group, twenty-nine per cent were teachers, but it may well be that they were not trained teachers. We make this assumption on the grounds that in the West Indies, due to the shortage of teacher training facilities, primary school teachers had to teach for at least three years before obtaining teacher training. More often than not, they had to wait for a longer period. All the male nurses, four in number, worked at other jobs - white collar and skilled manual, while thirty-five per cent of the total number were previously occupied in

clerical jobs. One nurse claimed domestic work and another dressmaking as their previous occupations. These last two occupations provide employment for a significant number of females in the West Indian labour force. It would appear from this that nurses have experienced a greater degree of intra-generational mobility and, to a greater extent than the teachers, that the profession has provided an important outlet for their mobility aspirations.

A further attempt was made to assess the position of the migrants vis-à-vis their siblings in the migratory pattern. All the migrants show a remarkable degree of family mobility. Fifty-nine per cent of the nurses and sixty-nine per cent of the teachers claim to have brothers and sisters abroad. The countries to which they migrated are mainly the United Kingdom and Canada, the majority going to the United Kingdom, so that the migration of the individuals in the study may be part of a pattern of general migration within their families.

The Career Patterns and Levels of Aspiration of the Migrants

Career patterns and occupational mobility are intimately related. A career pattern refers to the orderly movement from one job to another in the life of an individual.[21] Becker, writing on the concept of career states

> "The term refers, to paraphrase Hall, to the patterned series of adjustments made by the individuals to the "network of institutions, formal organisations, and informal relationships" in which the work of the occupation is performed. This series of adjustments in typically considered in terms of movement up or down between

positions differentiated by their rank in some formal or informal hierarchy of prestige, influence and income."[22]

The statement implies a pattern of vertical mobility, but as many studies have indicated a career pattern may also be conceived of in terms of movement from one job to another on the same occupational level, i.e. horizontal mobility. The career pattern of an individual suggests a continuum of involvements either in different statuses within the same or similar occupational organisations, or similar statuses in different work organisations. Careers are essential to the stability not only of individuals but of society in general. Thus work organisations have developed a hierarchy of ranked levels within them as well as incentives in the way of higher remuneration, fringe benefits, etc. in order to attract and motivate the most competent persons and so maintain stability.

In examining the career pattern of individuals, one can identify stages, turning points and adjustments in their life cycle. This would involve the transition from one status to another, and the individual can be said to develop a pattern as he moves through different roles. E. Hughes discusses this transition of individuals in a less rigidly structured society

> "The individual has more latitude for creating his own position or choosing from a number of existing ones; he has also less certainty of achieving any given position. There are more adventurers and more failures; but unless complete disorder reigns, there will be typical sequences of position, achievement, responsibility, and even adventure."[23]

A career does not refer principally to certain types of jobs,

for example, professional or salaried white-collar jobs. Individuals in the skilled and unskilled categories experience career patterns, but research has indicated that some occupations foster a more stable career pattern than others. Albert Reiss[24] found the greatest stability in the old established professions and the greatest instability and risks among the less established. He defined stability as the encumbency during one decade of the same occupational assignment or the same occupational level if shifts in the assignment were made. Stability in the older established professions is due mainly to the kind of specialised training necessary for such professions and the limitations they place on the individual in terms of job shifting. W. Form and D. Miller found the same pattern of stability among professionals, and to a lesser extent among proprietors and businessmen. Skilled and clerical workers display moderate stability, while semi-skilled and unskilled workers show serious instability.[25] Moreover they identify three periods in the working life of the individual -

(a) The initial work period, i.e. all the full-time or part-time jobs an individual held before completion of his formal education.

(b) The trial work period, i.e. the period immediately following completion of school when the individual "shops" around for a job.

(c) The stable work period, i.e. when the individual remains within a given occupation in a work plant for three years or more.

Thus an individual may have several stable work periods in his working life. The patterns associated with these periods were classified as secure and insecure, and the greatest amount of insecurity was found in the unskilled and domestic groups, as these contained a predominance of trial over stable periods.

The inducements to move are important factors in the career patterns of individuals. Some jobs contain strong inducements to remain within the organisation in terms of offering prestigious positions in the course of time. Other jobs offer no foreseeable future and upwardly mobile persons with high levels of achievement aspirations are forced to move to a position where they perceive their chances for advancement to be greater, even if they have developed strong personal ties within the system. Wilensky presents a typology of work organisations and the mobility consequences associated with them. He found that there is much career opportunity in (1) organisations with tall hierarchies (2) organisations with a high ratio of managers to managed. Organisations with history and prospect of continued growth and those with long prescribed training contain stable career opportunity and expectations, while in occupations that contain multiple units, geographically scattered, the career climb is associated with residential mobility.[26]

With these considerations, we turn to an analysis of the career patterns of the migrants. Associated with this are their levels of aspiration and degree of commitment to their present occupations. The concept of commitment refers to the consistent involvement of an individual with a particular line of activity over a period of time. The committed individual typically, in pursuing this activity, rejects a number of alternative courses of action that would intrude upon this consistency. Thus, according to Goffman, he becomes "locked into a position and coerced into living up to the promises and sacrifices built into it".[27] In this way, a person could only become deeply committed to a role he regularly performs. Goffman makes a further distinction between "attachment" to a role, and commitment-attachment is more likely to have a "selfless component". An individual

may be attached to a role without being committed and vice versa, the crucial difference being that commitment implies some element of responsibility in the performance of the role, or what Goffman calls the forced-consequence, i.e. the process by which an individual comes to take a role to heart.

Of the two groups, the teachers display more stable career patterns than the nurses, insofar as, with the exception of two teachers, the trial work period, the period of shopping around is absent. Since no information was sought regarding promotions received in the West Indies we do not know whether they were upwardly mobile prior to migration. However, they were all recruited at the same level in Ontario, regardless of years of experience. Nevertheless, as far as salaries are concerned, their starting salary in Ontario was higher than the salary they left behind, so that they could be said to be financially mobile.

