

BRAIN DRAIN AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT:  
JAMAICA AND TRINIDAD

THE BRAIN DRAIN AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT:  
A STUDY OF EMIGRATION FROM JAMAICA AND TRINIDAD  
AND TOBAGO TO CANADA: 1955-1975

By

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## ABSTRACT

The brain-drain from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago to Canada, constitutes one of the most serious, though often overlooked aspects of the overall underdevelopment of these two Caribbean countries.

More specifically, Canada's immigration policies have played a major part in creating and maintaining this highly-selective outflow of workers from the region.

The net effects of the drain can be seen in the social and economic distortions it creates in the West Indies, while at the same time contributing to the economic and social well-being of Canada.

The underdevelopment of these countries, including the brain drain, can end only by the coming into being of new political mechanisms aimed at placing their political economies at the command of the local populations.

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Responsibility for the final contents of the study must however rest with me.

. . .

To Yvonne, an outstanding immigrant

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### THE PROBLEM

Within the past decade or two, the international migration of high level manpower has become a controversial topic among scholars and statesmen, particularly in industrially backward societies.

The high international mobility of professional workers results in a situation in which all other countries tend to lose their professionally skilled people to richer and more developed countries<sup>(1)</sup>. The net result is that the rich countries become richer while the poor become less capable of developing themselves.

Apart from its implications for the underdeveloped countries, this widening gap between rich and poor nations constitutes a threat, actual or potential, to world peace and stability<sup>(2)</sup>.

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(1) See for example, Kari Levitt and Alister McIntyre, Canada-West Indies Economic Relations (Montreal: Centre for Developing - Area Studies, McGill University, 1967) pp. 104, 105.

(2) See for example Senator Walter Mondale's address to the U.S. Congress on the question of the Brain Drain from Developing Countries, 89th Congress, 2nd Session, August 31, 1966, Congressional Record, CXII, 20590.

## NATURE OF THE DEBATE SURROUNDING THE PROBLEM

The term 'brain drain' refers to the emigration from a given country, of highly trained and educated persons in such numbers and in such proportions relative to that country's total supply of trained talent, as to have serious effects on the well-being of those remaining behind.

Implicit in this formulation is the assumption that the availability of high level manpower is crucial to the development process in any contemporary society. This idea, ironically enough, is perhaps best expressed by a statement issued by the Economic Council of Canada. The statement notes that:

"During the post-War period, it has become increasingly apparent that the future prosperity of a nation will depend in large measure on its successes in creating and maintaining an adequate supply of professional, technical managerial and other highly skilled manpower." (3)

The basic assumption underlying this view is that the rate at which advanced technology is applied to the industrial process is a function of the availability of skilled manpower.

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(3) Economic Council of Canada, First Annual Review, Economic Goals for Canada to 1970 (Ottawa: 1964) p. 160.

More specifically, the relationship between education and development has been posited in terms of a three-way connection.<sup>(4)</sup>

First education brings benefits to the individual (such as the option to obtain further education and the opening of a wider range of employment opportunities). Secondly, there are benefits external to the individual (such as those accruing to the family, neighbours, descendants, etc.). Thirdly, there are gains to the international community which may be transmitted through transportation or communication.

On the other hand, there are those who are not convinced that high level migration has anything significant to do with development or the lack of it. For example, E.J. Mishan in an article discussing the migration of British scientists, suggests that far from being a loss, such migration may in fact even represent in the long run, a net gain.<sup>(5)</sup> Some of the more commonly cited advantages associated with emigration include the financial remittances made by the immigrants; the opportunity afforded by emigration to up-grade one's self and possibly return to one's homeland prepared to make more important contributions; and also, the view that it may even be seen as a good safety valve for getting rid of potentially influential trouble-makers who are dissatisfied

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(4) B.A. Weisbrod, "External Effects of Investment in Education" in M. Blaug, Economics of Education 1 (Baltimore: Penquin Books, 1968).

(5) "The Brain Drain: Why Worry", New Society, No. 266, November 2nd, 1967, p. 621.

with local politics and the limited opportunity for personal development they find in their native, but underdeveloped, country.

### PROBLEM FOCUS

The thesis focuses on high level emigration from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago to Canada.

In proportion to its size, Canada is believed to be the largest importer of highly trained manpower in the world<sup>(6)</sup>. Since the Second World War, a large proportion of these workers have come from the West Indies, and Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in particular (see appendices A, B and C).

### OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY

Most emigrants from the West Indies since World War II have been bound for Canada, the United States of America, or the United Kingdom. Emigration from the region, particularly from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, to Canada, has however included a higher per-

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(6) See Brinley Thomas, Migration and Economic Growth (2nd Edition) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), cited in Alan Y. Goren, Immigration and the Postwar Canadian Economy (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1976) p. 192.

tage of migrants in the professional and managerial categories than the migrations to the United States or the United Kingdom. (7)

The objective of this study is to sharpen the discussion of the brain drain from these islands by placing it within the analytical framework of the dependency-underdevelopment theory.

Since underdevelopment is antithetical to development, any serious efforts to develop the islands, we hope to illustrate, must be accompanied by a programme of radical political change aimed at eliminating all aspects of underdevelopment.

#### METHODOLOGY

There are several ways in which one would examine a particular aspect of the theory of underdevelopment against a body of empirical data. One way is by selecting the various strands of the theory (i.e. structuralism, dependency, exploitation and comparative development) and attempting to determine how, or to what extent, they are reflected in the data.

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(7) See for example, Jay R. Buffenmyer, Emigration of High-Level Manpower and National Development: A Case Study of Jamaica, Ph. D. Thesis (Michigan: University Microfilms Inc., 1970), p. 103.

The approach employed in this study, though based essentially on the above strategy, is slightly different. Here, we use a thematic approach. Each theme bears on a major aspect of the brain-drain, such as the role of the exploitation of immigrant labor in the broader context of underdevelopment; the role of Canadian immigration policies in promoting the brain drain; the manner in which the literature has dealt with the problem; and the consequences of the drain for the islands.

These themes are discussed in a chapter by chapter sequence. By so doing, it is hoped that the research will achieve a more problem-solving orientation. Thus, while bringing into sharper focus these more immediate aspects of the problem, we hope to locate them within the larger context of the overall phenomenon of underdevelopment through immigration.

Data for the study was obtained from the following sources:

1. Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and Canada government documents and statistical publications;
2. Unpublished theses, books or other studies dealing with related issues;
3. Newspapers and periodicals;
4. Various secondary sources on the three countries;
5. Verbal opinions of experts with related work or academic experience;

6. Questionnaires and surveys done by other researchers; and
7. Personal observations of the author in all three countries.

### ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Chapter I provides an introduction to the study.

Chapter II discusses in some detail the concepts of development and underdevelopment. It does so by providing a general overview of the evolution and mechanics of the two phenomena, particularly within the context of the West Indies. More precisely, this chapter outlines what underdevelopment has meant and what development should mean for these islands.

Chapter III examines a sample of some of the more prominent literature on the brain drain. We find two main themes emerging from this literature:

1. The treatment of the international mobility of high level manpower as an unchangeable fact of life, and
2. A debate on the question of nationalism versus internationalism, which, in effect, seeks to determine which of the two is the correct approach to dealing with the 'brain drain' phenomenon.

As far as this thesis is concerned, these issues are largely



irrelevant and misleading. The first is based on a total misconception, wittingly or unwittingly, of the international mobility of manpower, while the second is really a non-issue. We shall develop these arguments in the body of the chapter. The key point to be made here, however, has to do with the significant failure of the literature on the island's development to deal with the question of capitalist underdevelopment, one of the fundamental causes of the 'brain drain'.

Chapter IV illustrates that the very nature and historical pattern of Canadian immigration policies in the post-war era have contributed in a rather calculating manner to this drainage of manpower. Further, the chapter shows that in one's attempt to understand the dynamics of underdevelopment as it relates to West Indian emigration to Canada, one should pay attention not only to the outflow of highly educated, expensively-trained people. In addition, it is equally important to look at the total flow of emigrants, whether "skilled", "semi-skilled", or "unskilled", all of whom, in one way or another, are subjected to, and representative of, the exploitative demands of expanding capitalist production in the Canadian metropole.

Chapter V examines in greater detail the consequences of emigration - induced underdevelopment for Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Here, an attempt is made to discuss in specific terms the ways in which the 'brain drain' can create, or has in fact created, economic and social distortions in the islands.

Finally, Chapter VI summarizes the arguments made in Chapters I to IV and makes some concrete recommendations for dealing with the problem of "high-level" emigration.

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## CHAPTER II

### TOWARDS AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: DEVELOPMENT, UNDERDEVELOPMENT, AND THE BRAIN DRAIN

This section of the study will attempt to establish an analytical framework within which subsequent analysis of the implications of the emigration of skilled and professional workers from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago to Canada can proceed.

This framework, hopefully, will provide the basic structure for a systematic illustration of the argument that the emigration of such persons in and of itself constitutes an important but often overlooked aspect of the overall process of underdevelopment; and that the latter moreover is the major obstacle to development in these West Indian societies. The concerns and objectives of the thesis may be stated as follows:

1. An important but often overlooked aspect of this underdevelopment is the large scale emigration of skilled and professional workers.
2. That this relationship between emigration and underdevelopment manifests itself in the creation or perpetuation of economic, social and psychological distortions in the islands, while simultaneously contributing to economic and social advance in the metropole.

3. More specifically, that ironically enough, the factors responsible for the continued existence of this particular aspect of underdevelopment are to be found in certain peculiarities of the capitalist mode of production and its concomitant social relations to which the West Indies have been subjected. These peculiarities include such things as training people to meet the demands of the "labor market" both local and international rather than to meet the specific needs of West Indian society; preparing people to achieve individual social and economic upward mobility, rather than preparing them for service to the society as a whole; the existence of differentials in such things as wages and working conditions which curiously enough are the consequences of other aspects (e.g. colonialism, foreign ownership and control of major industries) of capitalist underdevelopment of the islands.
4. Since underdevelopment is in every sense antithetical to development, the thesis will recommend that a fundamental transformation of the values and institutional framework of the islands is necessary, if this particular aspect of underdevelopment (the 'brain drain') is to be eliminated.

In the foregoing statement of the thesis, the key concepts of development and underdevelopment are introduced. In this first chapter, we shall develop these concepts in an effort to establish the relationship between them and the emigration of 'high-level' manpower.

In so doing, perhaps the single most important point that emerges from the chapter is that the relationship between underdevelopment and the emigration of high-level manpower can be properly understood only by viewing this particular aspect of underdevelopment in relation to other aspects of the phenomenon. In other words, it is important for us to examine the total relationship, whether in industry, trade or commerce, between Canada and these West Indian countries. Such an approach facilitates a better understanding of the dimensions of the problem of underdevelopment. The latter is not simply being used as some isolated explanation unique to emigration from the West Indies, but is in fact an ubiquitous feature that ranges over the broad spectrum of Canada - West Indies relations.

The argument of the thesis may be schematically outlined as shown in the following chart. The various elements of the chart, though not always with the same amount of emphasis, will be developed as the paper proceeds. (See Chart I on the following page).

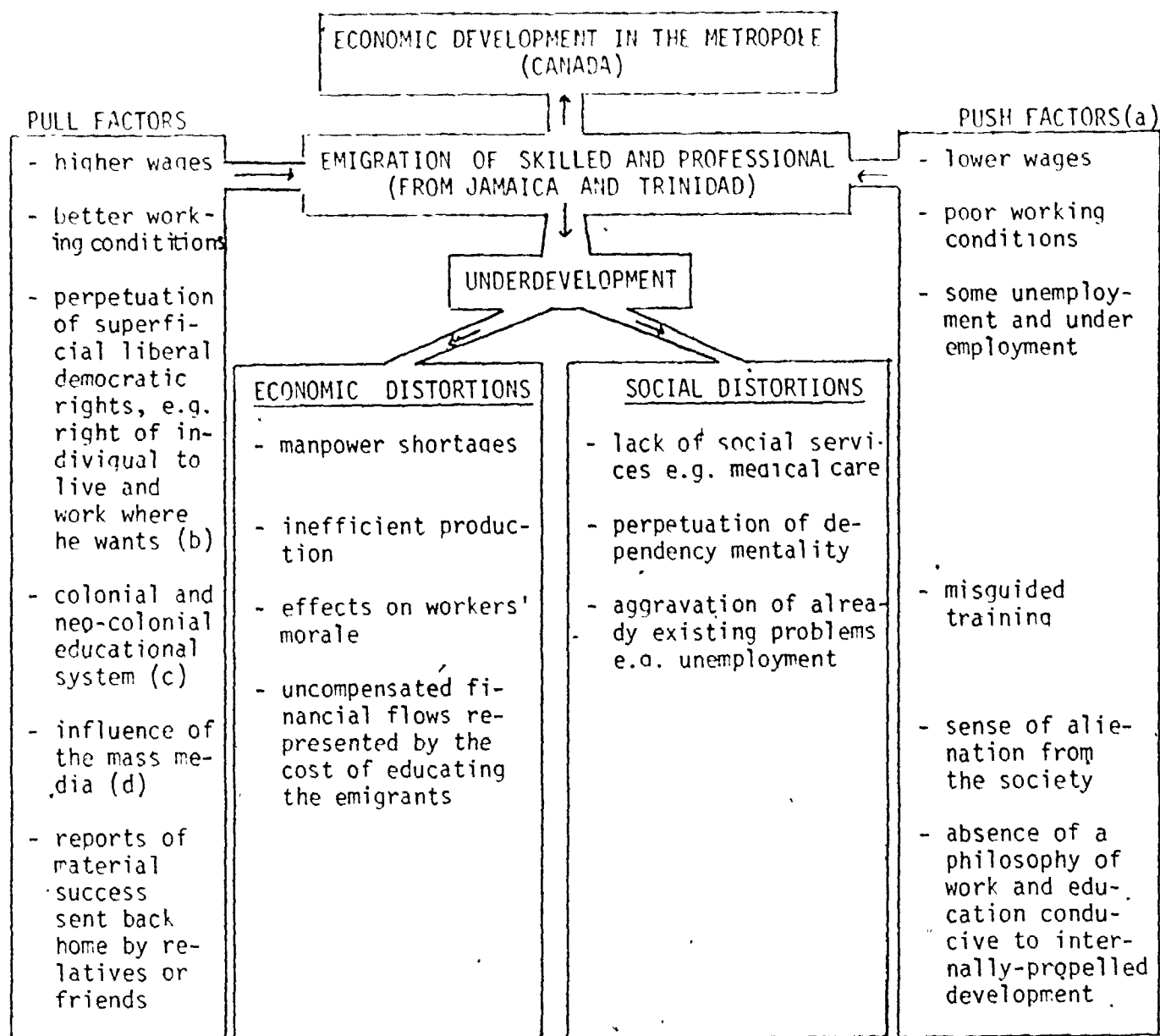
#### 1. DEVELOPMENT:

Within the context of human society, development can occur at basically two levels: the individual level and the societal level. As far as the individual is concerned, it can mean increased skill and ability, physical, psychological or material well-being; a greater sense of responsibility, greater freedom to choose between alternatives, or the institution of self-discipline. Clearly, some of these categories

TABLE 1-1

## CHAPTER I

## HOW EMIGRATION OF SKILLED AND PROFESSIONAL WORKERS CONTRIBUTES TO UNDERDEVELOPMENT



(a) N.B. The push factors are all, by and large, consequences of earlier capitalist underdevelopment of the islands.

(b), (c) and (d) These are also, in a sense, push factors as well. It is important to note also that underdevelopment helps to consolidate the pull factors and aggravate the push conditions in the islands. By so doing, the continuation of the process (underdevelopment) is ensured.

belong to the realm of morality and are therefore quite difficult to determine, to the extent that they depend on the historical era in which one finds one's self, one's personal code of conduct, and one's class background, among other things. What is certain, however, is that these various personal development factors usually bear some relationship to the existing state of a given society as a whole. This is because historically man has always found it convenient to live in groups in order to be better able to cope with his environment. Thus, it is an understanding of the relations which develop within these groups that provides one with an understanding of the society as a whole. The point is that notions of development, such as skill or freedom, derive their true meaning only in terms of the relations of men in society.

Each social group comes into contact with others. The manner in which individuals in a given society relate to individuals in another society is influenced by the form of the two societies. Now since politics has to do with the distribution of power in societies, the respective political structures of the two societies are important because the powerful elements or the ruling elements within each society are the ones who initiate the relations and thereby determine their form. Thus at the level of the society, development implies an increasing capacity to regulate both internal and external relationships.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) See W. Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, (Dar-es-Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1972) p. 10.

In addition to operating as a class, for things done by other species of mammals, man was able to enter upon a unique line of development, namely, the creation of tools. Regarding this aspect of development, Rodney states:

"The very act of making tools was a stimulus to increased rationality rather than the consequence of a fully rational intellect. In historical terms, man the worker was every bit as important as man the thinker, because the work with tools liberated men from sheer physical necessity, so that he could impose himself upon other more powerful species and upon nature itself." (2)

The tools men use in their work, and the manner in which they organize their labour are therefore both important indices of social development.

Very frequently, development is portrayed as being of an exclusively economic nature, the rationale being that the type of economy is an index of other social characteristics in a given society. In order to discuss this point of view, we must first define economic development.

A society develops economically as its members increase jointly their capacity for dealing with the environment. (3) This is de-

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(2) Op. cit., 10.



pendent on three fundamental factors: 1) the extent to which they understand the laws of nature (science); 2) the extent to which they use that understanding for creating work tools (technology), and 3) the manner in which work is organized.

Based on the foregoing considerations, reflections on the early history of man leads to the conclusion that,

- 1) Development was universal, primarily because the conditions leading to economic expansion were universal. Everywhere men were faced with the need to survive and to exploit their environment in so doing.
- 2) Every people have shown a capacity for independently satisfying their needs by exploiting the resources of nature.
- 3) At given times, the increase in the quantity of goods provided for satisfying these needs was associated with changes in the quality of society, thereby indicating a rather important observation: that development is not only quantitative, but qualitative as well. (4) One notes for example, the movement of ancient Chinese society several thousand years before the birth of Christ, from a subsistence farming communal society to one of specialization and division of labour that led to more pro-

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(4) Rodney, *op. cit.*, 10

duction, but also to inequality in distribution and the creation of a landed minority by the time of the T'ang dynasty of the 7th century A.D. (5)

So far, an attempt has been made to point out that development cannot be perceived as a strictly economic affair.° Rather, it involves an overall social process related to man's efforts to cope with his natural environment. What is perhaps even more important to note here is that at various points in the history of societies, the social relations were no longer conducive to, and in fact militated against, economic development, and thereby had to be discarded. (6)

It is also important to note that in some cases, the transition from one mode of production with its old set of social relations, to a new mode with a new set of social relations, was accompanied by violence.

(5) For more detailed discussion of these conclusions and examples of the last, one drawn from ancient Chinese society, see Rodney, op. cit., pp. 10-12. As Rodney acknowledges, Karl Marx was the first writer to appreciate the qualitative changes in society resulting from economic expansion, and he distinguished within European history several stages of development - communalism, feudalism, capitalism and socialism - which clearly illustrates these changes in social relations. See Karl Marx, Preface to a Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy.

(6) When for example, slavery outlived its usefulness in Europe, the landowners were forced by necessity to free the slaves, making sure however, to retain their labor as free serfs, thereby replacing the master-slave relationship with that of landlord and serf.

ce. This took place when the ruling classes involved stubbornly denied the realities of social change. This is why, for example, the bourgeois Revolutions occurred in the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe, to eliminate the outdated relations fostered by feudalism.

In the West Indies today, particularly in Jamaica, class distinctions are very important. Revolution, although not understood in its totality by most, is an integral part of the vocabulary of many working class Jamaicans. Because of the relative weakness characterized by fragmentation and lack of organization among the working classes, it is perhaps a little premature to talk sensibly about revolutionary change within the context of West Indian society. It is however necessary that any analysis of the present social and economic conditions of the region begin with the existing realities of the islands, which are characterized by increasing polarization of the rich and the poor.

It is also necessary that any analysis of the region begin with the historical reality that although as we have pointed out, all societies have experienced development, the rate of development differed from continent to continent and from country to country. For example, twenty-five centuries ago, while Egypt made great scientific and technological advances, people in other parts of Africa and in the British Isles were still hunting with bows and wooden clubs.<sup>(7)</sup>

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(7) Rodney, op. cit. 16.

It is, without doubt an accurate interpretation of history to say that peculiarities in the superstructure of a given society can have a significant impact on the rate of development. Many people, for example, are amazed at the fact that China never became a capitalist society. That is, although entering the feudal stage of development almost 1,000 years before the birth of Christ and having an advanced state of science and technology, it never entered a mode of production where machines were the main means of producing wealth and where the owners of capital were the dominant class. Feudal China, unlike feudal Europe did not become capitalist because, among other factors,

- 1) There were greater egalitarian tendencies in Chinese land distribution than in European land distribution.
- 2) Religious, educational and bureaucratic qualifications were extremely important in China so that mere power was wielded by state officials than by landowners on their feudal estates. Thus, landlords derived more power from belonging to the state bureaucracy than from their possession of property per se. (8)

In Europe, the situation was different. Capitalists flung themselves at the task of producing for profit. Machines increasingly

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(8) See Rodney, op. cit., 16

replaced men, and labour became a commodity to be bought and sold as production dictates.

The important point to note therefore, is that unlike China, there were no peculiarities in the European superstructure to impede the rise of capitalism.

As with all forms of development, capitalist development has however been not only of an economic nature. It has also been political. (9) In its train, it has brought such features associated with "Western Democracy" as freedom of the press, parliaments, and constitutions. However, the price paid by the working classes in Europe, in Africa and in the West Indies, indeed throughout the world, are nowhere consistent with the political and economic benefits of capitalism. For what is freedom of the press to a dehumanized worker, or the right to vote to a slave on a West Indian sugar plantation?

The point is that neither the economic or political benefits of capitalism have accrued in any significant measure to the majority of mankind, or more specifically to the majority of West Indian peoples. And even if more people did in fact benefit, this does not ab-

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(9) See Maurice Dobb, Studies in the Development of Capitalism. (New York: International Publishers, 1963). Also, Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966).

solve capitalism. The fact is that in so far as capitalism subordinates human labour, which is an integral part of the total human being, to profit maximization, it inherently contradicts the goals of true development of the total human being. (10)

Today, therefore, capitalism stands in the way of advancement of the majority of the world's peoples, in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America and in the Caribbean. (11) To the extent that these people are becoming increasingly aware of their marginality, poverty and dispossession, the social class relations of capitalism are now outmoded just as slave and feudal social relations became outmoded in the past. In Trinidad and Tobago for example, many workers work eight hours each day of a five or six day week, under some of the most depressing conditions. Suddenly however, they realize that whereas in 1957-58 the top 20% of the households received 48.6% of the income and the bottom 20% received 3.4%, by 1971-72, the top 20% was receiving 55.2% of the total income and the bottom 20% was receiving 2.2% (12) a fine example of the

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(10) See Ernest Mandel, Marxist Economic Theory, 2 vols. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969).

(11) See Celso Furtado, Development and Underdevelopment, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964. Pierre Jalée, The Pilage of the Third World, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968. Rodney, op. cit.; also, André Gunder Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969.

(12) Caribbean Dialogue, Vol. 2 (3, 4) April-May, 1976, 6.

rich getting richer while the poor grow poorer.

So that capitalism has brought with it the phenomenon of uneven development for the West Indies, within the individual countries, within the context of the region and also in relation to the metropolitan countries. Within the countries one can talk about great disparities in income as we did above. One can also talk about disparities in social well-being, evidenced by the few people in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago who have engagements and appointments for six months hence while as many as 30% of the urban labor force in Jamaica and 20% in Trinidad, sit in delapidated homes biting their fingernails from day to day. In terms of regional disparities, the national income per capita of Trinidad and Tobago is almost 50% greater than that of Jamaica, and twice as much as that of Guyana. In turn however, Canada's and the United States' income per capita are almost six times and nine times respectively that of Trinidad and Tobago's. (13)

Capitalism implies for the West Indies therefore a clear case of uneven development. And it is the existence of uneven development to which one must address one's self in order to understand why hun-

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(13) Sources : . Jamaica: Government of Jamaica. Five-year Independence Plan, 1963-1968 (Kingston: Government Printing Office, 1963) Trinidad and Tobago: Draft Second Five-year Plan, 1964-1969 (Port-of-Spain: Government Printing, 1964). Also, Annual Digest of Statistics, 1965-1973 (Port-of-Spain: Central Statistical Office). For Canada and the U.S.: United Nations Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics (New York: 1974).

dreds of skilled and professional workers continue to leave the West Indies to go to developed countries which relatively speaking, already possess eight times or ten times as many of such skilled and professional workers as either Jamaica or Trinidad and Tobago. (14)

To conclude our brief introductory discussion of development, therefore, it is of utmost importance for us to recall first of all that development is not strictly an economic phenomenon. In other words, it is not merely a process that results in quantitative changes but in qualitative changes as well. To that extent, it involves the whole question of the total social relations within a given society; it involves notions of class and notions of conflict, casual or violent, when these class relations are altered. Most importantly, development must not be uneven. As far as the individual is concerned, it must involve the total development of the whole human being. That is to say, for example, the individual must not merely possess the freedom to write but the ability also to do so. Within the context of the society, development means social, political and economic growth of the whole society simultaneously. To this extent, the "death" houses of West Kingston and the dream houses of Beverly Hills and Red Hills in

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(14) For example, Canada with a population just 11 times as large as Jamaica's has however almost 60 times as many physicians as Jamaica. Yet, in 1974 alone, no less than 4% of the physicians in Jamaica emigrated to Canada. (Sources: World Health Organization, World Health Statistics Report, Vol. 26, no. 9, 1974. Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration. Immigration Statistics, 1974).



