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# The Parasitic Oligarchy? The Elites in Trinidad and Tobago

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THE PARASITIC OLIGARCHY? THE ELITES IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

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## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my large, unruly, loud, cantankerous, nosey family, including Henrietta Baptiste who I miss dearly, each of has showered me with love and support me throughout this process.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my committee members, Jimmy Sanders, Patrick Nolan, Shelley Smith and Ann Kingsolver, for their guidance and patience. I especially want to recognize the best chair in the world, ever – Jimmy Sanders – who worked tirelessly with me.

Thanks also to all my family and friends who supported me every step of the way. In particular my personal Hercules, who suffered through more than 12 labors and time and time again let me cling to his thick neck as he carried me.

## ABSTRACT

The existence of an elite class within societies is often a topic of research in the study of inequality of power and influence. Researchers, however, acknowledge that the nature and composition of the elite varies. Trinidad and Tobago, with its colonial history and diverse population has had to confront issues surrounding access to power by various groups within the society. One driving force of the 1970s Black Power Revolution was the practice of color discrimination in the banking industry. Informed by Mills' (1956) elite theory and rooted in Beckford's (1972) economic theory, this project surveys the elite of Trinidad and Tobago. I examine three important national sectors: business, the judiciary, and the National Senate – all appointed positions – to explore which groups have access to positions of power and influence. Information was collected with regards to individuals' terms of service or length of appointments, type of appointment, ethnicity, religion, gender and the high school they graduated from. While some of the data are incomplete, women are unrepresented and Whites over-represented across all three sectors.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

One January 31<sup>st</sup>, 2009, the Trinidad Newsday announced on the front page “Govt Bails Out CLICO”. The article described the government’s move to rescue the company which, according to the article, manages “assets of over \$38 billion, more than 25 percent of this country’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP)”. Cyril Duprey founded the firm in 1936 as an insurance company. Under the direction of Lawrence Duprey, his nephew, it became one of the largest multi-national companies in the region. The failure of the company reflects the convergence of world market forces and poor investment decisions by the younger Duprey and his management team. The speed and nature of the government’s actions are of particular interest to my research. Some argue that the government had no choice because of the size of the company in relation to the national economy, others speculate that the deal struck was a result of the relationship of key members of CLICO’s management and the government. Basdeo Panday, one-time leader of the United National Congress (UNC) is the godfather of Duprey’s child and Duprey is thought to be one of financiers of Panday’s political party. Andre Monteil<sup>1</sup>, one of

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<sup>1</sup> A distant maternal cousin.

Duprey’s closest business associates, having served as financial director in the company, has strong ties to the Peoples National Movement (PNM) where he has been the party’s treasurer. This dissertation is a sociological study of the judicial, political and capitalist class in Trinidad and Tobago. Rooted in economic theory, particularly Beckford’s (1972) plantation economy and Mills’ (1956) elite theory, it compiles a comprehensive list of three major segments of civic society – the judiciary, national Senate and company boards. It examines the demographic composition of these groups and studies the relationship between the members. This project argues that leading up to independence in 1962 and since then there are three categories of elites formed on the islands. They are: descendants of colonial officials and plantation owners; descendents of Chinese and Syrian/Lebanese immigrants; and a relatively small group of Afro- and Indo-Trinidadians and Tobagoians. Drawing on various developments in the history of Trinidad and Tobago, I summarize the occupational-ethnic relationship in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Occupational-Ethnic Relationships of the Elite

Ethnicity	Whites and Near-whites	Chinese and Syrian/Lebanese	African and East Indian
Historical Occupation	Colonial officials Plantation owners/managers Bankers Importers/Exporters Professionals (lawyers, doctors and engineers)	Peddlers Dry goods merchants	Civil servants Teachers Professionals (lawyers and doctors)
Current Occupation	Bankers Business owners (manufacturing and import/export) Professionals	Business owners (manufacturing, finance, food industry and import/export)	Politicians Professionals (lawyers and doctors) Business owners (manufacturing and import/export)

The study argues that after Trinidad and Tobago achieved independence from Britain, the pre-independence/colonial elites retained their place in the economic sector even as they lost visible control of the political and judicial arenas. This group is mainly

local Whites, descendants (legitimate and illegitimate) of planters and European colonial officials. Ethnic Chinese and Syrian/Lebanese immigrants began arriving on the islands in the late 1800s and have remained relatively small minorities. The latter group, despite arriving as impoverished migrants has been able quickly to become business owners and part of the capitalist class.

The third group of elites is a small group of ethnic African and Indians whose ancestors came to the islands as slaves and indentured laborers. Pre-independence, members of these groups achieved success mostly as a result of their access to education. Some were able to take advantage of opportunities in the civil and teaching services while a smaller group was able to go to abroad and train to become doctors and lawyers and an even smaller group became business owners. Post-independence saw the rise of this group in the political and judicial arenas where they would dominate while increasing their presence in the capitalist sphere.

The central tenet of this paper is that the Whites and Near-whites<sup>2</sup>, who were more directly tied to the colonial authorities, recede into the shadows of power after independence as the new elites assume the reins of judicial and political leadership. In the private capital arena the traditional elites – mostly Whites, Near-whites, Chinese, Syrian/Lebanese – continued to dominate although participation of newer elites – Africans and East Indians – have also increased in this sphere as a direct result of their ties to state (government) companies or other civil appointments.

The transformation of the elite in Trinidad and Tobago takes place over a relatively short time and in response to nationalist sentiment and political expedience.

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<sup>2</sup> Near-Whites: people who self-identify because of their genealogy or social connections as White, but did not necessarily descend exclusively from European ancestry.

Changes were particularly dramatic after the 1970 Black Power rebellion (Ryan, 1972; Bennett, 1996; and Premdas, 2007). Despite these changes and drawing from the analysis of Beckford (1970, 1972, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2001) this study explores the degree to which the super-structure developed by the colonial plantation system is still evident in current national political and economic institutions. The most important question is: Are traditional elites able to retain key roles and strongly influence national life in spite of post-independence political change.

Relying on Beckford's (1972) model, this paper examines some of the critical business and political institutions alongside the judiciary in order to reveal the extent to which it is the members of the new elite group who participate in the government and judiciary while the traditional group have retained considerable influence in the financial and economic sectors. This is significant because it considers which groups control the national economy, legal system and one arm of the national government therefore possibly influences policy formation.

Trinidad and Tobago's post-independent political leadership recognizes the role and importance of the traditional elite, particularly in terms of their economic influence and financial dominance. One result of this is that governments occasionally reward members of the traditional elite with appointments to public office; in this study, the judiciary and national Senate. The new elite play a significant and highly visible role in politics particularly as elected government officials and growing appointments to the legal bench. Additionally their presence in the professional and business community has grown since independence in particular as appointed board members of state companies.

This paper maintains, that in order to sustain a democratic system for fifty years, national governments, which are comprised mostly of individuals of African and East Indian heritage, acknowledge the need to appease various sectors of the society, including the capitalist elites (mostly, Whites, Near-whites, Chinese and Syrian/Lebanese). It demonstrates that members of the traditional (capitalist) elite are tied to various political parties as evidenced particularly by Senatorial appointments. These appointments may be construed as rewards by the political party leadership that is dominated by new elite members. It is also surmises that through these appointments the traditional elite have been able to maintain their economic position since independence in 1962. These political appointments are important because they afford the capitalists elite access to information while at the same time rewarding them for their support of the political parties. The support is inferred because many of the capitalist elite families have members who actively participate in both political parties.

## CHAPTER II

### HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

The success of many former colonies as viable nation-states is mixed (Knight, 1978; Stone 1986; Clarke 1991 and Payne & Sutton 2001). Many economists, historians, and political scientists debate the reason for this phenomenon. George Beckford (1972, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c and 2001) suggests that former colonials, particularly those in the Caribbean, were part of a larger system that was meant to support the colonial government. This support came even at the expense of many colonies' wellbeing. In the English-speaking Caribbean, land was often used to produce sugar, coffee, cocoa and more recently bananas for export to Europe and America. Beckford argues that the plantation system created by colonialists initially as part of the larger slave economy left significant marks on the institutions of the Caribbean long after slavery ended. He proposes not only that plantation economies created, economic distinctions based primarily on racial lines and access to the colonial power structure but that the economic paradigm filtered into social life manifesting in what he described as a plantation society. According to him this society is characterized by a largely unskilled labor force, dependent on agriculture, a small ex-patriot supervisory force, cultural pluralism, a caste system based on occupation and social status, an authoritative managerial style, and centralized decision making.

This paper argues that since independence in 1962, national politics in Trinidad and Tobago is dominated by a small and inter-connected group of individuals; the elites.

The network created by this group has meant that the comparatively small Chinese, White and Syrian/Lebanese ethnic groups and a few Indian and African families have maintained a strong presence in the political and economic arena. Using Beckford’s plantation society as a backdrop, this paper explores whether that the planter and colonial official has been replaced by a few elites who are able to secure their economic, political and social position by establishing a network of public and private connections. As a multiethnic country (Table 2.1) Trinidad and Tobago struggles with how its citizens gain access to the wealth generated from its oil and gas fields. This is especially problematic because there is no ethnic majority and the two major political parties subscribe to the British policy of “divide and rule” along ethnic lines. As a result the ethnically African population is aligned with the PNM and the ethnically East Indian populations with the UNC.

Table 2.1<sup>3</sup>: Population by Ethnic Group

Ethnic Group (%)	1990	2000	2010
African	39.6	37.5	24.22
East Indian	40.4	40	35.43
White	0.6	0.63	0.59
Chinese	0.4	0.34	0.3
Mixed	18.4	20.5	
Other	0.2	0.3	
Mixed – Other			15.16
Mixed – African and Indian			7.66
Syrian/Lebanese	0.08	0.1	0.08
Indigenous			0.11
Other Ethnic			0.17
Not Stated	0.4	0.93	6.22

<sup>3</sup> Source: Central Statistical Office of Trinidad and Tobago.



The White, Chinese and Syrian/Lebanese communities make up about 1% of the population. In order for these minority groups to gain access to political power and maintain economic dominance their members tend to align themselves with both major political parties. Table 2.2 describes income distribution, in Trinidad and Tobago dollars, by ethnicity.

Table 2.2<sup>4,5</sup>: Income Distribution by Ethnicity (2000)

Ethnic group of household	Percent distribution of household	Average size of household	Average number of children per household	Average monthly household income	Average monthly household expenditure	Per capita monthly household income	Per capita monthly household expenditure	Average gross monthly household income
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
All households	100.00	3.76	1.39	4,417.94	3,157.31	1,176.02	840.45	3,850.15
African	45.60	3.58	1.40	4,151.43	2,840.27	1,158.04	792.29	3,638.42
Indian	38.50	3.95	1.35	4,253.24	3,310.45	1,076.68	838.02	3,658.57
Chinese	0.30	2.63	0.88	5,765.88	3,425.43	2,195.52	1,304.95	4,857.50
White/Caucasian	0.80	3.11	0.94	14,135.22	8,824.58	4,543.46	2,836.47	12,622.11
Mixed	14.50	3.86	1.51	5,169.45	3,456.69	1,340.38	896.26	4,556.95
Other Ethnic Group	0.30	2.67	1.00	2,474.33	1,436.33	927.88	538.62	1,945.67

Percentage distributed is not representative since Tobago was over sampled

It is clear that the descendents of plantation owners, merchants and colonial official (mostly Whites or Near-whites) did have an initial advantage in terms of wealth accumulation. As a result of the colonial system, first under the Spanish and then the British, Whites and Near-whites were afforded access to land and capital denied to Africans and East Indians. The Spanish, in an effort to increase the population on Trinidad and in a futile attempt to help defend the island from other European

<sup>4</sup> Source: Central Statistical Office of Trinidad and Tobago.

<sup>5</sup> Given the demographic makeup of Tobago, the African-origin segment of the population is overrepresented. This does not invalidate the cross-group comparisons in income and other variables.

powerhouses, especially Britain, encouraged Catholic immigration to Trinidad. A large number of French along with smaller numbers of Irish and English settlers took advantage of the “*Cedula* of Population” moving to Trinidad beginning in 1783. According to Brereton (1981 and 1998), White migrants were awarded about 30 acres of land “for each member of his family and half as much for each slave he introduced” (p. 13) while Mulattos and free Blacks received less land. The two other conditions demanded by the Spanish were that the settlers be Catholic and that they come from a nation friendly to Spain. The *Cedula*, Brereton maintains, resulted in an increase the island’s population from 6,503 in 1784 to 17,718 in 1797, Table 2.3, when the British took over.

Table 2.3<sup>6</sup>: Population Change, 1784 to 1797

	<b>Freemen</b>	<b>Slaves</b>	<b>Indians</b>	<b>Total</b>
1784	2550	2462	1491	6503
1785	2741	3300	1405	7446
1786	3201	4430	1391	9022
1787	4110	6009	1414	11533
1788	3807	6481	1428	11716
1789	5170	6451	1432	13053
1790	5443	6396	1408	13247
1791	4695	5916	1398	12009
1792	5047	7767	1198	14012
1793	5212	8264	1268	14744
1794	5642	8733	1114	15519
1795	5257	8944	1078	15279
1797	6627*	10009	1082	17718

\*Whites: 2151 Coloureds: 4476

The *Cedula* helped Whites and Near-whites obtain access to free land. Along with the slave system of the island it meant that most Non-whites were locked out of the

<sup>6</sup> Source, Brereton (1981), *A History of Modern Trinidad 1783 – 1962*.

ownership class. Brereton points out however that the White racial group itself was not homogeneous. She argues that there were multiple divisions within this group (1998). These included, but were not limited to: place of birth (European mainland vs. Caribbean); length of residence on the island (old vs. new families/arrivals); language and ethnicity (Spanish vs. French vs. English); religion (Catholic vs. Protestant – mostly Anglican); class (elites – plantation and large business owners and high level colonial officials vs. middle-class – lower level colonial officials, overseers, teachers and other professionals vs. the lower-class – small village shopkeepers and farmers). Brereton claims that the small Syrian and Lebanese population that began arriving in 1890 was subsumed into the White racial category and are often considered as such however it has maintained itself as a separate own sub-group and has resisted intermarriage with other groups (both Whites and Non-whites). This group initially worked as peddlers and small-scale traders, but over time became integral to the commercial infrastructure on the islands.

The Chinese came to Trinidad in two phases<sup>7</sup>, a first wave in beginning in 1853 and a second wave in the first part of the 1900s. Originally hired as indentured laborers many of them quickly abandoned the fields. Instead they became village shopkeepers, small farmers (mainly cocoa) or merchants involved in the import/export trade. Unlike East Indian indentured laborers the Chinese were not promised return passage to their

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<sup>7</sup> There has been a more recent wave beginning in the late 1990s but it is yet unclear if these are economic sojourners or permanent immigrants.

homeland. Their numbers remained low however because of high levels of mortality<sup>8</sup>.

According to Look Lai (1993) the post-indentureship opportunities were very favorable to the Chinese and many of them were in fact able to buy out their contract before the five-year period ended. He writes that:

“[B]y the time of the census of 1891, the vast majority of the small Chinese community in Trinidad had gravitated out of its early duality of occupation (part agriculturist, part small trader). Most found themselves in the later occupation, jostling side by side with their Portuguese, Indian, and Black counterparts, but having at least in Trinidad – an image of being the most successful of these groups in this field” (p. 191).