The Teachers

Becker's study on the career of the Chicago school teacher provides a useful point of departure in our analysis. He focuses on the horizontal aspects of the career and shows how Chicago school teachers manipulate formal procedures in order to achieve mobility. This type of career pattern, he asserts, is likely to be limited to occupational organisations which, like the Chicago school system, are impersonal and bureaucratic. For the Chicago school teacher, career movement is the movement from one school to another, usually from a slum school to a nicer school. Becker has introduced an important dimension in the study of career patterns. In terms of our sample, both teachers and nurses display more horizontal than vertical mobility. In the same way the Chicago school teacher aimed at moving to a "nicer" or more "middle-class" school, the West Indian

teacher regarded his move to Canada as a move to a "better " place - better, insofar as Canada provides the opportunity for upward mobility through educational facilities available here. Thus the West Indian migrant teacher appears to be manipulating the formal procedure in order to achieve his goal. Seventy-five per cent are currently pursuing higher studies and only one teacher claimed that his studies are unrelated to his job. However, these all display an attachment to teaching but a very low commitment to public school teaching. Aside from one teacher who aspires to become an electronic engineer, they either aspire to become high school teachers or administrators within the profession. Thus the question - "What do you expect your occupation to be in 5 years, 10 years, 20 years drew a response of "teacher" from eighty-five per cent.

The migrants were asked to rank countries in terms of gaining the best training for their jobs. Among the teachers, Britain emerged first, followed by Canada, the United States and then the West Indies. The placing of Britain first may be due to the West Indian's British-oriented training. Although the migrants saw no major differences in the status of teachers in the West Indies and Canada, the fact that they ranked Canada higher than the West Indies in terms of procuring the best training indicates that they regard teaching in Canada as having a higher standard than in the West Indies. On the other hand, all the teachers regard teaching experience in the West Indies to be an asset in applying for a job elsewhere. Another question was directed to the degree of professionalisation by way of subscription to teaching journals and attendance at conferences, seminars, lectures etc. relevant to their jobs. Fifty-nine per cent claim to subscribe to journals, while ninety-four per cent report that they attend conferences etc. either once or twice a

year. This indicates a high degree of interest in the profession.

The Nurses

The nursing profession fosters a great deal of mobility, since there are a number of hospitals, geographically scattered with a very short hierarchical structure. Moreover, because of the importance of professional techniques to the occupation, some hospitals which are more equipped technologically and have more well-known and competent personnel in the upper ranks may be considered better than some of the smaller and less modern hospitals. Thus a University teaching hospital would be ranked higher than a general hospital. The nurses in the sample were all recruited as graduate nurses, but they had to write the provincial examination in order to receive the Ontario licence. Thus the movement between jobs, that is, from a job in Britain or the West Indies to one in Ontario was one of horizontal mobility. In tracing the career pattern of the nurses a re-examination of the reasons given for migration to Canada would be fruitful. Among the reasons given by the respondents was "greater opportunities for jobs in nursing". This seems to imply that there are more hospitals in Canada and jobs are easier to acquire. Whether these jobs are considered "better" than the ones held in Britain is another question. All the nurses I interviewed expressed a preference for nursing in Britain, on the grounds that they are allowed more professional freedom in the exercise of nursing care, while in Ontario, they work strictly according to the instructions of the doctors. On the other hand, the nurses trained in the West Indies and those British trained ones who returned to work there all expressed disgust at the low standards maintained on the wards, lack of modernisation and primitive technology as well as the inefficiency of the administrative staff.

A question on the ranking of occupations in the West Indies and Canada drew the response that nursing has a higher status in Canada. Thus it appears that the West Indian nurse perceives her occupational status to be higher in Canada than the West Indies, and in this sense, she could be said to be vertically mobile. Only three out of the sample of fifty, however, received promotion since migrating to Ontario, one to the position of Supervisor, and the other two to the post of head nurse. When the migrants were asked to rank countries in terms of providing the best professional training, they placed Britian first, with Canada ranking second followed by the West Indies and the United States in that order. The same pattern appears when asked about working experience in any particular country. Respondents consider it an asset to have gained working experience in Britain, the West Indies, the United States and Canada. It is reasonable to explain this emphasis on Britain by the fact that most of the nurses obtained their training there and the West Indian's tendency to upgrade British education. It is also significant that these countries are all English speaking - West Germany was included in the list of countries to see if the level of technology was significant to the respondents and this was found to be negligible.

On the question of commitment to the nursing profession, fifty-six per cent showed a strong commitment, while twenty-two per cent showed no commitment to nursing. This includes all the men who have indicated their intention to leave nursing within five years, and some women who have decided to stay at home. There was no answer from the remainder of the nurses. However, in terms of levels of aspiration, they were not so definite. Out of the fifty-six per cent committed to nursing, sixteen per cent indicated their intention to leave bedside nursing and enter

the administrative ranks within ten years. Moreover these are currently pursuing studies to this end. Another sixteen per cent aspire to a supervisory position on the wards within ten years, by way of the rank of head nurse which they hope to achieve within the next five years. The remaining twenty-four per cent either did not reply or simply stated that they hoped to remain nurses. In order to asses their degree of "professionalisation", two questions were asked - (1) Do you subscribe to nursing journals, (2) Do you attend seminars, lectures, conferences, with regard to your profession? A surprising number replied in the affirmative to both questions. Roughly forty-one per cent declared that they subscribe to nursing journals, while only twenty-five per cent said they never attend conferences etc. with regard to the profession. This seems to indicate that the majority of nurses in the sample are interested in "professionalisation," but this is not consistent with their low levels of aspiration within the profession.[29] Therefore we would treat these replies with caution, especially in the light of interviews held with the directors of nursing of three hospitals in Hamilton, who all stated that the West Indian nurses on their staff displayed no interest in attending meetings, lectures etc, nor do they spend any time in the reading rooms at the hospitals. Moreover, an interview with a sample of nurses in Hamilton revealed that subscription to nursing journals is automatic upon becoming a member of the Registered Nurses Association of Ontario, but they were very doubtful as to whether many West Indian nurses belonged to the association, which is not compulsory. A question as to membership in the R.N.A.O. would have been more revealing.