Jamaica do not represent development. Nor do the backward public transportation system and the expensive European luxury cars of Government Ministers in Trinidad and Tobago point to development.

In short therefore, development must not contradict itself. Within the context of a given society, it should not proceed at the expense of some individuals within that society or at the expense of other societies. In other words, it should not be exploitative, a notion which we will now turn to discussing in more detail in connection with the introductory comments on underdevelopment.

## 2. UNDERDEVELOPMENT:

In this study, underdevelopment will be defined as the process whereby one nation or more than one nation systematically or continuously exploits another society or nation through:

- 1) Extraction of natural and human resources either through migration patterns, actual ownership of resources of a given country by citizens of another, or by capitalist investment or through
- 2) Colonial domination<sup>(15)</sup>, or
- 3) Trading arrangements.

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(15) It is also possible for exploitation to take place through educational and religious institutions within the framework of the overall colonial and neo-colonial structures.

Before examining these three aspects of underdevelopment, it is first necessary to outline somewhat further, the general implications of the concept. As we indicated in the introduction, the term is suggestive of at least four basic elements. Here, we wish to elaborate briefly on two of them. These two we consider most important to the present study. The first is the notion of comparison while the second is the notion of exploitation.

1) The Comparative Element in Underdevelopment:

Underdevelopment is a relational concept. In other words, it did not just happen on its own accord. Rather, it took place as a result of a certain type of relationship between the countries that are today developed and those that are not. In that sense, it is a comparative notion which seeks to give expression to, as well as investigate and explain, the causes of the unevenness in contemporary world development. It attempts to explain for example why the lowest paid workers in Canada get hourly wages that are in some cases 500% greater than those of the lowest paid workers in the West Indies; or even why unemployment is higher in some parts of Canada than in others. This is not to suggest that workers in Canada are not underdeveloped and exploited. In short, by comparing their present and past conditions, it seeks to explain the differences between the wealth of nations, and the distribution of such wealth within nations.

## 2) The Exploitative Element in Underdevelopment:

As noted earlier, it is very important to observe that underdevelopment is not some static feature due to some type of peculiarity in the make-up of underdeveloped societies. Underdevelopment is a dynamic process. It is that state of being which emanates from the exploitative relations between the rich capitalist countries and the underdeveloped societies of the world. (16)

In a much-published article entitled "The Development of Underdevelopment", Gunder Frank makes it clear. He states:

"... Our ignorance of the underdeveloped countries' history leads us to assume that their past and indeed their present resembles earlier stages of the history of the now developed countries. This ignorance and this assumption lead us into serious misconceptions about contemporary underdevelopment and development. Further, most studies of development fail to take account of the economic and other relations between the metropolis and its economic colonies throughout the history of the worldwide expansion and development of the mercantilist and capitalist system." (17)

As Rodney explicitly observes, therefore, all of the underdeveloped countries in the world are exploited by others and this under-

(16) See Gunder Frank, op. cit. Also by the same author, Underdevelopment or Revolution (Monthly Review Press, New York, 1970). See also Rodney, op. cit. and Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery, London, 1964.

(17) Gunder Frank, op. cit. (1970) 3.

development is a product of capitalist, imperialist and colonialist exploitation. (18)

In so far as this paper argues that the emigration of skilled and professional workers from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago constitutes one aspect of underdevelopment, the notions of comparison and exploitation discussed above are key notions to the extent that they allow for a framework within which this proposition can be discussed.

Before returning to the question of exploitation in more detail, it is perhaps instructive for us to view some statistical illustrations of the comparative economic gaps between the two West Indian societies on the one hand and the developed countries, particularly Canada, on the other.

While national income per capita can be very misleading as an indicator of the distribution of wealth within societies, it is nevertheless a useful index of the differences in the level of wealth between societies.

The following table gives some indication of the gap between Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago and Canada and the United States in

per capita income.

TABLE 2-1                      PER CAPITA INCOME (1973)

<u>COUNTRIES</u>	<u>PER CAPITA INCOME IN</u> <u>U.S. DOLLARS (1973)</u>	
U.S.A.	4,676	
CANADA	3,672	
JAMAICA	686	
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	1,920	(19)

The above data indicates the great disparity between the wealth of Canada and the United States on the one hand and the poverty of Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica on the other. Within the respective countries, however, especially within the West Indian societies, the disparities are even more disturbing. In Trinidad and Tobago, one estimate indicates that about 54% of the population received incomes of less than TT\$300 (per month) and about 80% under TT\$500 (per month).<sup>(20)</sup>

Another good index of the differences between 'developed' and underdeveloped countries is the statistics that relate to basic food

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(19) Sources: U.N. Yearbook of National Accounts, Statistics, 1974:  
Trinidad and Tobago, Annual Digest of Statistics, 1974.

(20) Caribbean Dialogue, 2 (3, 4) April-May 1976, 6.

requirements. According to International health standards while the total food intake per day for each individual (recommended amount: 3,000 calories) is important, of equal importance is the protein content of the food. As the following table shows, in general, people in the United States and Canada consume anywhere from one and a half to twice as much protein as those in underdeveloped Jamaica or Trinidad and Tobago.

TABLE 2-2

PROTEIN AVAILABILITY

<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>AVERAGE DAILY AVAILABILITY OF PROTEIN (GRAMMES) 1965-70</u>	
JAMAICA	55	
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	65	
CANADA	90	
U.S.A.	90	(21)

In the area of housing, another set of statistics published by the U.N. (22) indicates that in Jamaica 31.1% of the households have three or more persons per room, while in Trinidad and Tobago, 23.5% of the households are similarly constituted. The corresponding figures

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(21) Sources: U.N. Yearbook of National Accounts, Statistics, 1974: Trinidad and Tobago, Annual Digest of Statistics, 1974.

(22) Caribbean Dialogue, 2 (3,4) April-May 1976,6.

for the U.S.A. and Canada are however 0.3 and 0.2 respectively. (23)

The West Indies are supposed to be agriculturally based economies. Yet, decreasing agricultural output and unscientific production methods relative to the 'developed' countries, continue to characterize the agriculture industry in the region. Moreover, the heavy industries, such as steel, needed for manufacturing agricultural equipment, such as tractors, are conspicuously absent.

In the area of social services, the comparisons between the underdeveloped West Indian societies and the 'developed' ones of North America are even more striking. The following two tables for example, show the distribution of health personnel and health establishments.

TABLE 2-3

HEALTH PERSONNEL

<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>PHYSICIANS &amp; SURGEONS</u>	<u>POPULATION PER PHYSICIAN</u>	<u>DENTISTS</u>	<u>NURSES</u>
JAMAICA	1969	471	4,160	51	367
	1974	570	3,510		
TRINIDAD & TOBAGO	1968	441	2,320	62	2,578
CANADA	1969	29,659	710	6,928	10,071
	1970		690		
U.S.A.	1969	316,403	640	101,874	680,000
	1970		630		

(23) Figures are for 1970, except in the case of Canada's (1971).

TABLE 2-4

NO. OF ESTABLISHMENTS AND NO. OF BEDS (GENERAL HOSPITALS)			
<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>NO. OF HOSPITALS</u>	<u>NO. OF BEDS</u>	<u>POPULATION PER BED</u>
JAMAICA (1973 <sup>1</sup> )	27	3,699	260
TRINIDAD & TOBAGO (1972 <sup>1</sup> )	5	4,800	217
CANADA (1972 <sup>1</sup> )	903	123,920	106
<sup>1</sup> Refers to year to which statistics apply.			(24)

The above statistics indicate that there are over twice as many people per hospital bed in either Jamaica or Trinidad and Tobago, than in Canada. Little wonder therefore that 'snack treatments' (out-patient treatment) occur so frequently in these islands among seriously ill people who should be hospitalized but cannot be for lack of facilities.

The statistics for health personnel provide cause for even greater concern. In Jamaica, there are as many as six times more people per doctor than in Canada. Yet, ironically enough, between 1965 and 1974, no less than two hundred doctors (approximately 50% of the 1969 stock) emigrated from Jamaica to Canada. (25)

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(24) Source: World Health Organization World Health Statistics Report, Vol. 24 (3) 1971, and Vol. 27 (9) 1974.

(25) Canada Department of Manpower and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1965-1974.



So far, we have been merely looking at the comparative data showing the great gaps that exist between the underdeveloped West Indian societies and the 'developed' capitalist societies of North America and Canada in particular. The data presented is intended to offer only a general insight into the comparative aspect of underdevelopment. Such data can never be expected to portray the depth of misery which people in rural Jamaica or rural Trinidad and Tobago experience. Nor can such data outline the profound psychological and sociological problems associated with growing up illiterate, coping with inflation without employment or social welfare, or possessing talents which fellow illiterates merely laugh and scoff at but can neither appreciate nor encourage. But then this is the reality which an increasing majority of urban youth in Jamaica share from day to day.

That such conditions are in part the direct consequences of the underdevelopment of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago: and that this process of underdevelopment which simultaneously accounts for the development in some rich countries, also extends into the area of human resources, both skilled and unskilled, as evidenced by the large scale emigration of skilled workers to Canada, is the main thesis being put forward in this paper. The preceeding data has endeavoured to illustrate merely that some countries are rich or 'developed' while others are poor or underdeveloped. An understanding of how the above development and underdevelopment came about, necessitates, as pointed out earlier, an understanding of the mechanics of exploitation, the second important feature of underdevelopment to which we alluded earlier.

The following section of this chapter therefore provides a brief introduction to the mechanics of exploitation.

### EXPLOITATION : HOW IT WORKS

In discussing how exploitation works within the context of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, two aspects of capitalist involvement in these societies will be examined. These are the two aspects alluded to earlier, 1) Colonial domination and 2) Investment.

#### 1) Colonial Domination:

Of course the spatial limitations of this study will in no way accommodate an extensive discussion of the numerous effects of colonialism on Caribbean societies.<sup>(26)</sup> The discussion here will therefore briefly examine three specific aspects of these effects. They are a) education, b) the social and psychological aspects, and c) production within the economy.

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(26) Recommended sources for more detailed discussions on colonialism in the Caribbean are: Williams, op. cit. (1964); also by the same author, History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago (Port of Spain, 1962) and From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean, 1492-1969 London: André Deutsch, 1970; Gordon K. Lewis, The Growth of the Modern West Indies, London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1968; Lowell Ragatz, The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763-1863 (New York, 1963) also by the same author a useful Guide for the Study of British Caribbean History, 1763-1834 (Washington, D.C., 1932).

a) Education

Before discussion the major impact of colonialism on education in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, it is necessary to make two important points. First, 'colonialism' as used here refers essentially to British colonialism which by far had the greatest impact on the British Caribbean in general and Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica in particular<sup>(27)</sup>. Secondly (British) Colonialism was for all intents and purposes a capitalistic phenomenon. Rodney makes this point very well, in the following manner:

"Colonialism fettered the development of the enslaved peoples. To facilitate colonial exploitation; the imperialists deliberately hampered economic and cultural progress in the colonies, preserved and restored obsolete forms of social relations and fermented discord between nationalities and tribes." (28)

Regarding whatever benefits by way of infrastructural development that might have taken place during colonialism, Rodney continues:

"...However, the drive for super profits dictated development of the extractive industry, plantations and capitalist farms, and the building of ports, railways and roads in the colonies." (29)

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(27) See previous references.

(28) Op. Cit. (1972) 287.

(29) Ibid.

But development in colonial society was limited to infrastructure, neglecting for the most part the indigenous peoples. This is clearly illustrated in the case of education.<sup>(30)</sup> When the British brought in slaves to work on the plantation<sup>(31)</sup> in the West Indies, education was not one of the top priorities in the provisions made for these slaves. In fact initially, no education whatever was provided for them. As far as the children of the planter class were concerned, they were schooled in the metropolis. Subsequently, as Beckford points out, the educational system that developed was a variant of that existing in the metropolis, providing a limited type of education chiefly for the half-castes. To this extent the basic structure of the plantation society remains today partly because:

- (1) the planter class with their monopoly over the means of production on the land, were well placed to hold on to their privileged position and
- (2) they were able to consolidate their position with the coming of non-agricultural enterprises, owned and operated by their close relatives.<sup>(32)</sup>

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(30) An excellent work which discusses the effects of the plantation economy on the whole social structure of the underdeveloped countries is George L. Beckford's Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economics of the Third World, (New York, Oxford University Press 1972).

(31) The plantation economy is one of the most enduring legacies of colonialism. It brought together people from various background to produce staple crops like sugar, coffee, bananas, cocoa and citrus fruit.

(32) Beckford, op. cit., 64.

What the above factors meant therefore was that after slavery blacks<sup>1</sup> were rather limited in terms of what they were able to do to improve their socio-economic well-being. Independent farming was limited by the scarcity of land. And this meant continued dependence on the plantation. Apart from keeping the former slaves in a state of perpetual ignorance, this type of situation facilitated the general underutilization of human resources and potentialities. Beckford summed up the situation this way:

"Barring emigration, the only significant scope for social mobility open to them (the ex-slaves) was education. During slavery educational opportunities had been restricted. Slaves were trained only in skills useful to the plantation... Their masters believed that skills of reading and writing would not increase their productive value and might even put ideas of insurrection in their heads." (33)

Of course, several years after emancipation, educational opportunities increased somewhat. The net effect however was the assimilation of educated blacks into the culture of the dominant white class. Since this assimilation, for obvious physical reasons, was never complete, the net result was the creation and expansion of an intermediate social grouping, members of whom strove to be fully ac-

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(33) Beckford, op. cit. 64.

cepted by the dominant class. So that rather than concern themselves with the task of bringing about fundamental changes in the overall social structure, educated blacks were occupied with making themselves acceptable to the dominant white class. As Beckford observed:

"This set the stage for a dynamic process by which black people sought social mobility by aspiring continuously to an European way of life. Education, residence, manners of speech and dress, religious beliefs and practice... all served to distinguish the blacks who had 'made it' from those who had not." (34)

In short therefore, education in the West Indies, apart from being the exclusive domain of the privileged few during the colonial and early post-colonial era, never proved relevant to the needs of the West Indian peoples as a whole.

In recent times, there have been attempts, particularly in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, at universal education at the primary and secondary school levels. However, a lack of any fundamental re-cussing of the philosophy or purpose of education in the islands, has led to the continued impotence of education as a tool for effecting social justice and material change within these societies.

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(34) Beckford, op. cit. 64.

Beckford puts it this way:

"For the most part what education became available was irrelevant to the environment and to the needs of a dynamic society. Geared as it is to the immediate needs of the plantation system, the context of education is heavily weighted to the supply of administrative (clerical) skills with little or no emphasis on technical and managerial skills. Since management decisions are made in the metropolis there is really little need to have qualified managers and allied engineering skills in plantation economy... On the whole the educational system of plantation society is technologically backward and contributes to the persistence of underdevelopment." (35)

This is why education is today a problem in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. In the latter, for example, one source estimates that there is a shortage of 37,000 craftsmen, 3,000 technicians and 5,000 managers and professionals alongside a surplus of no less than 12,000 clerks and shop assistants. (36) The educational system therefore is one of the yet lasting legacies of colonialist underdevelopment of West Indian societies.

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(35) Op. cit., 208.

(36) Tapia, March 2, 1975.

b) Capitalist Investment

Another index of underdevelopment in the West Indies is the presence in the region of large amounts of foreign capital. A large scale introduction of the latter into the English-speaking West Indies began 'in the late nineteen fifties' and early sixties' as a variant of the Puerto Rican model of development adopted in the 1950's.

The program in the West Indies, sometimes called "Industrialization by Invitation", as in Puerto Rico, was based on the reasoning that the absence of a strong manufacturing sector accounted to a large extent for the economic ills of the region. Thus metropolitan business interests should be attracted to the region to bring much needed capital, technology and market connections and at the same time these interests could maximize the use of factors abundant in the region, such as labour and raw materials. (37)

The problem with this kind of "development" is that it not only promotes the development of the big capitalist countries with the capital to invest, but it in fact militates against genuine development within the West Indian societies themselves. This argument is valid for the following reasons:

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(37) The policy was best articulated by Sir Arthur Lewis in his book The Industrialization of the British West Indies. Caribbean Organization, Trinidad, 1949.



1. To the Puerto Rican model of development, unlimited supplies of labour is merely an euphemism for cheap labour. Such labour, it was suggested by Sir Arthur Lewis, one of the chief protagonists of the programme, could be drawn from "subsistence agriculture, casual labour, petty trade, domestic service, wives and daughters in the household and the increase of population" (38). Today the consequences are obvious: these categories of labour are the most depressed component of the labour force in the West Indies. Having now been made unemployed by machines which no longer need them, and having in the meantime been kept relatively ignorant and therefore unemployable, they have little choice but to seek to emigrate in an effort to make life bearable.
2. Urged on by the need to make quick profits, labour was soon replaced by fast-working machinery and technology. The net result has been the erection of labor surpluses, evidenced by high unemployment rates in the region. (39)
3. The policy envisaged that the growth and expansion of the capitalist sector would lead to the accumulation of capital which in turn would provide the basis for expanded reinvestment. (40) What has in fact emerged however is the reality that today the dynamic capitalist sector - the overseas sector - is essentially foreign-

(38) Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour, Manchester School of Economic and Social Science, 1954.

(39) For an excellent example of how the manufacturing industry creates unemployment in the West Indies while creating employment in the metropolitan countries, see Millette, op. cit. 58.

(40) Lewis, Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour, Manchester School of Economic and Social Science, 1954.

owned and foreign-controlled and to what extent contributes to the outflow of surplus value, important for reinvestment of profits.

Thus today, another major problem in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago is the extent of foreign investment in, and control of the local economy. For example, Jamaica's Bauxite and Alumina industry is owned by six major U.S. and Canadian multinational corporations. Moreover, these corporations depend on Jamaican bauxite to keep a major part of their overseas refining and fabricating plants in operation. The fact is therefore that the industry creates far more benefits outside Jamaica than within. For each of the years 1971 to 1973, Jamaica earned less than 2% of the total value of finished aluminum products produced from Jamaican bauxite. In 1973, for example, the total value was \$1.5 billion of which Jamaica earned a mere \$24 million (approximately 1.4%).<sup>(41)</sup>

We have already indicated the extent of foreign control of the sugar manufacturing, steel and cement industries in Jamaica. This control extends also into the areas of public utilities (75%) and financial investment (64%).

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(41) Lloyd Best, "Jamaican Bauxite-Robbery with V, Tapia, June 23, 1974, p. 3. It makes more sense to talk in terms of Jamaican earnings as a proportion of total sales rather than total profits since the latter is never really made known to the Jamaican people or their government.

In Trinidad and Tobago, the situation is very much the same. About 83% of all capital investment comes from the metropolitan countries. The United States, Canada and Britain together account for about 80% of this total.<sup>(42)</sup> In 1974 alone, Tesoro, a Texas-based oil company made a \$60.9 million (U.S.) profit from its operations in Trinidad which forms at present 36% of the company's earnings.<sup>(43)</sup>

### c) The Role of Professional and Skilled Workers in Development

An attempt has been made so far to indicate the ways in which colonialism and foreign investment have contributed to underdevelopment in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The main thrust of this paper meanwhile, lies in illustrating that the emigration of skilled and professional workers from the islands, is an important part of that process of underdevelopment. More positively however an underlying assumption of the thesis is that skilled and professional workers are not just a cause of underdevelopment whenever they emigrate, but can be a positive element in development whenever they remain at home.

The role that skilled and professional workers must play in development is a role that cannot be determined after they have been trained and educated in a manner that is antithetical to development. In other words, there must be a philosophy of education with clearly

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(42) See OECD, Stock of Private Direct Investment by DAC Countries in Developing Countries, 1967. Paris 1972.

(43) Caribbean Dialogue 1 (1) Aug.-Sep. 1975, 34

defined goals, which should govern the education and training of people in the service of development.

Professional and skilled people emigrate either because there are no jobs available for which they are trained or in spite of the availability of such jobs. It is the contention of this paper that in both instances, emigration from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago is partly the direct consequence of an educational system devoid of a clearly defined set of development goals and objectives.

The condition of the educational systems in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago today, is in the broadest sense, as indicated earlier, a consequence of capitalist underdevelopment of these societies. Within a more specific context, however, it is necessary for one to grasp the importance of the role of the local leadership class in this underdevelopment.

We have already indicated that education in the West Indies during colonialism never really existed to serve the interests of the masses of West Indian peoples. It was always elitist, designed at all times to consolidate and perpetuate the interests of the local land-owning class and the metropolitan capitalists.

When Blacks were selectively permitted to gain access to educational opportunities, they, interestingly enough, used such education as a means to gaining greater acceptance and social mobility with-

in the existing white-dominated social order, without aspiring to any fundamental changes in the overall social relations.

When constitutional independence was granted a decade and a half ago, the mode of production remained the same, and the metropolises were still very much in economic control of the islands. Thereupon, the black petty bourgeoisie along with its white and semi-white "class-mates" who had for the most part been educated in the colonial universities such as London, Oxford and Cambridge, were only too eager to accept in the name of the colonized peoples, the transfer of political power, and to act as intermediaries between the local owners of land and capital (the national bourgeoisie) and the international capitalist bourgeoisie. This petty bourgeoisie, which today is predominantly black or half-white, saw no need, therefore, to radically alter the educational system and other appendages of colonial capitalism. So that, almost in Biblical fashion, the petty bourgeoisie could be heard to say, as it were:

Whatsoever things may however be ugly; whatsoever things may however contribute to the draining of my country's natural or human resources; whatsoever things may however contribute to uneven development, think on these things. And if there be any virtue in them, that is to say, if they provide me with political power and social status, then they must by all means be maintained.

Thus, since independence, the petty bourgeoisie, as Watson puts it:

... has acted in keeping with its class interest and has administered the affairs of the bourgeoisie in a way that has not disrupted the inherited system of unequal distribution of wealth and economic power. In other words... it has been systematic and consistent in its execution<sup>(44)</sup> of the function of the state in a capitalist society.

The point, therefore, is that an understanding of the role of the local leadership class is crucial to an appreciation of why, nearly fifteen years after constitutional independence and local political leadership, a problematic educational system as well as large scale unemployment and unequal distribution of income are still prominent features of West Indian society.

William Demas, who has held positions such as Head of the Economic-Planning Division of the government of Trinidad and Tobago and Secretary General of the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA), is as good an authority as any on the attitudes of the leadership in the English-speaking Caribbean. He makes the following observation:

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(44) "Leadership and Imperialism in the Commonwealth Caribbean" in The Commonwealth Caribbean into the Seventies, ed. A.N. Singham, Occasional Papers no. 10. Centre for Developing Area Studies, McGill University, 1975, 43. This study represents a fine analysis of the role of the local leadership in the perpetuation of capitalism and underdevelopment in the English-speaking Caribbean. To support his argument, Watson hypothesizes that the economic political and social status quo existing in the Caribbean could not have been radically different, anyway, under capitalism.

The (leaders) fear that any attenuation of metropolitan links, or any control over metropolitan economic and financial contact with their countries, will slow down the pace of economic development. Many are even afraid of discussing objectively the real economic issues of their countries - foreign domination and capitalism - for fear that it will drive away the tourists and scare the foreign investors. (45)

It is this kind of attitude which, as we shall illustrate in even more detail later in the study, ensures the existence of an educational ~~system~~ in Trinidad and Tobago and in Jamaica, that trains people to fit more readily into jobs in New York or Toronto than in Montego Bay (Jamaica) or in Arima (Trinidad). This attitude also ensures that they are trained in such a manner, without regard to the development of any sense of collective social responsibility, that even if they can fill jobs in the West Indies, their lack of social consciousness will not permit them to remain there for very long to contribute to a programme of development which, in any event, is no more than a poor variant of the model which exists in the metropolitan countries.

If skilled and professional workers are to contribute to econo-

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(45) "The Political Economy of the English-Speaking Caribbean: A Summary View", Mimeo, n.d., quoted in Watson, op. cit., 60.

mic development as defined in this paper, they must therefore emerge from an educational system which is guided by the following considerations:

1. Education should prepare individuals to meet the needs of society rather than those of a labour market. People should be allowed to choose careers not merely on the basis of their personal interests but also on the basis of the collective needs of the society.
2. Schools should not be custodial institutions that keep unwanted labour off the labour market. In the West Indies today, the popular demand for education, fed by selfish desires for power and prestige and the response on the part of the Governments to those demands, are moving in a direction totally different from the labour market's willingness or capacity to absorb such educated persons. The elitism of the colonial and immediate post colonial eras characterized by the opening of educational opportunities to the privileged few, has now transferred itself into the elitism of the post independence era, characterized by the opening of educational opportunities to the many but the opening of job opportunities to the few.
3. Education should be viewed not as a vehicle for individual upward mobility, but as a means of serving the collective needs of the community.
4. Success in education should not merely be a function of how well one can get on with one's teachers but also, how well one can relate to one's classmates. Education should therefore teach people the art of living as opposed to the art of passing.
5. Education must include preparation to govern. People should be taught not only skills of putting together bridges, but of organizing people. In the social sciences for example, people should be



taught not only how to recognize underdevelopment, exploitation or poverty, but also ~~how to deal~~ with these problems constructively.