A racialized system of land ownership developed wherein Whites and Near-whites owned most of the plantations on the islands at the time of emancipation. According to Williams (1942), “in 1841 the Trinidad planters objected to a proposal from the Secretary of State that 40 acres should be the smallest area of Crown land granted to any person” (p. 87). The planters insisted that grants be no smaller than 320 acres and by opposing this plan they were able to ensure sugar production, the most profitable crop at that time, would continue to be out of the reach of the newly freed slaves because sugar needed to be cultivated on large landholdings for maximum efficiency and profitability. This also effectively meant that the newly freed slaves would be restricted to peasant agriculture (Mintz 1989). Williams argues that the colonial government actively worked against the interest of small farmers in favor of large plantation holders, who were often represented in the Crown Colony system of government. It is the desire to maintain these large-scale plantations that Williams, Mintz and Beckford claimed inspired and maintained the hierarchical racialized labor market. Concurring with R.T. Smith,

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<sup>8</sup> Robert and Byrnes (1966) found that between 1882 and 1884, 2645 Chinese came to Trinidad and Look Lai (1993) found that the 1931 census found 2027 Chinese on the island.

Beckford (2000a) argues that plantation “society as a whole was therefore rigidly stratified by race and colour directly correlated with occupational status on the plantation, with very limited social mobility” (p. 246)

Access to land ownership was especially essential in the plantation economy. Large-scale holdings were needed for the production of sugar and later cocoa and coffee. According to Beckford (2000a), emancipation did little to change the position of Blacks in the society because the Whites and Near-whites were able “to maintain their stranglehold over the basic means of production – the land” (p. 247). He claims that even on an island like Trinidad, with an excess of land (relative to smaller islands) Whites control over most of the fertile land led to four major consequences. Firstly, social and economic mobility was very restricted. Secondly, the plantation society developed a social system “based on caste, race and colour” (p. 247). Thirdly, production and resources were geared towards fulfilling the needs of the colonial power rather than the native population. Finally, that labor was organized inefficiently in the plantation system. Beckford suggests that the plantation system created an unequal society, where social mobility and wealth was tied to land ownership. Therefore as long as land ownership was denied to the majority, wealth accumulation would also be elusive. Mintz (1998) supports this view when he writes that in the competition between the plantation owner and small-scale (peasant) farmer “for scarce resources – such as agricultural extension, assistance, government-supported irrigation, and highways. Such struggles are consistently won by the plantations” (p. 133)

As early as 1857, Williams (1942) states that the profitability of sugar on the island was threatened, not by disease or world prices, but by the development of mega-

plantations on Cuba. Cuban plantations were not only larger, but had better technology, produced a better product and investors from America had sunk about US\$30 million in the industry by 1896. Alongside Cuban sugar, Trinidad, according to Williams was also competing with beet sugar from Europe, particularly Germany and by 1902 “king” sugar was dead.

According to Brereton (1981) cocoa production became a viable alternative to sugar between 1866 and 1920. Unlike sugar, smaller plots of land could be converted into cocoa estates and with the loosening of availability of Crown lands by Governor Gordon<sup>9</sup> large numbers of small-scale farmers could become involved in the industry. Brereton points out that there were two ways smaller farmers would gain access; either as the owner/cultivator of their land or as a contracted cultivator of someone else’s property. Usually an investor would purchase large tracts of Crown lands and then turn them over to the farmer for a five year period and a percentage of the sale of the crop. Despite the development of these small farms, the White elite were able to ensure their continued dominance in the economic and political life of the islands. Brereton points out that the colonial government failed to sustain land reform started by Gordon and continued preferential access of elites to the capital and the financial market. As the large-scale model of the plantation began to failed, peasant farmers who were excluded from access the financial market were unable to form a viable middle-class and would take longer for this group to emerge.

Even with the failure of large-scale plantation agriculture by 1930, land ownership remained important to wealth accumulation. Brereton describes how even

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<sup>9</sup> Gordon was governor from 1866 to 1870

with the collapse in the prices of sugar and cocoa, the colonial government worked with large, mostly white plantation owners, to prevent the foreclosure of their properties by the banks to which they were mortgaged. Laborers on the plantations continued to be subjected to arduous working conditions. The sugar industry moved towards a system of cane farmers where smaller farmers would sell their crops to the larger estate, thus removing the need to pay for labor altogether from the estate's costs. Brereton also points out that some of the earliest oil wells were dug, Africans and Indians were employed to clear the forest, but Whites (British, Americans and local Creoles) and a Chinese-Trinidadian who were given leases, able to gain access to capital and the government, and had the technical know-how.

The pattern of social hierarchy established at the inception of European rule continued as the island moved towards independence in 1962. The planter class (mostly White), long after the failure of plantation agriculture, continued to receive favorable treatment from the colonial government and as a result higher had social status. Many of them were able to use their land to acquire capital (through sale or mortgages) to start businesses or provide university (usually European but sometimes American) education for their children especially in medicine and law. This group also controlled the banking sector, worked for oil companies and owned large merchandizing companies. The Chinese and Syrian/Lebanese groups, by 1962, had entrenched themselves in the merchant and trader class, running import/export businesses, working as middle men between the wholesaler and the rural shopkeeper or acting as the rural shopkeeper. The Syrian/Lebanese group developed a reputation of being cloth merchants while the Chinese were more diverse. The much larger African and Indian populations remained

mostly employed as laborers, lower level civil servants, store clerks and teachers. Some did manage to become professionals (lawyers and doctors), clergy and businessmen; these were more often the exception.

In 1925 the Woods Commission expanded suffrage (Williams, 1942). The criterion was based on “the domination of property and wealth” (p. 220). Eligibility of voters and those permitted to serve in the legislative council was tied to proof of income, residence and education. The trade union movement, which began in the 1920s the trade union movement, flourished on the islands. Initially it was closely tied to the general political development of the working-class, which was comprised of mostly ethnically African and Indian laborers. With leaders like Cipriani, Butler and Rienzi, sugar and oil workers began to organize themselves. The growing labor movement attempted to respond to the unfair working conditions that had long received the tacit approval of the colonial government. Brereton claims that alongside this growing political awareness was a simultaneous cultural awakening that encouraged people to learn and to appreciate the various ethnic traditions present on the islands. For the first time, the African and Indian working class saw leaders who championed their causes. With increased access to education, many of them were able to achieve middle class status.

Outside of the major urban centers of Port of Spain and San Fernando, however, the African and Indian remained mostly segregated by geography and employment. This was not by formal design as in the United States, but rather by coincidence. After slavery Africans tended moved into urban centers to look for work and remained there. Indians, having been recruited to replace African labor, were settled, on, or near, the plantations they would work on and their movement was often restricted. When their indentureship



ended many were given plots of land instead of their return passage. Africans received no such compensation at the end of slavery. Many Indians therefore worked as agricultural laborers or in the sugar industry. Working class Africans tended to be employed as laborers in oil, casual day laborers and agriculture. The only real access to the middle class available to these two groups was education. Primary education was free by 1851 but the quality was sometimes dubious. A sound primary school education however could allow a graduate to enter the teaching ranks through a long system of mentorship and obtain other middle class jobs. Secondary education remained available mostly to those who could afford to pay for it except when a poor child passed a national examination that allowed them access. Gaining entry to a secondary school was no guarantee of attendance or completion since parents, particularly rural ones, would often be forced into paying for their child's books and room and board since most of the high schools were located in urban centers.

The growing African and Indian middle and intellectual class, supported by the working class pushed for political independence<sup>10</sup>. Although divided mostly along ethnicity, two major political parties formed, the PNM lead by Eric Williams with an overwhelmingly urban, African and Christian membership and the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) which by default was consisted of mostly Indian, non-Christian and rural members. This was not the first time race was present in social movements, but according to Brereton (1981) Williams reacted to the DLP's 1958 federal election victory in a speech by accusing them of appealing to race in order to motivate the electorate. She argues that what Williams in fact was doing is making "an appeal for counter-

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<sup>10</sup> Independence from Britain was achieved in 1962.

mobilization” (p. 239). Eventually, this pattern of racialized politics, which first surfaced in the early trade union movement, would become a permanent fixture of the political scene. The PNM would continue to be perceived as the African party and the DLP along with all its political descendants, the Indian party.

Political independence however did not lead to radical social change. The PNM who were able to obtain the political majority in the parliament beginning in 1962 until 1986 were forced to confront the social order in 1970 by the Black Power Movement. This social rebellion was in response to the rigid cultural divides on the island. Up to this point in time, Africans and Indians found themselves marginalized socially and excluded from various fields of employment. Young, mostly middle-class, Afro-Trinidadian students, organized and led marches in the capital to protest their continued exclusion from jobs especially those in the private sector like banking. The organizers saw themselves as champions of all the middle and working classes and not just of Afro-Trinidadians. Unfortunately for them, many Indo-Trinidadians rejected the idea of Black Power as a solely African expression. Among some Afro-Trinidadians, including the ruling class, the movement leaders were seen as rebellious, violent and ungrateful. Although the movement did achieve some of its goals including the opening up of new employment opportunities to Africans and Indians, it remains characterized as Afro-centric in nature.

## **2.1 HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND THE RISE OF THE POST-INDEPENDENCE ELITE**

Using Beckford’s plantation society model, the study examines the political and capitalist elites of Trinidad and Tobago. An underlying assumption is that the capitalist

elites retain the social capital and gain political access through the membership of various family members in political parties and the financing of political campaigns. These activities are then rewarded by appointments to a number of state-controlled positions. Premdas (2007) writes that “[t]he issue of equality and inequality in the context of inter-ethnic rivalry under the pervasive condition of multi-ethnicity in the contemporary state” (p.3) accordingly, my study would imply that there might be some covert collusion between the elite and the political parties who govern the country. The results of which are reflected in Table 2.2. Citing an article in the *Economist* Henry (1986) maintains that within plural societies and from

“the standpoint of Marxian and Dependency perspectives, the new elites that succeeded the former colonial elite have simply adapted to a new role in a continuing relationship between their own peripheral country and the metropolitan center and are the new agents for the maintenance of the old arrangements which are now mediated through transnational corporations and the bureaucratic state” (p. 76).

This suggests the importance of examining the composition of elite in Trinidad and Tobago.

## CHAPTER III

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 3.1 ELITES

Social scientists generally agree that modern societies typically have a hierarchical social structure, the elite on the top and the working and underclass at the bottom (Mills, 1945 & 1956 and Pareto 2000). The idea of the elite however needs to be examined. The assumption is often made, not just of their existence but that they are a well-defined easily identifiable group (Laumann and Pappi 1973 and Zeitlin, Neuman and Ratcliff 1976). Mills' 1956 classic work, *The Power Elite* argues that this group is identifiable and has tremendous power over society. According to Mills, the elite "is composed of men whose positions enable them to transcend the ordinary environments of ordinary men and women; they are in positions to make decisions having major consequences" (p. 3). Mills suggests that elites in America are able to influence various parts of the society including the military, government, business and media. He claims that the emergence of the elite is shaped by historical events and the nature of modern social institutions which trends towards centralization of decision making. In an earlier study Mills (1945) examined seven periods of American history, from 1570 – 1879, and determined that there are some discernible patterns among the elite with regards to their geographic location, educational level, father's occupation and family lineage. The

current study examines the elite of Trinidad and Tobago by looking at senatorial, judicial and company board of director appointments made from 1962 – 2002 in order to determine if there are any obvious patterns within this group with regards to ethnicity, gender, high school affiliations and business connections.

Dahl (1958) and Mintz, Freitag, Hendrick and Schwartz (1976) suggest that some scholarly work fails to properly define “the elite”. The authors contend that this is a major deficiency with elite research. Wrong (1968); Bachrach and Baratz (1962); and Perrucci and Pilisuk (1970) all argue that research on elites does a poor job of defining precisely who the elite are and what, if any power they actually have. According to these authors there is a difference between “people who have a *reputation* for power, which may or may not be related to actual power” (p. 1041). These authors point out that a major problem that is evident with much of elite research is the assumption that the “ruling elite is a well-defined group” (Dahl, 1958). Dahl’s suggestion therefore that the ruling elite are “a minority of individuals whose preferences regularly prevail in cases of difference in preference on key political issues” (p. 464) is an excellent working definition. One of the implications of this study is that these appointees in Trinidad and Tobago who are the subject of this study, by virtue of their appointments and the nature of their business interest, have access to information not readily available to others. It is this access that allows this group and the networks which they are a part of to maintain their economic and social elite status.

### 3.2 SOCIAL NETWORKS

Many researchers use social networks to examine the presence and influence of elites in the political arena (Moore, 1979; Padgett and Ansell 1993; Alba and Moore 1983; Kadushin 1995; Heinz, Laumann, Salisbury and Nelson 1990; Higley, Hoffmann-Lange, Kadushin and Moore 1991; and Ussem 1978). This methodological approach attempts to uncover the subtle links between individuals and institutions that are not always apparent. It tries to discover whether the assertion that is often made that political power is concentrated in the hands of a few (the elite), who use this position to benefit economically, socially and politically is valid. Often these studies examine the presence of particular families or ethnic groups in certain industries; as members of executive boards; political offices or some combination of these. Even though all of these studies found that there was a core group of elites, the composition and structure of these groups differed. Some groups are primarily comprised of one ethnicity and others school friends. Generally however researchers concluded that their membership was primarily comprised of wealthy individuals but some networks were loosely connected members revolving around a centralized inner group while other networks were a series of spheres connected by go-betweens.

Padgett and Ansell (1993) make a strong case for the need to study elite social networks in order “to penetrate beneath the veneer of formal institutions and apparently clear goals, down to the relational substratum of people’s actual lives” (p. 1310). Their work suggests that any investigation of elites must consider public (formal) and private (informal) links between the group as, “it is clear that marriage [*private*] and trading [*public*] relationships are primary forces behind this blockmodel portrait of the Florentine elite” (p. 1313). It is this perceived link and strength of ties between the private and

public that social network methodology can uncover. Aside from family connections, friendships are also a source of network connections for elites with regard to access to information, especially in the fields of employment, politics and business (Kadushin, 1995; Krackhardt, 1990; and Gibbons, 2004). This paper contends that the elite network in Trinidad and Tobago is dominated by members who are connected via family membership (by blood or marriage); and friendships (formed in secondary school and by religious affiliation).

The pattern of interlocking directorates between business enterprises and political appointments or interest groups is another example of elite networks (Dooley, 1969; Freitag, 1975; and Levine, 1972). The hypothesis that guides this proposal is not just that this pattern also exist in Trinidad and Tobago, but that in regard to appointments to non-elected offices including, but not limited to, the boards of public enterprises, judgeships and as national Senators minority ethnic groups are over-represented when compared to their composition within the general population. The old elite of Trinidad and Tobago are primarily comprised of members who are in the ethnic minority. Greeley (1974) in his own investigation of political participation among ethnic groups found there were significant differences in the levels of involvement. Alba and Moore (1982) sampled the ethnicity of the leadership of public and private sector organizations from 1971 – 1972. According to their findings, certain ethnic minorities, particularly Irish Catholics, are over represented within the American elite and that White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs) elites tend to “have more elite educations, and are older than other groups” (p. 380).