Conclusion

In summary, the majority of the nurses and teachers in the study have experienced vertical mobility. Their career patterns are more or less stable, although a substantial number of the nurses underwent the trial work period, prior to their nursing training. This is not the case with the majority of the teachers. The nurses show a lower commitment to the profession and a lower degree of professionalisation than the teachers and for the majority of them, their level of aspiration does not extend beyond the hospital ward. It should be noted that entrance into the administrative or teaching ranks of the nursing profession requires further study and the general nurse would need to enter university to acquire the necessary qualifications. On the other hand, the teachers are actively seeking occupational mobility by pursuing university courses which would enable them to leave public school teaching. However the majority of them appear to be attached to teaching and promotion for them is high school teaching. Thus the teachers can be said to have a higher level of aspiration within their profession than the nurses.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Pitirim Sorokin, Social and Cultural Mobility, (Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), p. 133.

[2]S. Lipset and R. Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), p. 2.

[3]S. Lipset and H. Zetterberg, "A Theory of Social Mobility" in Class, Status and Power, 2nd edition, edited by R. Bendix and S. Lipset, (New York: The Free Press, 1966).

[4]B. Barber, Social Stratification, (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1957), pp. 336-7.

[5]Ibid., pp. 335-6.

[6]T. Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification" in T. Parsons - Essays in Sociological Theory, (New York: The Free Press, 1949).

[7]K. Davis & W. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification" in Class, Status and Power, eds. R. Bendix and S. Lipset, op. cit.

[8]R. Beals, "Social Stratification in Latin America" American Journal of Sociology, 58 (1953), pp. 327-9.

[9]C. Moser & J. Hall, "The Social Grading of Occupations" in Social Mobility in Britain, edited by D. V. Glass, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954), p. 31.

[10]E. Chinoy, "An Evaluation of Some Recent Studies in Occupational Mobility" in Man, Work and Society, eds. S. Nosow and W. Form, (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1962), p. 354.

[11]S. Lipset & N. Rogoff, "Occupational Mobility in Europe and the United States" in Man, Work & Society, op. cit., p. 367.

[12]F. Musgrove, The Migratory Elite, (London: Heinemann Educational Books, Ltd., 1963).

[13]A. Richardson, "Some Psycho-Social Aspects of British Emigration to Australia", British Journal of Sociology, (1959), p. 10.

[14]J. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 43.

[15] Ibid., p. 46-47.

[16] Albert Reiss, "Individuals and Professionalisation" in Professionalisation, ed. H. Vollmer and D. Mills, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1966), p. 74.

[17] W.W. Mason, R. Dressel & R.Bain, "Sex Role and the Career Orientations of Beginning Teachers", Harvard Educational Reviews, Vol. 29, No. 4, Fall 1959, p. 375.

[18] J. Ladinsky, "Occupational Determinants of Geographic Mobility among Professional Workers", American Sociological Review, April 1967, Vol. 32, No. 2, p. 258.

[19] G. Cumper, "Household and Occupation in Barbados" in Social and Economic Studies, Jamaica, University College West Indies, Vol. 10, 1961, p. 408.

[20] M. Smith, Stratification in Grenada, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965)

[21] E. Hughes, "Institutional Office and the Person", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLIII, 1937, p. 410. Hughes uses the concept to refer not only to jobs but to "other lines of social accomplishment", for example, a woman may have a career holding a family together.

[22] H. Becker, "The Career of the School Teacher" in Man, Work and Society, op. cit., p. 321

[23] E. Hughes, op. cit., p. 409.

[24] A. Reiss, "Occupational Mobility of Professional Workers" in Man, Work & Society, op. cit.

[25] W.H. Form & D.C. Miller, "Occupational Career Pattern as a Sociological Instrument" in Man, Work and Society, op. cit., pp. 287-97.

[26] H. Wilensky, "Careers, Life Style and Social Integration" in Man, Work and Society, op. cit., p. 331.

[27] E. Goffman, Encounters, (Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1961), p. 89.

[28] H. Becker, op. cit.

[29]E. Hughes, H. Hughes & I. Deutscher, Twenty Thousand Nurses Tell Their Story, U.S.A.: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1958. p. 241. E. Hughes and his associates reported that nurses, by and large, are not avid readers of their nursing journals. Only forty per cent of the operating room and forty-seven per cent of the floor nurses in the Arkansas study subscribed to the American Journal of Nursing while eighty-seven per cent of the general duty nurses in Central Missouri admitted that they do not regularly read a professional magazine.

CHAPTER V

THE DIRECTION OF THE MIGRATION

There can be no doubt that for the majority of the West Indian teachers and nurses in the study, migration signifies moving upward both in terms of financial resources and socio-economic origins. This chapter seeks to discover the future trend of their migration. Associated with this trend are their patterns of adjustment, primary group relations, ties with kin in the West Indies, and degree of anomie and/or powerlessness felt towards the West Indies.

Most of the sociological literature on immigrants focus on adjustment and assimilation within the host society. The process of immigrant absorption involves the internalising of new roles and acculturation within the new country. Eisenstadt attempts a systematic framework on immigrant absorption

> "The process of absorption, from the point of view of the individual immigrant's behaviour, entails the learning of new roles, the transformation of primary group values, and the extension of participation beyond the primary group in the main spheres of the social system. Only insofar as the processes are successfully coped with are the immigrant's concept of himself and his status and his hierarchy of values re-formed into a coherent system, enabling him to become once more, a fully-functioning member of society.[1]

Whether the migrants in the study are undergoing these processes of absorption successfully, is beyond the scope of the present study, but an attempt will be made to discover the extent to which they are beginning to adjust within the new society. One of the main indicators of immigrant adjustment and acculturation is the degree of social interaction within the society. This involves interaction both at the institutional level and the informal primary group level. According to Eisenstadt

> "It has been shown that dispersal within the formal, institutional spheres is not a sufficient indication of full adaptation and absorption. Only if there is full interaction not only on the formal plane, but also in the less easily penetrable informal groups and cliques, has full absorption taken place."[2]

The questions asked concerning interaction in the new society were (a) Primary group affiliations (b) Participation in local organisations (c) Participation in church-sponsored recreational activities. The majority of the nurses have no participation in local activities and their friendship patterns remain largely West Indian. About ninety-two per cent declared that (a) most of their friends or (b) some of their friends are West Indian nurses. Moreover they claim to meet on an average of once a week or at least, once a month. Further, they never participate in any local organisations. These findings are not surprising. West Indians, coming from a small society are more communally oriented than associationally. Moreover, several English studies have found that West Indians tend to stick together and, for the most part, are relatively

isolated within the society.[3] An interview with the director of nursing at three hospitals in Hamilton also revealed that inter-group relations between West Indian nurses and the other nurses were very low and that the West Indians hardly ever participate in off-duty social activities at the hospitals. They concluded by saying "These girls are very good workers, but we find it very difficult to understand them." In many ways, the directors of nursing blame the girls for their relative isolation and loneliness, stating that they insulate themselves and erect barriers around them which are difficult to penetrate. They also observed that there is no group spirit among the West Indian nurses, as is the case with the Filipino nurses. The latter are said to take a more active part in off-duty activities and to function as an effective group in terms of welcoming new immigrant nurses (they operate a sort of reception house) as well as in terms of "collective bargaining" at the hospitals.