It is clear therefore that the problem of education in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago is not one related to lack of finance, nor a lack of people who can be trained. Rather, the problem with education in these societies lies in its failure to extricate itself from its capitalist colonial legacies and its connections with the accoutrements of international capitalism which dictate the placing of profits and other statistical considerations above those relating to the satisfaction of basic human needs and wants.

#### Emigration and Underdevelopment

Finally, it would be instructive at this point to outline briefly in rather specific terms how the emigration of skilled and professional persons contribute to underdevelopment. The emigration of such persons can contribute to underdevelopment in several ways. An attempt will be made below to point out however just a few of these ways. These are as follows:

#### Aggravation of differences in social conditions:

Ironically enough professional and skilled people emigrate from the West Indies to Canada to offer their services in a country in which the numbers of such persons in relation to the total population is in some cases (e.g. doctors) seven or eight times as many as those in Ja-

maica or Trinidad and Tobago.

In 1969, for example, for every 10,000 people, Canada had five times as many physicians as Jamaica. By 1971, Canada had seven times as many physicians as Jamaica for every 10,000 people. (46)

Further, with a 1976 population about twelve times as large, Canada however has over fifty times as many nurses as Jamaica. (47) At this very moment (July, 1976) while some nurses collect unemployment insurance in Canada, having been rendered jobless by the "forces of the market", many Jamaican hospitals operate with a serious shortage of nursing staff.

## 2) The Financial Losses Implicit in Emigration

In addition to the worsening of social conditions, there is the cost factor to be considered when skilled and professional people emigrate. For example, the cost of training a West Indian doctor has been estimated to be between \$24,000 (U.S.) and \$31,000 (U.S.). (48) Assume that the actual cost is somewhere in the middle - approximately \$27,000 (U.S.).

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(46) W.H.O. STATISTICS.

(47) Ibid.

(48) The first estimate comes from Oscar Gish, Doctor Migration and World Health, London, G. Bell and Sons, 1971; while the second is from, The Brain Drain, From 5 Developing Countries, UNITAR, 1971.

In 1974 alone, 36 doctors emigrated from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago to Canada (23 from Jamaica, 13 from Trinidad and Tobago). In monetary terms therefore, this represents an outflow of \$972,000 (U.S.) from both countries (\$621,000 (U.S.) from Jamaica and \$351,000 (U.S.) from Trinidad and Tobago) in just one year.

Considering that this rate of outflow has been fairly constant over the last ten years, the total outflow over this period must be in the order of \$10 million (U.S.). (49)

#### The Effects on Those Remaining

The effects of emigration of professional and technical workers on those remaining at home can perhaps be divided into three main parts.

First, one can talk about the effects such emigration has on those immediately affected by the departure of such workers. For example, the constant need to replace lost personnel can frustrate ambitious administrators who genuinely seek to improve the quality of work and service in certain areas. In addition, it can create large gaps in economic and social planning, thereby making more difficult already trouble-

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(49) Of course such calculations are haunted by the imprecise nature of the data in regard to who (which country) actually bore the cost of training which doctors. In the absence of data to the contrary, we can safely assume however that these costs were borne by West Indian tax-payers.

some tasks. Finally, it can lower the morale of co-workers who were perhaps inspired or positively challenged by the professional dedication of those leaving. (50)

Secondly, one can discuss the effects in terms of what such emigration mean to the human beings who suffer for lack of certain services. Such effects can best be seen, for example, on the people in rural Jamaica who can see a doctor only when she comes around on her bi-weekly visits. Or the people in the crowded emergency units of the urban hospitals who must wait as long as five hours (which is sometimes too late) to be examined by a physician.

Thirdly, the large scale emigration of professional and skilled workers contribute in no uncertain manner to the development of what will be called in this study, a *mentalité d'étranger* (which is to say a sort of inferiority complex which leads one to view all that is foreign as being superior to that which is indigenous). This attitude is of course based on the belief that the best qualified people have the best tastes. If therefore they choose to emigrate to Canada, for example, then being in Canada must be better than being in Trinidad. By extension also, the attributes of Canada (social and economic or otherwise) must be superior to those of Trinidad.

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(50) , One nurse at a Trinidad hospital indicated to the author that her disillusionment over the emigration of three of the most respected physicians at her hospital, led her to consider transferring to another hospital in the country, or herself emigrating to Canada or the United States.

The consequence of this mentalité d'étranger is that it only helps to perpetuate a dependency mentality, lack of self-confidence on the part of the West Indian Peoples and a sense of resignation and hopelessness in regard to the possibilities for fundamental social and economic transformation in their own societies.

The foregoing introduction to this study may now be summarized in the following manner:

1. The emigration of skilled and professional workers from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago to Canada, in and of itself constitutes a form of underdevelopment.
2. The emigration of skilled and professional workers cannot be viewed in isolation but must be examined (a) in relation to the overall emigration of cheap labour to the developed capitalist countries (whether these workers be farmers, domestics or doctors), and also (b) in relation to the overall historical use of the islands as sources of cheap labour and raw materials conducive to metropolitan capitalistic development.

James Millette perhaps sums up this aspect of the problem the best way possible. He states:

"The West Indian economy has always been of the utmost importance, but the importance has derived from the fact that the West Indies has always been an enclave in a larger international society for whose advantage it existed...(The islands) have remained in large part locations in which important manufacturing goods have been sold, territories in which decision making at a local

level has been virtually absent, and in general, areas with very little power to sustain themselves economically." (51)

Preliminary research on the question of PTK<sup>(52)</sup> emigration indicate therefore, that so long as Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago remain locked into an economic system ruled by the dictates of a heartless "market mechanism", professional and skilled workers will move to the developed countries within this system which offer higher wages and more materially attractive fringe benefits. On the other hand, the most that the islands can hope for, within the context of such a system, are occasional tourist visits from professional and skilled people in the developed societies. The cessation of such economic hostilities to West Indian societies, can only be realized when these societies through their socially and politically conscious peoples extricate themselves from the yoke of the capitalist mode of production and its social relations, setting up for themselves a social order which seeks to place the collective well-being of the society above considerations of profit or the well-being of a privileged few.

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(51) Millette, op. cit. 51-52.

(52) Professional, technical and Kindred workers.

### CHAPTER III

#### A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In a rather fundamental sense, examination of the migration of skilled and professional workers admits two distinct yet related issues - education and migration. The concern with migration essentially relates to the fact that unlike the tourist or the visitor, the migrant is involved in a more or less permanent, or, at least, long-term<sup>(1)</sup> move, which has important political, economic and social implications for both her country of origin and her new country of residence. Education comes into the analysis insofar as professional and skilled workers are usually highly educated persons. In turn, the political and economic concern with highly educated workers stems from the fact that they not only embody a disproportionate amount of educational expenditure relative to the total population, but that they also represent an integral part of a nation's resources for dealing with some of the more complex problems that emerge in its attempts to cope with its environment.

Subsumed under these key notions of education and migration

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(1) As far as international standards are concerned, IMMIGRATION occurs when a foreigner enters national territory for a stay of more than one year. Likewise, EMIGRATION occurs when a national leaves national territory for a stay of more than one year - Goran Friberg ed., Brain Drain Statistics: Empirical Evidence Guidelines. The Committee on Research Economics (FEK) Stockholm, REPORT 6.

however, are several other notions with far-reaching political and socio-economic implications. In most of the literature on the 'brain-drain' two such themes appear to predominate. These themes, or bodies of thought may be identified as follows:

1. Human capital theory and the "law" of international mobility and
2. The continuing debate: nationalism versus internationalism.

In this section of the study, these two themes will be examined in the above order in an effort to indicate the extent to which each contributes to, or detracts from a mature understanding of the nature and causes of, as well as solutions to, the problem of the emigration of skilled and professional workers from underdeveloped societies to developed ones.

#### HUMAN CAPITAL THEORY AND INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY

Human capital theorists begin with the premise that economic advance generally presumes concurrent growth among socio-economic inputs. In general terms, production requires the employment of land, labour, capital and material inputs. More specifically one can even classify the type or quality of each factor input such as physical or financial capital, skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled labour. In principle, the technical combination of factors are variable, depending on the price of the factors and technical conditions. The 'profit



maximising' firm, the theorists point out, will employ persons with various levels of education. In the short term, a limiting feature of the degree of variability, will be factor immobilities as well as other technical limitations. (2)

So that within the context of the technical production function, human capital is merely another form of factor input, the level of education the individual possesses being merely a discriminating factor between functional 'qualities' of that factor input. (3)

Attempts at empirical verification in support of this approach, has followed several lives. They include calculations of rates of return to levels of educational attainment and attempts to relate per capita income levels to average educational attainment over a number of countries. One of the more prominent outcomes of the human capital approach has been the formulation and use of education/output ratios in manpower planning models. (4)

- (2) Walter Oi, "Labour as a Quasi-fixed Factor of Production", Journal of Political Economy, December 1962. P.A. Strassman, Technological Change and Economic Development (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968.)
- (3) One of the best articulated cases for the human capital approach is made by R.S. Berry and R. Seligo, "Some Welfare Aspects of International Migration", Journal of Political Economy, September-October 1969.
- (4) I. Adelman, "A Linear Programming Model of Educational Planning: A Case Study of Argentina" in I. Adelman and E. Thorbecke, The Theory and Design of Economic Development, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966.

The human capital theorists quite clearly are not concerned with such questions as the distribution of educational opportunities or even the distribution of income accruing from educational training. They are strictly concerned with statistical matters such as GNP, growth rate, income per capita and profit maximization. In essence, their principal concern revolves around economic growth (a purely quantitative phenomenon) rather than economic development (a process that is both quantitative and qualitative). Within the context of the human capital approach, given that the most important thing about human resources is its role in increasing production within a given society, and given that the producer or entrepreneur has to buy these resources with an eye to maximising his profits, the price tag placed on labour becomes an important factor for both the entrepreneur and the worker in this whole process. Little wonder therefore that labour moves to areas where it can fetch higher prices while entrepreneurs explore areas (such as the West Indies) where labour can be bought at lower prices relative to those obtaining in other areas.

That some notion of an international labour market, within the framework of the capitalist mode of production, is an important reality is never in doubt. That within many underdeveloped societies today, people are still trained directly or indirectly to satisfy the needs of this international market is also part of reality. This is why, for example, many of the skilled and professional emigrants from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago can in the first place, secure jobs in Canada or in the United States. Where the capitalist theorists step out of bound

however is by assuming as they do in a variety of ways, that the above reality is permanent and unchangeable.

This assumption of course hinges upon the related assumption that the role of education will always, for the underdeveloped countries, be defined in terms of increasing production, profit maximization and improving the socio-economic well-being of the individual.

Specifically in regard to the latter, Grubel and Scott, for example made it quite clear that emigration should be welcomed by a given country so long as the emigrant improves his own income and his departure does not reduce the income per head of those who remain behind. (5) Thus, it is difficult to separate this individualistic notion of the importance of education from the labour market which reaffirms this individualism by seeking to place a dollar value on the worth of the individual.

Grubel and Scott reinforce this notion of individualism by explicitly rejecting the argument that educated emigrants have a debt to society, claiming that this view is based on a misapprehension. Society, they point out, 'is a continuing organism and the process of finan-

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(5) H.N. Grubel and A.D. Scott, "The International Flow of Human Capital", American Economic Review LVI(2) May 1966 and 'The Immigration of Scientists and Engineers to the United States', 1949-61, The Journal of Political Economy LXXIV(4), August 1966.

cing education represents an intergeneration transfer of resources under which the currently productive generation taxes itself to educate the young, who in turn, upon maturity, provide for the next generation of children and so on.' (6)

As Godfrey aptly points out, the Grubel and Scott picture of society in long-run equilibrium, 'continuously replacing' those of its educated class who migrate seems more appropriate to a mature industrialized economy with a highly developed educational and social welfare system. (7) In a 'poor' country, however, the situation is different. Replacement of educated personnel not only takes a great deal of time but also costs much in terms of money and other scarce resources. (8)

But this is not the only reason why educated individuals owe a debt to their society. There is yet another reason, particularly appropriate with the context of West Indian Society. Godfrey outlines it as follows:

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(6) Op. cit., quoted in E.M. Godfrey, "The Brain Drain from Low-income Countries", The Journal of Development Studies VI(3), April 1970, 240.

(7) Godfrey, op. cit. 241.

(8) In addition, if these replacements have to be trained abroad there could develop a process of 'circular causation' whereby those trained abroad, because of their new socialization and/or the nature of their training, no longer wish to return to their country of origin. (See Patinkin, op. cit.)

"Resources have been diverted to the education of the children of the most privileged section of the community; a decision on their part to emigrate now would come at a time when the children of other sections of the community were at last being admitted to the (higher) levels of the educational system at an increasing rate, rapidly pushing up the cost of education; thus, the removal of the relatively high incomes (and high propensities to save or to be taxed) of the educated elite - and perhaps more important, the removal of their external effects on the incomes of others - would shift the cost of expanding the educational system to just that section of the community which had so far gained no direct benefit from it." (9)

The foregoing is especially true within the West Indian context where, as we indicated in Chapter I, educational opportunities, particularly of higher education, were greatly restricted to the white land-owning class during colonialism, and the petty bourgeoisie both black and white, during the early years of constitutional independence. Today, with the popular demand for education, it is the masses of low-income people who are footing the cost of an educational system which, until recently, never even recognized their existence, but catered instead to the needs of the elite, many of whom now live in, and pay their taxes to, the metropolises, returning to the West Indies only for the occasional independence-day or carnival celebration.

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(9) Godfrey, op. cit. 242.

So far, an attempt has been made to illustrate the implications for analysis of the 'brain drain' phenomenon of the body of literature which views labour as essentially a form of economic input in the whole production process. We have indicated some of the drawbacks of this kind of approach which focuses on and takes as given such factors as contribute to the mobility and well-being of the individual as opposed to that of the total community. However, in the human capital approach, fundamental questions relating to the effects of emigration on those who remain or the historical causes of emigration, are entirely ignored.

#### THE NATIONALIST VERSUS THE INTERNATIONALIST MODEL

Antony Scott puts the nationalist-internationalist debate into perspective. While arguing that within the framework of the market economy, 'upper-income, professional, academic and skilled people will move more readily than low-income and low-skilled people,'<sup>(10)</sup> with regards to the external effects of such moves, he states:

"How seriously they are to be regarded depends on one's point of view. A 'cosmopolitan' will argue that each of these is likely to be balanced by an equal gain in the country of destination, while a 'nationalist' will

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(10) A. Scott, "The Brain Drain Again - Human Capital Approach Justified?" in W.L. Hansen, Education, Income and Human Capital, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1970, 278.

be sensitive only to his own country's (11)  
state in a science or art."

One of the most prominent protagonists of the internationalist model is Professor Harry Johnson, who, like Scott, believes that whether or not the 'brain drain' constitutes a problem is really a function of whether one accepts a nationalistic position or an internationalistic one. To scholars like Professor Johnson therefore, such well-documented facts as the cost of training professional and skilled people may or may not constitute a loss through emigration depending on one's subjective point-of-view. Within the same frame of logic, one can similarly conclude that whether or not the departure of physicians from understaffed hospitals in Jamaica or Trinidad and Tobago is a problem, depends on one's subjective view point.

But Professor Johnson goes further to emphasize the narrow liberal concern with superficial notions of freedom and fairplay, even when such notions impede the well-being of the majority of the world's peoples. He states:

"(I) regard nationalism as one of the less pleasant mental vices in which mankind indulges itself... Consequently I start with the assumption that the international circulation of human capital is a beneficial process since it reflects the free choices of the individuals who choose to

migrate." (12)

Here then, the notion of individual freedom (like other notions such as unlimited profit maximization and the international mobility of labour, in the name of liberal democracy, free enterprise and the free market economy) are permitted to override the specific needs and problems of the underdeveloped societies. Moreover, this attitude exists despite the fact that these societies, as we indicated in Chapter I, have been on the periphery of this international political and economic system. (13)

(12) H.G. Johnson, 'An Internationalist Model' in Walter Adams (ed.) The Brain Drain, New York, 1968.

(13) Even insofar as the individual is concerned, to talk about freedom in the context in which Johnson does, is grossly misleading. As early as 1840, the French economist Eugene Buret was alert to such distorted notions of freedom. He wrote: "Is the theory of labour as a commodity anything other than a theory of distinguished bondage?"... "The worker is not at all in the position of a free seller vis-à-vis the one who employs him. The capitalist is always free to use labor, and the worker is always forced to sell it." (See Karl Marx, The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 (Dirk J. Struik et.) Trans. by Martin Milligan, New York: International Publishers). Buret continues: "The value of labor is completely destroyed if it is not sold every instant. Labor can neither be accumulated or even saved, unlike true commodities. Labor is life and if life is not each day exchanged for food, it suffers and soon perishes. To claim that human life is a commodity, one must, therefore, admit slavery" (Eugene Buret, *De la misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France*, Paris, 1840, quoted in Marx, *op. cit.* 76). Emigration implies therefore merely a change of location for the worker. Whether in Britain or Canada, Jamaica or Trinidad, his bondage to the capitalist is always part of his reality. What then is freedom to move merely from one slave camp to another? Johnson's notion of freedom therefore is not only elitist (insofar as it militates against the well-being of the majority of peoples in the underdeveloped world) but is also, as far as the individual is concerned, freedom merely in name rather than in



Another frequently made argument of internationalists is that the flows of 'human capital' from underdeveloped societies do not really go uncompensated. Rather, compensation comes by way of such things as transfer of scientific discovery and knowledge back to the home country and cash remittances. (14)

As far as the transfer of scientific technology is concerned, one must ensure that one does not get carried away by general notions which seem plausible, but do not adhere to the realities of the underdeveloped societies. As Girling aptly pointed out, scientific technology is a monopoly of metropolitan nations and is rarely ever transferred selflessly for the benefit of underdeveloped societies. (15)

Within the particular context of the West Indies, for example, one knows that the failure of transferred technology to become a reality is not due to the inability of the West Indian people to handle such technology. (16) In science as well as in education, West Indians have

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(14) Scott Op. cit. (1970) quoted in Girling, op. cit. 87.

(15) Girling, op. cit., 87.

(16) One should note carefully, that we are here referring to forms of technology that are relevant to the particular needs of the West Indian environment (for example, technology relating to the processing of neglected food crops such as dasheen and eddoes) (See G.L. Beckford, Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies of the Third World. (London: Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 27)). Moreover, we are not referring here to science and technology which reduce men to the level of machines or deprive them of the opportunity to perform, wholesome, satisfying work. (See Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century (New York: Monthly Review Press); see especially Chapter 20, "A Final Note on Skill", pp. 424-447).

distinguished themselves all over the world. Only recently, one of the foremost West Indian intellectuals talked about this question. He stated:

"...The West Indian population, the rank and file of the people, are as fully able to handle science and technology as any other section of the population. (I have seen them operate) in Britain, in Canada (and) in the United States... In Britain the educational system in many areas would fall apart if they didn't have there, people who are from the West Indies and were trained in the West Indies. (Similarly)... you will find West Indian doctors, nurses and other kinds of people in the medical departments of Britain." (17)

Indeed, a great deal of the data throughout this study lends support to James' point. However, as to why West Indians do not possess a greater array of scientific and technological knowledge, James states, quite appropriately:

"... why I think they are missing some aspects of science and technology is that they are not given the opportunity to learn. What happens is the big corporations are always bringing things from abroad and telling us, 'Join these up', 'Just tie those together', or 'Screw up those pieces'. Thus, the people cannot exercise the

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(17) C.L.R. James, "The Revolutionary" in A.W. Singham (ed.) The Commonwealth Caribbean into the Seventies, op. cit., 180, 181.

real capacity they have for science and technology which I insist they show in Canada... in the United States (and)... in Great Britain." (18)

The point to be made here therefore is that the introduction of technology into underdeveloped countries is largely via the importation of capital equipment. Further, such capital is almost always constructed to suit the technological and economic requirements of the metropolitan countries. (19) Finally, it should be pointed out also that technology is often used by the nations at the centre of international capitalism (the metropolises) to keep those at the periphery (the underdeveloped countries) firmly within their control. This has been accomplished in two main ways:

1. By promoting consumption patterns which increase the demand in underdeveloped societies for metropolitan commodities and thereby ag-

(18) James, op. cit. 181. James Millette (op. cit. 58) records an excellent example of how the big foreign companies stifle the growth of science and technology in Trinidad and Tobago. It involves the case of a sock-manufacturing company which was given permission by the Industrial Development Corporation (I.D.C.) to import the raw materials needed for manufacturing the socks, the factory was given the option of importing 100,000 dozen pairs of sock blanks. A 'sock blank' is a sock that is made up in all respects except that the sole is left open, and what you do when you import your raw material to make socks is simply to put the toe on the machine and sew it up and you've made a sock. In other words, the value added is about .1% of the entire value of the commodity.

(19) See for example, R. Eckaus, "The Factor Proportions Problem in Underdeveloped Countries" in A.R. Agarwala and S.P. Singh, The Economics of Underdevelopment, Oxford University Press, 1968.

gravate social imbalances<sup>(20)</sup> and

2. By direct capital investment which results in a restriction of marketing opportunities for the underdeveloped societies and even more importantly, in ensuring a metropolitan monopoly of production processes requiring a great deal of skill, not to mention the monopoly over research related to such production.<sup>(21)</sup>

### CASH REMITTANCES

As far as cash remittances are concerned, there is evidence that the amounts involved generally are quite substantial. In 1965, for example, when Trukish emigration was still quite small, Turkish workers were already remitting to their homeland an average of \$28 million per month.<sup>(22)</sup> Marios Nikolinakos points out that in 1969, remittances from Greek migratory workers totaled \$152.6 million, an amount sufficient to balance off approximately 28% of Greece's \$537 million trade deficit for that year.<sup>(23)</sup> Gene Tidrick estimated that in 1962 remittances from Ja-

(20) See Beckford, op. cit.

(21) See D. Keesing, "Labour Skills and Comparative Advantage", American Economic Review, May 1966 and P. Kenen and R. Lawrence, The Open Economy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968).

(22) Stephen Castles and Godula Kosack, Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe (London: Oxford University Press, 1973) 197.

(23) Quoted in Antony Ward, "European Migratory Labor: A Myth of Development" Monthly Review, 27 (7) December 1975, 32-33.

Jamaican emigrants in the U.K. totaled £ 6,254,000, an amount which covered 42.5% of the visible trade deficit.<sup>(24)</sup>

With regards to the above data which clearly indicate the existence of sizeable flows of remittances, it is however necessary to make at least two important comments:

1. Firstly, the figures represent the remittances of all immigrant workers from a given country. As such, they do not tell us anything about the proportion of these payments that were remitted by the professional and skilled elements. It is therefore quite possible that the remittances from the professional and skilled are much lower in relation to the remittances of semi-skilled or unskilled workers.<sup>(25)</sup> The point therefore is that the existence of large flows of remittances from all workers taken together, does not necessarily prove that skilled and professional workers remit equally large sums of money to their country of origin.
2. Secondly, we are similarly uncertain about the exact use to which these remittances are put. It is therefore difficult to determine

(24) "Some Aspects of Jamaican Emigration to the U.K. 1953-62", in Lambros Comitas and David Lowenthal (eds.) Work and Family Life: West Indian Perspectives (New York: Anchor Books, 1973), 204.

(25) In the West Indies in particular, professional and skilled workers are more likely to take their entire family along when they emigrate, either because they personally can afford to do so, or because such costs are borne by their prospective employers in the metropolises. Apart from the fact that semi-skilled or unskilled workers generally have large families, they are less likely to take the entire family with them, at least immediately. They are therefore more likely to send remittances, and in larger amounts, to those family members remaining behind.

in any sensible way, particularly in the context of the West Indies exactly how positive the effects these remittances are on the society as a whole.

Ward does point out that migratory workers in Europe who do succeed in accumulating some small capital, show a strong tendency to invest in small service businesses such as taxis, grocery stores and taverns. He points out that like everywhere else in the world, 30% to 40% of these small businesses fail within a few years. In any event, he argues, they serve merely to swell the countries' tertiary sector 'without contributing significantly to the development of the needed industrial sector'. (26)

In addition, these remittances may be damaging to the underdeveloped societies to the extent that they tend to have a "consumer effect" rather than an "investment effect on these societies. (27) What this means is that the remittances may develop a market for consumer goods far exceeding the country's capacity to meet that demand. The net result being that the country is faced with the option of setting up unnecessary domestic consumer industries rather than much-needed heavy industries, or, importing increased quantities of consumer goods, thereby

(26) Ward, op. cit. 33.

(27) Marios Nikolinakos, "Zur Frage Der Auswanderrun-gseffekte in den Emigrationslandern" In Das Argument 68 (December 1971) p. 791, quoted in Ward, op. cit. 33-34.

worsening its balance-of-payments deficit and increasing its dependence on the metropolitan countries. (28)

Finally, there is one more important observation to be made about the internationalist approach to the study of the 'brain drain'. It has to do with the kind of chauvinism that is built into the reaction of some economists in the metropolises in regard to the potential within underdeveloped societies for indigenous, internally-propelled development.