### 3.3 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Williams (1966) argues in *Capitalism and Slavery* that the European colonists developed the Caribbean region to service the needs of its empires with little regard for the region's inhabitants. This foundational work examines the connections between economics, politics and society. Alonso (2002) claims that one result of this colonial arrangement is dependency on the exportation of one or two (usually agricultural) goods. This means that the region is often subject to boom and bust cycles as the price of the good rises and falls on the world market and over which they have little control. Various governments try to break this pattern through diversification, encouraging foreign investment and developing the tourism sector but the results are questionable.

Sir W. Arthur Lewis, the St. Lucian-born, Nobel laureate, conceived of his theory of modernization based on the ideas of classical economists and experiences of Western industrialized countries (Lesson, 1982 and Rostow, 1990). This two-tiered development model was proposed to help countries transition from underdeveloped to developed status. The traditional sector, consisting mainly of subsistence agricultural, labor-intensive production requires little capital investment is to be a source of food and other locally-produced goods intended for the national market employing large numbers of unskilled workers. The modern sector, which is the industrial or manufacturing segment of the economy employs wage labor, requires capital investment and has as its goal the generation of profits. This segment of the economic is intended to attract and retain foreign investment and technology in order to produce goods for an international market. According to Demas (1980) Lewis' model "advocates aggressive extra-regional export-led growth supported by regional import-substitution as the solution to the region's



unemployment problem” (p. 82). The two sectors are not to compete with each other, but rather to support the national economy. The tradition tier employing large number while supplying food and other goods and the modern tier increasing the foreign currency reserves, the pool of skilled wage earners and access to technology. St. Cyr (1980) maintains that Lewis and his disciples “concluded that the islands must industrialise at all cost” (p. 19) for development to take place.

Cumper (1974) states that a survey of Lewis’ work would demonstrate “that his main concern has always been with the strategy of development, in relation to which the policy of developing light manufactures for export was seen by him as a particular tactic adapted to the needs of the Caribbean” (p. 466). Very few Caribbean nations have had any success with private foreign investors or marketing their goods on the international market because of history of mono-crop agricultural production, limited technological expertise and restricted access to large amounts of capital that is often located in North American or European metropole. Farrell (1980) suggests that this is a major shortcoming of Caribbean governments because they do very little to promote the manufactured exports and “that the Caribbean governments did *not* follow the Lewis strategy” (p. 63). Instead the region remains in the same position it has always been, exporting raw materials (bananas, oil, natural gas, bauxite and asphalt) to the world and importing finished goods (food, machinery, technology and clothes). Even though many islands have turned to tourism, the viability of this industry has been tenuous and the social problems that have resulted are many.

Wallerstien’s world-systems model attempts to understand and account for the discrepancies between the developed and developing world economies. He writes (1976)

that, “despite all the presumed effort (aid, technical assistance, human investment), the so-called ‘gap’ between the ‘developed’ and the ‘developing’ countries was growing bigger, not smaller” (p. 344). According to the world-systems model, countries and their economies are located somewhere within a sphere, either close to the core or towards the periphery. Hass (2007) contends that this theory “posits real structural forces and mechanisms that create and reproduce global inequality” (p. 50). Wallerstein’s model suggests that countries situated within the core, have stronger economies and are more influential in the world market. These countries are mostly in North America and Western Europe and have robust manufacturing, technological and financial sectors. They also usually have stable democratic governments. For countries on the periphery, much of their economy is based on agriculture and mining. The prices set for these goods tend to be controlled by forces outside their boundaries in the futures markets in major metropolitan cities like London, New York and Chicago. Many of the governments in these countries are unstable and there are often limited democratic institutions.

Dependency theory, which grew out of the world-systems paradigm, examines the role structural relationships between countries. In this model, distribution of economic resources among countries is a reflection of the balance of power between them.

According to Leys (1977) this theory, developed by Andre Gunder Frank in the 1970s, attempts to address the failures of the modernization concept (especially in Latin America and Africa) and

“inverted many of the assumptions of modernization theory. It saw metropolitan policy as maleficent, not beneficent; inflows of foreign investment were seen as giving rise to much greater interest and profit outflows; ‘modernizing elites’ were really compradors, or lumpen-bourgeoisies, serving their own and foreign interest, not those of the people; world trade perpetuated structures of underdevelopment, rather

than acting as a solvent of them. Capitalist development ... offered nothing to the periphery; and the solution lay in reducing links to the metropolises and bring about 'autocentric' national growth" (p. 12).

Proponents of this theory suggest that less developed countries remain underdeveloped because of the control and influence of more developed countries on major international institutions like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other sources of capital. For these theorists, the role of multinational corporations and business elite needs to be considered because they argue that these controlling groups have the power to shape international monetary policy and their monopolization of international capital have direct consequences on development. According to Gereffi and Fonda (1992) dependency theory "stresses the fact that structural dependency on foreign capital and external markets in the more advanced countries of the third world constrains and distorts, but is not incompatible with, capitalist economic development" (p. 424).

Beckford's (1972) plantation economy system while not solely a model of development attempts to explain the underdevelopment of the region. Beckford argues that economic forces work alongside social ones to inhibit growth. He writes that the plantation system is "the totality of institutional arrangements surrounding the production and marketing of the plantation staple" (p. 245). According to this model, an individual's caste and color are important factors in the process of social stratification. As a result Whites and Near-whites are privileged and Non-whites (Blacks and Indians) are not. Beckford maintains that emancipation did little to end this social order, in fact because the "plantations managed to maintain their stranglehold over the basic means of production – the land" (p. 247) the plight of Non-white laborers remains the same. This model claims that the Caribbean underdevelopment continues because resources are still

controlled by a few (the White and Near-white elites) from the colonial era, there is an abundance of inexpensive and unskilled labor and the peasant farmer is restricted to poor quality land and receives little institutional support.

Unlike Lewis' model, the plantation model proposed by Beckford considers historical and social factors that shaped the society. Beckford argues that these factors are important because the privilege afforded to the elites and the access denied the non-elites have become institutionalized. According to Beckford, Lewis' model does not account for these factors and therefore will fail (Demas 1980, Farrell 1980 and St. Cyr 1980). Farrell (1980) writes that the New School of economics (of which Beckford was a member) "was united in an approach to Caribbean economic analysis which stressed the colonial origins of the economy and its institutions and focused on the new neo-colonial order which was being created in the Caribbean area in the post-independence period" (p. 64). Farrell's analysis the New School indicates that it was fervently opposed to Lewis' suggestion that the modern sector encourage international companies to invest in the Caribbean since in their opinion was another form of colonialization. Beckford's plantation economy model counters Lewis' by advocating a more holistic approach not just to the task of development but also to the possible impediments to any plan.

### **3.4 TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO**

Studies of the business and political elite in the Caribbean and Trinidad and Tobago are relatively scarce. Generally, research has focused on the problems that face the political and economic development in the Caribbean as a consequence or in response to issues of ethnic diversity particularly with regard to access to capital and the

development of an entrepreneurial class (Ayearst, 1954; Allahar, 2004; Henry, 1989 and 1990; and Adams & Masuoka 1961). This study considers not just the broad subject of how elites access political and economic power in a post-colonial environment, but focuses on the ethnic minorities in Trinidad and Tobago and their representation in the national Senate, judiciary and various company boards. Parris' (1985) article found that there was a pattern of interlocking directorships among 28 of the companies traded on the Trinidad and Tobago Stock Exchange. Most of these board members were from ethnic minorities and all were educated at two of the most prestigious grammar schools in Trinidad. While Parris' paper does not utilize social network theory, it does offer a very basic analysis of one aspect of the economic elite class that points to board membership and school alumni.

Premdas' (2007) work in conjunction with Paris' suggests that the ethnic minorities of Trinidad and Tobago enjoy preferential membership within the national government. Premdas looked mainly at the ethnic tension between African and East Indians within the public sector in Trinidad and Tobago, stemming from their access to, and promotion within, the civil service. He includes however some scrutiny of other ethnic groups within the government. He points out that over the course of 10 elections between 1961 and 2002, there were 354 Members of Parliament elected and of that number 20 (5.7%) were white and 7 (2%) were Chinese or part-Chinese. These figures indicate that the two minority groups are over represented as elected officials in the national government<sup>11</sup>. Cabinet ministerial appointments of the 2002 PNM government, which included national senators (who are appointed and not elected) reflects the fact that

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<sup>11</sup> According to the Central Statistical Office in 2000 Whites were 0.6% and Chinese 0.3% of the total population.

minorities are a significant segment compared to the population at large. Of the 24 ministers, 3 were white and 1 Chinese. Premdas' inquiry does indicate that there is a pattern within the national government that favors ethnic minorities disproportionately compared to the African and East Indian majority. While neither of these studies utilize social networking methodologies, they do hint at the possible richness and need for a study like the one currently proposed.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCEPTUAL MODEL

This paper investigates membership within the elite strata of Trinidadian and Tobagoian society.

- 1) There are three groups of elites:
  - a. Local Whites and Near-whites, mainly the of descendents of planters and European colonial officials;
  - b. Descendants of ethnic Chinese and Syrian/Lebanese immigrants; and
  - c. Ethnic Africans and East Indians.
- 2) These elites have been appointed to various company/agency boards, the judiciary and the national Senate. The nature of these organizations are:
  - a. Private companies: wholly owned by private investors (no government interests)
  - b. Public enterprises: partly owned by the State, allowing the State the ability to appoint members to the board of directors
  - c. National Senate: these are constitutionally required appointments which are made by the Prime Minister, Leader of the Opposition, President or some combination of the three.
  - d. Judiciary: appointments made by the President based on the recommendations of the Judicial and Legal Services Commission.

Elite theorists (Mills, 1945 & 1956; and Pareto 2000) have proposed that one characteristic particular to modern industrialized society is the development of an elite stratum. The means by which membership is obtained in this stratum differs from society to society. Access to this stratum maybe as a result of family ties, profession, economic wealth, or race. Historically, elite status in Trinidad and Tobago is a consequence of a combination of factors. One legacy of the plantation system and British Colonial rule is the formation of a caste system based on race, occupation and wealth. Plantation owners and colonial officers occupied the top strata while the plantation workers, mostly people of African and East Indian ethnicity, dominated the lower levels.

Additionally, the islands' unique cultural composition complicates the social order. Although the British Colonial system and its officials influenced the legal structure of the society, a large number of the plantations were owned and run by Europeans of French and Spanish heritage. The Spanish settlers who were the islands first Colonial masters had invited French, Irish and other Catholic Europeans to move to Trinidad in 1783 in a failed attempt to ward off English occupation. The majority of those who came were French (Whites and free Blacks) with their slaves. Consequently, Trinidad more so that Tobago was culturally and socially French but legally British. One direct effect of this was manifested in the way children of White planters and Non-black mothers were treated. There is evidence that French and Spanish planters, more so than British planters or colonial officials, tacitly acknowledged their mixed children. This acknowledgment sometimes took the form of financial support and/or formal education which helped create a professional mixed race social class on the islands.



The importance of education cannot be overstated (Williams, 1942 and Brereton, 1981). Access to educational opportunities historically has been limited and the system is based on the British model that rewards the very smartest and the wealthy. Pre-emancipation, only free persons (mostly Whites) were entitled to be educated and this usually meant sending the students to Europe to be formally educated. Once slavery ended, the government was confronted with a growing population who were mostly illiterate and unemployed. Both the Colonial government and religious bodies established a number of primary schools. St. Joseph's Convent, which would eventually become a girls' high school, was founded in 1836 to serve children of the French, Catholic planter class. Secondary education remained limited until 1859 when the government opened Queen's Royal College (QRC) for the education of boys. Catholics worried about the possible Anglicization of their boys at QRC because even though the school was officially secular, many of its teachers and administrators were Church of England officials. The Catholic archbishop requested The Holy Ghost Fathers to start a school for boys and the College of the Immaculate Conception (CIC) or St. Mary's College began in 1863.

These two high schools remained at the forefront of male education well into the twentieth-century when a number of new schools were opened. Most of these schools had ties to religious denominations and were similar to the English public or grammar schools in terms of social prestige and academic achievement of their students although not all schools are afforded the same level of esteem. Collectively these schools are referred to as the Prestige or First Choice Schools (see Appendix E) because these are the schools which parents usually rank as their first desired choice if their children are

successful in the national exam administered at the end of primary school. These types of schools closely resemble the English Public School especially as it relates to social status. Students usually take the exam between age 10 and 12. Typically they have to score in the highest percentiles to gain entry into these Prestige Schools and because there is a shortage of space in this type of secondary school, qualified students are sometimes denied slots.

In an attempt to create more educational opportunities, the government entered into an agreement with religious school boards in 1960 known as the Concordat. One result is that more secondary school seats became available. Schools with religious affiliations however are guaranteed the ability to select up to 20% of their entrance class. In theory this quota could only be picked from the high achieving and often children of who are members of the religious organization, siblings of students already attending, children of alumni, teachers or administrators benefit from these spots. Competition for secondary school seats is intensive at the Prestige Schools. Parents invest in private lessons. Those that could afford it, or have the connections, send their children to private primary or selected public primary schools which are characterized as feeder institutions for the Prestige Schools. Early in the history of the nation, education was marked as an important tool for success.

Society in Trinidad and Tobago at the start of the twentieth-century was highly complex. Divisions by race and ethnicity were plain. Whites were granted more deference than Non-whites, but among Whites, there was tension between the British and non-British. Non-whites were also divided by ethnicity and occupation. Within this group, ability to advance socially and financially was dependent on access to education,

jobs and other economic resources that were very limited. Compounding this was the normative practice of skin color bias. Religious discrimination was also present. Christians had greater access to official institutions but Catholics claimed to suffer discrimination when interacting with Colonial offices. Gender inequity was also apparent both culturally and institutionally as illustrated by the limits in quantity and quality of girls' education (especially at the secondary and post-secondary levels) as well as in the types of occupations or professions available to women. Wealth and occupational divisions also existed. Plantation owners, high-ranking Colonial officials and professionals (particularly doctors, lawyers and engineers) were well-placed while small-scale farmers, itinerant merchants, shop-keepers and low-level Colonial officers like teachers, postal workers and policemen wheeled less influence while laborers and the occasional employed had the least influence.

As the country moved towards independence, connections – both formal and informal, became an important social and political resource in navigating the national super-structure. Conclusions about an individual's competence and character were often inferred based on their public religious affiliation; family name and relations; the high school (a sometimes primary school) attended; skin color; gender; and profession or family business. The Black Power Revolt that began in February 1970 openly challenged this social order. One of the organizers' complaints was the denial of private sector jobs particularly in banking and finance to qualified dark-skinned applicants. According to movement leaders this practice limited occupational and professional access to the majority ethnic populations (Blacks and East Indians) by a powerful minority (Whites and Near-whites). Professional development was also severely restricted because of the

relatively few free secondary school places available. Admittance to, and successful completion of, high school was necessary for university education. Top performers at the secondary level could compete for a government sponsored university scholarship that was necessary if students wanted to peruse law (as a barrister) or medicine but completing secondary education according to Brereton (1981) “opened up various possibilities for white-collar jobs: teaching, the civil service, journalism, minor positions in business, a practice as a solicitor” (p. 126). By 1970, the Non-white middle-class had grown and literacy rates, especially in urban areas were high but many well-educated young people felt excluded from joining the private sector because of traditional recruitment practices.