Although the West Indian nurses in their primary group relations confine themselves to other West Indians, this is more in the nature of dyadic or triadic relationships rather than a group relationship. So that Jamaicans would tend to befriend Jamaicans, Trinidadians befriend Trinidadians, etc. That West Indians have no ethnic identity is a historical truism. This was recently documented by Professor Gordon Lewis, a sociologist of the University of Puerto Rico. Quoting from the Moyne Report of the West Indies Royal Commission of 1937-38, he states

> In general cultural terms, the report saw West Indian society as basically embryonic. "One characteristic of the West Indies," it noted, "is the regrettable absence of those factors and traditions which elsewhere make for

> cohesiveness and a sense of community . . . ." "The whole West Indies", it added, "are practically devoid of all the multifarious institutions, official and unofficial, which characterise British public life and bring a very large proportion of the population into some living contact with the problems of social importance."[4]

Moreover, the system of governors under colonial rule only served to widen the gap between the islands and today there are many sterotypes among West Indians, for example, the crafty Barbadian, the lazy Trinidadian, the aggressive Jamaican.[5]

Researchers in the West Indian communities in Britain have noted the lack of effective leadership from the West Indian middle class élite or the better educated.[6] Other writers have noted the individualistic attitude of the middle class West Indian in the West Indies, or as one calypsonian has put it, "the dog-eat-dog, survival of the fittest" attitude. Professor Simey attributes this attitude "to the constant struggle in which they have to take part to achieve a position in society, and maintain it after they have won what they desire." He continues that "there is thus always a latent combativeness between man and man".[7] This attitude continues to manifest itself among West Indian migrants abroad. Each one suspects the other, as if afraid of any encroachments on his privileges in the new country. For example, the research project drew comments like "you can't just spring something like this on people", or "the questions are far too personal". On the other hand, attempts to form an effective Canadian Caribbean Association in Hamilton proved abortive. After one meeting, any further attempts to

convene were frustrated by the low response from members. It may be also that the association collapsed due to the dearth of West Indian professionals in Hamilton, since immigrant groups tend to look to the prominent professionals among them for effective leadership. Another illustration of the "combativeness" among West Indians is the boycotting of a recent dance sponsored by the Trinidadian teachers in Hamilton by the Jamaicans (largely skilled workers) on the ground that this was a Trinidadian affair and they wanted to see how much support they could muster without the patronage of the Jamaican group.

West Indian nurses in the study are, therefore, reacting in a typical West Indian way in their primary group affiliations. Interviews with a sample of these girls reveal two types. On the one hand, there is the West Indian single nurse whose off-duty social activities are out of Hamilton, mainly Toronto. Typically she seeks enjoyment at the West Indian dance clubs in Toronto, of which there are about five. She also seeks a male partner among the West Indian males there. The other type ie either the married West Indian nurse whose off-duty hours are taken up with domestic activities, or the single West Indian nurse who makes her job her whole life. This type tends to be more isolated, and her primary group relations are very narrow. It is as though she is "trapped" within her career. What sort of adjustment she makes to her situation would need further research.

All the nurses in the sample display strong kinship ties, claiming to have either one or two parents in the West Indies with whom they correspond at least once a month and more often, once a week. This is not unusual due to the close knit nature of kinship ties in the West Indies. It would not be surprising if the majority of the nurses send

regular remittances to their relatives. This was one of the major findings of the Davison study.[8] About ninety-two per cent also claimed that they correspond with friends in the West Indies, at least once a year, and quite often once a month. This would appear to serve as a replacement for the lack of primary group affiliations and participation in local activities. It would be fruitful to examine the content of these letters which should give some insight into the problems of adjustment experienced by the nurses as well as a definition of their situation in Canadian society. The evidence suggests that links with kin and friends will remain relatively strong as long as friendship patterns and primary group relationships in Ontario remain weak.

The teachers display similar patterns. As we mentioned earlier, this group is more closely knit (a) because it is by and large homogeneous in terms of religion and country of origin and (b) because most of them were acquainted with each other before migration. We found that the teachers seek each other's company and contact is very frequent, in some cases every day and at least, once a month for those who live outside of Hamilton. They generally meet at the home of one individual, on Sundays in particular, where they play cards, share drinks and reminesce about home. These recreational patterns are in keeping with the forms prevalent in the West Indies, where cliques of men get together on their days off, usually Sundays and recall the week's activities over some drinks.

The only local organisation in which the teachers participate is the cricket club, which is comprised mainly of West Indians and British. Cricket is an English game and in the West Indies became a major avenue of prestige and mobility among West Indian negroes. Today

West Indians have a high reputation as some of the best cricket players in England and Australia. The male teachers in the sample take an active part in cricket and have extended their activities to places like Brantford, Barrie and St. Catharine's where there are a few West Indian teachers. The female teachers in the sample are, like the nurses, very isolated. One teacher said to me "Since I have been living in Hamilton, roughly one year, I had one social engagement and this was to a West Indian dance, which was a flop." They do not belong to any West Indian organisations, because there are no functioning ones, nor do they participate in any local activities. Their only primary group relations are what they have established among themselves, which is very limited.

As far as kinship ties are concerned, all the teachers, like the nurses, exhibit strong ties with parents and relatives in the West Indies, marital status notwithstanding. Correspondence with relatives is as frequent as once a week or at least once a month. The same pattern exists in their correspondence with friends. It must be borne in mind, however, that the West Indian teachers are recent migrants and friendship links are still strong. A trend that seems to be developing among the teachers is the sponsoring of relatives to Canada, either mothers to babysit or younger brothers and sisters in search of jobs.