Antony Scott sets himself up as a fine example of such chauvinism when he claims that one of the serious leakages from emigration is by way of students who, if they do not emigrate, would create a situation where "the country would gain no specialists at all, and growth would presumably end". Girling responds to Scott in the following manner:

"Scott's quick dismissal of any potential in the Third World for self-development belies the very nature of what surely appears as an imperialistic viewpoint. Certain recent experiences in China appear as clear re-

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(28) Nikolinakos, op. cit., cited in Ward, op. cit., 34.

futation."(29)

Little wonder therefore that to the internationalists, the 'brain drain' does not constitute a serious problem. Guided by the dictum, "what is good for the developed countries must be good for the rest of the world", they fail to approach the root causes of emigration, either through conscious disregard or sheer unfamiliarity with the mechanics of underdevelopment.

#### THE NATIONALIST MODEL

As far as the nationalists are concerned, if one is truly concerned with world welfare this concern must begin by focussing on those nations which suffer most from unequal distribution of income, uneven development and in general, serious social imbalances. (30)

As plausible as the nationalist approach appears, very much

(29) Girling, op. cit., 89. Some excellent accounts of internally-propelled socialist development in China include, E.L. Wheelwright and B. MacFarlane, The Chinese Road to Socialism, Monthly Review Press, 1970. Also, "Understanding the Cultural Revolution" 1-16 and E.L. Wheelwright, "The Cultural Revolution in China" 17-33, Monthly Review 19 (1) May 1967. For a brief summary of the specific accomplishments of China since 1949 see Andrew L. March, "China: Image and Reality" Monthly Review 27 (7) December 1975, 40-43.

(30) See for example, D. Patinkin, op. cit.



like the internationalist model, it fails to address itself to the basic problems related to high level migration. The question of whether or not the skilled human resources of underdeveloped societies should emigrate to developed ones, is not merely a question of nationalism versus internationalism. More importantly, it has to do with notions of exploitation and uneven development. An attempt has been made to illustrate this in the foregoing review of some of the literature.

Nor is the 'brain drain' from underdeveloped societies a problem emerging only out of the international mobility of the educated or the over-supply of some categories of educated people in these societies. Rather than causes, these are both merely symptoms of one and the same problem. An understanding of this point is crucial to any attempts to deal effectively with the emigration of skilled and professional workers. It is therefore not correct to state that the 'brain drain' is not a problem because there exists a surplus of educated manpower in the underdeveloped societies. In fact, it is precisely for this reason among others, that the 'brain drain' is a problem. It is exactly because of these surpluses created by the peculiarities of international capitalism and the underdeveloped societies' role within this structure (31), that emigration of skilled and professional people

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(31) As far as the general laboring categories are concerned, for a fine exposition of how surplus labour is created and maintained by the increased use of science and technology in the service of expanding capitalist production, see Breverman, op. cit., pp. 382-401. As far as the creation of surpluses of skilled labour is concerned, the underdeveloped societies make their special contribution primarily by preparing workers for the international labour market rather than the particular needs of their societies.

from the West Indies continues today.

To take as given therefore, what is only a by-product of international capitalism, leads to faulty prescriptions for dealing with the problem of professional and skilled emigration from the underdeveloped societies. One of the most popular of these prescriptions, for example, is the suggested need to increase the salaries of educated workers while improving the non-monetary attractions of their jobs.<sup>(32)</sup> These actions, it is believed, would tend to raise local earnings to the levels of those in the metropolises, thereby providing greater incentive for the 'internationally-mobile highly-educated' to remain at home.

Clearly such a solution can only contribute to an aggravation of the unequal distribution of income in the underdeveloped societies. To create greater social imbalances merely to prevent a few doctors or nurses from emigrating does not seem very sensible. But something has to be done.

That the initiative for change has to come from the underdeveloped societies is amply emphasized by the insensitive approach to the problem on the part of most economists in the metropolises. In any event, many of them thrive on the existing world imbalances to the extent that

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(32) Adams, op. cit. (passim)

they are quite content with belonging to the middle and upper middle classes (and in some cases, the leadership classes) of societies made rich by the impoverishment of others.

Some of the underdeveloped societies have tried bonding (whereby an individual signs an agreement to work for his country a certain number of years or repay the cost of his training) in an effort to curb the emigration of skilled and professional people. But, since bonding also fails to go to the heart of the issue, it, like all of the other superficial prescriptions have failed to yield lasting or significant results. In Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, for example, while no exact figures are available, many persons, particularly nurses and school-teachers are known to have broken these agreements in order to emigrate. In the absence of any real political or ideological orientation of a revolutionary nature, even the workers who honour these bonds, do so more grudgingly than willingly, in many cases eagerly awaiting the expiration of the bonds so that they too can leave the country. (33)

The purpose of the foregoing discussion has been to indicate the

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(33) Bonding will be even more ineffective when dealing with students studying abroad. Ninety per cent of the West Indian students for example, studying abroad are not on government scholarships as such. It is clear that other methods will have to be used if these people are to be influenced into returning home in larger numbers than they presently do. (See The Brain Drain From Five Developing Countries - Cameroon, Columbia, Lebanon, The Phillipines, Trinidad and Tobago, UNITAR, Research Reports no. 5, New York, 1971. 44-46, 140.

inadequacy of much of the literature on, and their proposals for dealing with, the emigration of professional and skilled workers from underdeveloped societies to the developed ones. We have tried to indicate that indirect approaches to analysis of the phenomenon will result in indirect approaches to correcting the situation. This thesis argues that a more direct approach is not only necessary but possible.

For example, simultaneous with a well-directed programme of ideological and political education focussing on the role of international capitalism in the underdevelopment of the "Third World" with specific reference to the pricing and mobilisation of labour in this process, an effort must be made to demobilize not only professional and skilled 'labour' but all forms of cheap labour.

This can be done, for example by restricting the flow of government-sponsored students who go abroad to study in metropolitan institutions, and by limiting the number of private students (either by a tight foreign exchange release policy or otherwise) who go abroad for similar purposes.

In the meantime, local educational institutions, guided by a philosophy of education consistent with the goals of true development as outlined in Chapter I, will have to be expanded and adjusted to respond to the special needs of the local environment, rather than to the needs of the labour market or the metropolitan countries. In Trinidad and Tobago, for example, water supply is a problem in many areas. En-

gineers should therefore be trained in the methods of bringing clean water to the homes of people, while doctors should be trained in the techniques of dealing with gastroenteritis, a maladie resulting from drinking of impure water.

The belief that local professionals must be versed in the use of technology in the metropolitan countries is an erroneous one. Concepts of good and bad, brilliant and foolish will have to be redefined. Doctors in the West Indies, for example, should be viewed as brilliant if they can master the techniques of controlling the spread of tropical diseases moreso than if they can master the techniques of heart-transplanting.

More importantly education in the service of development will have to begin with the young. Pupils should be guided to acquire skills which respond to particular societal needs, rather than those which make them simply marketable human bodies. Eventually therefore, when the entire educational system is reorganized, metropolitan employees will increasingly discover that the skilled and professional people of these once underdeveloped societies no longer suit their needs. At this point, it will then become much easier to decrease the wages of the highly educated in the underdeveloped societies, thereby ensuring a more equitable distribution of income.


It is clear that changes of such a fundamental nature cannot be

successfully undertaken by petty-bourgeois governments uncommitted to complete social and economic change. Partial reforms brought on by political expediency or force of economic circumstances (for example shortage of foreign exchange or rising costs of student education) cannot suffice. A positive conscious programme initiated and guided by a government committed to social change is what is needed. Godfrey makes the point in the following manner:

"Nothing could be more morale-sapping for a country to aim at and fail to achieve an educational system with international standards. If, on the other hand, these standards were explicitly rejected the system could turn out instead of frustrated aspirants to international mobility, people who did not think in these terms at all." (34)

#### SUMMARY

It is not enough for one to rest one's case by arguing that the 'brain drain' is caused by the international mobility of the 'highly-educated', or by the existence of higher wages in the developed societies than in the underdeveloped ones. One has to go further and examine how and why people become internationally mobile, and why these wage differentials do exist.



People in the West Indies for example, become internationally mobile because the education system there prepares them to respond to the demands of the expansion of capitalist production in the metropole, much better than it prepares them to meet local needs. And this itself, as we have seen, is a legacy of earlier underdevelopment in the West Indies.

Similarly, wage differentials do not just exist as if by some divine law of nature. The higher wages in the developed societies came about precisely because of the impoverishment of the underdeveloped societies. Yet, ironically enough, armed with their metropole-oriented education, and attracted by a) the need for skilled labor in the metropole and b) higher wages, the highly-educated continue to emigrate from the underdeveloped societies thereby leaving them even more impoverished.

Underdevelopment therefore is a vicious circle. And an appreciation of its mechanics has very little to do with whether one has a rationalistic or internationalistic viewpoint. Here again by engaging in a debate of this nature, much of the literature avoids the fundamental issues involved in the problem of the 'brain drain'.

## CHAPTER IV

### WEST INDIAN MIGRATION AND CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICIES

No analysis of the emigration of 'high-level' workers from the West Indies to Canada can be properly undertaken in isolation from the overall emigration of workers, whether "skilled", "semi-skilled", or "unskilled" from the one place to the other. Establishing this sort of connection between the various levels of emigrants is essential not only to a preliminary understanding of the historical dimensions, but also to grasping the contemporary political and economic dynamics, of West Indian emigration to Canada.

Examination of the historical evolution of migration from the West Indies to Canada reveals three outstanding features that are of vital importance to an appreciation of the main thesis of this study.

These features may be identified as follows:

1. Racism in Canadian Immigration Policies: Selection procedures and the West Indian applicant;
2. The use of the West Indies as a source of cheap "low-skilled" labor, and
3. The use of the region as a source of "ready-made skilled" labor.



Combining these three features within a single framework, we shall attempt to illustrate here that Canadian immigration policy has been a major instrument in the exploitation of West Indian immigrants. More precisely, after decades of discriminatory laws and practices against West Indians, these stringent measures were relaxed only when it became possible within Canada to justify such immigration on the basis of its potential for contributing to economic growth within the country.

In other words, very much like the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in the nineteenth century, <sup>(1)</sup> the abolition of overt discrimination against West Indian immigrants to Canada was primarily an act of economic expediency, insofar as the new liberal policies permitted the entry into Canada of large supplies of cheap labor necessary to the expansion of production and the satisfaction of material needs in that country.

#### CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICIES: SELECTION PROCEDURES AND THE WEST INDIAN APPLICANT

It is perhaps instructive for us to begin by briefly outlining certain features of West Indian society that are crucial to an under-

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(1) For an excellent exposition of the role of slavery in the development and expansion of British capitalism see Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery, (London: André Deutsch Limited, 1964).

standing of the main argument being developed in this section of the paper.

The West Indies is used here synonymously with the English-speaking West Indies, sometimes also referred to as the Commonwealth Carribbean. (2) The West Indies we are discussing therefore, is a society that is overwhelmingly Black. Ninety to ninety-five per cent of the people are Black people. By Black, we mean simply that they are either of African or Indian stock, some combination of both, or some combination of anything else, but predominantly African or (East) Indian. Thus, reference here to West Indian immigrants, is, except where otherwise indicated, reference to a society that consists essentially of Black people. (3)

Prior to 1962, emigrants from the West Indies made up a negligible proportion of the heavy post-war influx of immigrants into Canada. The following table shows the volume of West Indian immigration between 1946 and 1962 as well as the volume in the post-1962 period.

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(2) This last term is derived from the islands' membership in the British Commonwealth.

(3) This preliminary observation is important to the extent that a great deal of the discriminatory practices in Canadian immigration policies have been directed against "Negroes" or Blacks who, by association and extension, include West Indians.

TABLE 4-1

IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA FROM THE COMMONWEALTH CARRIBBEAN1946-1974

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NO. COMMONWEALTH CARRIBBEAN</u>	<u>TOTAL IMMIGRATION</u>
1946	420	71,719
1947	404	64,127
1948	391	125,414
1949	384	95,217
1950	399	73,912
1951	66	194,391
1952	717	164,498
1953	916	168,868
1954	849	154,227
1955	793	109,946
1956	1,058	164,857
1957	1,162	282,164
1958	1,192	124,851
1959	1,196	106,928
1960	1,168	104,111
1961	1,126	71,689
1962	1,430	74,386
1963	2,227	93,151
1964	2,199	112,605
1965	3,655	146,758
1966	3,935	194,743
1967	8,403	222,876
1968	7,563	183,974
1969	13,093	161,531
1970	12,456	147,713
1971	10,843	121,900
1972	7,095	122,006
1973	16,848	184,200
1974	18,259	218,465
TOTAL	120,297	4,169,527 (4)

(4) Source: Department of Manpower and Immigration: Immigration Statistics.

Translated in terms of percentages, the above table shows that in 1955, West Indians comprised a mere 0.72% of the total number of immigrants arriving in Canada. By 1965, the proportion had slowly risen to 2.4% and by 1971, it had increased rapidly to 9.9%. In 1969 alone, more West Indian emigrants (13,093) arrived in Canada, than during the years 1954-1962 combined (10,024).

First, we will discuss the reasons behind the low rates of immigration into Canada from the West Indies in the early post-war years, and then proceed to examine briefly the factors contributing to the rapid increases seen in the post-1962 period.

The fundamental reason for the low rates of West Indian immigration into Canada prior to 1962 was, quite simply, the existence of immigration policies which clearly discourages such immigration on the basis of prejudiced ethnic and racial considerations. During the period, Canadian immigration regulations were designed expressly for the purpose of attracting European immigrants. (5)

In a policy statement made to the House of Commons in 1947, McKenzie King, then Prime Minister of Canada, made the point that "the people of Canada" did not wish to make any fundamental alterations in

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(5) See Kari Levitt and A. McIntyre, Canada-West Indies Economic Relations (Montreal: Centre for Developing Area Studies, McGill University, 1967) 91-92.

the character of their population through mass immigration. As if to leave no doubt that he was specifically referring to the ethnic composition of the population, King continued:

"The government is therefore opposed to large scale immigration from the Orient which would give rise to social and economic problems which might lead to serious international difficulties." (6)

While no one is sure of the precise nature of the "problems" and "difficulties" which existed in King's mind with regards to Oriental immigration, the main thrust of his statement has never been in doubt.

Canadian political scientist Freda Hawkins reacts to King's statement in the following manner: Pointing out that in 1947 the Orient (Asia) in the minds of the King government, meant "almost everything in the Eastern Hemisphere outside Europe", she concludes:

"Thus, by excluding Asians and by association and extension, Africans also (except South Africans) Canada was prepared to accept only one kind of immigrant from the eastern hemisphere - the European immigrant." (7)

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(6) House of Commons Debates (1947), 2644.

(7) Freda Hawkins, Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1972) 85.

Subsequent data in this section of the study will illustrate that this policy of exclusive European immigration<sup>(8)</sup>, was applied with equal vigour by Canadian authorities, to the Western hemisphere. As, by extension and association, Africans were discriminated against by being included in the general category called "Orientals", so were West Indian immigrants discriminated against, as we earlier indicated, by being included in the general category of "Negroes".

Another Canadian political scientist, Professor David Corbett, wrote in 1957:

"Canadians whatever may be their general level of prejudice compared with that of other people, seem to show their strongest prejudices against Oriental Immigration and probably also against Negro and Jewish immigration. This is a subject which should be studied systematically in Canada, with detachment and scientific rigour to see how these prejudices are distributed among Canadians." (9)

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(8) In addition to the other evidence that this study will provide, liberal regulations and special incentives, including subsidized transatlantic transportation, aided the flow of European immigrants into the country. The latter convenience (subsidized transportation) was not provided for West Indians, who in any event were allowed to enter only in cases where they were sponsored by close relatives. (See Levitt and McIntyre, op. cit. 92).

(9) Canada's Immigration Policy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957) 31.

In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is perhaps safe to conclude that such prejudices, if not restricted to, are, in any event, largely bred and perpetuated by the ruling classes in Canada. The early post-war immigration policies we have been referring to, provide an excellent example of this.

As early as 1914, in one of the standard voluminous works on Canadian history, one of the authors, commenting on the influx of Black immigrants from the United States in the early post-Confederation years, stated:

"There are few thoughtful Canadians who would care to see the present number (of Blacks) increased by fresh arrivals... At no time has the immigration of this race been encouraged by the government and it must be with regret that the students of the immigration problem view the movement of coloured persons from Oklahoma to the Western provinces which commenced during the year 1911." (10)

It is clear therefore that the patterns of discrimination seen in Canadian post-war immigration policies, rather than sheer accident represented a well-established legacy of the early post-Confederation

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(10) W.D. Scott in Adam Shortt and A.G. Doughty (eds.) Canada and Its Provinces (23 Vols.) (Toronto: Brook and Co., 1914-1917, Vol. 7, Section 4, Part II, p. 531.

years. Even the Immigration Act, as recently as 1952, reflected this legacy.

According to Item 1, Section 61 of the 1947 Act (Section 6 of the Revised Act of 1952), the Governor-General-in-Council (the Cabinet) was permitted to make (and did make) regulations prohibiting the admission of persons by reason of:

1. nationality, citizenship, ethnic group, occupations, geographic area of origin;
2. peculiar customs, habits, modes of life or methods of holding property, as well as
3. unsuitability having regard to the climatic, economic, social, industrial, educational, labour, health or other conditions of requirements existing temporarily or otherwise, in Canada or in the area or country from or through which such persons come to Canada.

The above references to "geographic area of origin", "modes of life" and particularly, "unsuitability having regard to climatic... conditions" were almost direct references to the people of the Black race. The mythical conception of Black people as being biologically ill-equipped to endure the cold Canadian winter was for a long time propagated by the ruling elite in Canada. Commenting on the influx of Blacks from the southern United States between 1851 and 1861, one authoritative source quoted earlier, stated:



"The negro problem which faces the United States, and which Abraham Lincoln said could be settled only by shipping one and all back to a tract of land in Africa, is one in which Canadians have no desire to share. It is to be hoped that climatic conditions will prove unsatisfactory to those new settlers, and that the fertile lands of the West will be left to be cultivated by the white race only." (11)

A letter written in 1952 by the then Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Mr. Harris to Mr. Joseph Noseworthy, CCF MP for York South, provides a fine example of how the ruling elite were able to systematically institutionalize this myth of "the unsuitable negro". The letter deals with the Immigration Department's refusal to admit into Canada a Barbadian woman who was the granddaughter of a Canadian citizen. Pointing out that the applicant did not qualify for admission under the existing regulations, the Minister declared:

"... One of the conditions for admission to Canada is that immigrants should be able to become adapted and integrated into the life of the community within a reasonable time after their entry. In the light of experience, it would be unrealistic to say that immigrants who have spent the greater part of their life in tropical or subtropical countries become readily adapted to the Canadian mode of life which, to no small extent is determined by climatic conditions. It is a matter of record that

natives of such countries are more apt to break down in health than immigrants from countries where the climate is more akin to that of Canada. It is equally true that, generally speaking, persons from tropical or subtropical countries find it more difficult to succeed in the highly competitive Canadian economy." (12)

Note that in the above statement, the Minister claims that the inability of West Indians to adjust to the climatic conditions of Canada is "a matter of record". It is not surprising therefore that the member for York South put questions on the order paper in the House, demanding such evidence from the Immigration Department. In reply however, the Minister could provide no scientific or statistical data to support his argument. (13)

It is particularly interesting to note however, that the Minister concluded by indicating that special consideration would nevertheless be given in cases where the applicant possessed "exceptional qualifications or in cases where refusal would constitute extreme hardship on humanitarian grounds."

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(12) Canada. House of Commons Debates, April 24, 1953, pp. 4351-4352. The letter was read into the official record of the House of Commons Debates by Mr. Noseworthy.

(13) Ibid. p. 4352.

The main argument of this part of the study may be stated as follows: 1) that the relationship between Canada and the West Indies, insofar as immigration is concerned, is characterized by the exploitation of the human resources of the islands in the service of economic "development" in Canada and 2) that the racism operative within earlier Canadian immigration policies makes it very difficult to otherwise account for the presence of large numbers of working West Indians in Canada. The willingness of the authorities in Canada to bend the rules "in cases where the applicant possesses exceptional qualifications" as the Immigration Minister pointed out above, clearly illustrates the preparedness of the ruling class to manipulate and sometimes discard even its strongest-held prejudices in the interest of economic exploitation. Moreover, and perhaps more significantly, the danger of fondling with this type of prejudice, yea institutionalizing it, is that in the course of time, it emerges to assert itself as justification for perpetuating and even intensifying the exploitation of one people by another. To what extent this latter factor has indeed influenced official Canadian attitudes towards immigration from the West Indies, is, at best, quite difficult to determine. It became quite clear however that, to the administration in Canada, West Indian immigration, or more precisely Black immigration into Canada was, after all, not such a bad thing if it meant an inflow of exceptionally qualified individuals to work and contribute to growth in, the various sectors of the expanding economy. (14)

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One final bit of evidence illustrating the distinct anti-Black orientation of Canadian immigration policies up until the mid-nineteen-sixties' comes from the immigration statistics.<sup>(15)</sup> In an earlier study,<sup>(16)</sup> we examined the ethnic composition of the flow of immigrants to Canada from four places with relatively large Black populations - Africa, Brazil, The United States of America, and the West Indies. In examining the statistics, we begin with the assumption, by no means unreasonable, that the ethnic composition of immigrants from these countries, more specifically the proportion of Black immigrants entering Canada from these countries, would bear some fair degree of consistency with the overall ethnic composition of these countries' populations. Moreover, one would be inclined to expect this to be the case, in view of the Canadian authorities' frequent reference to the statistics on immigration from these countries as evidence of the "non-discriminatory, universal" character of its immigration policies.

The results we found were however, simply striking. They may be summed up by stating that at least, until 1965, immigration into Canada of large numbers of people from even Africa or the West Indies

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(15) Ostensibly part of its attempt to liberalize the immigration policies, the Government in 1965 announced that it would cease publication of data showing the ethnic origin of immigrants.

(16) Carlyle Hutchinson, A Study of Canadian Immigration Policy with Particular Reference to the English-Speaking Caribbean (Unpublished Honours Thesis, University of Waterloo, 1975).

(countries with predominantly Black populations), did not mean the immigration into Canada of large numbers of Black people. That is to say, the number of Blacks arriving in Canada over the period 1956-1965 was not at all representative of the proportions which they constitute in the populations of the countries from which they came. (17)

At least 15% of the Brazilian population is Black. Yet, between 1956 and 1965, of the 2,647 Brazilian immigrants entering Canada, none were Black. Of 114,318 arrivals from the United States during this period, a mere 1,640 or 1.4% were Black. In the United States, Black people comprise approximately 11.5% of the entire population. The figures for Africa are even more surprising, of 1,768 arrivals during the period studied, only 22 (1.2%) were Black. Approximately 90% of the West Indian population, as we earlier pointed out, is Black. Yet, in the period 1956-1965, only 6.4% of the immigrants into Canada from this region were Black.

Indeed, of all the above cases, the figures for the West Indies, on the surface, appear most representative and indicative of a non-dis-

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(17) It may be argued that relatively more Whites applied for visas than Blacks in the first place. It is interesting to note however, that the Canadian authorities very frequently use the total statistics from these areas (especially the West Indies) to show that many Blacks are being allowed into Canada. For the meantime, however, we will have to accept the limitations of the data presented here, while the rate of applications among Blacks relative to those of Whites can be determined. As of now, this information is

criminatory policy in Canada. But the West Indian situation is somewhat more complex than the above figures alone can reveal. In the first place, the above figures do not account for the East Indian element in West Indian migration. This element is important not only because we have defined them as Black within the context of this paper, but also because they have an outstanding history of victimization at the hands of Canadian immigration policies. (18)

In the West Indies, the East Indian element accounts for no less than 15% of the entire population, ranging from a low of 1.1% in Jamaica to a high of 52% in Guyana. Yet, we find that people of East Indian stock accounted for only 726 or 4.28% of the total number of West Indian immigrants entering Canada between 1956 and 1965.

Finally, there is another element in the West Indian flow of migrants to Canada which is important here. We have seen that in relative terms, Black people were under-represented, generally, in the flow of migrants during the period 1956-1965. Conversely, European elements in the migrant stream from the West Indies are over-represented in relation to their proportion within the entire West Indian population. Less than 3% of the people of the West Indies are of European

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(18) See Corbett, op. cit. Hawkins, op. cit., or The House of Commons Debates (1908) 6430,6431.

stock. Yet, they account for 13% in 1963 and 10% in 1965 of the total number of West Indian immigrants entering Canada. (19)

So far, we have attempted to indicate that Canadian immigration policies, at least until the mid-nineteen sixties, distinctly discriminated against Black immigration and consequently West Indian immigration. That the existence of such discrimination makes it difficult, if not impossible, to account for the presence of West Indian workers in Canada, in terms other than those of economic expediency on the part of Canadian authorities, the remainder of this chapter will seek to further illustrate.