The government, through the civil and teaching services and the growing number of state enterprises was able to absorb many of the newly educated, Non-white members of the middle-class, but entry into the private sector continued to be restricted. While the Black Power Revolt did succeed in relaxing some of these constraints at the lower and middle-management levels, admission to upper-management and company directorships was usually bestowed to family members (in family-owned firms) or expiates or the very highly qualified and well-connected national in non-family owned businesses. It follows therefore, that many of board members at privately owned and state companies would be alumni of the same secondary schools that judges and senators attended since given the elitist education system only the very brightest and very wealthy attended these schools.

As a consequence of the social history of the country, this paper is interested in how decisions about appointments to companies, the national Senate and judiciary are made. Principally, it will focus on the uncovering the extent to which appointments

maybe a result of high school acquaintances or appear to be a result of specialized expertise or qualifications. While appointments to judgeships require certain professional credentials, board membership and the Senate does not. Examining all these appointments might reveal trends towards the professionalization of boards and the Senate or using these positions as a political reward (at state enterprises and the Parliament) or a means of accessing information and networking. Attention is paid to differences in the ethnic composition of these appointments overtime. It is expected that post-Black Power, there will be a rise in Non-white appointments because of the revolt; the ever-increasing number of educated Non-white and the majority Non-whites elected government. A final question for consideration is the status of women. This paper investigates trends in the appointment of women either in the private or public sectors.

Beckford's framework suggests that the plantation society developed into a highly stratified caste system which, by privileging race, limited access to wealth to the ethnic majorities (Africans and East Indians). Post-independence Africans and East Indians have risen to become the political leadership creating a majority political elite while ownership of private capital has remained in the hands of the Whites, Near-whites, Chinese and Syrian/Lebanese groups.

#### **4.1 SUMMARY OF CONCEPTUAL MODEL**

During the post-independence period, the nation has been undergoing social transformations that make it increasingly possible for non-whites and women to gain important roles in the private and public sectors. Similarly, opportunities have also expanded for those who subscribe to non-mainstream religions and those who have not

attended the most prestigious schools. Yet these changes have been coming about slowly, and not without push-back from those who have benefitted most from the traditional distribution of positions of power and influence.

In this dissertation, I am seeking to establish the degree to which members of groups that were once not considered for positions of power and influence have gained such positions during the post-independence period. I am able to examine the record of appointments to the Senate and to the High Court since independence. Data that pertain to appointments to the Board of Directors of key businesses are more difficult to collect. Consequently, the time period covered in my analysis of these appointments is limited to 2000 through 2011.

## **4.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

With respect to ethnicity:

- To what extent are the appointments of Non-whites to the High Court, the Senate, and Directorships to key companies low in comparison to Whites and Near-whites?
  - In the case of the judiciary, how are appointments distributed vis-à-vis types of judgeships and ethnicity?
  - With regards to the Senate and Directorships, what is the likelihood of individuals serving multiple appointments during the time period being considered?

With respect to gender:

- To what extent are the appointments of women to the High Court, the Senate, and Directorships to key companies low in comparison to men?
  - In the case of the judiciary, how are appointments distributed vis-à-vis types of judgeships and gender?
  - With regards to the Senate and Directorships, what is the likelihood of women serving multiple appointments during the time period being considered?

With respect to religious identity:

- To what extent is the religious diversity of the nation represented in the High Court, the Senate, and Directorships?

With respect to educational background:

- To what extent have graduates from non-prestige schools been appointed to the High Court, the Senate, and Directorships?

Beckford's work suggests that although political independence has been achieved, the plantation super-structure is re-shaped to include some ethnic majority members, but ethnic minorities retain significant influence in the public sphere. This paper maintains that there have been changes overtime to the ethnic, religious, educational and gender diversity of the elites and therefore power is more dispersed. Because of the size of the African and East Indian ethnic groups, this paper considers if these appointments are

drawn from a large pool of potential candidates or if the Non-white pool is limited to a small, exclusive group whose members share similar characteristics. Things that might indicate exclusiveness include ethnicity, gender, cohort, high school affiliation, profession and if it can be determined, family connections via birth and/or marriage and religion. In the first scenario, prestige is distributed by the elite who make these appointments based on patronage, qualifications or expertise and network connections. If the second scenario is true, then these appointments are closed and limited to very few who are well connected and their qualifications may be less important (unless it is highly specialized) than their connections (social, political or economic).



## CHAPTER V

### DATA AND METHODS

This project examines three groups. The first are judges appointed to the High and Appeal courts and those persons who serve as Chief Justices. This group includes all 113 persons who served from 1900 to up to 2010 (see Appendix A). The analysis, however, is limited to 101 persons who were on the bench from 1962 to 2010. This means all the men who served prior to political independence are excluded. The second group consists of 499 individuals who worked as board members on 26 companies between 2000 and 2011 (see Appendix B). The company records are incomplete and this is discussed in detail in the next section. The final group comprised 273 persons who served as a full-time National Senator starting with the First Independent Parliament in 1962 until the Ninth Republican Parliament ending in 2010 (see Appendix C).

#### **5.1 DATA**

There are 3 sources of data used for this project. The first database was obtained from the library of the Supreme Court of Trinidad and Tobago. It includes the names of all the persons who served in a permanent capacity as a judge at the High or Appeals Court level or as Chief Justice. The initial information provided by the library's records was the name of individuals as well as the year appointed to the bench. Information related to sex, ethnicity, date of birth and death, high school and place of birth was obtained

through a careful examination of various archival records and official government and newspaper websites.

The second database is compiled from the records at the Trinidad and Tobago Ministry of Legal Affairs Companies Registry online search facility. All 5 commercial banks are included, 7 insurance companies, 3 conglomerates, 3 developers, 3 media and information entities, 4 distributors and 1 mining enterprise. A total of 15 companies are privately owned, 2 companies are subject to state supervision and the remaining 9 are wholly or partial controlled by the state.

It should be noted that although the information for this database was obtained from official records, for some companies, the records were incomplete. As indicated in Appendix B, the Registry did not have all the documents for all the companies for the 10 year period under review. The lists of board members for most of the companies are included but some companies' records are incomplete. The companies (Appendix F) with missing information are National Flour Mills (2006 to 2011); Caribbean New Media (2005 to 2001) ALGICO (2001 to 2011); British American (2001 to 2011); Gulf (2001 to 2011); and Lake Asphalt (2000 to 2009 and 2011).

The official records from the Trinidad and Tobago Parliament is the source of the third database. Only individuals who served as permanent national senators are included. As with the judicial database, archival records and government and newspaper websites are used in an attempt to collect missing information. It is important to recognize there is a significant anomaly with the records. After the election of April 2002, attempts to form a government failed. As a result only Independent and Peoples National Movement senators were named.

## 5.2 VARIABLES

The independent variables used to analyze the data are sex, race, religion, occupation, high school graduated and industry. In order to determine sex and race, names and pictures of the subjects are examined. The complexity of race in Trinidad and Tobago allows for the possibility for individuals to have multiple identities or to ignore phenotype and instead embrace ethnic cultural heritage exclusively. The decision was made to use six racial categories: African, Indian, Chinese, White, Mixed and Syrian/Lebanese. These groups do not reflect the complete racial diversity of the islands but none of the official documents records race. Therefore race is assigned based on phenotypical characteristics as observed in photographs, or based on knowledge about family history, or where the individuals themselves offered a declarative statement about their race.

Religion is designated based on self-declared statements or where information about the holy book used at the times of the individual's public swearing-in ceremony. This is specific in the case of judges and senators. Additional information used includes when membership in an organization with religious ties is uncovered or when an obituary indicated a denomination.

Occupation is determined by examination of official records. For example in the case of board members, the forms submitted on behalf of the companies in order to satisfy the Companies Act is relied upon. These documents listed the names, addresses and occupations of all company directors. The occupations of senators are also recorded through an examination of the parliamentary and political party websites and newspaper articles. All occupations are then assigned a code using the United Nations' International

Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities (ISIC), Revision 4. The document lists 21 codes see Appendix D but category S was reassigned to Trade Union activities and U to Clergy. Five codes were added to indicate High Court Judges (V), Appeal Court Judges (W), Chief Justices (X), unspecified retirees (Y) and instances where occupations were not stated (Z).

High school information is gathered by examining newspaper articles and where available, alumni records. Of particular interest for the analysis are the schools that are widely acknowledged to be of high prestige, Appendix E. Where individuals did not graduate from secondary schools, the names of primary schools are included. This is important because in the recent past there has been the ability for students to obtain a School Leaving Certificate in standard 6 or enter into the teaching profession through a type of apprenticeship program that allowed pupil-teachers or monitors to become primary school teachers.

Industry categories are allocated using the membership directory developed by the Trinidad and Tobago Manufacturing Association and individual company websites. There are 7 categories: banking, insurance, conglomerates, developer, information, distributors and mining.

### **5.3 ANALYSES**

Three outcomes are examined in this section. The first analysis concerns judges. The Judiciary of Trinidad and Tobago is comprised of the Magistracy and the Supreme Court. Both sections ultimately report to the Chief Justice. Magistrates serve a number of functions but a key one involves determining if a criminal case can proceed to trial in the

Supreme Court. The Supreme Court has 2 levels, the High Court with High Court judges and the Appeals Court which has Appeals Court judges. The Court hears criminal, family and civil matters.

Judges are appointed to the Court by a five person Judicial and Legal Services Commission of which the Chief Justice is the Chair. The Commission recommends candidates to serve on the judiciary to the President who is constitutionally bound to act on these recommendations. Persons can be appointed directly to the High Court, Court of Appeal or to serve as the Chief Justice. Qualifications for High Court judges are minimal – an attorney-at-law with ten at least years of experience – appointments directly to the Appeals Bench and Chief Justice requires more credentials. The type of appointment of interest for this analysis involves those judges who have only served on the High Court. Since all judges must be qualified attorneys-at-law, the decision of which individuals from the legal profession are selected reflects more than simple legal knowledge. Descriptive data are summarized and models predicting which judges serve only on the High Court are estimated.

The second analysis focuses on those who have held multiple appointments on the boards of companies. These companies are drawn from private and state companies and include a cross-section of economic activities. Each company has its own criteria for board appointments. For state companies the qualifications are articulated and usually mandated by an act of parliament but private companies determine their own membership qualifications. All directors are appointed therefore learning which individuals are selected by which companies is telling. More particularly by focusing on those who have held multiple appointments on the boards of companies, this study seeks to determine

which individuals are positioned to be influential within the business world. Descriptive data are summarized and models predicting which individuals serve on only one board and which individuals serve on two or more company boards.

The third analysis examines the appointment of national Senators. The national bicameral government is divided between the Lower House – elected Members of Parliament and the Upper House – appointed Senators. There are 3 types of Senators: Government, Opposition and Independent. Government and Opposition Senators are nominated by the political parties that are successful in the national elections and their names submitted to the President. However Independent Senators are selected by the President in consultation with the Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition. There are 2 minimum qualifications for serving in the Senate. Individuals must be at least 25 years old and a citizen of Trinidad and Tobago.

This study focuses on Senators who have served multiple terms and compares them to one-term Senators. It can be surmised that individuals who serve multiple terms are perceived as having extra-ordinary talents important to the national community or as valuable to the particular political party that nominates them. Descriptive data are summarized and models predicting which Senators have served only 1 term and which Senators have 2 or more terms.

## CHAPTER VI

### RESULTS

Results for this research are presented by dataset. Beginning with the individual databases, the frequencies, crosstabs and binary logistic regressions for judges, board members and senators are reported. Next, the 3 groups are analyzed to investigate the connections between the three groups to learn about connections between the various individuals in the groups.

#### **6.1 JUDGES**

The first woman appointed to the High Court, the lowest level of the Supreme Court of Judicature, was Elizabeth Bourne in 1976 more than 14 years after the country achieved national independence. Jean Permanand was appointed to the Appeals Court 7 years later in 1983. Although the number has increased, women are still a minority in the judiciary, 16.8% (Table 5.1) and no woman has been appointed to serve as chief judge, even temporarily.

As discussed earlier, the years considered in this analyses range from 1962 to 2012. This period begins with political independence and includes several changes in the governing political parties.

Table 5.1: Judges' sex

**Judges' Sex**

Sex	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Female	17	16.8	16.8	16.8
Male	84	83.2	83.2	100.0
Total	101	100.0	100.0	

The ethnic composition of the judiciary (Table 5.2) reflects the national population in so far as African and Indian judges are almost equal in number. However Whites and Syrian/Lebanese are over represented on the bench when compared to the general population. The Central Statistical Office does not have a separate category for individuals to select Syrian/Lebanese but it can be assumed that this group identifies as White or Other on the census form. Therefore if this group is added to Whites, as a block, the two groups account for 6.9% of the bench. At the same time it is important to note that although the first Middle Eastern immigrants arrived in the 1860s, it was only in 2010 that James Aboud was the first Syrian/Lebanese judge appointed.

Table 5.2: Judges' ethnicity

**Judges' Ethnicity**

Ethnicity	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
African	36	35.6	35.6	35.6
Indian	39	38.6	38.6	74.3
Syrian/Lebanese	1	1.0	1.0	75.2
Unknown	19	18.8	18.8	94.1
White	6	5.9	5.9	100.0
Total	101	100.0	100.0	

There is a lot of missing information especially for the religion (81) and high school (72) variables. The data are re-examined (Tables 5.3 and 5.4) after removing the



missing information and in the case of religion and high school, Catholics and St. Mary's College graduates are the largest group.

Table 5.3: Judges' religion

**Judges' Religion**

Religion	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Anglican	1	5.0	5.0	5.0
Catholic	7	35.0	35.0	40.0
Christian	5	25.0	25.0	65.0
Hindu	3	15.0	15.0	80.0
Islam	1	5.0	5.0	85.0
Muslim	1	5.0	5.0	90.0
Presbyterian	2	10.0	10.0	100.0
Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.4: Judges' high school

**Judges' High School**

High School	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Bishop Anstey	3	11.1	11.1	11.1
Bishop, Tobago and St. Mary's	1	3.7	3.7	14.8
Fatima College	1	3.7	3.7	18.5
Hillview College	1	3.7	3.7	22.2
Hillview and Naparima Boys'	1	3.7	3.7	25.9
Naparima Boys' College	4	14.8	14.8	40.7
Osmond Private	1	3.7	3.7	44.4
Presentation College	2	7.4	7.4	51.9
Queen's Royal College	2	7.4	7.4	59.3
St. Joseph's Convent, POS	1	3.7	3.7	63.0
St. Mary's College	9	33.3	33.3	96.3
Trinity College	1	3.7	3.7	100.0
Total	27	100.0	100.0	

There were only 2 judges who were appointed directly to the position of Chief Justice, Hugh Wooding and Michael de la Bastide (Table 5.5). The other 9 men appointed to this post served in both lower courts. The Court of Appeals had 4 direct appointments while the remaining 18 were all promoted from the lower court. Every ethnic group, except Syrian/Lebanese, have been represented at the Chief Justice post the largest number being Africans.