Future trends in Migration

In an attempt to discover future trends in the movement of the migrants, respondents were asked what countries would they consider moving to and practising their profession at a future date. The list of countries was highly selected in terms of Commonwealth countries and the United States. Latin American countries, non-English speaking

countries with a high level of technology and older European communist countries. There was very little variation in the responses. Great Britain and the West Indies scored highly, the majority stating that they would strongly consider the West Indies. The United States was more popular among the nurses than the teachers. This may be due to the fact that teaching in the United States would require, for foreigners, special qualifying examinations. Some of the nurses indicated to me personally their intentions of moving to New York city soon. It seems that the main attraction of New York is the high salary paid and the ability to obtain private nursing jobs in order to boost up their incomes. The developing African countries, Nigeria, Ghana and Zambia, which were chosen to represent East and West Africa, also received some consideration, with Nigeria and Ghana scoring higher than Zambia. The preference of these countries over the Latin American ones which have the advantage of being nearer the West Indies, could be explained in terms of some feeling of "kinship" among West Indians towards Africans, if only on the grounds of colour. Furthermore, since most of the nurses were trained in Britain, they would have had more contact with West Africans there who are numerically superior to East Africans. The West Indies, too, have always had links with West Africa - the slaves were brought from West Africa, and in the early part of the century, educated West Indians took up administrative or missionary positions in West Africa and some West Indians went to West Africa as railway workers when this was under construction.

The majority of the migrants stated that they would not consider the Iron Curtain countries, the Far East countries nor the non-English speaking countries. It is surprising that although the West Indies con-

tain a significant number of East Indians and Chinese within the population, none of the migrants expressed a desire to visit these countries. This could be due to the language barrier and the long distance from the West Indies. It is safe to say, therefore, that West Indian teachers and nurses, typically prefer as a place of residence Commonwealth English speaking countries which they are permitted to enter and to a lesser extent, the United States.

However, overriding all these preferences, is the desire to return to the West Indies. More than half of the respondents disclaim any intentions of becoming Canadian citizens, that is, fifty-four per cent of the nurses and eighty-eight per cent of the teachers. Of the men, thirty-four per cent declare that they intend to return to the West Indies within the next ten years, while the remaining twenty per cent are still undecided as to the time of their return. The remaining forty-four per cent comprise those migrants who either definitely intend to become Canadian citizens or are as yet undecided. Of these, twenty-five per cent show no intentions of moving out of Ontario within the next ten years, while the remaining nineteen per cent are undecided. This latter category are all single and over thirty, so that it would be easier for them to make changes in the search for adventure. It is significant that they display a very low level of aspiration within the profession and for the most part, state no desire to rise above the ranks of staff nurse. On the other hand, those nurses who state their intentions to return to the West Indies display, by and large, a higher level of aspiration. This category includes the men and some of the nurses who are actively pursuing further study with a view to administrative positions. It may be that they are hoping to use their educational qualifications

to seek a higher position on their return to the West Indies, a position which would be meaningful to them both in terms of work and in terms of making a positive contribution to their country. In the case of the teachers, these all display a high level of aspiration as well as a strong desire to return to the West Indies, the majority within the next ten years. It is almost as if, they left home to gain certain academic qualifications, and having obtained them, their tenure in Canada would be completed. On the basis of the evidence presented, therefore, it seems reasonable to assert that persons from developing countries, with a high level of aspiration within a professional career are more likely to return to their countries of origin than persons with a low level of aspiration. We do not mean to suggest that such persons would remain in their countries. It is up to their several governments to provide incentives and scope in order to keep them.

Finally, we wished to gain some idea of the present orientation of the respondents towards the West Indies, in terms of anomie, powerlessness or normlessness. These concepts are drawn from Seeman's separation of five aspects of alienation[9] and we do not intend to attempt a detailed conceptual analysis at this stage. Our main purpose was to discover in a general way the attitudes of the migrants within this frame of reference, thus the questions were chosen randomly from the Srole and Cartwright scales of measurement.[10] All the migrants showed a high degree of "normlessness" in terms of access to jobs in the West Indies. For instance they all agreed that "contact" is more important than ability in a government job and that in obtaining a job in the West Indies some degree of "string pulling" is required. The migrants also displayed a high degree of "anomie" in relation to the West Indies, the

majority stating that the lot of the average man is getting worse in the West Indies and that public officials are not interested in the problems of the average man. Their migration, therefore, is related to the degree of anomie and normlessness experienced, in terms of the blockage they perceive with respect to achievement of their life's goals, whether these are economic, i.e. the desire to earn more, or occupational mobility. Wendell Bell's research in San Francisco led him to hypothesize that "socially structured limitations in access to the means for the achievement of life goals produce anomia in the individuals so affected".[11] West Indian society, with its pluralistic social structure, places limits on the achievement of goals for the black lower-middle or lower class masses, and insofar as these pluralistic elements continue to manifest themselves, upwardly mobile individuals would experience a high degree of anomia. This anomia is therefore positively related to occupational mobility.

The questions on powerlessness, on the other hand, drew differing kinds of response. We found a high correlation between those migrants with a low level of aspiration and a high degree of powerlessness, while those with a high level of aspiration display a low degree of powerlessness. These are also the migrants who express a desire to return to the West Indies. Here may well be the social engineers, those individuals who feel dedicated to make a positive contribution towards rebuilding the society.

Conclusion

The general trend of the migrants, therefore, seems to be either (a) a return to the West Indies after achieving their goals (b) a return

to the West Indies in the long run via other English speaking Commonwealth countries or (c) permanent settlement in Ontario. The first type may be likened to "birds of passage". These are typically married or unmarried with a high level of aspiration and currently pursuing further studies at an educational institution. The second type are the "adventurers", the single women with a low level of aspiration. The third type are those who have reached the "ceiling" in their aspirations, either the married women who are seeking economic stability for themselves and their family, or, in the case of the unmarried, the ones who have received promotion since coming to Ontario.

FOOTNOTES

[1]S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954), p. 9.