As a result of changes in the immigration regulations, West Indians, since 1962, have been officially admissible to Canada on the same conditions as Europeans. Through the introduction of Regulation 31, "primary stress was laid on education, training and skills as the main condition of admissibility, regardless of the country of origin... race or colour" of the applicant. (20)

(19) See Canada Year Book, 1957-1958, 168. Of course, the argument could be made that the low rates of immigration into Canada of Blacks from the countries discussed could have been due to several factors totally unrelated to Canada's policies. While, although not yet proven, this may be true, the statistics presented in this study however have the advantage of being consistent with the historical evolution of Canadian immigration policies.

(20) From a statement concerning the new regulations: Hon. Ellen L. Fairclough, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Press Release, January 19, 1962.

It is important to note here that by emphasizing such factors as skill and training, all the new regulations did was to give official status to the Canadian government's old policy of highly selective and economically useful immigration from "less-preferred" areas of the world. Under the guise of liberalising the policies, the new regulations therefore merely set the stage for a new phase of exploitation of coloured labour. (21)

In the ensuing years therefore West Indian immigration into Canada increased at such rapid rates that more than twice as many immigrants (35,000) entered Canada between 1973 and 1974 than in 1946 to 1962 combined.

#### THE OVERALL USE OF THE REGION AS A SOURCE OF CHEAP LABOUR

The increasing volume of immigrants to Canada from the West Indies meant an increasing supply of cheap "unskilled" or "semi-skilled" labour as well as an increasing supply and variety of skilled workers.

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(21) In any event, the new regulations still retained one residual element of discrimination (apart from the fact that there still continued to be more Canadian immigration offices in European countries relative to those in "Third World" countries). This residual element was contained in section 31 (d) which limited the range of relatives that an immigrant from Asia, Africa (except Egypt) and the West Indies might sponsor. This restriction was removed only in 1967. (See Hawkins, op. cit. 125-131).



As indicated earlier, it is simply impossible to grasp the full economic and social implications of the emigration of skilled and professional workers from the West Indies, by treating such emigration as some special phenomenon unrelated to the total mass movement of labour (whether contract labour or "free" skilled labour) from the peripheries to the centres of international capitalism. And it is the complex nature of capitalist underdevelopment that one seeks to lay bare by employing this method of approach and by seeking to emphasize this interrelationship between the various levels of labour. It matters very little whether the worker makes twenty thousand dollars or five thousand; whether he drives to work in the finest vehicular creations of European capitalism, or walks; whether he speaks with a thick Oxford accent or the lingua franca of the Jamaican ghetto: whatever the case, he remains a worker, exploited and woefully enslaved.

#### CONTRACT LABOUR

The contract labour, or guest-worker scheme, as it is sometimes called is one whereby foreign workers are granted temporary work visas to come to Canada for specific time periods to perform jobs for which employers have trouble finding local workers. Generally, as the above description will perhaps indicate, guest workers assume the jobs that local workers refuse to perform either because they are too tough, too dirty, or pay too low. Being able to enjoy a standard of living that places them above the level of such menial tasks, the ruling classes of the metropole play upon the unemployment of the periphery peoples by

holding out before their eyes exploitation money, and asking them to uproot themselves from their home and family to come and fan the fires of economic growth in the metropolises. In this way, the ruling elite are able to continue to sit beside such fires, sipping tea from Sri Lanka and coffee from Africa, sweetened occasionally with West Indian sugar.

The guest-workers scheme is no new phenomenon. In the past, it has served European capitalist economic growth extremely well. There are today about 13 million such workers from the poverty-stricken regions of southern Europe living in the northern part of the continent. (22)

Thanks to the active cooperation of the petty bourgeois leadership in the West Indies, thousands of workers from the area have come to Canada under this scheme called the Canadian Farm and Factory Programme. These movements are in fact governed by agreements between Canada and the governments of Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. Between 1968 and 1971, approximately 2,700 such workers came to Canada from Trinidad and Tobago alone. (23)

In a special publication of the United Church of Canada, the following observations are made in regard to the status of guest workers in Canada:

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(22) Ward, op. cit. 24.

(23) See West Indies and Carribbean Year Book - Trinidad and Tobago

"As in Western Europe, labour legislation in Canada discriminates against guest workers. The latter are in effect denied benefits which the Canadian worker expects. They have no chance for advancement in either wages or skills since they are hired for one job with one rate of pay. Compulsory deductions like Canada Pension and Unemployment Insurance are of little advantage since they are not legally eligible for either. They lack the basic rights of Canadian workers. They may not strike to protest wages or working conditions. They cannot even quit since they would then be subject to almost immediate deportation." (24)

A variant of the guest-workers program is the domestic-workers scheme. In 1955, by agreement with governments of the West Indies, Canada relaxed its stringent immigration regulations to permit the entry of women domestic workers from the West Indies, to work in the homes of Canadian families. Between 1955 and 1965 inclusive, approximately 2,690 women entered Canada under the scheme. (25)

Apart from the disadvantages and limitations similar to those of guest workers from which domestic workers suffer, the program is perhaps best illustrative of what can only be described as the epitome of capitalist exploitation of labour. Drawn away from her own relatives and friends, the worker, lured by promises of a "better life" is transported

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(24) "Work We Will not Do..." United Church Archives, Issue 7, Department of Church in Society, Division of Mission in Canada, of the United Church of Canada.

to a Canadian home. There, she releases both parents (26) from the responsibilities of their home so that they may enter the labour market full time, in order to contribute to economic growth and at the same time, bid for labour prices many times greater than that which they themselves pay the domestic helper.(27)

#### USE OF THE REGION AS A SOURCE OF READY-MADE SKILLED LABOUR

Canadian immigration policy, particularly since the 1940's, has been conspicuously tied to economic growth. In a policy statement issued in 1947 and referred to earlier in this paper, Prime Minister McKenzie King stated:

"The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population by the encouragement of immigration. The government will seek by legislation, regulation and vigorous administration to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such persons as can advantageously be absorbed in our national economy." (28)

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(26) We are of course referring here strictly to nuclear family situations.

(27) In a study focussing on the experiences of the young women, involved in this scheme, Frances Henry, not surprisingly, reports a great deal of loneliness and frustration among the workers. ("The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada", Social and Economic Studies, Mona, Jamaica, 1 (2), 1968, 83-91).

(28) Debates of the House of Commons, 1947, p. 2644.

Once again, in 1966, a White Paper on Immigration reaffirmed this objective with the following statement:

"It is doubtful that we could sustain the high rate of economic growth and associated cultural development which are essential to the maintenance and development of our national identity beside the economic and cultural pulls of our neighbours to the South.. .. We need people who will, by their skill and adaptability, complement, in the most productive way possible, the... workers who are already here." (29)

Apart from the fact that it did reiterate the almost exclusive goal of having immigration contribute to economic growth, what was particularly significant about the White Paper was its emphasis on the need to limit immigration to persons of high skill. (30)

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(29) Canadian Immigration Policy, Ottawa, October 1966, quoted in Levitt and McIntyre, op. cit. 101.

(30) In this study, it is by no means antithetical to our main arguments to accept, as we have done so far, the capitalist notions of "skilled", "semi-skilled" or "unskilled". The notion that increased industrialization requires increased levels of skilled labour is a fallacious obsession of capitalist economists projected almost as a law of nature. It is therefore not surprising to see the Canadian authorities in 1966 calling for increased skills in the service of economic expansion. In capitalist society however, notions of skilled and unskilled are highly misleading, since the more capital-intensive growth takes place, the less important the worker becomes, the less frequent the opportunity for him to use his skills and consequently the less needed they become. Skill requirements are however emphasized so that individuals can spend long years in schools which serve more as custodial institutions, keeping unwanted labour off the labour market. (See Harry Braverman, *Labour and Monopoly Capital* (especially chap. 20 "A Final Note on Skill" 424-450) Monthly Press New York, cont. on 101

Immediately following the White Paper, the Immigration Act was amended, providing for the introduction in 1967, of a points system (31) to ensure that selection criteria be based primarily on the applicants' suitability to the labour market, rather than on national origin, race or any other considerations.

Economic growth in Canada had suddenly dictated that the most important thing about a worker is not the colour of his skin, but his ability to become an instrument of production in the hands of the capitalist. Under the points system, individuals with marketable skills needed in Canada, were given the highest preference. Commenting on the points system and the claim by authorities of its being an instrument for "universalising" the selection process, a United Church Archives editorial concluded that:

"In fact, the points system only established a new method of discrimination, this time biased towards the

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(30) - con't.)

We can also see the consequences of this misconception for the West Indies. Thinking that the training of large numbers of highly skilled and educated people will automatically guarantee economic growth, they (the islands) now have on hand, instead, large numbers of individuals who are largely irrelevant to the needs of the local economy. Ironically enough, many of these emigrate to find that while their skills are of high monetary value, even in the metropolises, science and technology have rendered them of little practical value.

(31) See The Canada Gazette, Part II, vol. 101, No. 17, September 13, 1967, SOR/67/434, pp. 1358-1362.

rich, (32) the educated and the high- (33)  
ly skilled."

At the Canada - Commonwealth Caribbean Conference held in Ottawa in 1966, in an official statement, the Canadian government explained, from their perspective, the reason for the low rates of immigration from the Caribbean relative to other parts of the world. The statement pointed out that Canada was prepared to accept any applicants in the Caribbean who met the 'normal' standards. It stressed however, that the Canadian government did not, up to that time, actively seek to recruit immigrants (like it did in Europe) because it recognizes that "the Commonwealth Caribbean countries must retain their skilled manpower if they are to achieve economic growth." (34)

One year later however, commenting on the characteristics of West Indian immigration into Canada with particular reference to the 1965 statistics, Levitt and McIntyre wrote:

"In fact, it seems that procedures followed in Canadian immigration practices result in the selection of West Indian immigrants who are as a group, more highly qualified than other immi-

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(32) Because the ability of the individual to make some contribution to the economy was of primary importance, wealthy entrepreneurs would therefore receive top priority under the selection procedures.

(33) Op. cit.

(34) and see, op. cit., 93.

grants. This distorted distribution of West Indian immigrants, in terms of skills, is, we suggest, a direct result of Canadian immigration procedures as practised to date. It is thus of rather dubious validity for Canadian authorities to argue against freer West Indian immigration on the grounds that such immigration would rob the region of its skills." (35)

TABLE 4-2

IMMIGRATION TO CANADA BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN  
AND INTENDED OCCUPATION, 1965

<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>PROFESSIONAL</u> (36)	<u>MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL</u> (37)	<u>TOTAL WORKERS</u>
ENGLAND	4,806	3,036	14,836
FRANCE	523	1,013	3,165
GERMANY, WEST	599	2,227	5,165
GREECE	84	1,313	3,262
ITALY	261	3,076	12,135
PORTUGAL	45	567	1,614
WEST INDIES	561	336	2,345 (38)

(35) Levitt and McIntyre, op. cit. 101. A similar conclusion was reached by Professor G.W. Roberts, one of the participants in the 1966 Conference in Ottawa. (See "A Note on Recent Migration From the West Indies to Canada" in West Indies - Canada Economic Relations, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Jamaica 1967.

(36) The Professional category includes such groups as Engineers, Physical Scientists, Biological Scientists, Teachers, Health Professionals, Law Professionals, Musicians, Artists, etc.

(37) The Manufacturing and Mechanical category includes Leather Workers, Tailors and Furriers, Mechanics Repairmen, Machinists, Electrical and Electronic Workers, etc.,

(38) Sources: Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Immigration  
Levitt and McIntyre, op. cit.



In their analysis of the figures presented in the above table Levitt and McIntyre found that the West Indies contributed more professional workers than Italy or Greece or France, despite the fact that the total number of immigrants from each of these countries was greater than that from the West Indies. Further, the West Indies contributed more than twice the number of professionals arriving from Italy, although the total number of workers from Italy was more than five times that from the West Indies. There were more than one thousand immigrant workers from Greece than there were from the West Indies, yet the latter contributed more than six times the number of professionals immigrating from Greece. In the case of France, there were eight hundred more immigrants, but approximately forty fewer professionals, than the West Indies. In short, the ratio of professional to total immigrant workers for the West Indies (25%) was higher than for any major European supplier of immigrants to Canada, except England. (39)

This was in 1965. Since then, the occupational distribution of West Indian immigrants to Canada has remained fundamentally the same.

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(39) Levitt and McIntyre, op. cit. 100.

TABLE 4-3

IMMIGRATION TO CANADA BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN  
AND INTENDED OCCUPATION, 1974

<u>COUNTRY</u>	PROFESSIONAL (40) AND TECHNICAL	<u>TEACHERS</u>	MEDICAL (41) AND HEALTH	<u>TOTAL WORKERS</u>
ENGLAND	2,377	553	1,843	19,705
GERMANY	224	27	95	1,835
ITALY	58	6	20	2,315
PORTUGAL	22	7	12	6,377
JAMAICA	80	23	308	6,311
TRINIDAD & TOBAGO	246	27	97	2,242 (42)

As the above table shows, although there were more workers entering Canada from Italy than from Trinidad and Tobago, there were more than four times as many professional and technical workers among the immigrants from Trinidad and Tobago than there were from Italy. In the case of medical and health personnel, there were almost five times as many workers in this category from Trinidad and Tobago as there were among the workers from Italy.

With less than three times as many workers entering Canada, there were about fifteen times as many workers in the medical and health cate-

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(40) This category includes Physical Scientists, Life Scientists, (Biologists, etc.), Architects and Engineers and Mathematicians, Statisticians, etc.

(41) Includes all forms of health personnel such as Physicians and Surgeons, Nurses, Osteopaths, etc.

(42) Source: Department of Manpower and Immigration, Immigration

gory from Jamaica as there were from Italy. Also, there were almost four times as many workers from Jamaica in this category, as there were from the Federal Republic of Germany, although there were only about three times as many workers altogether from Jamaica as there were from Germany. Finally, it is significant that the ratio of medical and health to total immigrant workers for Jamaica (4%) was higher than for any of the European countries in the table except England (9%).<sup>(43)</sup>

It is also worth noting here that insofar as Canada's immigrant sources are concerned, the West Indies and Britain have one important common characteristic: both peoples speak English, one of the two official languages of Canada. What this means therefore is that Canada not only gains pre-trained skilled workers in large numbers through its heavy reliance on these two major sources, as the foregoing data illustrates. Equally important is the enormous cost-saving involved in not having to provide these immigrants with language training, as would have been necessary had they come from non-English-(or non-French-)speaking European countries.

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(43) Given that since 1962, a fairly large number of West Indians have emigrated to Canada via England (See Roberts, op. cit.), although no exact figures are known, the possibility is firm that many of the skilled or professional people shown in the statistics as British immigrants are in fact originally from the West Indies. Whatever implications this might have for our analysis is however somewhat offset by the fact that many of these West Indians (especially in the cases of nurses and doctors) were trained in Britain.

Using Trinidad and Tobago as an example, the following table illustrates the dimensions, in merely quantitative terms, of the out-flow of "highly-trained" personnel from the West Indies to Canada over the period 1965-1974.

TABLE 4-4

STOCKS (IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO) AND FLOWS (TO CANADA) OF  
PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL MANPOWER, 1965 - 1974

<u>PROFESSION</u>	<u>TOTAL EMIGRATING</u>	<u>NATIONAL SUPPLY</u>
ENGINEERS (a)	99	273 (b)
PHYSICIANS & SURGEONS	187	255 (c)
NURSES	176	1,250 (c)
TEACHERS (d)	792	7,246 (e) (44)

(a) Engineers of all types.

(b) For 1969. Supplied by the Association of Professional Engineers of Trinidad and Tobago.

(c) For 1965, Statistical Year Book, 1968, table 206, p. 701 ff.

(d) Primary And Secondary school teachers.

(e) For 1970.

The preceding table indicates that between 1965 and 1974, Trinidad and Tobago lost, through immigration to Canada, approximately 37% of its 1969 supply of engineers, 72% of its supply of physicians and surgeons, 14% of its 1965 supply of nurses, and about 10% of its 1970

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(44) Sources: Department of Manpower and Immigration (Canada), Immigration Statistics. Unitar. The Brain Drain from 5 Developing Countries. Research Report no. 5, 1971, pp. 140, 146.

supply of teachers. Later in the study, we shall examine the overall impact, including the enormous financial costs involved, of these flows on Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaican society.

It is important to point out moreover, that as far as making up for these losses is concerned, net immigration (excess of immigration over emigration) is by no means a significant contributor, within the context of the islands. (45) As we indicated earlier, skilled and professional workers from outside the region, simply do not go to the West Indies for anything other than a vacation, to attend international conferences, or to conduct experiments of one type or another on the natives. Perhaps the only exception here are technicians working with international agencies such as the United Nations. These usually stay in the islands for periods of one year or less, ironically enough, providing 'expertise' which the West Indies either supply to the metropolises each year through non-returning students, or is simply unable to acquire for itself because of the rigid international distribution of science and technology.

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(45) See for example, Trinidad and Tobago Central Statistical Office Monthly Travel Report. See also, The Emigration of Professional, Supervisory, Middle Level and Skilled Manpower from Trinidad and Tobago, 1962-1968. Port of Spain: Central Statistical Office, 1970 p. 12.

## STUDENT EMIGRATION

The emigration of students seeking higher education is another important aspect of the outflow of high level manpower from the West Indies to Canada. The proportion of students who never return, of those going abroad for higher education, is a rather important question.

In the case of Trinidad and Tobago, in 1971, there were 2,000 students reportedly studying in universities and other similar institutions outside the Carriibbean. About 10% of these (226) were students in the United Kingdom; about 25% (551) were in the United States of America; while the largest proportion (45% or about 722) were in Canadian institutions. (46)

About 50% of these students are said to be pursuing courses in the arts and social sciences. The UNITAR Report cited below however indicates that in recent years, there has been a growing shift to courses in engineering and natural sciences. (47)

Students studying abroad may be divided into two main categories:

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(46) UNITAR Report no. 5 (1971), 44.

- 1) those sponsored by the Government and
- 2) those privately pursuing their studies.

According to the UNITAR Report, it would appear that government-sponsored students generally return to the country. (48)

As far as the position with private students is concerned, this is somewhat more difficult to determine. The authors of the UNITAR Report concluded however that available evidence indicates a large proportion of non-returnees among this group.

In order to establish some order of magnitude for non-return students, UNITAR researchers conducted interviews in Trinidad and Tobago as well as in Toronto with educationists, returning graduates, officials, parents and students. The results of the interviews were reported as follows:

- a) Non-return ratios in excess of 30% were generally accepted; some groups put the figure higher than 50% and some of the parents set an even higher non-return ratio;
- b) The prolongation of the stay abroad by students, although in many instances related to further education, does not give any grounds for expecting eventual return; in fact, the longer the stay abroad the smaller the probability of returning;

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(48) UNITAR Report no. 5 (1971), 45.

- c) These students constitute a most potent force attracting new emigrants to join them, because of the income which they will earn in their adopted country; this reinforces the exodus;
- d) The non-return of students is a most important aspect of the outflow of trained personnel, because of the numbers and quality of the personnel involved; also because their presence abroad will exert a continuing pull effect on their friends and relatives at home;
- e) The number of students not returning is increasing and is expected to continue to do so.

Finally, the report observed that the incidence of students studying abroad and not returning (to Trinidad and Tobago) is higher than among those who graduated locally. The figures are: between 30% and 40%; and 20% respectively. (49)

#### SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have attempted to make the point that the emigration of high level manpower from Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica to Canada, is subjected to essentially the same factors and considerations as the emigration of workers of all other levels of skill, the



principal factor being the demand for cheap labour, whether untrained, semi-trained or completely pre-trained, to turn the wheels of capitalist economic growth in the Canadian metropole.

In addition, we have endeavoured to illustrate how, (as in the case of Canadian immigration policies) in the mad rush for economic growth, profits and super-profits, the capitalist ruling class, well-attended by the petty-bourgeois leadership class, is quite prepared to subject everything possible, including their long held prejudices, racial or otherwise, to the dictates of increasing production. We should therefore be careful not to interpret the opening in Canada of immigration opportunities to Black people, whether from Africa, the United States or the West Indies, as acts of humanitarianism in the strictest sense, or even as an expression of political weakness. The subjugation of ruling class prejudices to the demands of production is however never a complete process. In other words, these prejudices are stifled only insofar as it is necessary to do so in order to enhance production. For this reason, one should guard against the naïveté of expecting, under normal circumstances, massive influxes of black immigrants into Canada. As soon as production processes no longer require it, immigration into Canada of these elements will be the first to be decreased by the Canadian authorities. This brings us to an important observation regarding the unreliable nature of emigration as a solution to the socio-economic ills of the West Indies.

As Anthony Ward<sup>(50)</sup> observed, like other exploitative aspects of capitalist society, the migratory labour system comes complete with a sustaining myth, which reinterprets the exploitation we have been discussing in 'euphemistic bourgeois-liberal terms', as development. This myth of development claims in essence, that through the exportation of their workers, certain countries impoverished by unfortunate accidents of history, are offered the opportunity of relieving their overpopulation and releasing some of their citizens from grinding poverty, providing them also with the chance to go abroad and acquire new skills and return one day to their home country. Moreover, while these workers are abroad, they would be in a position to make remittances to the home country which could use these payments to inject some life into the local economy.

Later in the study, we shall examine in greater detail the supposed benefits of emigration to Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. For the moment, however, a brief comment on this question will suffice. The thrust of the comment is best summed up in the following statement:

"All authorities seem to agree that the principal reason most workers migrate is that they have little immediate choice if they want to eat. (51) In this sense, and in this sense only, the system of migratory labor fulfills its

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(50) Op. cit. 25.

(51) This reference here of course is to mainly 'unskilled' and 'semi-skilled' workers.

claims; it permits people to live...  
 It is this fundamental fact, and  
 none of the other presumed benefits  
 of migration which motivates millions  
 of workers to disrupt their home and  
 family life to spend years in foreign  
 and unpleasant climates, among people  
 ... who treat them with coldness or  
 hostility." (52)

It is precisely for these economic reasons, related to sheer human survival, that West Indians flocked to Canada after 1962 to work on the farms and in the factories of Canadian employers. The professional and the skilled, on their behalf, were motivated by somewhat different factors such as the desire to improve their earnings. Some of them, no doubt, didn't even know why they were emigrating. In any event, they too emigrated and left behind them the deteriorating social and economic conditions. The irony of the situation, however, was that, according to the bourgeois-liberal myth of development, the departure of the migrants from the islands would contribute to curing the social and economic ills existing within these societies. How a country can experience genuine development without access to its most important resources - its people - can be explained only by the elusive logic of bourgeois democratic economic theory!

The exportation of human resources from the West Indies has led

only to aggravation of the economic and social conditions in the region. To argue that the social and economic conditions signal the need for keeping open immigration opportunities, is to misunderstand the nature of underdevelopment. Rather than a solution, emigration, as well as the overall poor social and economic conditions, are merely symptoms of one and the same exploitative process which rob the islands of their ability to internally generate economic growth and development. It is this circular nature, this almost unbroken continuity between cause and effect operative within the underdevelopment process, that leads the superficial observer to serious misconceptions in regard to what is cause and what is effect in this entire process. Any careful scrutiny of the West Indian experience however will reveal that what is supposed by some to be confusing, emerges with crystal-like clarity pointing to underdevelopment and its concomitant exploitation of the natural, human and physical resources of the region as the single factor most responsible for the social and economic dilemma in which the West Indies today find themselves.

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## CHAPTER V

### SOME CONSEQUENCES OF THE BRAIN DRAIN

This section of the study will examine in more specific terms some of the social and economic consequences of the large-scale migration of 'skilled' and professional workers for both the sending and receiving countries. Before discussing these consequences in any detail, however, a few preliminary remarks are necessary.

First, this thesis does not argue that international migration per se, is an evil phenomenon. It is difficult to imagine anything wrong with migration which takes place between two countries with fairly similar levels of development, scientific, technological or otherwise, and which proceeds on the basis of a fair and equal transfer of scientists and educators between the countries. Moreover, it is perhaps even desirable to see such migration proceeding from the advanced countries to the underdeveloped ones for the purpose of assisting, rather than directing, the development process in the latter. Our concern here with migration between the West Indies and Canada is precisely because none of the above conditions attend the flow of workers between the two places. In other words, the concern here is based on the fact that such migration represents, for all intents and purposes, the uncompensated, one directional flow of talents and skills from one place, socially

and economically deprived, to another, socially and economically well-advanced, and from one place with low levels of science and technology, to another, well-advanced in these respects. When we discuss the consequences of migration therefore, it is not to examine merely the advantages or disadvantages of emigration or immigration per se, but to examine the implications thereof within the context of the total economic, political and social framework of the societies concerned.

Secondly, we have outlined at the outset of this study very specific notions of what development should entail, and it is largely within this context that our examination of the consequences of emigration for the West Indies will proceed. It is important to point out therefore that to assume that "high level" emigration is harmful to, or undesirable for, the West Indies, does not mean that the cessation of such emigration will necessarily result in the kinds of social and economic transformation implicit in our notions of development. In order to make the latter assumption, one must assume that, apart from emigration, all other things are equal insofar as the overall economic and political superstructure in the West Indies is concerned. But as we have attempted to illustrate in this study, all other things are not equal in the West Indies. What this means simply, is that there are other things even more fundamental than emigration, that are wrong with the West Indian political and economic superstructure. The fact is therefore that the capacity of skilled and professional people to contribute to genuine development in the West Indies is greatly limited by the very exis-

tence of these other obstacles in the islands' political and economic superstructures.