Table 5.5: Judges' appointments

**Judges' appointments**

Appointments	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Appeals Court only	4	4.0	4.0	4.0
Chief Justice only	2	2.0	2.0	5.9
High and Appeals Court only	18	17.8	17.8	23.8
High Court only	68	67.3	67.3	91.1
High, Appeals, and Chief Justice	9	8.9	8.9	100.0
Total	101	100.0	100.0	

To learn who was more likely to be appointed as a High Court judge, binary logistic regression is used to examine the data. In the first instance the test includes all judges and exclusive appointments to the High Court are coded zero for “no” and one for “yes”, Table 5.6a. Based on the analysis, on average, net of the other variables, women are 2.5 times more likely than men to be appointed as High Court judges exclusively (Table 5.6a). Net of the other variables, Africans are 2 times less likely, compared to Indians, of being appointed to the High Court exclusively. On average, net of the other variables, Whites<sup>12</sup>, are 7 times less likely, compared to Indians of obtaining an

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<sup>12</sup> Syrian/Lebanese are included.

appointment to the High Court exclusively. On average, net of the other variables, those of Unknown ethnicity, are 1.5 times less likely, compared to Indians, of being appointed to the High Court exclusively.

The second test, Table 5.6b, removes the judges for whom ethnicity is unknown. In this instance, the only change found is among women. On average, net of the other variables, women are 2 times more likely to appointed as High Court judges exclusively. Of all the variables considered, in both versions of the test, the variable distinguishing Whites is the only one that is statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 5.6a: Dependent variable: High court appointment only (1=yes; 0=no)

Independent Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Female	.914	.695	1.728	1	.189	2.495	.638	9.748
African	.725	.525	1.908	1	.167	2.064	.738	5.769
White	2.009	.922	4.744	1	.029	7.453	1.223	45.425
Unknown	.399	.627	.405	1	.525	1.490	.436	5.094
Constant	-6.086	2.913	4.367	1	.037	.002		

*N: 101*

Table 5.6b: Dependent variable: High court appointment only (1=yes; 0=no)

Independent Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Female	.737	.716	1.058	1	.304	2.089	.513	8.498
African	.707	.523	1.825	1	.177	2.028	.727	5.655
White	2.026	.923	4.822	1	.028	7.583	1.243	46.256
Constant	-5.093	2.285	4.968	1	.026	.006		

*N: 82*

This paper proposed that the number of Non-whites appointed to the bench increases overtime; accounting for 74.3% of all judges and almost evenly split between

Indians and Africans. However Whites occupy 5.6% of judicial appointments even though they are only 0.5% of the general population. Women also have achieved gains, with 16.8% of judgeships while they are 49.8% of the national population so although their representation has increased, it does not reflect gender equity in public office. Given the problems caused by missing data, there was too little information to reliably examine if increasing numbers of students from non-prestige schools have been appointed as judges. Neither is there sufficient information to address the religious affiliation of the group. St. Mary’s College, which is a Catholic prestige school, has the largest number of judicial appointments.

**6.2 BOARDS**

According to the Central Statistical Office of Trinidad and Tobago, from 1965 to 2008, the most recent figures available, women’s participation in the workforce across all occupations has ranged from 29% to 42%. An examination of the 26 companies included in this study indicates that women accounted for only 11.6% (Table 5.7a) of company directors from 2000 – 2012. The records collected for this project indicate that Great Northern Insurance, a privately owned company had two women serving as directors in 1972. In 2000, the starting point of this project, there were 9 women on various company boards but only 2 of whom served on private boards (M & M Insurance and Royal Bank).

Table 5.7a: Directors’ sex

**Directors’ Sex**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Female	81	16.3	16.3	16.3
Male	416	83.7	83.7	100.0
Total	497	100.0	100.0	

The shortage of women directors is even more pronounced once individuals who serve on more than one board is taken into account, Table 5.7b. Krishna Bahadursingh and Claude Andrew Musaib-Ali have both been appointed to 5 boards while Inez Basdai Sinanan has served on 3 boards. Overall only 6 women have been directors on 2 or more companies compared to 54 men.

Table 5.7b: Sex by multiple boards by industry

**Sex by multiple boards appointments by industry**

Industry			No of Boards				Total
			1	2	3	5	
Banking	Sex	Female	17	1	1		19
		Male	68	14	2		84
	Total		85	15	3		103
Conglomerate	Sex	Female	6	1	0		7
		Male	48	5	2		55
	Total		54	6	2		62
Developer	Sex	Female	12	0	1		13
		Male	62	3	1		66
	Total		74	3	2		79
Distribution	Sex	Female	13	1		0	14
		Male	51	6		2	59
	Total		64	7		2	73
Information	Sex	Female	13	1			14
		Male	49	4			53
	Total		62	5			67
Insurance	Sex	Female	9	0	1		10
		Male	69	10	3		82
	Total		78	10	4		92
Mining	Sex	Female	4	0			4
		Male	16	1			17
	Total		20	1			21
Total	Sex	Female	74	4	3	0	81
		Male	363	43	8	2	416
	Total		437	47	11	2	497

There are 26 occupational codes that reflect both those listed in the United Nations' International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities (ISIC) and those created to indicate retirees, various judges and persons who have not listed their occupations. Individuals engaged in Professional, scientific and technical activities are the largest occupational group represented on company boards, 37.2% closely followed by those in the financial and insurance industries 26.4% (Table 5.8). Because of the size of these 2 categories, they, along with the Not stated and Unspecified retirees categories were not combined but others were combined into two groups.

The first of these combined groups, Construction, extraction, agriculture and manufacturing, includes Agriculture, forestry and fishing, Mining and quarrying, Manufacturing, Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply, Water supply; sewerage, waste management, and remediation activities, Construction, Wholesale and retail; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles and Transportation and storage. The second combined group, Service, arts, education and health, are Accommodation and food service activities, Information and communication, Real estate activities, Administration and support service activities, Public administration and defense; compulsory social security, Education, Human health and social work activities, Arts, entertainment and recreation, Trade union activities and Clergy.

Table 5.8: Board occupational distribution

**Board occupational distribution**

Occupational Groups	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Construction, extraction, agriculture and manufacturing	72	14.5	14.5	14.5
Financial and insurance activities	131	26.4	26.4	40.8
Not stated	24	4.8	4.8	45.7
Professional, scientific and technical activities	185	37.2	37.2	82.9
Service, arts, education and health	74	14.9	14.9	97.8
Unspecified retirees	11	2.2	2.2	100.0
Total	497	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.9: Boards occupational distribution by industry

**Occupational group by industry**

Occupational Groups	Industry							Total
	Banking	Conglomerat e	Developer	Distribution	Information	Insurance	Mining	
Construction, extraction, agriculture and manufacturing	17	16	8	15	7	5	4	72
Financial and insurance activities	48	9	13	8	12	40	1	131
Not stated	1	0	1	5	0	17	0	24
Professional, scientific and technical activities	25	31	37	32	28	24	8	185
Service, arts, education and health	12	3	18	10	19	6	6	74
Unspecified retirees	0	3	2	3	1	0	2	11
Total	103	62	79	73	67	92	21	497

The Professional, scientific and technical activities group includes, but is not limited to, lawyers, accountants, management consultants, engineers (excluding civil) and anyone who listed their profession as board or company director. The Financial and insurance activities group includes bankers, financial consultants, tax experts and board members who served on insurance and banks but did not declare explicitly their occupation. These 2 occupational groups are over-represented on company boards and banks and insurance companies employ the highest numbers of directors (Table 5.19).

The ethnicity of 21.7% of the directors was undetermined however once these individuals were removed, as illustrated by Table 5.10, Whites (including Syrian/Lebanese) account for 25.6% of the remaining members. Like the judiciary, St. Mary’s College alumni and Catholics were the largest groups represented. However, the educational institution 59% and religion 68.7% respectively variables are fraught with missing data.



Table 5.10: Boards' ethnicity

<b>Ethnicity (less unknown)</b>				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
African	119	34.3	34.3	34.3
Chinese	16	4.6	4.6	38.9
Indian	119	34.3	34.3	73.2
Mixed	4	1.2	1.2	74.4
Syrian/Lebanese	6	1.7	1.7	76.1
White	83	23.9	23.9	100.0
Total	347	100.0	100.0	

Binary logistic regression is used to examine board appointments (Tables 5.11a and b). Of particular interest is whether or not individuals serve on multiple boards, codes zero for “yes” and one for “no”. The initial analysis (Table 5.11a) indicated that on average, net of the other variables, women are 1.5 times less likely than men to be appointed to multiple boards. Net of the other variables, Africans are 1.5 less likely, compared to Indians, of being appointed to multiple boards. On average, net of the other variables, Whites, are 3.4 times less likely, compared to Indians, of being appointed to multiple boards. Net of other variables, individuals of Unknown ethnicity, compared to Indians are 1.3 times less likely to be appointed to multiple boards. The estimates for the Chinese, Mixed and Syrian/Lebanese board members are problematic due to sparse cell counts. This is addressed in the analysis that follows.

Table 5.11a: Dependent variable: Multiple board appointments (0= yes; 1=no)

Independent Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Female	.420	.432	.949	1	.330	1.523	.653	3.549
African	.429	.439	.952	1	.329	1.535	.649	3.633
Chinese	-18.816	10036.381	.000	1	.999	.000	.000	.
Mixed	-18.769	20054.361	.000	1	.999	.000	.000	.
Syrian/Lebanese	-18.863	16408.626	.000	1	.999	.000	.000	.
White	1.234	.419	8.682	1	.003	3.435	1.512	7.805
Unknown	.263	.424	.387	1	.534	1.301	.567	2.985
Constant	110.963	55575.076	.000	1	.998	1.51E+048		

N: 497

In Table 5.11a, the findings that relate to the Chinese, Mixed and Syrian/Lebanese groups, clearly indicate a problem. Upon examination, the raw data indicate that none of the individuals in these groups had served on multiple boards (i.e., no variation in the dependent variable). Consequently, the decision was made to remove these observations from the analysis. Table 5.11b indicates that on average, net of the other variables, women are 1.5 times less likely, compared to men, to serve on multiple boards. Africans, compared to Indians, net of all other variables, on average, are 1.9 less likely of being appointed to multiple boards. Net of all other variables, Whites, on average, are 4.2 times less likely, compared to Indians of serving on more than 1 board. Member of the Unknown group, on average, net of all other variables, are 1.6 times less likely, compared to Indians, of having multiple board appointments.

Table 5.11b: Dependent variable: Multiple board appointments (0= yes; 1=no)

Variables in the Equation								
Independent Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Female	.415	.432	.924	1	.336	1.514	.650	3.528
African	.644	.438	2.163	1	.141	1.903	.807	4.487
White	1.449	.417	12.104	1	.001	4.261	1.883	9.640
Unknown	.479	.421	1.291	1	.256	1.614	.707	3.687
Constant	-3.002	1.972	2.319	1	.128	.050		

N: 471

Director appointments are examined once again but this time the Unknown ethnicity group is omitted. Binary logistic regression is applied to this configuration of the data. According to Table 5.11c, on average, net of all other variables, women are 1.5 times less likely than men, to be appointed to multiple boards. Net of the other variables, Africans are 1.4 less likely, compared to Indians, of being appointed to multiple boards. Net of other variables, Whites are 3.2 times less likely to be appointed to multiple boards compared to Indians. The latter is the only variable that is statically significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 5.11c: Dependent variable: Multiple board appointments (0= yes; 1=no)

Independent Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Female	.413	.431	.919	1	.338	1.512	.649	3.521
African	.377	.355	1.124	1	.289	1.457	.727	2.923
White	1.183	.329	12.916	1	.000	3.263	1.712	6.219
Constant	-1.242	1.137	1.194	1	.275	.289		

N: 321

These findings indicate that as hypothesized, there is an increase in the number of appointments of Non-whites to boards since independence and Indians are more likely to be appointed to multiple boards compared to Africans. Whites, as a percentage of all appointments, are the dominant group at 16.7% although they are little more than 0.5% of the general population. Women continue to be underrepresented in terms of multiple appointments and even though the numbers of individual women grew from 11 in 2000 to as high as 22 in 2011, this growth was not consistent. There were some years that saw no new women appointed to any of the boards examined, 2008, and in 2012, only one new woman was became a director. Given the problems caused by missing data, there was too little information to reliably analyze the effect of religion on board appointments.

### **6.3 SENATORS**

The first Independent Parliament included 5 women senators, 2 for the government, 2 for the opposition and 1 independent. This represented 21.7% of the first independent parliament's 23 person senate and as Table 5.12a indicates, cumulatively, from 1962 to 2010, 24.6% of the senate has been composed of women. There have been 6 Presidents of the Senate and Linda Baboolal was the only woman ever appointed to this post from 2002 to 2007. This is an important national office since according to the national constitution the President of the Senate acts for national president in his/her absence. There have been 62 men who served multiple terms as Senators compared to 20 women (Table 5.12b).

Table 5.12a: Senators' sex

<b>Senators' Sex</b>				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Female	68	24.9	24.9	24.9
Male	205	75.1	75.1	100.0
Total	273	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.12b: Senators by sex by terms

<b>Terms by Sex</b>			
Terms	Sex		Total
	Female	Male	
1	48	143	191
2	12	42	54
3	6	15	21
4	1	2	3
5	1	2	3
6	0	1	1
Total	68	205	273

Information about the ethnic composition for 30.4% of the senate is missing but like the two other databases, Whites (including Syrian/Lebanese) are overrepresented at 12.7% along with Chinese at 2.9% when compared to the general population. There is a great deal of missing information for the high school (83.5%), religion (85.9%) and occupation (37.3%). However in the case where there are data, once again St. Mary's graduates and the Professional, scientific and technical activities group is again the largest group. Men outnumber women by more than a ratio of 3:1. Unlike judges and company directors, Hindus (11) and Muslims (8) are the prominent religious groups among those for whom religion is known.

Table 5.13: Senate occupational group by sex

Occupational Groups		Sex by Terms by Occupational Groups							Total
		Terms							
			1	2	3	4	5	6	
Construction, extraction, agriculture and manufacturing	Sex	Female	1	0					1
		Male	1	1					2
	Total		2	1					3
Financial and insurance activities	Sex	Female	0	1	0				1
		Male	6	2	1				9
	Total		6	3	1				10
Not stated	Sex	Female	22	3	0	1	1		27
		Male	62	10	2	0	0		74
	Total		84	13	2	1	1		101
Professional, scientific and technical activities	Sex	Female	13	1	5	0	0		19
		Male	34	17	5	1	1		58
	Total		47	18	10	1	1		77
Public administration and defense; compulsory social security	Sex	Female	1	1	1				3
		Male	3	0	0				3
	Total		4	1	1				6
Service, arts, education and health	Sex	Female	11	6	0	0	0	0	17
		Male	37	12	7	1	1	1	59
	Total		48	18	7	1	1	1	76
Total	Sex	Female	48	12	6	1	1	0	68
		Male	143	42	15	2	2	1	205
	Total		191	54	21	3	3	1	273

As with the company directors group, female senators are underrepresented (Table 5.13). However, serving more than one term is as common for women (29%) as for men (30%). Wade Mark has the most appointments, 6 terms, followed by Danny Montano and Ramesh Deonsaran who each had 5 terms. Joan Yuille-Williams has the

most appointments for any women, serving 5 terms, while Eastlyn McKenize had 4 terms.