[2]Op. Cit. pp. 13-14

[3]A.H. Richmond, Colour Prejudice in Britain, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954), also Joyce Egginton, They Seek a Living, London, 1957.

[4]Gordon Lewis, "The Social Legacy of British Colonialism in the Caribbean", New World Quarterly, Vol. III, No. 3, 1967, Jamaica, p. 25.

[5]This is based on our own experience as a West Indian. For example these stereotypes figure in West Indian jokes and calypsoes.

[6]A. Richmond, The Colour Problem, (Middlesex: PenBooks Ltd., 1955), p. 280. E. Hoffer makes the same observation about the Negroes in America in his book "The Temper of our Time".

[7]T.S. Simey, Welfare and Planning in the West Indies, (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 103.

[8]R.B. Davison, West Indian Migrants, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

[9]M. Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation", Americal Sociological Review, 24, (December 1959), pp. 783-791.

[10]Quoted from A. Neal & S. Rettig, "On the Multidimensionality of Alienation", American Sociological Review, February 1967, Vol. 32.

[11]Wendell Bell & D.L. Meier, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals", American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, April 1959, p. 190.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this study, we have attempted to specify the reasons for the migration of West Indian teachers and nurses to Ontario, Canada, and to identify the variables associated with their migration patterns. On the basis of our findings we shall now reconstruct the story of the migrants.

The migratory process begins in the West Indian setting. We have suggested that the pluralistic elements of West Indian society make for a migratory population, insofar as many individuals experience a high degree of "anomia" due to the status blocks and inaccessibility to desired goals that exist in the society. For the average lower-class or lower-middle class West Indian boy or girl, the semi-professions, teaching and nursing provide the main outlet for occupational mobility. This type of mobility is achieved through a certain level of education, in this case, either a complete high school education or some high school. Since teaching and nursing are themselves highly mobile professions it is relatively easy for teachers and nurses to migrate.

We found that age, sex and religious affiliation are not significant variables in the decision to migrate. Moreover migration is an individual decision but the role of kin and friends and/or fellow professionals are significant in the destination of the migrants. Although economic factors contribute towards the decision to migrate, the migrants are also greatly influenced by the desire to "better themselves"

in terms of (a) achieving a high level of education, through formal studies, (b) exposure to a highly developed country and experience gained therein.

Migration appears to be the spatial expression of vertical social mobility since the majority of the migrants consider their occupational status to be higher in Canada than in the West Indies. Canada is also ranked higher than the West Indies in terms of professional training. We have suggested that migration is intimately linked with levels of aspiration, degree of professionalisation and career patterns. All the migrants display stable career patterns, with the majority of teachers entering the profession at the beginning of their working life. Migration has contributed towards this stability insofar as the migrants have assumed the same occupational level in the new country. The findings further allow for the generalisations that West Indian migrants with a high level of aspiration and a high degree of professionalisation are more likely to return to the West Indies, while those with a low level of aspiration and a low degree of professionalisation are more likely to remain abroad.

As far as adjustment to Canada is concerned, West Indians cannot be said to show any signs of absorption. According to our findings whatever local organisations the migrants participate in are largely West Indian. Attendance at socials and dances are confined to West Indian clubs. Despite their ethnic isolation, it may well be that the amorphous structure of Canadian society does not provide for assimilation, thus there is no pressure on migrants to strive towards this goal. Another factor to be taken into consideration is that West Indian immigration to Canada is a recent phenomenon.

The migration patterns of the respondents in the study reveal a desire to return to the West Indies by the majority of them. Some of these intend to do so on completion of their studies, while others have decided to take a more circuitous route via English speaking, Commonwealth countries. Whether the migrants would eventually return to the West Indies, however, remains doubtful. Previous research has revealed that West Indians in Britain speak with nostalgia of the white sands and green palms of the Caribbean but the rate of return is very low.[1] The mere fact of higher salaries in Canada is an incentive to remain. But, more than this, we believe that the disequilibrium in West Indian society produces a serious threat to the retention of upwardly mobile persons. As Joyce Egginton has stated

> When the full story of the colony (colonies) is recorded, the crises explained and the reasons for them disentangled, historians can only reach the same conclusion as West Indians reached years ago - that a nation cannot live without promise or a man live by breadfruit alone.
>
> It is not surprising that thousands have left the West Indies. The surprising thing is that so many have stayed.[2]

If the West Indian governments wish to keep their trained nationals, they must start the refashioning of West Indian society, to allow for the maximum use of the potential of all classes within the society. Until this is done, a return to the West Indies would continue to be for the migrants a "West Indian dream".

FOOTNOTES

[1]Joyce Egginton, They Seek a Living, (London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., London 1957).

[2]Ibid, p. 41.

APPENDIX A

Research Procedure

The study design contains a sample of fifty nurses and twenty-five teachers drawn from the Southern Ontario area in general, and Hamilton, in particular. The research was undertaken for a six-month period from January to June, 1967. The method was one of questionnaires and informal interviews. The teachers were first contacted on a more informal level than the nurses and I was informed of other teachers by my initial contacts. Contacts with the nurses were not so easy. I contacted a small number informally, but the majority of them were reached through formal channels. In this connection, I approached the Directors of Nursing of four hospitals in Hamilton, and sought their permission to distribute the questionnaires in self-addressed envelopes. I also conducted formal interviews with the Directors of Nursing. The choice of mailed questionnaires was influenced by my inability to reach the migrants, since there were no convenient meeting places at the hospitals where I could hold interviews. Besides, given limited time and financial resources, questionnaires are generally quicker and cheaper. Exploratory interviews with a small sample guided the questionnaire design, which was tested for any gaps in the information solicited. One of the weaknesses of the questionnaire is the ambiguity and vagueness of many of the answers. For some of the questions, a follow up "why" question was necessary. The greatest difficulty experienced during the research was that of response. In the case of the nurses, this was particularly bad especially since I had little personal contact with them. A reminder / thank you letter did not prove to be very effective. However, roughly fifty per cent of the nurses and about eighty-five per cent of the teachers returned completed questionnaires.

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
HAMILTON, ONTARIO, CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

This questionnaire is part of a study designed to discover some of the causes of the migration of West Indian nurses and teachers to Canada. We wish to obtain information relating to your present attitudes and feelings towards your profession and concerning the development of your career.