If for example, all the Jamaican and Trinidad and Tobago doctors decided to return to the West Indies from Canada, people in the rural areas of these islands will still probably experience great difficulty in gaining access to medical treatment. This can happen so long as the returned doctors continue to be guided by superficial liberal democratic notions of individual freedom. These notions may include such things as the freedom to work where one wishes, or more precisely, where one can find great social prestige (which is usually in the city); or the freedom to sell one's labor to the highest bidder (who again is usually the wealthy urbanite).

The problems associated with the shortage of high level manpower will not be solved therefore by simply having large numbers of skilled workers return to the islands. For one thing, the entire value systems of the islands will have to be transformed before such workers can contribute meaningfully to economic and social change.

The need for such change is obvious. One has only to look at the financial costs to West Indian societies of high level emigration. Such emigration may be viewed as a transfer of educational investment originally intended to contribute to the welfare of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. These islands lose the potential benefits of their investments not only for a given year, but conceivably for the entire produc-

tive life of the individual. The following tables provide an indication of the short run financial losses involved in the emigration of high level manpower. These losses represent, further, the costs to these underdeveloped societies of subsidizing the growth of the developed economies.

### FINANCIAL COSTS

TABLE 5-1

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO: TOTAL COSTS PER  
PLACE, INCLUDING PRIMARY, SECONDARY AND POST-  
SECONDARY TRAINING, ACCORDING TO FIELD OF STUDY

<u>FIELD OF STUDY</u>	<u>TOTAL COSTS</u>
NURSING (3 Years)	\$ 6,800.00
TEACHING (2 Years)	\$ 6,000.00
ARTS (3 Years)	\$ 10,200.00
SCIENCE (3 Years)	\$ 10,200.00
AGRICULTURE (3 Years)	\$ 14,550.00
ENGINEERING (3 Years)	\$ 11,350.00
MEDICINE (5 Years)	\$ 31,100.00 (1)

As indicated in the foregoing chapter, there were approximately 176 nurses, 792 teachers, 99 engineers and 187 physicians and surgeons emigrating from Trinidad and Tobago to Canada between 1965 and 1974 inclusive. Using these figures along with the data in the above

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(1) Sources: UNITAR RESEARCH REPORT No. 5, op. cit., Table 9, p. 150. The figures are based on current 1968 costs. They were calculated from government estimates of expenditure.



table we can now construct the following table showing the costs embodied in this flow of workers from the West Indies to Canada over the entire period.

TABLE 5-2

TOTAL COSTS OF TRAINING HIGH LEVEL EMIGRANTS FROM  
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO TO CANADA, 1965-1974

<u>FIELD OF STUDY</u>	<u>COSTS OF TRAINING</u>	<u>NUMBER EMIGRATING</u>	<u>TOTAL COSTS INVOLVED</u>
NURSING	\$ 6,800	176	\$ 1,196,800
TEACHING	\$ 6,000	792	\$ 4,752,000
ENGINEERING	\$ 11,350	99	\$ 1,123,650
MEDICINE	\$ 31,100	187	\$ 5,815,700
T O T A L : . . .			\$ 12,888,150 (2)

The costs shown in the above table together represent an average annual outflow of almost \$1.2 million. For Jamaica, the figures are equally astonishing. With 649 nurses, 330 teachers, 110 engineers and 176 physicians and surgeons emigrating from Jamaica to Canada over the period, based on an estimated average cost of J\$4,481 (3), the

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(2) Sources: Unitar Research Report No. 5, op. cit. Table 9, p. 150  
Canada Department of Manpower and Immigration. Immigration Statistics.

(3) The above estimate was calculated by R.K. Girling: ("The Migration of Human Capital from the Third World: The Implications and some data on the Jamaican Case", Social and Economic Studies (23) March 1974). It is based on the costs borne within Jamaica of eight years of primary schooling, five years of secondary schooling and two to five years of post secondary education. Recurrent costs of primary education are about J\$32 per year (per person) and secondary schooling is about

total value of the outflow will be approximately J\$5,668,465.

Immigration authorities in Canada have estimated the value of different types of skills immigrating to Canada according to the education required to obtain that skill. The following table gives a breakdown of the estimates according to occupational groups.

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(3) con't.

J\$160 per year. (Central Planning Unit, Government of Jamaica, Second Five Year Plan, Unpublished Document). Post-secondary costs vary from J\$800 for technicians to J\$2,600 for doctors per annum. A weighted average, using the occupational composition of the emigrants, gave an estimate of J\$2,610 for post-secondary schooling. Capital costs were calculated on an annual basis, using a 7% discount rate. This came to J\$815 for an average 16-year education. (For further details on how the \$815 capital cost was calculated, see Girling, op. cit., p. 94 ff). On this basis, the overall undiscounted cost of training and educating each technical and professional emigrant is J\$4,481. The estimates, Girling notes, are based on current costs. Thus, the overall estimate will fall somewhere in between historical costs and replacement costs.

TABLE 5-3

EDUCATIONAL VALUE TO CANADA<sup>1</sup> FOR EACH IMMIGRANT IN 1968  
(CANADIAN DOLLARS)

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<u>IMMIGRATION CATEGORY</u>	<u>VALUE</u>
MANAGERIAL	14,544
PROFESSIONAL & TECHNICAL	14,544
CLERICAL	6,144
COMMERCIAL & FINANCIAL	6,144
SERVICE & RECREATION	5,120
TRANSPORTATION & COMMUNICATION	4,096
LABOURER	4,096
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<u>LEVEL OF EDUCATION</u>	<u>VALUE</u>
UNIVERSITY GRADUATE	14,544
GRADE 12 (matriculation)	6,144
GRADE 10	5,120
GRADE 8 (primary school)	4,096 (4)

Based on the above estimates, we can make the following calculations. Between 1965 and 1974 inclusive, there was an outflow of \$67.4 million approximately (in Canadian dollars, based on 1968 prices)

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(4) Sources: Buffenmyer, op. cit., Table 25, p. 148. Direct Information from Government of Canada, Canadian Immigration Visa Section, Canadian Embassy, Kingston, Jamaica.

from Jamaica to Canada. (5) This figure represents the educational value to Canada of all the managerial, professional and technical workers immigrating into the country from Jamaica over this period.

Based on an annual average emigration of 352 workers in these categories over the same decade (1965-1974) (6), the total outflow from Trinidad and Tobago to Canada was approximately \$51.2 million (again, Canadian dollars, based on 1968 prices).

These figures do not even include the educational costs of the emigrants in the middle and lower occupational categories, such as clerical, or service and recreation workers.

Moreover, the \$14,544 educational cost per immigrant estimated by the Canadian authorities, does not cover the total investment saved by Canada. For example, it does not include the opportunity cost of this educational investment; nor does it include the costs of preparing an individual to be productive in his or her society. Such costs

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(5) This figure is based also on information provided in the Canadian Immigration Statistics for the period showing an average annual emigration of 464 workers in this category from Jamaica.

(6) Government of Canada. Department of Manpower and Immigration. Immigration Statistics, 1965-1974.

would involve factors such as maintenance, health care and other social services. In fact, Buffenmyer estimated <sup>(7)</sup> that the cost of rearing and educating a university graduate in the United States (including the opportunity cost of the investment) could be conservatively placed at U.S.\$43,000. This figure is almost three times as great as the educational expenditures involved.

Based on this figure then, we may construct a new table indicating the approximate overall value to Canada (including the costs of rearing and educating) of managerial, professional, and technical migrants from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

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(7) Op. cit. pp. 148, 149.

TABLE 5-4

EDUCATIONAL COSTS SAVED BY CANADA FOR ALL IMMIGRANTS  
IN THE PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL AND MANAGERIAL CATEGORIES  
FROM JAMAICA AND TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, 1965-1974  
(IN CANADIAN DOLLARS AT 1968 PRICES)

<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>AVERAGE ANNUAL NO. OF IMMIGRANTS</u>	<u>NO. OF YEARS</u>	<u>COSTS SAVED WITH EACH IMMIGRANT</u>	<u>TOTAL VALUE</u>
JAMAICA	464	10	\$ 43,000	\$ 199,520,000
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	352	10	\$ 43,000	\$ 151,360,000 (8)

Of course, the above calculations for both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago must be taken with the qualification that the entire cost of education is not always borne by the governments. In the first place, it should be noted that at each level there are private tuition charges. A possible offsetting influence moreover, is the fact that students sometimes receive their training (primarily post-secondary) abroad, and return to the West Indies. However, since, as we pointed out in Chapter III, the students most likely to return are the ones sent abroad on West Indian governments' scholarships in the first instance, the influence of this factor must not be overplayed. In any event, even if one excludes the costs of post-secondary education, the amounts involved in the flow are still quite substantial, although some 50% less

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(8) Sources: Canada Department of Manpower and Immigration. Immigration Statistics, 1965-1974, Buffenmyer, pp. 148, 149.

than the above costs. (9)

### SOCIAL COSTS

The social repercussions of the emigration of 'high level' manpower cannot be properly understood unless it is viewed in conjunction with the social consequences of other aspects of the underdevelopment of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

For example, the existence of overcrowded classrooms with insufficient supplies of teachers may be linked with the large scale

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- (9) Through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) Canada has in the past provided "technical assistance" to the West Indies. The technical assistance programme has made available, either directly to the governments or to institutions such as the University of the West Indies (U.W.I.), trained personnel to serve in an advisory or teaching capacity. In 1969/1970, for example, through the programme, 19 professors were made available to nine faculties of the University of the West Indies. In addition, 130 scholarships at U.W.I. and 28 post-graduate scholarships and 5 senior staff fellowships in Canada were made available. Total cost of the assistance was C\$620,000. Even in mere financial terms, this sum fails to measure up to the large amounts involved in the emigration of 'high-level' manpower from the West Indies. More significant however, is the fact that all of the 19 professors were Canadian and all 33 of the post-graduate scholarships and senior staff fellowships were obtainable only in Canada. Not only does this arrangement pre-determine where and how West Indians are educated, but, rather than contribute to the development of an indigeneous university system, responding to, and based primarily on the needs of the West Indian community, it merely perpetuates the region's dependence upon Canadian School-buildings and Canadian technology. But such is the nature of aid from the advanced capitalist countries to the underdeveloped societies. For an excellent dissertation on how aid promotes dependence and dominance, see Teresa Hayter, Aid as Imperialism, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972.

emigration of teachers to Canada over the last decade as much as it may be linked with a teacher-training system in the islands that prepares them for national service. The same may be said of engineers, doctors (i.e. physicians and surgeons) and nurses. Further, it should be noted that alterations in the type of training which many of these people receive, could well lead to cost savings, thereby releasing a great deal of funds to be spent on training larger numbers of people in a more relevant, less sophisticated manner. To return to our earlier example, a great deal of costs could be cut if, in the area of medical training, doctors are prepared to meet the particular needs of the West Indies instead of being trained almost exclusively in the use of sophisticated equipment and techniques which prepares them for work in the metropolises.

Thus, within the West Indian context, the apparent shortage of personnel in certain key areas, is a shortage due, only in part, to the emigration of such personnel. That these shortages however, have serious social consequences for the islands, is most conspicuously manifested in the general area of health care.

The statistics presented in Chapter I comparing the physician/population ratio of Canada with those of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, are, in a sense, an understatement of the true health care conditions that exist in these two Caribbean societies. In order to grasp the gravity of the situation, one has to visit the public hospitals, particularly the ones in the larger urban areas where growing popula-



tion pressures tend to aggravate the health personnel/patient ratios, as well as the quality of service delivered.(10)

The problem of health personnel is not only one of supply, but also of distribution. Thus, while there is an absolute shortage of such personnel, the few who are there, are, in addition, poorly distributed throughout the islands.

In Trinidad and Tobago, for example, three-quarters of the public sector physicians, and most of those in the private sector are located in greater Port of Spain, the capital city, and greater

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- (10) One has also to visit the Health Offices, as they are called in Trinidad and Tobago. These are auxiliary health centres which deal primarily with out-patient treatment, pre-natal maternal care and counselling, and dental care. They are usually operated on a skeleton staff consisting of an attending physician, a dentist, a nurse, a pharmacist and a clerk. While on a recent visit to the West Indies, the author was able to talk with persons who had waited as long as four hours to see the physician in Kingston, St. Vincent, and in Port of Spain, Trinidad. Even in spite of occasional late arrivals and early departures of the attending physician, as well as insufficient time spent with patients, the quality of services in the urban areas are, in a sense, superior to those of the rural areas where, in the first place, physicians are in attendance less frequently during the average week. The Emergency Departments of the General Hospitals operate on anything but an emergency basis. Overworked doctors try to "split" themselves between many patients while waiting for medical attention in the Emergency Departments of the major hospitals in Kingston, Jamaica and Port of Spain, Trinidad in particular.

San Fernando, the second major city, which have a combined total of approximately half of the country's population. (11)

Although the Trinidad and Tobago government was able to recruit 75 doctors between 1966 and 1968, 46 others resigned (not including retirements). Many of those who resigned did so in order to emigrate. (12) In 1971, two-fifths of government medical posts in Trinidad and Tobago were said to be vacant. Moreover, dependence upon doctors, ironically enough, recruited from Asian countries such as the Philippines, India or South Korea, has been increasing. (13)

Gish also points out that emigration of doctors in the private sector tends to lead to repercussions in the public sector from which doctors resign to fill the places in private practise made vacant by those who emigrated. On the other hand, the threat of resignation in order to emigrate, by those staying on in the public sector, is forcing the government to tolerate rather serious distortions and limitations

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(11) Oscar Gish, Doctor Migration and World Health: The Impact of the International Demand for Doctors on Health Services in Developing Countries, Occasional Papers on Social Administration, No. 43 (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1971) 112.

(12) Ibid, 113.

(13) Ibid, 113, 114.

in the overall health delivery system. For example, in principle, the British system of consultants being the only recognized specialists, still exists in Trinidad and Tobago. In practise however, several junior hospital doctors are being allowed private consultancy practise under threat of resignation from the public health services. (14)

Finally, Gish observed that in 1971 there was beginning to emerge in Trinidad and Tobago, a common abuse of mixed public and private practise. He noted that it was not as prevalent however, as in Jamaica where private doctors with or without specialist qualifications are commonly granted the right to private consultancy practise. (15)

To summarize what has been said so far: The large scale emigration of high level manpower does indeed have multiple distorting effects on the well-being of Jamaican and Trinidad and Tobago societies. We have attempted to provide what is in fact merely an overview of these distortions. In the particular context of the medical profession, we have tried to illustrate how these ill-effects operate to interfere with the quality and quantity of health care delivered in the islands.

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(14) Gish, p. 114.

(15) Ibid.

## SOME ECONOMIC EFFECTS: JAMAICA

Available evidence indicates that the shortage of high level manpower has in fact been hurting the islands' economies in rather specific ways. For example, a report prepared for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development shows that a major cause of the slow economic growth in Jamaica may be related to a) a failure of the public sector to plan and carry out crucial infrastructure investment or b) the failure of that sector to make the necessary policy decisions to cause such investments to be carried out. (16)

Thus, the report<sup>\*</sup> went on to state:

"These phenomena all suggested a substantial lack of requisite skilled manpower in the public sector for the preparation and implementation of infrastructure projects. To be more specific, the public sector was, and still is, in great need of individuals who are skilled in decision-making and implementation." (17)

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- (16) Nicholas Y. Carter, Notes on a Macco-Economic Model Used to Project the Possible Performance of the Jamaican Economy, 1968-1973, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Economics Department Working Paper No. 50, Oct. 31, 1969, p. 5.
- (17) Carter, p. 5. The shortages in infrastructure all in regard to such utilities as roads, water and power, which, according to Carter, acted as major growth constraints.

Assuming the availability of an adequate supply of skilled and creative manpower to plan and execute the project, the study illustrates how, with the appropriate infrastructure investments, the Jamaican economy could improve its performance. (18)

The report therefore concludes that:

"The lack of sufficient social overhead investments, e.g. in roads, power and water, will prevent the attainment of the high rate of growth of which Jamaica is capable. This will have a marked effect on the path of the economy. For example, for lack of (infrastructure) a lot of planned investment will never materialize. Furthermore, continual shortages will discourage tourists from coming and will keep hoteliers from expanding. Finally, the amount of investment necessary for a given output will rise as investors are forced to invest in the lacking infrastructure themselves, as these lacks cause delays and increased costs." (19)

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(18) For a detailed outline of the methodology used, see Carter, pp. 8-20.

(19) Carter, pp. 21,22. The public sector in Trinidad and Tobago is much more prestigious as a place to work than it is in Jamaica. This prestige is however derived merely from the personal benefits (such as job security) which one enjoys by working therein, rather than from any public attributes (such as efficiency) of the sector. In fact, the level of efficiency is notoriously low in this sector and partly for this reason, it has great difficulty in keeping highly qualified skilled personnel. Thus, similar problems as in the case of Jamaica, are likely to emerge in the area of social overhead investments.

Of course, the Carter study is not informed by the same notions of development as is this thesis. We cited the study here however because it makes at least two important contributions. First, it indicates in rather specific terms some of the limiting effects that the shortage of high level manpower has had on the Jamaican economy. Secondly, it illustrates the urgency of the need to effect fundamental social and economic changes in Jamaica in order that the economy might realize its fullest potential.

The report points out that there is also a skill shortage in the private sector, but that is based more on a need for technical skills. Moreover, the shortage here is much less intense than in the public sector. (20)

In the overall shortage therefore, the public sector is hardest hit. Moreover, its ability to compete is affected by a lower degree of flexibility than the private sector in regard to salaries, as well as by "a much greater lack of perceived opportunity for skilled administrators" in the public sector.

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(20) As the report points out, Jamaica is not typical of most underdeveloped countries insofar as the employment structure is concerned. In most of these countries, the prestige and the good salaries are usually found in the public sector, while shortages of skills are found in the private sector. In Jamaica, the reverse appears to be the case. (Carter, op. cit., 5).

Whatever official data exists in Jamaica also tends to indicate the serious shortage of skilled personnel. According to the second 5-year Development Plan, the occupational distribution of the classifiable labor force shows that in regard to professionals of all types, there was a decline in the supply to 5% from 5.9% between 1960 and 1967, and a further decline to 4.7% by 1968.

For craftsmen and other skilled people, there was a decline from 22.6% in 1960 to 17.9% in 1967, before an increase to 30.5% was seen in 1968. (21)

Clearly, there have been some rather large decreases in the supply of high level manpower in Jamaica especially since 1960. What however is even more perplexing to Jamaican planners is that the current situation as well as the possibilities for the future appear equally discouraging.

Table 8 shows the type of projections regarding high level manpower supply made in the development plan in 1970.

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(21) Jamaica. Second Five-Year Plan, 1970-1975, Vol II, Part III, Section A. 3, p. 8.

TABLE 5-5MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS, (22) JAMAICA, 1975

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>1975 SUPPLY</u>	<u>1975 DEMAND</u>	<u>SURPLUS OR DEFICIT</u>
PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL & KINDRED	26,830	34,170	- 7,340
MANAGERIAL (23)	16,600	18,970	- 2,370
CRAFTSMEN	25,510	39,150	- 113,640
OTHER SKILLED	63,230	81,670	- 18,440 (24)

As serious as the shortages in Table 8 might appear, it should be pointed out that the estimates did not even take into account an unanticipated drastic change in the political affairs of Jamaica which was epitomized in May 1976 by the imposition of a series of curfews on metropolitan Kingston, due to increasing violence in the area.

One of the features of the unstable political situation, though not yet fully documented, has been the flight in reasonably large numbers,

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(22) Manpower requirements as defined in the Plan, refers to the number of people required by sectoral expansion in real terms, and assumptions regarding productivity of labour and occupational mix in each sector. Employment of foreigners where manpower requirements exceeds base year or the projected labour force, is not counted as employment of Jamaican residents.

(23) In 1974 alone, 261 entrepreneurs and 135 managerial and administrative personnel emigrated to Canada from Jamaica (Immigration Statistics, 1974).

(24) Source: Second Five-Year Plan, 1970-1975, Part III, Section A.3, p. 3.



of middle class Jamaican as well as expatriate professionals. (25)

SOME ECONOMIC EFFECTS: TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

In the absence of sound detailed manpower programmes and policies in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, it is difficult even for the governments of these countries to sensibly assess the impact of emigration on long term social and economic programmes. This is not surprising. At the end of 1967, total external debt of the Commonwealth Caribbean was estimated at nearly \$3 billion, or approximately 93% of the Gross Domestic Product of the area. Of this amount, about \$2.5 billion represented the book value of foreign direct investment. (26) In the Commonwealth Caribbean, the major sectors of the economy are so much under foreign ownership and control that some people even query whether it can be viewed as an economy in its own right. (27)

(25) The author who was in Kingston until the day prior to the first curfew, had the opportunity of speaking with several such persons who either had friends that had already left, or were in the process of leaving, or were themselves contemplating emigration.

(26) Alister McIntyre, "Reflections on the Problem of Unemployment in the Commonwealth Caribbean" in The Commonwealth Caribbean Into the Seventies, ed. A.W. Singham, Occasional Paper Series No. 10, Centre for Developing-Area Studies, McGill University, Montreal, 1975, p. 5, 6. As McIntyre points out, translated in terms of its market value, the foreign direct investment figure could be as much as \$5 billion (U.S.).

(27) Between 1960 and 1971 in both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, consumption expenditure as a proportion of GDP rose from 83% to 87% and 66% to 81% respectively. This meant an increasing reliance on external sources of financing capital formation, in view of the weakening savings effort. For the same years (1960, 1971) external financing as a proportion of GDP rose - con't on p. 137

This is why Frantz Fanon's observation regarding the petty bourgeois leadership, within the context of the Commonwealth Caribbean, is as valid today as it was two decades ago. According to Fanon,

"The objective of (the petty bourgeois-led) nationalist parties as from a certain given period (between colonialism and independence) is strictly national. They mobilize the people with slogans of independence, and for the rest leave it to future events. When such parties are questioned on the economic program of the state that they are clamouring for, or on the nature of the regime which they propose to install, they are incapable of replying, because, precisely, they are completely ignorant of the economy of their own country. This economy has always developed outside the limits of their knowledge. They have little more than an approximate, bookish acquaintance with the actual and potential resources of their country's soil and mineral deposits; and therefore they can only speak of these resources on a general and abstract plane." (28)

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(27) con't.

from 2% to 19.4% for Jamaica and 7.2% to 14.5% for Trinidad and Tobago (McIntyre, op. cit. 5).

(28) The Wretched of the Earth (Translated by Constance Farrington)  
New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1968, 150-151.

With such limited knowledge of and control over the natural and physical resources on the part of the local governments, it is not surprising therefore that there is such a marked absence of manpower planning in either Jamaica or Trinidad and Tobago. Thus, the governments find themselves providing fragments of information based as much on speculation as on fact. (29)

The net result therefore is that it makes it rather difficult for one to assess in any precise manner, the social (and economic) manpower needs, especially insofar as certain occupations such as engineering, are concerned. Apart from the fact that the Trinidad and Tobago government, for example, has no official up-to-date records (30) of the exact number of engineers in the country (many of whom work in the private sector) or the number of each type of engineer (e.g. civil, mechanical, etc.), the government really doesn't know how many such persons are needed in the country since the question of need is largely determined by the private sector, and at any rate, in such a manner as to maximize profits rather than the social well-being of the people of Trinidad and Tobago.

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(29) A similar difficulty appears in the study of the problem of unemployment in the Commonwealth Caribbean as a whole. See McIntyre pp. 2-15.

(30) That is, of course, apart from the census data, the latest of which applies to 1970.

The UNITAR study cited earlier however tends to indicate, on the basis of the bits of information the researchers were able to gather, that there are indeed shortages of certain skilled personnel, and that these shortages do have social and economic effects of an adverse nature.

In regard to the private sector in particular, the report points out that even after discounting the presence of foreign capital, which is usually accompanied by a supply of managerial staff from abroad, it appears that the shortage of suitable personnel is the only satisfactory explanation for the fact that approximately 450 foreigners were employed in the private sector in Trinidad and Tobago during 1968. (31)

As proof "that the existing occupational structure does not reflect the combination of skills which employees really require for efficient operations", the Report cites a number of make-shift solutions which employers adopt, faced with the shortages of staff. For example, some firms, particularly in publicity and accounting, (32) contract out functions for which no staff is available. In other instances, some companies shift around their available employees, a pro-

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(31) Op. cit. 49.

(32) In 1974 alone, about 2% of the local supply of personnel in these fields emigrated to Canada (Canada: Immigration Statistics 1974).

cess which as the Report indicates, may result in a number of "square pegs in round holes". In yet other cases, labor is replaced by machines.<sup>(33)</sup>

The Report cites estimates that in 1971 there was a gap of 7,600 "supervisory workers" (40% of the 1968 supply) and 6,600 "technicians" and "craftsmen" (11% of the 1968 supply). This situation is said to be regarded by employers as a serious shortage.<sup>(34)</sup> In 1968, in the central government administration, 2,100 or 16% of the professional and technical posts were unfilled. The vacancies were said to be especially pronounced in the medical, engineering and agricultural fields. <sup>(35)</sup>

(33) Op. cit., 49.

(34) Ibid, 50.