To learn about the probability of individuals being appointed to serve as Senators for multiple terms, a logistic binary regression test is used. Senators who serve a single term are coded zero for “no” and one for “yes”. According to 5.14a net of all other variables, on average, women, compared to men, are equally as likely as Indians to be appointed to a single term in the Senate. On average, net of the other variables, compared to Indians, Africans, are two-thirds as likely to be appointed to a single term in the Senate. Net of other variables, Chinese, Mixed and Whites are more likely than Indians to be appointed to single terms only. Syrian/Lebanese and the group for which ethnicity is Unknown are less likely than Indians to serve only one term. None of the variables are statistically significant.

Table 5.14a: Dependent variable: Single senate terms (yes=1; no=0)

Independent Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Female	.053	.314	.029	1	.866	1.055	.570	1.952
African	-.406	.354	1.313	1	.252	.667	.333	1.334
Chinese	1.174	.776	2.288	1	.130	3.234	.707	14.796
Mixed	.663	1.438	.212	1	.645	1.940	.116	32.519
Syrian/Lebanese	-.436	1.184	.135	1	.713	.647	.064	6.586
Unknown	-.514	.359	2.045	1	.153	.598	.296	1.210
White	.449	.515	.759	1	.384	1.566	.571	4.300
Constant	-1.303	5.029	.067	1	.796	.272		

N: 250

Table 5.14b: Dependent variable: Single senate terms (yes=1; no=0)

Independent Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Female	.610	.363	2.827	1	.093	1.841	.904	3.750
African	-.458	.358	1.636	1	.201	.632	.313	1.276
Chinese	1.310	.779	2.830	1	.093	3.706	.805	17.048
Mixed	.799	1.440	.308	1	.579	2.223	.132	37.374
Syrian/Lebanese	-.300	1.186	.064	1	.801	.741	.073	7.574
White	.444	.520	.730	1	.393	1.559	.563	4.317
Constant	-4.012	4.795	.700	1	.403	.018		

N: 166

Table 5.14b describes the same analysis as reported in Table 5.14a except that those of Unknown ethnicity are omitted. Net of all other variables, on average, women, compared to men, are 1.8 times more likely to be appointed to a single term in the Senate. This means the Unknown ethnicity group has a strong effect on the net sex difference in single term appointments. None of the other effects are impacted in this way. None of the variables are statistically significant.

Tables 5.14c and 5.14d both consider senators who have served multiple terms but in these cases senators who were appointed for the first time to the 9<sup>th</sup> Republican Parliament are omitted. Also dropped from the analysis is the 1 individual listed as Mixed. This Parliament is the last one included in the project so first-time Senators are excluded because they have not had the opportunity to be appointed to another term.

Table 5.14c indicates that net of all other variables, on average, women, compared to men, are 1.3 times more likely to be appointed to a single term. Net of all other variables, on average, compared to Indians, Africans are 30% less likely to serve a single term. Compared to Indians, on average Chinese, net of all other variables, are 2.8 times less likely to serve single terms. On average, net of all other variables, compared to



Indians, Syrian/Lebanese are 15% less likely to serve a single term. Net of all other variables, Unknowns compared to Indians, on average, are 50% less likely to serve a single term in the Senate. This is the only variable that is statically significant at the 0.05 level. Compared to Indians, Whites, on average, net of all other variables, are 1.6 times less likely to serve a single term.

According to table 5.14d with the Unknown ethnicity group removed, net of all other variables, on average, women are 1.3 times more likely to serve a single term compared to men. Compared to Indians, on average Africans are equally as likely to be appointed to single terms only. Net of other variables, Chinese are 4 times more likely, on average, compared to Indians to serve 1 term. Syrian/Lebanese, compared to Indians, on average, net of all other variables, are 1.2 times as likely to be appointed to a single term in the Senate. Compared to Indians, net of all other variables, on average, Whites are 2.4 times less likely to serve a single term. None of these variables are statically significant.

Table 5.14c: Dependent variable: Single senate terms (yes=1; no=0)

Independent Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Female	.250	.326	.588	1	.443	1.284	.678	2.434
African	-.364	.362	1.012	1	.314	.695	.342	1.413
Chinese	1.036	.777	1.777	1	.183	2.817	.614	12.921
Syrian/Lebanese	-.168	1.253	.018	1	.893	.845	.072	9.856
Unknown	-.704	.362	3.774	1	.052	.495	.243	1.006
White	.483	.537	.811	1	.368	1.622	.566	4.644
Constant	-.541	3.941	.019	1	.891	.582		

N: 249

Table 5.14d: Dependent variable: Single senate terms (yes=1; no=0)

Independent Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Female	.226	.323	.487	1	.485	1.253	.665	2.361
African	.010	.312	.001	1	.974	1.010	.548	1.863
Chinese	1.403	.756	3.444	1	.063	4.069	.924	17.910
Syrian/Lebanese	.199	1.240	.026	1	.872	1.221	.107	13.879
White	.855	.505	2.864	1	.091	2.351	.873	6.329
Constant	-4.494	3.421	1.726	1	.189	.011		

N: 165

It was hypothesized that the ethnic composition of the Senate would grow to reflect that of the national population. While the data are incomplete, Africans and Indians are the largest groups represented but Whites and Near-whites, as proposed, at approximately 11% of the Senate are overrepresented compared to the general population where they are at 1%. Among all the groups of elites included in this study, the Senate has the largest percentage of women however this is only about 25%. The missing data precludes any examination of the hypotheses about prestige schools and religion for this group.

#### 6.4 HOLDING POSITIONS OF INFLUENCE IN TWO INSTITUTIONS

There are 8 individuals who served in 2 capacities (Table 5.15) either as senators and company directors, or in the judiciary and company boards, or less often serving in both the high court and senate. None of these appointments occurred at the same time but Lenny Saith was on the board of Ansa McCal immediately prior to his appointment to the senate. Unlike the individual datasets, the sex distribution is more equitable in this smaller group which contains 3 women. Over the years covered by this study, an

appointment to two such positions over the life course is a rare event in Trinidad and Tobago.

Table 5.15: Single individuals by multiple positions

**Individual \* multiple positions**

				Total
	Board	High Court	Senate	
Carol Merritt	1	0	1	2
Jearlean John	1	0	1	2
Lenny Saith	1	0	1	2
Martin Geoffrey Daly	1	0	1	2
Michael de la Bastide	0	1	1	2
Mira Dean-Armorer	1	1	0	2
Ronnie Boodoosingh	1	1	0	2
Vishnu Ramlogan	1	0	1	2
Total	7	3	6	16

## 6.5 FAMILIES OF INFLUENCE

There are a number of families that have a strong presence on certain company boards. The Williams, Agostinis, Farahs and Ahamads, Sabgas, Salvatoris and Dupreys all are represented in the boards of their privately-owned companies LJW, Agostini, Ansa McCall, Gulf Insurance, CLICO and C L Financial respectively. There are also some family members who serve on boards although for different companies. Ansa McCal, C L Financial and M & M Insurance have had 3 different Castangnes on their boards; there were 3 Moutetts appointed to Ansa McCall, TSTT and Citi Bank. Royal Bank and Ansa McCal have had both husband and wife Dalys while the Jacelons worked for Republic and First Citizens Bank and the Mairs both worked for UNDECOTT as well as First Citizens Bank. The bothers Dulal-Whiteway and Farrell have served on the boards of Neal & Massy and Republic Bank and Republic and Scotia Banks respectively; and the

Poon Tips on Gulf Insurance and National Flour Mills. The Montano and Williams brothers are the 2 sibling pairs who have served on opposite sides of the aisle in the senate.

There are also some instances where 2 generations have had positions on across the various groups. Bovell senior served in the senate, while Bovell junior served on First Citizens Bank. Noor and Khalid Hassanali another father and son, worked as a judge (and eventually national President) and director of PLIPDECO. The Luckys have had a judge, Anthony (father), senator Gillian (daughter) and director Antonia (daughter). Karl de la Bastide was a judge while his son Michael was both a judge and a senator. Victor Mouttet worked both as a senator as well as a director for CITI bank. There have been 2 pairs of brothers who have been both senators and judges, the Goopeesingshs and the Stollmeyers. Another sibling pair is the Kangaloos, Christine, a senator and Wendell, a judge.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

The existence of elites within modern societies is a given (Mills, 1945 & 1956; and Pareto 2000). Like other former colonies, Trinidad and Tobago is shaped politically by colonial experiences involving both Spanish and British masters, and socially by the encounters the various immigrant groups had with aboriginal natives and each other on the islands. Beckford's Plantation Society theory describes conditions which contribute to the social structure of post-colonial societies particularly those in the Caribbean. He argues that the Caribbean served as external plantation sites for their European rulers the result, according to him, are societies with caste systems based on race. The ethnic composition of Trinidad and Tobago would suggest that over time Non-whites emerge as the elite. Ryan (1972) writes however that Whites have "retained a great deal of the influence which they had in the colonial period. This influence is not as unquestioned as it once was, nor is it exercised in the same crude forms, but it is nevertheless abiding" (p. 364).

Ryan's observation, although over forty years old, still warrants consideration. European colonial societies were designed to give advantages to, and re-enforce the continuation of, a small but powerful group of mostly White men. In a study of the corporate class of neighboring Barbados, Karch (1981) argues that Whites have maintained their position of privilege post-independence. According to her, there has been "a modification of classes – the composition of the ruling class, complexity of

occupational strata – but not major structural change in the class/race stratification which has characterized island society since the 17<sup>th</sup> century” (p. 237).

This study hypothesized that the elite of Trinidad and Tobago has transformed but not so radically as to fundamentally change the positions of certain ethnic groups or the importance of certain social markers like gender, professed religious affiliation and high school attended. The three datasets examined in this project: High Court judges, National Senators and directors of selected companies were incomplete. However, using the information I was able to collect, I have concluded that Trinidad and Tobago remains a highly stratified society. The hierarchy that exists is similar to the colonial system in many ways especially with regards to the benefits given to men, Christians and graduates from prestige high schools. Religion and high school, because of the history of the educational system were, and have continued to be, closely intertwined.

The position of ethnic groups in some ways still mirror the colonial arrangement but there have also been many changes. Even with incomplete data because of the problems identifying each individual's ethnic or racial group, Whites and Near-whites are over-represented in all the datasets when compared to the groups' actual size as a proportion of the general population. At the same time, large numbers of Non-whites (Afro- and Indo-Trinbagoians) have ascended to key posts in business, the judiciary and National Senate. These promotions are a consequence of improved educational access because of the building of more secondary schools, the increased number of available positions as a result of an expanding economy and a political response to growth in the Afro- and Indo- middle and upper classes. It can be argued that the single most important event that led to this change was the Black Power Revolt of the 1970s. Politicians and

businesspersons recognized that de facto employment discrimination that excluded people based on skin color especially in certain industries would no longer be tolerated by the national population.

### **7.1 RAGAMUFFIN MONARCHY OR PARASITIC OLIGARCHY?**

Discussions about the existence of an elite class in Trinidad and Tobago are ongoing in the public sphere often debated on the radio, letters to the editor and referenced in calypsos. As an art form, calypso draws on heavily on the African *griot* tradition and has maintained its importance as an archive of social and political history. In the cultural landscape, these singers are characterized as the “voice of the people” and politicians are especially sensitive to the songs’ lyrical content. The focus of these discussions usually center on the privilege and status enjoyed by certain members of the community.

Incidents where some individuals receive benefits because of who they are or who they are related to are infamous. In 1964, Dr. Patrick Solomon, the then Minister of Home Affairs, removed his stepson from police custody and proclaimed that the charges of using obscene language and throwing missiles were cancelled. More recently in 2010, Jack Warner resigned as vice-president of the International Federation of Football Association (FIFA) after allegations of bribery surfaced. Mr. Warner at the time of his resignation was serving as the Minister of Works and Infrastructure subsequently was reassigned to serve as the Minister of National Security and has acted as Prime Minister. These are two very public examples of civic leaders who appear to be above the law and who act with impunity.

## 7.2 WOMAN IS BOSS?

The data indicate that in Trinidad and Tobago the elite fit a certain profile. They on average tend to be male and graduates from prestigious high schools. The absence of women in public life is in itself a contraction. Women in the society have worked alongside men as providers for their families and community and political organizers and leaders. Slavery and indentureship forced working class women to toil with their men folk and in some cases elite women ran highly efficient plantations. As the nation moved towards self-governance women helped organize political parties especially notorious was the “fat ass brigade” of the PNM. This term was used to describe, not always as a complement, committed female supporters of Williams<sup>13</sup> and his party and who were relied upon as an ever present audience at his public meetings and party conventions. Additionally organizations of women, for example various orders of Catholic nuns and individuals, like Audrey Jeffers<sup>14</sup>, served the community in a variety of ways.

These women through their female led organizations made primary school education available to the masses and provided care for the marginal in society. Although these tasks support the stereotype of women in helping professions, they provided examples of female leadership capabilities and opportunities for female management to emerge. As a consequence there is a ready pool of competent, well-educated women with proven records in leadership roles. At the same time however cultural, social and religious norms work to re-enforce restrictions on the role of women

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<sup>13</sup> Eric Williams, historian and the first Chief Minister and later Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago and founding member of the Peoples National Movement.

<sup>14</sup> The first elected female member of the Port of Spain City Council and appointed member Legislative Council. She was a social worker by profession and established the Coterie of Social Workers which served the poor.



in public life. Seepaul (1988) considers the predicament of Hindu women in particular. She argues that traditional notions of womanhood are challenged by the educational opportunities afforded to girls. Addressing women as elected national leaders, Barrow-Giles (2011) writes, “the picture which emerges on the status of women in the electoral systems in the Caribbean is one of continued exclusion and marginalization” (p. 8). The data included in this project certainly support the motion that women in Trinidad and Tobago in spite of their many gains, including the election of a female prime minister in 2010, continue to have limited access to institutions of power, influence and status. Of the three groups examined, senators have the highest level of female participation, at 25%. More notably, the nature and type of appointments afforded to women are most often at the lowest levels. For women serving as company directors and senators, their appointments are usually limited to one company, typically at one with State interests and for senators to one term. Female judges are most frequently appointed to the High Court, the lowest level in the judiciary.

### **7.3 EDUCATION IS ESSENTIAL**

The importance of graduating from a prestige high school should not be overlooked. By and large, prestige schools are those older secondary schools, typically founded before 1960. They tend to be single gender and usually affiliated to a religious organization, the most notable exception is Queen’s Royal College (QRC) which was established by colonial authorities as an expressly secular school. This project hypothesized that these types of high schools give their alumni certain social and cultural capital not available to students at other secondary schools.

These schools initially served the children of the planter, colonial and merchant classes and were private. Working class and poor children had no access until the 1870s when a national examination, taken at the end of primary school, allowed the brightest, mostly male, students to obtain scholarships to attend these schools. Campbell (1997) points out that primary schools were “meant to effect conversion to Christianity, to improve Christian moral standards, and to cement denominational loyalties as well as to provide literacy. The intention was not to promote upward social mobility since the colony needed a plantation labour force” (p. 2). Williams (1942) recounts this philosophy in the testimony given by two planters in 1926 before a select committee of the Legislative Committee. Two planters, Robinson and Knox, argue that education is of no value to most children in what they refer to as an “agricultural country.” According to their rationale, only the brightest students should be educated, all others some reading and writing but not more the 3 hours per day and not beyond 10 years of age.