In completing this questionnaire the following points should be noted:

(1) Your personal identity will not be revealed and your answers will be treated as strictly confidential.

(2) Your responses will be analysed along with several others thus making them entirely anonymous.

(3) This questionnaire does not in anyway constitute a test; we simply want you to express your feelings, opinions and experiences.

(4) This study is entirely independent of governmental interference and is mainly conducted in the furtherance of scholarly research.

It is important that everyone who receives a questionnaire should answer it in order to make the study meaningful. Please complete it as quickly as possible and return in self-addressed envelope.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Joyce Cole
Department of Sociology
McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario

To be returned not later than _____

1. Name _____

2. Age:
   _____a) 20-24
   _____b) 25-29
   _____c) 30 or over

3. Marital Status:
   _____a) Single
   _____b) Married
   _____c) Separated
   _____d) Divorced
   _____e) Widowed

4. Religion:
   _____a) Roman Catholic
   _____b) Anglican
   _____c) Methodist
   _____d) Presbyterian
   _____e) United
   _____f) Other (please specify)
   _____g) None

5. Do you attend church? (tick one)
   _____a) Once a week
   _____b) Once a month
   _____c) Less than once a month

6. Place of birth (please state town or village and country)

   _____

7. Would you say that prior to leaving the West Indies you lived (tick one)
   _____a) Mostly in a rural community
   _____b) Mostly in a small town
   _____c) Mostly in a large city

8. What is your educational attainment? (please tick)
   _____a) Finished primary school
   _____b) Some secondary school
   _____c) Finished secondary school
   _____d) Some university
   _____e) Finished university

9. Present Occupation:

   _____

10. (a) Place of training (name city or town and country)

_____

(b) Year of graduation. _____

11. How many brothers and/or sisters do you have?

_____a) None
_____b) One
_____c) Two
_____d) Three
_____e) Four
_____f) Five
_____g) Six
_____h) Seven
_____i) Eight or more

12. (a) Have any of your brothers and/or sisters migrated?

_____yes
_____no

(b) If yes, to what country or countries did they migrate?

_____

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS RELATE TO YOUR EXPERIENCES PRIOR TO MIGRATING

13. When did you leave the West Indies?

_____month
_____year

14. Prior to this date, when did you first think of leaving?

_____month
_____year

15. Prior to your date of departure from the West Indies, when did you begin to collect information about: a) immigration; b) jobs; c) training (if applicable).

Immigration	Jobs	Training
_____month	_____month	_____month
_____year	_____year	_____year

16. Were you doubtful about moving during your period of planning?

_____yes
_____no

17. If yes, what were you most concerned about?

18. (a) Did any of your friends or family try to influence you in any way during your period of planning?

Family _____yes

_____no

(b) If yes, in what way?

_____a) encouraged me to stay in the West Indies.

_____b) encouraged me to leave the West Indies.

19. (a) Friends _____yes

_____no

(b) If yes, in what way?

_____a) encouraged me to stay in the West Indies.

_____b) encouraged me to leave the West Indies.

20. At what time did you make definite plans to migrate?

_____month

_____year

21. (a) What made you first think of leaving the West Indies?

(b) What made you finally decide to leave?

nsert Question #1

Where did you migrate to when you first leftthe West Indies?

Country	Length of Stay	Purpose

nsert Question #2

When you first left the West Indies, did you have in mind to return on completion of your training and/or period of work?

_____yes

_____no

nsert Question #3

If you migrated to any other countries before coming to Canada (except to return to the West Indies) please list.

Country	Length of Stay	Purpose

Insert Question #4

(a) Did you return to the West Indies before coming to Canada?

_____yes

_____no

(b) If yes, how many times did you return? _____

(c) If yes, how long did you stay on each occasion? _____

(d) If yes, what was the purpose of your return on each occasion?

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS REFER TO YOUR MIGRATION TO CANADA.

Insert Question #5

When did you first migrate to Canada? _____month

_____year

Insert Question $6

Why did you choose to come to Canada?

22. (a) Did you know anyone in the city (or nearby community) to which you migrated before travelling to this destination?

_____yes

_____no

(b) If yes, what was the nature of the relationship? (tick one)

_____a) Relative

_____b) Friends

_____c) Fellow teachers/nurses

23. (a) When you first migrated to Ontario, did you travel on your own?

_____yes

_____no

(b) If no, with whom did you migrate?

_____a) Friends

_____b) Family

_____c) Members of your profession

_____d) Other West Indians

24. (a) Are you currently pursuing further studies at a recognised institution?

_____yes

_____no

(b) If yes, are these studies relevant to your job?

_____yes

_____no

25. (a) If you are currently pursuing further studies, do you intend to return to the West Indies on completion?

_____yes

_____no

(b) If yes, when (give approximate time). _____

26. If no, what are your reasons for not wishing to return?

27. (a) Have you worked at any other job besides nursing/teaching before your period of training?

_____yes

_____no

(b) If yes, please list.

28. What do you expect your occupation to be in:

a) 5 years _____

b) 10 years _____

c) 20 years _____

29. If the same occupation as at present, what rank in your profession do you think you would occupy in:

a) 5 years _____

b) 10 years _____

c) 20 years _____

30. (a) Have you received any promotions as a nurse/teacher since you are in Ontario?

_____yes

_____no

(b) If yes, please specify.

31. Where have you worked in Canada before coming to Ontario?

32. What were your reasons for coming to Ontario?

33. Do you intend moving from Ontario?

a) yes _____
b) no _____
c) don't know _____

34. a) If yes, when? _____

b) If yes/no, why?

35. In what country do you expect to be 10 years from now?

36. How would you rank these countries in terms of obtaining the best training for your professional requirements? (please number in order of priority, ranking them with 1 highest to 6 lowest.