(35) Ibid. The emigration of agriculturalists is a classic illustration of the circular nature of underdevelopment, and particularly, the extent to which the organization of the local West Indian economies contribute to it. The lack of trained agriculturalists may be both a cause and result of the decline in agricultural production seen over the last decade or so throughout most of the Commonwealth Caribbean. Nevertheless, there are definite indications that there has been a conscious neglect of the industry on the part of governments of the region. In Trinidad and Tobago, for example, on the basis of 1970 prices, value added by the agricultural sector declined from about \$23 million in 1970 to \$65 million in 1971. (A.W. Singham, ed., The Commonwealth Caribbean into the Seventies. Montreal: Centre for Developing Area Studies, McGill University, 1973, p. 5; Caribbean Dialogue, Vol. 2, Nos. 3 and 4, April - May 1976, p. 7). Between January and November 1975, the government spent about \$37 million on subsidies "in respect of Petroleum Products". By the end of 1975, approximately \$24 million was spent on subsidies for imported food items. By contrast, in 1973, a mere \$2 million, preceded

# IMMIGRATION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN CANADA

We have been arguing throughout this study that the emigration of skilled and professional workers from the West Indies to Canada constitutes an important aspect of the underdevelopment of the islands, specifically Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, to the extent that such emigration provides a classic illustration of the exploitative relationship that exists between the developed capitalist countries of the world and the underdeveloped ones. We have argued that skilled and professional emigration carries with it adverse social and economic consequences for the West Indian countries, while simultaneously promoting economic growth in the Canadian metropole. In

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by \$760,000 in 1971, was spent on subsidies for domestic agricultural production. This relative neglect of agriculture therefore is illustrative of government concern with promoting growth in those sectors such as mining and manufacturing which traditionally have been associated with high rates of return on investment. This is done at the expense of the agricultural industry which not only provides the possibility of making the nation self-sufficient as far as its food requirements are concerned, but is also far more labor-intensive than either manufacturing or mining, and to that extent, possesses also the potential for alleviating unemployment. The latter, as we have indicated, is not only an important cause of emigration, but is also generally one of the most serious economic, political and social problems in the West Indies today. (In 1974, there were only two agriculturalists emigrating from Trinidad and Tobago to Canada. It is important to note however that this represented 2% of the total Trinidad and Tobago 1970 supply of agriculturalists (see Canada - Department of Manpower and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1974; Trinidad and Tobago. Central Statistical Office. Manpower Report, Vol. 1 (1) April 1972)).

the final part of this chapter therefore, we will attempt to discuss briefly, but in even more precise terms, some of the economic contributions immigration has made to Canada.

It is perhaps instructive to begin by quoting from an official Canadian government study on the question of skilled and professional manpower in Canada. The study stated that:

"In the 10 years after World War II, the Canadian economy expanded steadily. The rate of expansion was, however, not even and the decade was punctuated by periods of particularly rapid economic growth. It was during these periods of accelerated activity in nearly all sectors of industry that shortages of skilled and professional manpower became most widespread and most acute.." (36)

Pointing out that the first five years of the decade were characterized by the conversion of the economy from a wartime to a peacetime basis, the study indicated that this perhaps explained why shortages became 'widespread and acute' in certain occupations. Noting that the increased graduations from Canadian universities as a

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(36) Economics and Research Branch, Department of Labour, Skilled and Professional Manpower in Canada, 1945-1965, Study prepared for the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1957), p. 34.

result of heavy veteran enrolment helped to alleviate the shortages of professional manpower, the study pointed out however, that, in general, the shortages of skilled tradesmen were 'prolonged and fairly intense'. This was because apprenticeship and other training programs in Canada did not begin to meet the existing requirements. The report concluded however that:

"In the second five years, immigration of large numbers of skilled workers greatly alleviated the shortages in many trades, and except for short periods and in specific occupations, the acute shortages of the preceding five years did not occur." (37)

As far as the demand for professionals were concerned, the study pointed out that immigration did not, as in the case of skilled tradesmen, assist in alleviating the shortages to any significant degree. It was therefore left to Canadian immigration policy in subsequent years to ensure that immigration made its contribution to easing these shortages.

In a recent report commissioned by the Canadian Immigration and Population Study (38) Louis Parai admits to the highly selective nature of Canadian immigration in recent years. He states:

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(37) Ibid.

(38) Department of Manpower and Immigration. The Economic Impact of Immigration, Ottawa, 1974.



"In terms of age and occupational characteristics, the composition of post-war immigrants to Canada... have tended to be relatively more concentrated among the working age groups, and to be increasingly more in the professional, technical and skilled occupations." (39)

In regard to the contribution of post-war immigrants to the growth in specific occupations over the intercensus decade 1951-1961, Parai states:

"... The number of... immigrants in some occupations - particularly skilled construction workers - exceeded the intercensus increases in them; since in these occupations, the migrants' contribution greatly exceeded the average contribution to all occupations, it would appear that, unless offset by movement out of other occupations, without immigration there would have been a decline among such workers as chemical engineers, plasterers and lathers, toolmakers and diemakers, and painters, paperhangers and glaziers." (40)

A little further on, commenting on the figures showing the

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(39) Over two-fifths of all post-war immigrants have intended to enter either professional and technical or skilled occupations. Only about one-quarter have been unskilled workers. In addition, there is evidence that the skill content of immigrants has increased in recent years. Between 1951 and 1971, professional and technical workers increased from less than 10% of all immigrant workers to approximately 30%, while the unskilled declined from over 40% to just over 10%. (Op. cit., 42, 46).

(40) Op. cit. 47, 49. See also Charts 5.5 and 5.6, pp. 48,49.

contribution of post-war immigrants to the Canadian Labour Force by major industry, (41) Parai concluded:

"The... figures indicate that immigration was particularly important in providing for the growth of some critical occupations and industries. Without immigration, it would appear that critical labour shortages would have developed in the construction and manufacturing industries, and the economic expansion of the period may have been seriously curtailed." (42)

Earlier in this chapter, we talked extensively about the impact of emigration on the supply of medical personnel in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The following table shows the contribution which immigration has meanwhile made to the Canadian supply of physicians and surgeons, despite emigration, mostly to the United States.

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(41) Census 1961.

(42) Op. cit., 49. Immigration accounted for up to 18% and 20% of the labour force in manufacturing and construction, respectively, (see Parai, p. 49).

TABLE 5-6

CANADA: NET MIGRATION OF PHYSICIANS/SURGEONS  
1960 - 1971

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<u>YEAR</u>	<u>IMMIGRATION</u>	<u>EMIGRATION</u>	<u>NET IMMIGRATION</u>	<u>DEGREES</u>
1960	441	262	179	879
1961	445	296	149	842
1962	530	357	173	846
1963	687	472	215	826
1964	668	405	263	773
1965	792	390	402	1,034
1966	995	473	522	881
1967	1,213	360	853	940
1968	1,277	225	1,052	1,002
1969	1,347	267	1,080	1,019
1970	1,113	307	806	1,105
1971	987	492	495	1,364 (43)

Between 1960 and 1971, no less than 15% of Canada's total supply of physicians and surgeons in any given year, were provided by net immigration. In fact, in 1968 and 1969, more doctors were added to Canada's supply through net immigration, than through training in the country. Clearly, these net gains compare strikingly with the net losses experienced in the West Indies. (44)

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(43) Sources: Parai, Table A.19, p. 113. Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1960-1971.

(44) Of course, the huge cost savings involved here must be viewed against the social implications of such a manpower policy, insofar as it restricts the educational opportunities and earning capacities of many indigenous Canadians. But such are the contradictions inherent in capitalist development.

Alan Green compared the annual inflow of high level manpower with additions from domestic sources between 1957 and 1970. The comparison was made in terms of three categories: physical scientists, engineers and physicians. Not surprisingly, he concluded that the overall impact of immigrant talent relative to domestic production has been "enormous". (45) For example, between 1961 and 1970, 89.3% of the additions to the Canadian stock of engineers were immigrants. (46)

Further evidence that immigration to Canada has served specific needs and did not merely flood the labour market with unwanted workers, is the positive statistical relationship that is found between monthly immigration and long-term job vacancies over the past two years. The population study notes that this is not surprising since job vacancies and unemployment rates are inversely related. Moreover a negative relationship between immigration and unemployment is now well-documented. (47)

There is also further evidence that immigration may be filling labour shortages. This is seen by the length of time which immigrants

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(45) Immigration and the Post-War Canadian Economy (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1976) p. 178.

(46) Ibid., Table 6-2, p. 177.

(47) See R. Demers, "Immigration and Job Vacancies" (Special Study Prepared for the Task Force on Canadian Immigration and Population, December 1973). See also Parai, p. 51.

take to find employment. (48) A study of a sample of immigrants who arrived in 1969 showed the following results:

"The average period between arrival and starting on the first job was four weeks for all immigrants. About half the immigrants started to work in less than 1.5 weeks after arrival. A quarter of all immigrants had pre-arranged employment, and nearly all of them were working within two weeks of their arrival." (49)

Apart from their contributions in regard to meeting labor shortages, immigrants also bring capital funds with them. Over the three years (1972 - 1974), for example, immigrants have brought with them approximately \$1 billion, representing an average of \$2,580 per migrant, or \$4,010 per migrant worker. (50)

Of course, the large influx of immigrants, particularly the

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(48) For an interesting discussion of the role of immigration in the economic growth of Canada, see R.A. Jenness, "Canadian Migration and Immigration Patterns and Government Policy", International Migration Review VIII (1) 1974, pp. 5-22.

(49) Department of Manpower and Immigration, "The First Year in a New Country (Immigrants of 1969)" p. 11.

(50) Parai, p. 55. Of course, these figures are to some extent offset by remittances made by immigrants. Of the sample of immigrants in 1969, an average of \$456 per immigrant was remitted abroad during their first year of residence in Canada, and another \$500 during their second year. Moreover, in this entire discussion, the question of emigration from Canada is also an important one. On balance, however, the country, particularly since 1960, has been experiencing increasingly larger net surpluses of immigrants.

highly educated and skilled carries with it a number of social problems for Canadian society. In general, the sort of manpower policy which the Canadian government pursues is one which 'considerably alters the opportunities available to the indigenous worker. (51) More specifically, the concern among young Canadians about the increasing proportions of university faculties that are non-Canadian, is, for example, a rather legitimate concern. What is not quite as legitimate, however, is for indigenous Canadians to assume that immigrants currently working in Canada, many of whom struggle for bare social and economic survival, are so imaginative as to have thought about, planned, and executed their emigration all by themselves. In other words, immigrants should not be scape-goated for being the products of a policy designed and implemented by the ruling elite in Canada.

As we have endeavored to illustrate throughout this paper, the presence in Canada of large numbers of immigrant workers is a result of the conscious decisions of the economic elite in the country. Thanks to this economic elite, well-attended by an acquiescing political leadership, 257,743 immigrants joined the Canadian labour force between 1972 and 1974. It is to these two sections of the population that one must appropriately address one's self in order to understand the mechanics of large scale immigration into Canada.

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(51) See H.C. Eastman, The Economic Council's Third Annual Review - An Evaluation (Montreal: Private Planning Association of Canada, 1966).

### OFFSETTING FACTORS: SOME "ADVANTAGES" OF EMIGRATION

The overall emigration of workers, and the outflow of high level manpower are not as undesirable as they are made to appear, some observers argue, because of the benefits which underdeveloped societies enjoy in the process. In the next few pages, we will examine briefly some of the supposed advantages of emigration.

### EMIGRATION AS A MEANS OF RELIEVING POPULATION PRESSURES

Until as recently as the mid-nineteen sixties, emigration from the West Indies was seen by some observers as an important means of controlling population increases and decreasing unemployment. (52)

Moreover, it was argued that not only was the existing population reduced by the given amount of emigration, but that the future population was also affected by the lowering of the crude birth rate.

Given the high rates of loss of skilled manpower and other important considerations, it would seem that there must be a better way of controlling population growth and unemployment than emigration.

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(52) See T.R. Buffenmyer, Emigration (1970), p. 97. See also William Y. Demas, "Characteristics of the Carribbean Economies" in Lambros Comitas and David Lowenthal, editors, Work and Family Life: West Indian Perspectives (New York : Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1973) p. 229.

As one student of the problem observed:

"Those populations that attempt to slacker demographic tensions due to high birth rate, through emigration, find themselves with an age structure less favourable than at the starting point; with a very heavy proportion of children and a dependence index generally too high... If any (real) choice existed, the decision to limit birth rate would be far wiser than to favour emigration." (53)

### RETURN MIGRATION

Another factor that may temper the effects of the brain drain, it is argued, is return migration. The limited data available however indicate that return migration is of sizeable consequence only among West-Indian immigrants to the United Kingdom, and not among those to the United States or Canada. In any event, of the three countries, the United Kingdom has received the lowest proportion of high level manpower from the islands. (54)

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(53) M.L. Bacci, ed., The Demographic and Social Pattern of Emigration from the Southern European Countries, p. 52, quoted in Antony Ward, "European Migratory Labor, A Myth of Development", Monthly Review, 27(7), December 1975, p. 28.

(54) See Buffenmyer, Emigration (1970) pp. 12-16. For an excellent discussion of some of the adjustment problems encountered by returned migrants, see Edward Taylor, "The Social Adjustment of Returned Migrants to Jamaica" in Frances Henry (ed.) Ethnicity in the Americas, (Paris: Mouton Publishers, 1976).



Nevertheless, it does appear that return migrants bring with them certain advantages which should not be ignored. For example, in response to a survey question, Buffenmyer posed to 37 employers, 34 of them indicated their preference for workers with overseas work experience. The employers preferred such workers because they brought with them increased skills and knowledge, a more responsible attitude to work, and other similar advantages. (55)

Even the employers themselves, however, pointed to some of the serious disadvantages of hiring returned migrants. (56) In the first place, employers (including the government) usually have to make special efforts to attract such workers. Further, once they have returned home, they demand special salaries and special treatment, thereby setting in motion a process which leads ultimately to alienating them from the other workers. (57)

In the final analysis, it would be more sensible to provide the opportunities at home for local workers to develop qualities such as a sense of responsibility and increased knowledge and skill. In this way, there will be no need to rely on returned migrants to provide such qualities.

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(55) Op. cit., pp. 176-178.

(56) Ibid, p. 178.

(57) Buffenmyer (1970), p. 178.

NET MIGRATION

As we indicated earlier, available data suggests that net annual inflow of foreign high level manpower into Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago is small compared to net annual outflow from the islands in these categories. This is largely because of the high turnover of foreigners employed in the islands on a short-term basis. Many of these workers go the islands as experts or volunteers of one type or another, but hardly ever as permanent residents.

Since 1962, for example, the Canadian government, through its Technical Assistance Programme has sent a number of experts to both countries. In Jamaica these experts included advisors to the Jamaican Civil Service (1), the Civil Aviation Department (1), the Ministry of Education (1) and a forestry adviser who assisted in preparation of an afforestation programme for the country. (58) As of July 1969, there were 39 Canadian "experts" and 53 "volunteers" under the auspices of the Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO) program in Jamaica. (59)

In 1969/70, there were 13 Canadian teachers serving in Trinidad and Tobago under the Technical Assistance Programme. In addition,

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(58) Canadian International Development Agency, Commonwealth Caribbean Assistance Program, 1969/70, p. 5.

(59) See Buffenmyer, p. 119.

there were advisers in agriculture (2), psychiatric treatment (1), physical fitness (1) and water engineering (1). (60)

Since 1962, there has been no significant increase in the overall number of experts. (61) In both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago however, the question of high level foreign workers has become, especially since 1970, a rather sensitive issue. In the first place, as we indicated earlier, such in-migration is composed mainly of short term workers who usually have neither the time nor the disposition, in some cases, to become part of Jamaican or Trinidad and Tobago society.

In addition, there is great emphasis currently being placed on Westindianization of all aspects of the society. Within this context, foreign high level manpower particularly from Western Europe and North America, is merely symbolic of colonialism and domination which are clearly antithetical to the goals of West Indian nationalism. In both the quantitative and the qualitative senses therefore, in-migration has had very limited positive contributions to make to Jamaican and Trinidad and Tobago societies.

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(60) Commonwealth Caribbean Assistance Program, 1969/70, p. 8.

(61) See Appendix B.

## REMITTANCES

Finally, as we indicated earlier, it has been argued that cash remittances made by immigrants tend to offset other disadvantages of emigration. In Chapter II, we illustrated the limitations of this argument by discussing some of the negative consequences such remittances can have for a given society.

Nevertheless, large sums of monies have in fact been sent home by Jamaican and Trinidad and Tobago immigrants in Canada. Between 1964 and 1975, Jamaicans living in Canada sent home approximately \$4.8 million through the postal system alone. (62)

If we take the figure for average annual remittance per immigrant (\$478) provided by the Canada Manpower and Immigration Department (63), the total figure would easily approach the \$12 million mark.

Any positive effects that these remittances might tend to have are however cancelled out when one considers the volume of funds trans-

(62) This figure does not include money remitted through the banks. It is based on data from the Bank of Jamaica reported in Buffenmyer, Table 32, p. 179.

(63) This approximation is based on data provided in "The First Year in a New Country (Immigrants of 1969), pp. 79-81 and "Two Years in Canada (Immigrants of 1969)", pp. 79-81.

ferred or brought by these immigrants to Canada. Although there is no complete breakdown by countries available, data provided by the Canadian authorities show that between 1964 and 1972 alone, approximately \$84 million was brought by West Indian immigrants to Canada. (64)

Moreover, as we pointed out in Chapter II, although no precise data is available, it seems rather unlikely that high level immigrants make a significant contribution to the amount of money sent back home. (65)

If one adds the amount of funds transferred to the cost of educating the emigrants, particularly the skilled and professional, clearly, the amount of cash remitted represents a mere "drop in the bucket". Moreover, a major problem with the "remittances" argument is that it falls prey to the temptation to assess the consequences of emigration in strictly financial terms. In so doing, little consideration is given to the qualitative impact of migration on West Indian life.

#### SUMMARY

In this chapter, we attempted to look at some of the social and economic consequences of 'high level' emigration for the West Indian countries. In so doing, we tried to discuss in rather specific terms,

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(64) Parai, (1974), Table A.20, p. 115.

(65) See Buffenmyer, pp. 180-181.

how, the loss of skilled and professional workers can impede development efforts in an underdeveloped society like Jamaica. Our attempts at discussing these questions tend to indicate that both Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, can, and do suffer some serious economic and social distortions as a result of 'high-level' emigration.

Finally, we looked briefly at some of the economic impacts of immigration on Canada since 1945. From all appearances, despite the difficulty of ever measuring such impacts in very precise terms, immigration has in fact made important economic contributions to the country. The irony of simultaneous growth and impoverishment can only be understood in terms of the dynamics of underdevelopment. It is this problem one must confront in any attempt to come to grips with the implications of the 'brain-drain'.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

In this paper, an effort was made to illustrate that the emigration of skilled and professional workers from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago to Canada constitutes an important part of the overall underdevelopment of these islands.

In part, we have found that the data is limited. This is due to several factors, including primarily an absence of comprehensive immigration records in the islands, lack of any sound manpower planning or long-range programmes on the part of the West Indian governments, and a marked scarcity of rigorous academic research on the question of external migration as it relates to the islands. As a result, a great deal is still not known. Evaluation of the full impact of the problem still remains largely within the realm of speculation. This is particularly true of the private sector where the precise nature and extent of manpower needs are still unknown, at least, to researchers. This is so because of a number of reasons. In the first place, the private sector in these islands have traditionally been an "out-of-bounds", "no-entry" zone for social science researchers. Even the governments find it difficult to get needed

information from the business community. Their monopolistic positions and their huge runaway profits have probably served to make private enterprise very defensive and suspicious of any attempts by external interests to question their modus operandi.

Moreover, it is precisely because of their monopolistic positions that some businesses can still enjoy large profits whether or not they use their personnel efficiently. In fact, some businesses employ varying numbers of people depending, not on economic considerations, but on the political climate existing in the given island. In 1970, for example, shortly after the attempted military coup and Black power disturbances, many Blacks were given jobs by businesses which had hitherto claimed to have had no need for more employees. (1) Thus, it is rather difficult to assess the actual level of manpower needs of these private businesses.

On the other hand, as far as the public sector is concerned, as in most other capitalist countries, patronage and corruption is high enough to render inaccurate any attempts at objectively assessing the manpower requirements of this sector. Thanks to their "connections" inside the higher echelons of the regime, there are many inefficient and underqualified people on the public payrolls. In the

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(1) For example, after 1970, many Black forces appeared behind bank counters. Prior to this date, bank jobs were reserved only for people of caucasian origin or light-skinned complexions.



meantime, there are other young energetic, well-qualified people, functioning in positions that are far below their capacities and qualifications. Exactly who all of these people are, how many of them there are, and what jobs they perform, are questions that must be answered before one can assess in any precise manner the manpower needs of the public sector.

Moreover, in the absence of any long range development plans, the governments of these islands have no sound ideas about manpower requirements now, or in the future. All of the foregoing factors make it rather difficult for one to determine with any precision, the manpower needs of the islands.

As far as basic data on the nature and volume of the brain drain is concerned, information from Canadian visa applications may prove to be quite helpful, if such information can be made available to researchers. These applications will help to provide detailed information regarding the percentage of graduates from local institutions among the emigrants. In addition, it will help to provide information regarding the precise level of degrees held by graduates (e.g. general or honours). The latter would help to shed some light on the quality of the graduates emigrating.

Further, the Canadian government statistics provide data on the occupational breakdown of immigrants according to country of last permanent residence and not country of origin. Thus immigrants shown as ar-

living in Canada from Trinidad and Tobago, for example, may include other nationals who lived in the country before emigrating to Canada. Moreover, the figures may also exclude large numbers of Trinidad and Tobago nationals who apply from outside their homeland. Available data tends to suggest that more immigrants come under the second than under the first category however. (2) Thus, the general direction of our present conclusions regarding the magnitude of the brain drain are not likely to be altered even if such information were available in precise detail.

Again, although the occupational breakdown gives an indication of the number of high-level immigrants, it says nothing about the educational attainment or equivalent training of migrants. For example, in calculating the cost of training a given worker, we had to assume that a given occupation represented a certain level of educational attainment, and hence a particular number of years of training.

Finally, while Canadian immigration statistics provide rather detailed data on the intended occupation of immigrants, it should be noted that these are intended and not actual occupations. A number of factors such as licensing or certification regulations may prevent a worker from actually pursuing his or her intended occupation. Availa-

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(2) Buffenmyer, p. 106.

ble evidence indicates however, that most immigrants do actually work in their intended occupations. Moreover, those who were not in their intended occupations were doing related work.<sup>(3)</sup>

Despite these limitations however, we believe that this paper has brought forward sufficient evidence to permit us to conclude, with a fair degree of certainty, that the emigration of high-level workers does constitute a drain, either of brains or of money; and that this drain is both a cause and a consequence of capitalist underdevelopment of the islands. In other words, in terms of our analysis, the crucial factor is not whether the people trained were needed in the islands. While this is important, what is of even more vital consequence is the fact that they emigrate taking with them thousands of dollars each, invested in their training.

Of course, it may be speculated that some of these people emigrated because they were needlessly trained and therefore could not find jobs locally.<sup>(4)</sup> The most important task nevertheless, is to

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(3) See Louis Parai, *op. cit.*, pp. 45,46. See also, Department of Manpower and Immigration (Canada), Research Branch, Programme Development Service, "The First Year in a New Country (Immigrants of 1969)", unpublished manuscript, 1972, pp. 38-40.

(4) There are numerous reasons why West Indians decide to emigrate. Quite intentionally, this paper has not focussed on individual motives for emigrating. The limited data available however suggests that the underlying motive for all emigration from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in particular is, generally, dissatisfaction of one type or another, with the local economic, political and social environment. In short, people have been leaving the islands in order to satisfy unfulfilled needs. (See appendices D and E).

understand why they were needlessly trained in the first place. Our framework of analysis, we have tried to illustrate, facilitates such an understanding. The educational system has its roots in the islands' colonial past and neo-colonial present. Education has always been geared to meet the needs of the local and foreign bourgeoisies and to ensure the maintenance of their privileged position. It has never been aimed at reaching the masses; nor has it been aimed at perpetuating internally-propelled development, or encouraging self-reliance among the people. This is the heart of the issue.

If one understands this, then it becomes easy to appreciate how and why people are sometimes irrelevantly or needlessly trained in the islands. More importantly, because of the values and mental attitudes which the educational system fosters, there is no guarantee that people would remain in the region even if they were being trained in the appropriate numbers for existing jobs. For example, if they are taught that man is by nature competitive, and that his principal goal in life is to maximize his individual earnings and well-being, West Indians would naturally gravitate towards North America, where they can find more competition and more earnings. This, in part, is why the emigrant goes to Canada or the United States.

Thus, as we indicated earlier, the problem is one not simply of a quantitative nature, or of supply and demand as economists would say, but one that has to do with the overall qualitative performance of the

educational system. (5) Hence, the importance of understanding why this system is the way it is; what factors went into its creation; and which ones militate against a radical transformation of this apparatus.