The opportunity for a secondary school education was coveted because it “opened up various possibilities for white-collar jobs: teaching, the civil service, journalism, minor positions in business, a practice as a solicitor” (Brereton, 1981) to the very brightest working class and poor students. Free access to secondary schools expanded because in the 1960s the national government entered into an agreement with religious bodies known as the Concordat and built a number of new, secular, schools. Although the number of high school places has increased, partly as a consequence of the primary school exit examination, prestige schools have retained their social and academic superiority. These schools are able to compete for the country’s smartest students in any given year. Parents rank their school preferences and because students are placed based

on examination scores and not their neighborhood, the best students attend the best schools. Another factor that influences the incoming class is the right of the principal to select up to 20% of the first year class of students. These schools therefore, are able to retain their high status because they receive the best group of students each year. As long as they achieve good results in the secondary school exit exams, particularly at the pre-university level (the seventh year), they will retain their position.

The influence of prestige schools on national life cannot be overstated. The students at these schools are academically the best in the country. Additionally since most of these schools have some sort of religious affiliation, there is an assumption that they receive moral and ethical training along with rigorous scholastic training. The data collected for this project suggest that the elite continue to be drawn from prestige schools. Scott (1992), writing about the British public schools which the schools in Trinidad and Tobago are modeled on, claims they are an important “mechanisms for the integration and recruitment of both the Establishment and the wider business class. They maintain a high level of closure in access to positions of privilege, and they ensure the assimilation of those newcomers who have necessarily to be granted entry” (p. 88). There were problems collecting high school graduation data, however among judges, prestige school graduates were over-represented as well as among persons holding positions of influence in two institutions and families of influence. Although there was not sufficient information about the high schools of Senators and company directors, a quick review of the information contained in Appendices B and C suggest that graduates from prestige schools remain dominant.

## 7.4 MIX UP

The history of the educational system has led to the development of certain trends that may account for the absence of women and the overwhelming presence Christians, especially Catholics and Anglicans, among the elite. Even though St. Joseph's Convent – Port of Spain (SJC-POS) is the oldest secondary school in the nation; Campbell points out that historically “secondary education was most explicable as a provision for boys who were then the only sex to have responsible public positions and professional careers” (p.3). Educated upper and middle class women of any ethnicity were expected to become housewives. Also, the next secondary school, St. Joseph's Convent – St. Joseph, that served girls was not opened until 1870, 34 years after SJC-POS. Public educational access for women was therefore very restricted. Only families of means could afford to pay for the education of their daughters and the returns on this investment were limited since marriage or religious life were the only real options available to women. It was not until the 1920s and 1930s that opportunities became available for women in public life and even then, women were expected to enter respectable occupations; teaching and maybe medicine (typically nursing).

The influence of religious bodies on the educational system is important to examine. As the data indicate, Christianity is the most prevalent religion among the elite. This reflects a confluence of many factors. Firstly, schools, particularly secondary schools, were established by religious organizations to educate their members. Because of the immigrant and colonial history of Trinidad in specifically, Catholics wanted venues for teaching their congregants doctrine and re-enforce the French culture of the French planter class; literacy and numeracy was superfluous. Education was an

opportunity to resist English cultural indoctrination or Anglicanization (culturally and religiously).

Denominational schools therefore worked hard at, and often demanded that, pupils entering their schools shared their faith. Many parents changed religions to ensure places for their children. This meant that the various Christian dominations with the largest number of schools were able to use them to proselytize to the population. Children of East Indian immigrants however suffered from this arrangement. Brereton (1981) maintains that these parents sometimes kept their children out of school because they feared teachers would try Creolize them and to convert them to Christianity. Canadian Presbyterian missionaries in fact came to Trinidad for that expressed purpose in 1868. The supremacy afforded Christianity by colonial officials institutionally meant that Non-Christians were stigmatized and until Lakshmi Girls' Hindu College (1963) and ASJA Boys' College – Muslim (1960) opened these students were forced to participate in the religious practices of their schools unless they attended a government-run institution and except for QRC, none of the secular schools were considered prestige schools.

The stratification system that developed was rigidly based on ethnicity, class, religion and gender; Beckford (1972) argues it resembled a caste rather than class system and the data collected for this project reflects this. The entry and closure point of this caste system is high school. The networks and friendships that develop in high school help determine life chances and access to the elite. Foote (1990) however asserts that in societies where “the hierarchy of power and privilege is stratified by race, its visibility is especially convenient for those doing the structuring. And it may seem permanent. But stratification does not arise from or depend upon genetic differences. It is entirely

artificial – man-made – hence subject to being unmade” (p. 145). Certainly as the data indicate, the elite have become more ethnically diverse. Non-whites and Non-Christians have risen to occupy their place in business, the judiciary and National Senate. Indians have done particularly in all the groups included in this study. This is particularly significant given as Ryan (1996) writes, “every effort was made to keep them out of the citadels of political power enhanced and drove their anxiety to capture it” (p. xxxii). The relationship between Indians and the wider society is complicated. Originating with reason for their introduction to Trinidad, benefits afforded to them at the end of indentureship, attempts to deny them the franchise, and the racialized nature of political parties. In general however the elite remains overwhelming male, reinforcing social and cultural norms about the role of women in public life. Additionally the continued presence of graduates from prestige high schools among the elite allows these schools to maintain their claim of producing citizens of superior academic and moral character thus supporting their institutions’ myths and preserving the discriminatory system which produced them.

## **7.5 THE FUTURE IS NOW**

This project examined the composition of the business, judicial and political class in Trinidad and Tobago. There were problems confronted in collecting the data that were unanticipated. It quickly became apparent that there are no centralized repositories for the collection and archiving of the information that is the focus of this study. Some information was collected from the Ministry of Legal Affairs, the libraries of the High Court and the Parliament. None of these sources however contained data about

individuals' religions, ethnicity or high schools. This information was obtained by scouring newspapers and websites. The difficulty encountered trying to acquire the material necessary for this project has led me to consider the following. Either there was a deliberate decision not to include these variables, especially by State agencies, in order to downplay the importance of these characteristics in national life. Or because the society is small, the assumption is that everyone knows everyone, so there is no need to collect the information at all. In the future I intend to fill in the information about the individuals contained in these data sets but also expand the scope of the collection to include members of the House of Representatives.

The title of this dissertation asks the question about the nature of the elite. I argue that Beckford's claim that the old elite are replaced overtime by newer, more ethnical diverse elite is supported by the data included in this project. At the same time, the old elite have not completely disappeared. Certainly they are over-represented, when compared to their size in the general population, in all three groups but this is to be expected given the role they played historically especially with regards to the ownership and control of capital and ties to the colonial authorities in particular the judiciary. When Panday in a 1994 election speech claimed there was a parasitic oligarchy that worked to keep the PNM government in power, he was not referring to any ethnic group but rather to those for whom, in his opinion, it was in their economic interests to maintain the status quo. Panday would go on to become the country's first Indian Prime Minister but in point and fact the members of the elite have not changed. Inherent in Panday's assertion is the idea that the goal of elite is the purposeful exploitation of the nation's wealth. The fact is – elites will exist in every society. Their existence does not preclude their

members from being patriotic citizens. Individuals cannot be blamed because they are privileged. They can, and should, however be held accountable if they abuse their power. It is the instances where this accountability among the elite is absent that demonstrates its parasitic nature.



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APPENDIX A: JUDGES

<b>Full Name</b>	<b>High School</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Type</b>
Paula Mae Weeks	Bishop Anstey High School, POS	Female	Anglican	African	Appeal Court
Annestine Sealey	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	High Court
Joan Charles	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	High Court
Judith Jones	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	High Court
Charmaine Pemberton	Bishop Anstey High School, POS	Female	Unknown	African	High Court
Carla Brown-Antoine	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	High Court
Betsy Lambert-Peterson	Unknown	Female	Christian	African	High Court
Maria Wilson	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	High Court
Margot Warner	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	High Court Appeal Court
Alcalde Warner	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	Appeal Court
Hugh Wooding	Queen's Royal College	Male	Unknown	African	Chief Justice
Telford Georges	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	High Court
George Collymore	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	High Court
Ivor Blackman	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	High Court
Carlton Best	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	High Court
Stanley John	Unknown	Male	Catholic	African	High Court
Nolan Bereaux	Unknown	Male	Catholic	African	High Court
Sebastian Ventour	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	High Court
David Myers	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	High Court
Anthony Carmona	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	High Court
Andre Des Vignes	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	High Court
Geoffery	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	High Court

Henderson					
Andre MonDesir	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	High Court
Hayden St. Clair-Douglas	Trinity College	Male	Unknown	African	High Court
David Harris	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	High Court
Malcolm Holdip	Fatima College	Male	Catholic	African	High Court
Aeneas Wills	Unknown	Male	Christian	African	High Court
Clement E. G. Phillips	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	High Court Appeal Court
H. Aubrey Fraser	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	High Court Appeal Court
Garvin Scott	Naparima Boys' College	Male	Unknown	African	High Court Appeal Court
Ulric Cross	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	High Court Appeal Court
Lionel Jones	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	High Court Appeal Court
Arthur Mc Shine	Queen's Royal College	Male	Unknown	African	High Court Appeal Court, Chief Justice
Clinton Bernard	Osmond High School	Male	Unknown	African	High Court Appeal Court, Chief Justice
Gerard des Lles	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	High Court Appeal Court, Chief Justice
Ivor Archie	Bishop's High School, Tobago; St. Mary's College	Male	Christian	African	High Court Appeal Court, Chief Justice
Carol Gobin	Unknown	Female	Catholic	Indian	High Court
Alice Yorke-Soo Hon	Unknown	Female	Christian	Indian	High Court
Amrika Tiwary-Reddy	St. Joseph's Covent, POS	Female	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Maureen Rajnauth-Lee	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Mira Dean-Armorer	Bishop Anstey High School, POS	Female	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Jean Permanand	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	High Court Appeal Court
Ralph Narine	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court

Lennox Deyalsingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Sonny Maharaj	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Conrad Douglin	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Frank Misir	Naparima Boys' College	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Lloyd Gopeesingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Basdeo Persad-Maharaj	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Bissoondath Ramlogan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Clem Razack	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Carlyle Bharath	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Wendell Kangaloo	Unknown	Male	Presbyterian	Indian	High Court
Kenny Persad	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Peter Jamadar	Unknown	Male	Presbyterian	Indian	High Court
Prakash Moosai	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Rajendra Narine	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Devan Rampersad	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Peter Rajkumar	Unknown	Male	Christian	Indian	High Court
Ronnie Boodoosingh	Unknown	Male	Hindu	Indian	High Court
Vasheist Kokaram	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Devindra Rampersad	Unknown	Male	Hindu	Indian	High Court
Robin Mohammed	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Ricky Rahim	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Frank Seepersad	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Mark Mohammed	Hillview College	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court
Saffeyei Shah	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High Court



Guya Persaud	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High and Appeal Court
George Edoe	Unknown	Male	Muslim	Indian	High and Appeal Court
Mustapha Ibrahim	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High and Appeal Court
Zainool Hosein	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	High and Appeal Court
Anthony Lucky	Presentation College	Male	Catholic	Indian	High and Appeal Court
Noor Hassanali	Naparima Boys' College	Male	Islam	Indian	High and Appeal Court
Isaac Hyatali	Naparima Boys' College	Male	Unknown	Indian	High, Appeal Court and Chief Justice
Satnarine Sharma	Hillview College; Naparima Boys' College	Male	Hindu	Indian	High, Appeal Court and Chief Justice
Michael de la Bastide	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	White	Chief Justice
C. V. Humphrey Stollmeyer	Queen's Royal College	Male	Unknown	White	High Court
James Aboud	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	High Court
Karl de la Bastide	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	High and Appeal Court
Allan Mendonca	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	High and Appeal Court
Cecil Kelsick	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	High, Appeal Court and Chief Justice
Roger Hamel-Smith	St. Mary's College	Male	Catholic	White	High, Appeal Court and Chief Justice

**APPENDIX B: COMPANY DIRECTORS**

<b>FullName</b>	<b>High School</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Boards</b>
Adrian Dwight Clarke	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Neal & Massy
Ajit Mohan Sharan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NP
Alberto Zavala	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	PILDECO
Alexander Elias	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Syrian/Lebanese	New India
Alicia Chin-Vieira	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	ALGICO
Alimuddin Mohammed	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	ALGICO
Alison Lewis	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	NFM
Allan Clifford Fields	Harrison College	Male	Unknown	White	Lake Asphalt
Alvin Alexander	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	C L Financial
Alvin Johnson	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	FCB
Ameer Edo	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Agostini
Andrew Mc Eachrane	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	TSTT
Andrew Robert Mitchell	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Neal & Massy, PLIPDECO, TSTT
Andrew Sabga	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Syrian/Lebanese	Lake Asphalt
Aneal Maharaj	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Agostini
Anil Seeterram	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	New India
Anna Mahase	Naparima Boys' College	Female	Presbyterian	Indian	New India
Annette McKenzie	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	TSTT
Annur Rajagopaul Sekar	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	CILCO, C L Financial, Republic
Anthony Campbell	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	FCB, PLIPDECO
Anthony Cherry	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Royal
Anthony I. Jordan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	New India
Anthony Inglefield	Fatima College	Male	Unknown	White	Royal

Anthony Joseph Agostini	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	UNDECOTT
Anthony Mohammed	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NP
Anthony Phillip	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	CITI
Anthony Proudfoot	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	C L Financial, Republic
Anthony Richardson	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Stock Exchange
Anthony Sabga	Nelson St. Boys' RC School	Male	Unknown	Syrian/Lebanese	NIPDECO
Anthony Watkins	Unknown	Male	Spiritual Baptist	African	CNM
Antonia Lucky	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	UNDECOTT
Arthur Lok Jack	Naparima Girls' College	Male	Unknown	Mixed	PILDECO
Ashok Purushottam Pradhan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	C L Financial
Ashton Sant	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	CLICO
Asraph Ali	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	NFM
Aswathanarayana	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Stock Exchange
Attravanam Varaha Purushothaman	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Gulf
Audley Walker	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Gulf
Aurangzeib Ghany	Unknown	Male	Muslim	Unknown	UNDECOTT
Balroop Roopnarine	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	New India
Barry Davis	Fatima College	Male	Unknown	White	Neal & Massy
Benjamin Seiver	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	PILDECO
Bernard Spencer Dulal- Whiteway	Presentation College, San Fernando	Male	Unknown	Mixed	UNDECOTT
Bernard Sylvester	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Scotia
Bhoendradatt Tewarie	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Ansa McCal
Bimalendu Chakrabarti	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	ALGICO
Bosworth Monck	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	FCB