_____a) Great Britain
_____b) India
_____c) West Germany
_____d) Canada
_____e) West Indies
_____f) United States

37. In applying for a job, do you think it is an asset to have had working experience in any particular country?

_____yes
_____no

38. If yes, what is (are these) this country (countries)? (Please indicate by a check mark.)

_____a) Great Britain
_____b) West Indies (Jamaica and Trinidad)
_____c) France
_____d) Nigeria and Ghana
_____e) Canada
_____f) India
_____g) United States
_____h) West Germany
_____i) Venezuela and Brazil
_____j) Poland and Hungary

39. Here is a list of countries. Which would you consider moving to and practising your profession at some future date?

1. Strongly desire
2. May consider
3. Would not consider

(Please mark number in front of each country)

_____a) Great Britain
_____b) West Germany
_____c) Poland and Hungary
_____d) Panama and Guatemala
_____e) United States
_____f) France
_____g) West Indies
_____h) Phillipines
_____i) India
_____j) Hong Kong
_____k) Nigeria and Ghana
_____l) Zambia
_____m) Sweden
_____n) Soviet Union
_____o) Venezuela and Brazil

40. Here is a list of occupations. For each job mentioned please check the particular column that best gives <u>your own personal opinion</u> of the <u>general standing</u> that such a job has in the <u>West Indies</u> and in <u>Canada</u>. (Please place appropriate number next to job)

1. Excellent
2. Good
3. Average
4. Some what below average
5. Poor
6. Don't know

	WEST INDIES	CANADA
Doctor in a big city		
Radio announcer		
Policeman		
Mayor of a big city		
Doctor in a rural area		

40. (continued)

	WEST INDIES	CANADA
Lawyer		
Bank clerk		
Civil servant (clerical)		
Seamstress (private)		
Undertaker		
Salesman		
Farmer with 50 acres		
Plumber		
Nurse		
Clerk in a store		
Taxi Driver		
Primary school teacher		
Minister of Religion		
Priest		
University professor		
Scavenger		
Carpenter		
Air Hostess		
Head of a department of Government		
Secondary School teacher		
Barber		
Dock worker		
Automobile mechanic		
Wards maids		
School Inspector		
Civil servant (Administrative)		

41. Do you subscribe to teaching/nursing journals?

_____yes

_____no

42. Do you attend conferences, lectures, seminars, etc. concerning your profession?

_____a) At least twice a year

_____b) At least once a year

_____c) Never

FOR NURSES ONLY (Teachers resume with question 44)

43. (a) Are you a registered nurse in the province of Ontario?

_____yes

_____no

(b) Have you taken the provincial exam?

_____yes

_____no

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS RELATE TO YOUR EXTRA CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES.

44. Most of my friends are:

_____a) West Indian nurses/teachers

_____b) Some West Indian nurses/teachers

_____c) Very few West Indian nurses/teachers

_____d) No West Indian nurses/teachers

45. How much contact do you have with West Indian teachers/nurses who work in other schools/hospitals in Ontario?

_____a) At least once a week

_____b) At least once a month

_____c) Never

46. What local organizations do you participate in?
(Please list organization and indicate how frequently)

	Weekly	Monthly
Church		
Recreational		
Political		
West Indian		

47. Do you attend any church-sponsored activities? e.g., socials, dances, bingoes, etc.

_____a) At least once a week
_____b) At least once a month
_____c) At least once a year
_____d) Never

48. Who is your closest family tie in the West Indies?

49. How often do you write to a) family, b) friends in the West Indies?

Family: _____a) At least once a week
_____b) At least once a month
_____c) At least once a year
_____d) Never

Friends: _____a) At least once a week
_____b) At least once a month
_____c) At least once a year
_____d) Never

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS, RELATE TO YOUR PRESENT ORIENTATION TOWARDS LIFE IN THE WEST INDIES. PLEASE NOTE THAT THESE ANSWERS ARE STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL AND CONTAIN NO POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS. Check one.

50. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man in the West Indies is getting worse.

_____True
_____False

51. It is hardly fair to bring up children in the West Indies the way thinks look for the future.

_____True
_____False

52. There is little use in writing to public officials in the West Indies because often they are not really interested in the problems of the average man.

_____True
_____False

53. Those running our government must hush up many things that go on behind the scenes if they wish to stay in office.

_____True

_____False

54. Having "contact" is more important then ability in getting a government job in the West Indies.

_____True

_____False

55. Those elected to public office in the West Indies have to serve special interests (e.g., big business or labour) as well as the public's interest.

_____True

_____False

56. In getting a job promotion in the West Indies, some degree of "string pulling" is required.

_____True

_____False

57. A person must be of high moral character if he wishes to be successful in politics in the West Indies.

_____True

_____False

58. Success in business and politics in the West Indies can easily be achieved without taking advantage of gullible people.

_____True

_____False

PLEASE CHECK ONE OF THE TWO ALTERNATIVES IN EACH QUESTION

59. It is only wishful thinking to believe that one can really influence what happens in West Indian society at large.

_____

OR

People like me can change the course of West Indian events if we make ourselves heard.

_____

60. There is very little that persons like myself can do to improve world opinion of the West Indies.

_____

OR

I think each of us can do a great deal to improve world opinion of the West Indies.

_____

61. The West Indies are run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

_____

OR

The average citizen can have an influence on government decisions.

_____

62. More and more I feel helpless in the face of what is happening in the West Indies today.

_____

OR

I sometimes feel personally to blame for the sad state of affairs in our government.

_____

63. Persons like myself have little chance of protecting our personal interests when they conflict with those of strong pressure groups in the West Indies.

_____

OR

I feel that we have adequate ways of coping with pressure groups in the West Indies.

_____

64. Those who do not vote are largely responsible for bad government in the West Indies.

_____

OR

There is little use for me to vote since one vote does not count much anyway.

_____

65. Father's birthplace. (Please indicate whether town, city, village and country)

66. Mother's birth place.

67. Father's present residence.

68. Father's occupation (even if deceased or retired).

69. Mother's occupation (if any).

70. How much formal education did your parents have? (Answer for both parents, putting a "F" for father and "M" for mother)

_____a) Some primary school
_____b) Finished primary school
_____c) Some secondary school
_____d) Finished secondary school
_____e) Some university
_____f) Finished university
_____g) Attended graduate or professional school
_____h) Don't know

71. (a) Are you now a citizen of one of West Indian countries?

_____yes

_____no

(b) If no, what citizenship do you now hold? _____

(c) If you are not a citizen of Canada, do you intend to become one in the future?

_____yes

_____no

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION

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