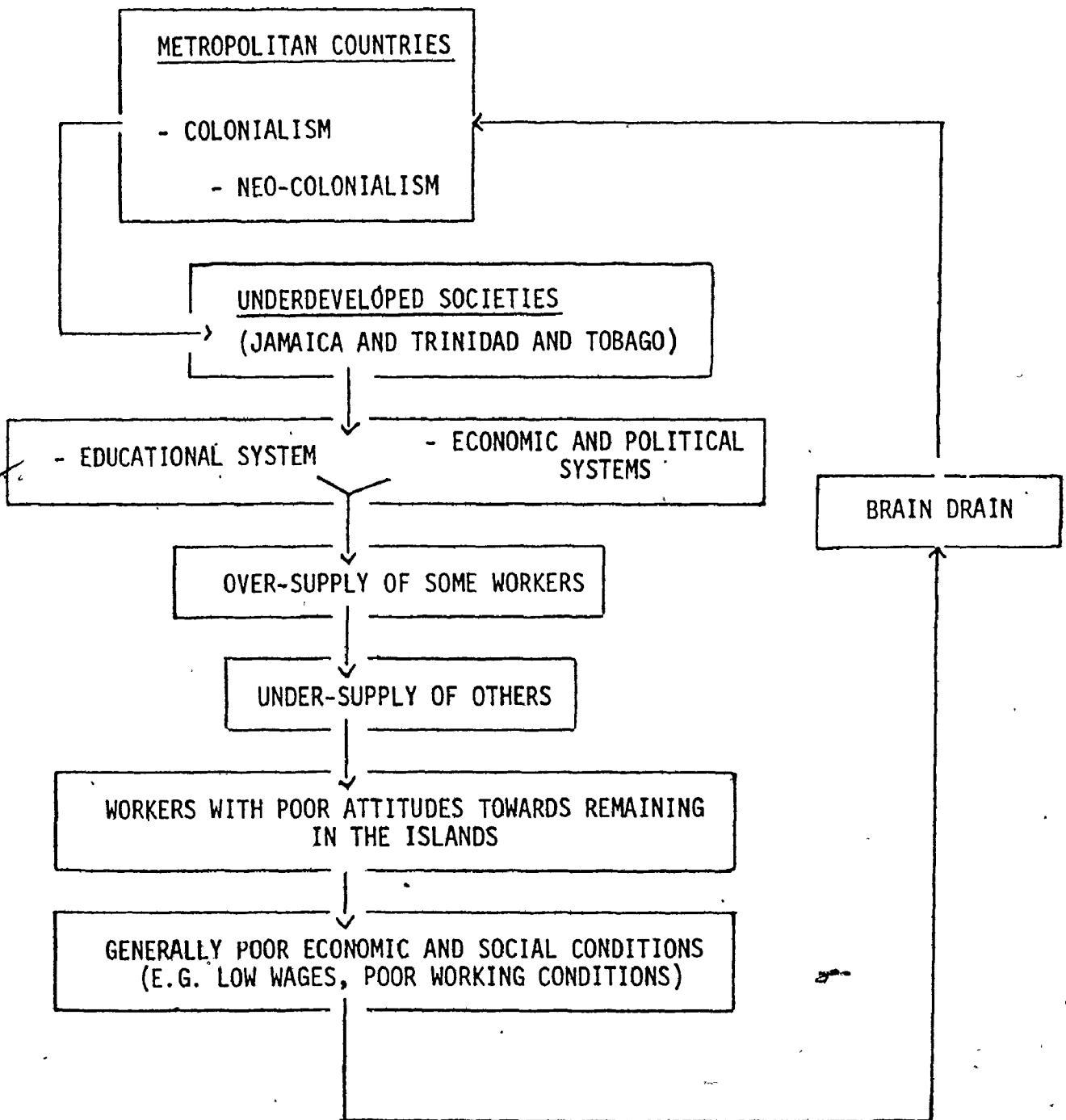
The educational system (both the formal and informal parts of it) is therefore a central part of the problem of the brain drain. It is the most lasting legacy of colonialism and the most effective instrument of neo-colonialism in the islands. This is why any attempts to end the 'brain-drain' must focus on the islands' educational systems. As an aid to understanding the recommendations, we shall make later, we may schematically restate the problem as follows:

(See Chart II on the following page).

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- (5) This is another area in which this study recommends further research. Efforts should be made to determine, in more precise terms, the influence of the formal educational system on peoples' decisions to emigrate. Understandably, this will be somewhat difficult to determine since the educational system consists of both informal and formal structures (e.g. schools on the one hand, and radio, t.v., etc., on the other). The results of such research nevertheless should help to provide some insight into exactly how much restructuring is required in the formal sphere of the system in order to stop the 'brain drain'.

## CHART II

### HOW THE BRAIN DRAIN OCCURS



The above chart illustrates how the metropolitan country, first through colonialism and later through neo-colonialism, creates and maintains the conditions conducive to the brain drain. This is accomplished by making full use of the educational, economic and political institutions in the underdeveloped society.

Neo-colonialism referred to in the chart works to a large extent through both the formal and the informal parts of the educational system. In the informal part, neo-colonialism can be seen at work, for example, in the large North American and British context of television and radio programmes, newspaper stories, and even movies. As far as the more formal aspects of the educational system is concerned, one certainly should not underestimate the impact of bourgeois academic thinking (as shown in Chapter II of this study) on West Indian students in the West Indies as well as those in Anglo-American universities and colleges.

Further, it is interesting to note that insofar as the neo-colonialists' demands for cheap labor is concerned, these demands are met not by physically forcing people to emigrate. Instead, both the mass media and the formal structures of the educational system are skillfully manipulated to instill within the minds of young people the need for higher wages and individual upward mobility (rather than overall societal improvements).

The educational system, in any society, but particularly in the

West Indies today, is a reflection of the economic and political systems. It is both the defenceless foetus created by these systems as well as the strong defender and protector of the status quo.

While the educational system can provide the vehicle for important changes in a society, it is this very system that can provide the means for blinding people and keeping them in darkness regarding the need for, and mechanics of change.

Of course, it is the simultaneous functioning of the component parts of capitalism (economic, educational, social and political structures) which perpetuate underdevelopment in general and the brain drain in particular. We are singling out the educational system however, only because it has served its mystifying role so well within the West Indian context. For this reason, it is now necessary to posit its destruction as a prerequisite to social and economic change in the islands.

Thus any attempts to eliminate the brain drain must begin in the minds of West Indians. The latter must begin with the recognition that, intoxicated by a reactionary educational system, they have been misled even in regard to their perception of the actual extent to which their societies are being exploited and impoverished by the capitalist metropolises. It is only when West Indians recognize the central role of the educational system as an obstacle to change, can they alter the economic and political realities of their societies.



The question of oversupply, for example, is therefore only one of the important problems related to the 'brain drain'. In fact, the 'brain drain' more precisely is not 'a problem' as it is often called. Rather, it is part of a more complex set of problems revolving around, and institutionalized within, an educational system that is one of the most telling monuments of Anglo-American capitalism in the West Indies.

In the absence of this type of analysis, many 'solutions' have been suggested by students of the question who fail to proceed directly to the core of the issue. One of the most common of these suggestions calls for an increase in salary for professional and technical workers, and, or improvements in the non-monetary attractions of their jobs. Such suggestions, if implemented, will however do more harm than good. Instead of helping to redistribute income, they will place more money in the hands of those who already have much higher earnings than the majority of the population. It does not seem sensible to aggravate the already serious economic and social inequality in the islands in order to keep a few professionals from emigrating. Moreover, most of them have had their minds so badly twisted by Anglo-American propaganda that they tend to elevate even the physical form of an American or Canadian dollar above that of a West Indian bill of the same value. Monetary incentives, in many cases, are therefore not even likely to discourage emigration.

There have also been suggestions calling for schemes providing monetary compensation or "transfer fees" from the developed to the under-

developed societies. It is doubtful that such programmes will ever materialize. American capitalists, although they have never disputed the charge, have stubbornly refused to compensate American Indians for having forcibly seized the latter's territory. It is difficult to perceive, therefore, what canons of logic or dictates of compassion will persuade them to compensate the people of the West Indies for "a loss of brains", something which to many bourgeois observers does not even constitute a genuine loss.

Finally, there have been suggestions advocating the use of government legislation to curb the mobility of educated nationals. The value of such an approach is, likewise, rather dubious. In the first place, liberal democratic governments, such as those of the islands, as guardians of such superficial liberties as the right of each individual to international mobility, are not likely to take such action. Secondly, even if they did, it is unlikely that any substantial benefits will be derived therefrom. In fact, in the absence of any organized attempts to divest nationals of the influences of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and to systematically educate them regarding the causes and consequences of the 'brain drain', such measures are only likely to arouse their curiosity about North America and increase their desire to emigrate.

It is not our intention to suggest that the governments of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago have not recognized the overall problem created by the brain drain. The measures taken by these governments however,

have been far too inadequate both in terms of quantity as well as depth.  
(See Appendix F).

Given the ineffectiveness of the various reform measures, we are left with the need to radically restructure the educational systems of the islands. The first step in this direction is to ensure that the educational system is provided a set of long-term goals, based on the collective needs of the society in some order or priority.

In attempting to pursue these goals, the educational system will first have to be loosed from its close ties with material rewards and payments. This is an important prerequisite, if the islands are to enjoy, quantitatively and qualitatively, an adequate supply of personnel. From as early as they are able to grasp it, students are taught that their primary motive for attending school is to earn money after they have graduated. The question, "what would you like to be?" literally translates, "how much would you like to earn?".

The efforts and sacrifices that students make while at school are geared to the one ultimate goal of "making money" or "earning a living", as it is euphemistically described. School, therefore, becomes synonymous with the concept of "money making". Schematically, it may be stated thus:

SCHOOL = INVESTMENT OF BODY, MIND AND SOUL = SACRIFICE OF SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY = FUTURE INDIVIDUAL MATERIAL RETURNS

This approach to education has several serious consequences for a society. We are, however, primarily concerned with just two of these consequences for the moment. Firstly, when students go through school anticipating mainly material rewards, upon graduating, they resort to almost any measures necessary in order to realize these rewards. In fact, they may even emigrate. Since the level of rewards is made synonymous with the degree of success, technically, most of the "successful" West Indians are currently living outside the region where higher material rewards are available. According to this definition of success, therefore, the islands today are made up of "unsuccessful" people, or at any rate "less successful" ones. In fact, led by this kind of thinking, some of the most brilliant minds have emigrated. Moreover, West Indians who were unable to emigrate so that they could obtain higher rewards, would view themselves as failures or at least less successful.

The situation is one of a dual tragedy therefore. Whether in actual terms, or because of its psychological impact on West Indians, an approach to education which emphasizes material rewards is highly damaging to these societies.

There is another reason why such an approach to education should be eliminated. Recognizing that the society cares about them only in terms of how much they can earn (i.e. their money value), students in turn place a money value on their society. They view their relationship to the society strictly on the basis of financial considera-

tions. If, for example, Canadian society is worth more to them than Trinidad society, in terms of dollars, then this, to them, becomes sufficient reason to settle in Canada.

The emphasis on financial rewards, therefore, should be replaced by stressing service to the community as the goal of education. We recognize that this is quite a challenging task. However, built into a long range programme of re-education, and guided by an overall plan of social development, it can be achieved, with great effort.

Such a programme of education will have to place new emphasis on the role of pre-university or pre-college education. As soon as children are able to read and write, they should be taught concern for others and the importance of viewing education as a means to helping others rather than an end in itself, or a vehicle for self-aggrandizement.

Beginning early in life students must be taught systematically and consistently the neo-colonial and colonial history of their societies. They must be taught the reasons why, structurally and functionally, these societies have not changed much over the years. They must be taught that the 'brain drain' is one of these reasons, and that it will continue to be a problem so long as they do not make its solution their responsibility.

As part of their training as doctors, teachers, or other professionals, West Indians should be trained in the service of revolutionary change aimed at the elimination of economic and social inequality, elitism, and, in short, the creation of a classless society. This will have the most profound impact on the 'brain drain'. In the first place, this will make West Indian workers less attractive to metropolitan governments and employers, who, naturally, will not want to encourage the entrance of immigrants with such values into their highly individualistic societies. Secondly, the values of West Indians will have been transformed to such an extent that only the most die-hard individualistic reactionaries will want to continue to allow themselves to be willing tools of metropolitan economic development.

Young people in the islands must be made to see some plan, purpose and vision of their country as a self-sustaining and self-motivating unit. Moreover, they must be made to see themselves as part of such an evolution of their country. This can only be accomplished when the people begin to experience a sense of command and control over their environment. It cannot be achieved if the resources of the country, human or otherwise, are owned by foreign interests. In this regard, it is therefore necessary that the people become owners and controllers of their natural and physical resources. This can be done through state ownership which must be merely the initial step to a complete handover of these resources to workers' control and operation. In other words, the youth must not only be taught how to change things. They must also be given concrete examples of such change.

This will help West Indians to come to a better knowledge and understanding of themselves, their political economies, their overall environment, and their role in the restructuring of their society. Their past, as we discussed earlier in the paper, has made West Indians rather ignorant of themselves. This ignorance, coupled with the negative self images which they have been taught, have led them to despise themselves. It has also led to a lack of attachment or commitment to their indigenous surroundings. More importantly, it has helped to shatter their self-confidence. In order to regain this confidence they must become masters of their own environment.

Inextricably linked to the system of education and the ownership and control of resources, is the question of local technology. Within the international capitalist order, it is the advanced countries which control the development and flow of technology. They, therefore, determine how people in the West Indies, for example, are trained. In other words, they determine how internationally mobile the workers of these islands must be. Thus, as far as the development of an indigenous technology is concerned, there is no future for the West Indies within the framework of international capitalism. West Indians must create for themselves a form of know-how that addresses itself to local rather than foreign needs. This is not sheer idealism. It is being done in other parts of the world. Engineers from the Peoples' Republic of China may not be very useful in Toronto or New York, but back home in Peking, in Shanghai, and in other cities, they are doing a marvelous job at creating will then deal with their own problems in their own

way. There is a lesson in this for the West Indies.

Finally, we want to address ourselves to the oft-repeated argument regarding the small size of the islands as an obstacle to radical social transformation. We are not attempting to argue that West Indians should live in isolation. We are proposing, however, that they should be shrewdly selective in their external contacts. For example, as far as transfer of expertise is concerned, the islands should seek to establish relations with only those countries which are prepared to respect their right to an exchange of scientists and intellectuals devoid of any elements of exploitation. As far as the development of a viable scientific community is concerned, it is necessary that the islands of the region pool their resources. In this regard, top priority should be given to the establishment of an academy of sciences whose principal task would be that of co-ordinating experiment, research and theory-building in all the sciences, and more importantly, to provide such work with a constant socio-political community-oriented focus.

This proposal illustrates the further need for, and importance of, regional integration at the political and economic levels in the West Indies. Apart from providing a larger integrated population base, as well as large savings through avoidance of duplication of services, such integration will no doubt also provide the people with a greater sense of solidarity, community and psychological strength in a world dominated by large nations.



It is clear, therefore, that the onus of change rests with the masses of people who suffer through capitalism in the West Indies. The working classes will have to produce from among their ranks the leadership needed for making the fundamental changes necessary to the eradication of the 'brain drain'. Foremost among these changes, as we have indicated, will be the creation of an environment that will allow West Indians to benefit from the presence of skilled and educated workers in their midst. It is at the creation of such an environment that our foregoing proposals are aimed: an environment in which West Indians for once can benefit from and enjoy their own talents and resources, rather than have others do so for them.

In the past, West Indians have always heard more about themselves than they have actually experienced. For example, they have heard North American tourists say that the islands are beautiful. But rarely, because of the constant struggle for sheer survival, have they themselves been able to experience this beauty. They have heard that as a favoured producer, Trinidad and Tobago has been earning large quantities of foreign exchange from the sale of oil since the energy 'crisis' began in 1973. Yet, the people of this country continue to go unemployed at the rate of 14% of the labour force. Again, they have heard that Jamaica is rich in bauxite ore. Yet, the poverty of certain areas of Kingston and rural Jamaica is enough to make even the most insensitive capitalist shudder. They hear that training skilled and professional people will help to promote development; yet, the islands are as underdeveloped as they were when the University of the West Indies first opened its doors

several years ago.

The problem is that the majority of West Indians have been far removed from the process of economic and political decision-making in the their society. In order to correct this, they need a political and social order that will for once, place human beings, rather than dollars, in control. Only then can they look forward to making decisions that are appropriate to their particular circumstances. Only then can they expect an internally-propelled process of growth and development, characterized, in part, by the elimination of the 'brain drain' and the proper use of their human as well as mineral and other resources. Only then will they feel a sense of belonging to, and a need to remain and work in, the islands, creating strong viable institutions of which they and subsequent generations can be proud.

ORIGIN OF COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN IMMIGRANTS  
1964 - 1971

CARIBBEAN TERRITORY	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	TOTAL	PER CENT OF CARI IMMIGRATION TO
JAMAICA	912	1,214	1,407	3,459	2,886	3,889	4,659	3,903	22,329	33.4
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	471	780	1,127	2,340	2,419	5,631	4,790	4,149	21,707	32.4
GUAYANA	614	609	628	736	823	1,865	2,090	2,384	9,749	14.6
BARBADOS	422	560	699	1,181	821	1,242	853	677	6,455	9.6
OTHER CARIBBEAN TERRITORIES	267	372	513	982	843	1,576	1,136	977	6,666	10.0
TOTAL	2,686	3,535	4,374	8,698	7,792	14,203	13,528	12,090	66,906	100.0

SOURCE: Department of Manpower and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1967-1971, p. 15. C.P. Smith (1975).  
p. 57 for 1964-1966.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION (%) OF IMMIGRANTS INTO CANADA DIRECT  
FROM WEST INDIES, AND OF ALL IMMIGRANTS INTO CANADA, 1965

MAIN OCCUPATION GROUP	ALL BRITISH W.I. COUNTRIES	JAMAICA	TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	BARBADOS AND OTHER SMALLER ISLANDS	GUYANA	TOTAL IMMI INTO CAN
MANAGERIAL	1.45	0.99	2.68	0.78	2.51	2.32
PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL	23.92	22.80	42.47	15.37	18.64	22.45
CLERICAL	26.35	24.54	22.06	26.49	38.71	13.37
TRANSPORTATION	0.55	0.50	0.21	0.66	1.08	1.26
COMMUNICATION	0.43	0.25	-	0.39	1.79	0.36
COMMERCIAL	1.75	1.12	1.44	1.42	5.02	3.35
FINANCIAL	0.64	0.62	0.21	0.78	1.08	0.24
ARTS AND CREATION	24.48	27.26	12.78	34.11	10.04	10.23
FARMING	0.68	0.37	0.42	1.42	-	3.18
CONSTRUCTION	3.84	5.20	1.86	3.62	3.94	8.90
MANUFACTURING AND MECHANIC	14.32	14.62	15.26	12.92	15.77	23.68
LABOURERS	1.58	1.72	0.62	2.07	1.43	9.59
OTHER	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	2,345	807	485	774	279	74,195

SOURCE: Roberts (1967) p. 69.

BY OF  
ORIGIN AND INTENDED OCCUPATION 1971

	AUSTRIA	BRITAIN	FRANCE	GERMANY	GREECE	ITALY	N. IRELAND	POLAND	PORTUGAL	SWITZERLAND	WEST INDIES
Managerial	9	396	96	63	29	47	37	2	40	40	193
Professionals	46	2,506	608	275	180	191	224	92	39	177	785
Clerical	17	1,647	191	149	127	91	227	32	94	154	1,720
Transportation											
Trades	2	98	3	12	72	27	6	7	51	2	48
Communication											
Trades		31		6	3	1	1	1	1		22
Commercial											
Sales Workers	12	280	46	41	41	29	18	13	57	15	262
Financial											
Sales Workers	1	71	9	7	1	2	2		2	2	55
Service and											
Recreation	39	768	285	168	548	230	43	92	330	226	1,087
Farmers	1	106	33	38	15	53	15	25	599	49	41
Loggers	1	3	4		2			1	4	5	
Fishers, Hunters, Trappers		1		1	2	1			5		
Construction											
Trades	17	528	206	80	279	429	36	34	798	33	345
Manufacturing											
and Mechanical	73	1,429	235	331	826	889	65	182	1,114	119	1,655
Labourers	7	50	13	11	471	221	3	25	59	7	75
Mines	1	70	6	15	6	13	3	3	5		2
Total Workers	236	8,101	1,751	1,207	2,955	2,467	580	531	3,270	818	6,572
Non Workers											
Wives	56	2,408	486	374	835	1,451	88	239	2,175	90	910
Children	73	4,056	615	477	637	1,084	136	250	3,283	105	2,598
Others	42	886	114	217	342	788	26	112	429	11	763
Total Non-Workers	171	7,350	1,215	1,068	1,814	1,323	250	601	5,887	206	4,271
Total Immigration	407	15,451	2,966	2,275	4,769	5,790	830	1,132	9,157	1,024	10,843

SOURCE: Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1971.

PRIMARY REASONS FOR MIGRATING TO CANADA BY OCCUPATION AND SEX:  
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, 1970

OCCUPATION	TOTAL		REASONS FOR MIGRATING													
			Low income by comparison with other workers, a) at home b) abroad for skill		Job dissatis- faction, Working conditions etc.		Promotional Opportuni- ties		Flexible Ed- ucation Sys- tem in C'da, (intention of furthering studies)		Nepotism Discrimina- tion Politics		Desire to Travel Abroad		Other (To join wife, husband, mother, etc.)	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
Professionals:																
Teachers	1	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other Professional- administrative and managerial	3	5	-	1	-	1	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	1
Technical Workers	5	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Agricultural Workers	11	1	4	-	1	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Unskilled	18	19	-	-	5	6	1	1	11	8	-	1	1	-	-	3
Craftsmen and Tradesmen	6	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unskilled Workers	16	5	3	2	5	2	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Unskilled Workers	3	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Unskilled Workers	1	7	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unskilled Workers	5	10	-	-	-	3	-	-	5	6	-	-	-	1	-	-
Total	69	52	9	11	12	14	3	1	40	17	1	1	1	1	3	7

SOURCE : The Brain Drain (Central Statistical Office,  
Trinidad and Tobago, 1970), p. 228.

## APPENDIX E

### SURVEY OF PROSPECTIVE EMIGRANTS FROM TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO TO CANADA, 1970

#### ANALYSIS OF PROSPECTIVE EMIGRANTS TO CANADA

In an effort to understand the motivations, which may account for the increasing emigration to Canada over the last five years, a survey similar to the one conducted on prospective emigrants to the U.S.A. was replicated. The survey questionnaire was administered, to respondents who voluntarily agreed to participate in the exercise. The sample of one hundred and twenty-two were self-selective as a result of the procedure mentioned. Interviews took place in a special room of the Canadian High Commission through the courtesy of the commissioner.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROSPECTIVE EMIGRANTS

The sample was dominated by Males who comprised 56% of the persons interviewed. Nationals of Indian descent carried the greatest weight, 46%. The age structure of the prospective migrants showed that almost two thirds of the sample were under thirty. Occupationally the prospective migrants to Canada were at a higher level of the occupational strata than those who were surveyed for the U.S.A. Approximately sixty per cent of the prospective emigrants were of the Professional and Middle Level Manpower grade, (as defined by UNITAR), a percentage which would be considerably increased if Craftsmen and Tradesmen were included. The prospective emigrants were much better off than the national population, only 7 of the 122 were unemployed. Finally the emigrants had not in general experienced living abroad. Only seven of them had lived in Canada for over four months. There was some movement among the prospective emigrants to Canada from the U.S.A., U.K., and other West Indian islands, but these migrants were not extremely significant in numbers, approximately 23% of the sample..

To sum up, the typical prospective emigrant to Canada was in his or her mid-twenty's, possessed at least twelve years of schooling and had a job. The migrant was also not likely to have ever lived abroad.

## APPENDIX E (Con't.)

### Factors Motivating Emigration

There are numerous reasons to account for a person's desire to emigrate. An analysis of the major reason for wanting to emigrate (See Table 4), suggests that almost a half of the migrants expected to further their education eventually. The flexibility of the Canadian educational system was mentioned in the interviews. Economic reasons were the next major replies. The expected salary differentials (See Table 6) indicate that migrants expect to be considerably better off financially in Canada.

SOURCE : The Brain Drain (Central Statistical Office, Trinidad and Tobago), p. 224.



## APPENDIX F

The following is a list of measures undertaken by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago in an effort to deal with the problems created by and related to, the brain drain. (6)

1. Provision of special incentives (e.g. housing loans) for professional groups in short supply.
2. Improvement of employment and promotion procedures especially in the medical services.
3. Improvement of foreign advertising and terms of contracts for professional groups in short supply.
4. Expansion and modification of the educational system, with greater emphasis on the training of technicians and craftsmen, and the expansion of regional and national institutions.
5. The Second and Third Five-Year Plans have mentioned the need of coordinate manpower requirements with the structure of the education-

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(6) The Brain Drain (Central Statistical Office, Trinidad and Tobago, 1970) pp. 106-114 Passion.

APPENDIX F (Con't.)

al system.

6. Restrictions on the employment of non-nationals.

Only measures 4, 5 and 6 of the six measures above approach the core of the problems of the brain drain.

In the absence of a fundamental alteration in the methods of production, the control over the means of such production, and the overall ideological orientation of the country, these measures are not likely to achieve any far-reaching results. This point is perhaps best illustrated by reference to measure no. 6. As long as the country continues to rely heavily on foreign investment, this device will be continually weakened. Foreign investors will always insist that certain managerial positions be filled by expatriates, a demand which usually will be met by a government whose very existence depends upon economic and political compromise.

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