Brendon Gray	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Republic
Brent Dumas	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	ALGICO
Brian Branker	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Agostini
Brian G. Stone	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	NFM
Brian Harry	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Royal
Brian Porter	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	UNDECOTT
Brian William Young	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	UNDECOTT
Bridgelal Neebar	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Gulf
Bruce Aanensen	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Ansa McCal
Bruce Dozier	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	NFM, PLIPDECO
Bruce R. Birmingham	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	British American
Byron David Clarke	Naparima Girls' College	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Republic
Byron Gopaul	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Stock Exchange
Calder Hart	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	FCB
Calton Alfonso	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	New India
Calvin Alec Bijou	Fatima College	Male	Unknown	African	TSTT
Carla Scipio	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	FCB
Carlos A. Talavera	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Stock Exchange
Carlos R. Talavera	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	CNM
Carlos Talavera	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Republic
Carol Merrit	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	UNDECOTT
Carolyn John	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	NFM
Carolyn Seepersad-Bechan	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	CNM
Catherine Gordon	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	CNM
Catherine Rukmini Kumar	St. Joseph's Convent, POS	Female	Christian	Mixed	TSTT
Cecil Anthony Beaubrun	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	LJW
Certica Williams-Orr	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	Stock Exchange

Chandrabhan Sharma	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	PILDECO
Charles Anthony Brash	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	ANSA McCal, Stock Exchange
Charles Anthony Jacelon	Unknown	Male	Catholic	White	CILCO, C L Financial
Charles Balkaran	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	PILDECO
Charles Henry Salvatori	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	CITI, FCB, TSTT
Charles Percy	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Scotia
Christian Derek Maingot	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	FCB
Christian Emmauel Mouttet	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Lake Asphalt
Christophe Grant	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NIPDECO
Christopher Hetherington	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	TSTT
Christopher Scott Sadler	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	UNDECOTT
Cindy Bhagwandeem	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	Neal & Massy
Clarry Benn	Unknown	Male	Anglican	African	C L Financial
Claude Albert Salvatori	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	CLICO, C L Financial
Claude Andrew Musaib-Ali	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Great Northern
Claude Scott Norfolk	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Ansa McCal, Republic
Clevon Singh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Scotia, Stock Exchange
Clinton Ramberansingh	Presentation College, San Fernando	Male	Unknown	Unknown	FCB
Collin Jones	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	PILDECO
Craig Reynald	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Ansa McCal
Cynthia Richards	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	TSTT
Dale Sookoo	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	New India
Damian Hares	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NP
Daniel John Fitzwilliam	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	White	Lake Asphalt
David A. R. Patrick	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Lake Asphalt

David Clarke	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Republic, UDECOTT
David Collens	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	ALGICO
David Inglefield	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Neal & Massy, Royal
David Joseph Dulal-Whiteway	Presentation College, San Fernando	Male	Unknown	Indian	CITI
David Keith Hackett	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NIPDECO, UDECOTT
David Lewis	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	CILCO, C L Financial
David Sabga	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Syrian/Lebanese	NIPDECO
David Thompson	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Republic
Dennis Patrick Evans	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Scotia
Denyse Mehta	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	Royal
Deonarine Suringbally	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	PILDECO
Deoraj Ramnarine	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Stock Exchange
Derwin Howell	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	Ansa McCal
Devanand Ramlal	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	FCB, NIPDECO
Devesh Maharaj	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Great Northern
Devi Ramnarine	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	PILDECO
Dhanayshar Mahabir	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NP
Dilip Ghosh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	PILDECO
Dolsie Persad-Narine	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	NP
Donna Marie Johnson	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	M&M
Doolarchan Hanomansingh	St. Augustine Senior Comprehensive	Male	Hindu	Indian	Agostini
Doris Wong	Unknown	Female	Catholic	Chinese	NP
Dwight Stoute	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Ansa McCal
Earl Boodasingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	NP
Edward Bayley	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	C L Financial

Edward Collier	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Scotia
Edward Comissiong	Grenada Boys'	Male	Unknown	African	Gulf
Eli Zakour	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	ALGICO
Elliot Gervase Warner	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	Neal & Massy, Royal
Enrique Gonzalez	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Stock Exchange
Ernestor Raymond Kesar	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	FCB
Errald Miller	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Republic
Esther Le Gendre	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	CNM
Etienne Mendez	Presentation College, San Fernando	Male	Unknown	African	ALGICO
Euric Bobb	Presentation College, San Fernando	Male	Unknown	African	Agostini, Royal
Evan McCordick	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NP
Everald Snaggs	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	M&M
Faied Mohammed	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Stock Exchange
Faizal Khan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Scotia
Fe Lopez-Collymore	St. Joseph's Convent, POS	Female	Unknown	White	Royal
Francis Mungroo	Unknown	Male	Anglican	African	Agostini
Frank Barsotti	Queen's Royal College	Male	Catholic	White	Republic
Franklin Khan	North Eastern College	Male	Unknown	Indian	Scotia
Ganesh Sahadeo	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	UNDECOTT
Gary Solomon	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Lake Asphalt
Gary Voss	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	British American
Gaston S. Aguilera	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Neal&Massy, Republic
Gena Mahabir-Ramsahai	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	Lake Asphalt

Gene Dziadyk	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Ansa McCal
Gene Porther	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NP
Geoffrey Cave	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	PILDECO
Geoffrey Leid	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	TSTT
Geoffrey Michael Agostini	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Stock Exchange
George B. Mc Clennen	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	NIPDECO
George Bovell, Jr.	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Stock Exchange
George Janoura	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	Syrian/Lebanese	FCB
George Leonard Lewis	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	LJW, NP
Gerald Anthony King	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	FCB
Gerald Yetming	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Chinese	TSTT
Gerard Borely	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	C L Financial
Gerard Lee Innis	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Scotia
Gerard Richards	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	FCB
Gerry Brooks	Queen's Royal College	Male	Unknown	African	Agostini, Republic, TSTT
Gillian Warner Hudson	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	FCB
Gina Ottley	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	NP
Girish Chandra Chaturvedi	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Stock Exchange
Gisele Marfleet	Unknown	Female	Unknown	White	FCB, LJW
Gita Sakal	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	UNDECOTT
Glenn Castagne	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	NIPDECO
Glenn Cheong	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	UNDECOTT
Glenn Parmassar	Presentation College, San Fernando	Male	Unknown	Indian	ALGICO
Godfrey Bain	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Agostini
Godfrey Gosein	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	C L Financial



Gordon Deane	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	CNM
Govind Maharaj	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	TSTT
Gregory I. Thomson	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	AnsaMcCal, TSTT
Gregory Marchan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Gulf
Grenfell Kissoon	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	NIPDECO
H. Peter Ganteaume	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	White	Scotia
Hamish Smith	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Stock Exchange
Hamlyn Jailal	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	NIPDECO
Harold Ramjit	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Lake Asphalt
Haroon Fyzool Awardy	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	New India
Harrisford McMillian	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	New India
Hayden Colin Charles	Fatima College	Male	Unknown	Indian	CL Financial, NP
Heidi Wong	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	Ansa McCal
Helen Drayton	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	Ansa McCal
Henry Victor Salvatori	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Republic
Herman Persad	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Royal
Holly Roderick Kublalsingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	CITI, LJW, New India, UDECOTT, NIPDECO
Horace Bhopalsingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Agostini
Horace Broomes	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Agostini
Hugh Leong Poi	Naparima Girls' College	Male	Unknown	Chinese	NIPDECO
Ian Dasant	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Lake Asphalt
Ian Garcia	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	ALGICO
Ian Narine	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	LJW
Ian Rajack	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Stock Exchange
Ian Richard Henry Atherly	St. Benedict's College	Male	Unknown	African	CILCO, C L Financial, Scotia
Ian Ronald De Souza	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	Stock Exchange

Ibn Llama de Leon	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	TSTT
Imtiaz Rahaman	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Neal&Massy, StockExchange
Indira Singh	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	NP
Inez Basdai Sinanan	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	PILDECO
Inskip Pollonais	Woodbrook Sec	Male	Unknown	African	NP, PLIPDECO
Isabel Castagne-Hay	St. Joseph's Convent, POS/St. Mary's College	Female	Unknown	White	ALGICO, FCB, NIPDECO
Issac Mc Leod	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	ALGICO
Jacqueline Burgess	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	TSTT
Jacqueline Quamina	Bishop's High School, POS	Female	Unknown	African	ALGICO
Jagdeesh Siewrattan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Great Northern
James Martin Dagleish	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	CITI, NFM
Jearlean John	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	New India
Jeffrey McFarlane	Bishop's High School, Tobago	Male	Unknown	African	Scotia
Jerome Sooklal	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	CNM
Jerry Hospedales	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Royal
Jesse Mahabir	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	NP
Jillian Stephens-Thomas	Bishop's High School, POS	Female	Unknown	Unknown	PILDECO
Joan John	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	NIPDECO
Joanne Haynes	St. Joseph's Convent	Female	Unknown	African	UNDECOTT
John Arthur Hale	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Agostini, Neal & Massy
John Bannerman Christopher Martin	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	C L Financial
John Boisselle	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	LJW

John Derek Barkley	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	CNM
John Ernest Beale	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	British American
John Gerald Furness-Smith	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	FCB
John Jardim	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	NP
John Mair	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Ansa McCal
John Peter Andrews	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	PILDECO
Jones P. Madeira	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Neal & Massy
Jose Ferrer	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Neal & Massy
Joseph Plappallil	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Agostini
Joseph Peter Esau	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	NP
Joseph Pires, Jr.	Ridley College	Male	Unknown	White	NFM
Joseph Teixeira	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	White	Ansa McCal
Juan Carlos Mendoza Rodriguez	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	CLICO
Judy Chang	Bishop's High School, POS	Female	Unknown	Chinese	TSTT
Junior Joseph	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Republic
Kailash Nath Bhandari	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	New India
Kamal Mankee	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Great Northern
Kameel Khan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	CLICO
Karen Ann Gardier	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	Republic
Karen Darbasie	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	FCB
Kathleen Dhannyram	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	Royal
Kayam Mohammed	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	ALGICO
Keisha Manohar	San Fernando Central High School	Female	Unknown	Indian	UNDECOTT
Keith King	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Royal
Keith Lutchmansingh	San Fernando	Male	Unknown	Indian	Neal & Massy

	Central High School				
Keith Narayansingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Gulf
Keith Nurse	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Neal & Massy
Keith Sirju	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	PILDECO
Kelvin Charles	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	FCB
Kelvin Rabindranauth Mootoo	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	NP
Kennedy Fleming	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Gulf
Kenneth Allum	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Chinese	TSTT
Kenneth Gordon	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	Ansa McCal
Kenneth Henry	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NP
Kenneth Samlal	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	CITI
Kerry Rampersad	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Lake Asphalt
Kerston Coombs	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Ansa McCal
Kerwyn Garcia	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Royal
Kevan Gibbs	El Dorado Senior Comprehensive	Male	Unknown	African	ALGICO
Kevin Clark	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Gulf
Khalid Hassanali	Queen's Royal College	Male	Unknown	Indian	Ansa McCal
Khalid Mohammed	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NFM
Khemraj Singh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Gulf
Kirby Anthony Hosang	Trinity College, Moka	Male	Unknown	Chinese	PILDECO
Kishore Shanker Advani	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Agostini
Kissoon Gannes	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Ansa McCal
Krishmanie Misir	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	UNDECOTT
Krishna Bahadursingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Scotia

Krishna Narinesingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	FCB, NIPDECO, UDECOTT
Krishnamurthy Shenbagaraman	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	CITI
Kristine Thompson	Unknown	Female	Unknown	White	NIPDECO
Kuarlal Rampersad	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	NP
Kumar Bakhru	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Great Northern
Kyle Rudden	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	PILDECO
Larry Howai	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	Chinese	NP
Lawford Dupres	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	White	TSTT
Lawrence Andre Duprey	Fatima College	Male	Unknown	African	FCB
Lenny Krishendath Saith	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	CNM
Leonardo Debarros	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	LJW
Leroy Mayers	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Scotia
Leroy Parris	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Agostini
Liana Ramsahai	Holy Faith/St. Benedict's College	Female	Unknown	Indian	ALGICO, Royal
Lisa Agard	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	CITI
Lisa Marie Mackenzie	Unknown	Female	Unknown	White	BritishAmerican, CLICO
LLyod Walters	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Neal & Massy
Lorna Charles	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	Royal
Lorraine Kam	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	TSTT
Louis Andre Monteil	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Mixed	NFM
Lucillie Mair	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	NIPDECO
Lyndon Guiseppi	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	ALGICO
Madan Ramnarine	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	NP
Madhuswamy Ramadoss	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Lake Asphalt

Magna Williams-Smith	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	NIPDECO
Manuel Leal Sanchez	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	TSTT
Marcia Prince-Assam	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	CLICO
Margaret Mahabir	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	Scotia
Margaret Parks	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	UNDECOTT
Margaret Wilkinson	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	Lake Asphalt
Marjorie Thorpe	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	New India
Mark Alfonso	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	Agostini
Mark E. Hansen	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	CILCO, C L Financial
Mark Macfee	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	UNDECOTT
Mark Poon Tip	Unknown	Male	Catholic	Chinese	C L Financial
Mark Singh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	FCB
Marleen Lord-Lewis	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	TSTT
Marlene Juman	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	FCB
Marlon Holder	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Neal&Massy, Republic
Martin Geoffrey Daly	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	PLIDECO, TSTT
Maukesh Basdeo	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Lake Asphalt
Melissa Bart	St. Joseph's Convent, St. Joseph	Female	Unknown	African	FCB
Merlin Boyce	Unknown	Female	Catholic	African	FCB
Michael Allan Andrew Quamina	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Ansa McCal
Michael Annisette	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Scotia
Michael Anthony Fifi	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	NP
Michael Buthe	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	NIPDECO, PLIPDECO
Michael Everton Carballo	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Scotia
Michael Lau	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NFM
Michael Phillip	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	CLICO, C L Financial

Michael Toney	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NFM
Michal Yvette Andrews	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	Stock Exchange
Mira Dean-Armorer	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	LJW
Monica June Clement	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Royal
Monique Patrick	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	PILDECO
Myrle Stephen	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	C L Financial
Myrnelle Akan	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	UNDECOTT
Nalam Sri Rama Chandra Prasad	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	TSTT
Natasha David	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	BritishAmerican, FCB
Navindra Ramnanan	Presentation College, San Fernando	Male	Unknown	Indian	PILDECO
Nazir Ahamad	Fatima College/St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	Indian	Ansa McCal
Neil Gosine	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	CLICO, C L Financial
Neil Malachi Jones	Belmont Inter/St. Mary's College	Male	Catholic	African	Scotia
Neil Parsanlal	St. Mary's College	Male	Catholic	Indian	PILDECO
Neil Poon Tip	Presentation College, San Fernando	Male	Unknown	Chinese	NIPDECO
Newton Paisley James	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	New India
Nicholas Cooper	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	NP
Nicholas V. Moutett	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	White	CLICO
Nigel Darwent	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	FCB
Nigel M. Baptiste	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	ALGICO

Nigel Salina	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Stock Exchange
Nirmal Rampersad	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Royal
Nizam Mohammed	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Great Northern
Norman Sabga	Nelson St. Boys' RC School	Male	Unknown	Syrian/Lebanese	Lake Asphalt
Nyree Alfonso	St. Augustine Girls' High School	Female	Unknown	Indian	Ansa McCal
Omar Daniel	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	CNM
Omar Khan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	C L Financial
Ousman Mohammed	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	New India
Owen C Hinds	Unknown	Male	Anglican	African	Republic, Stock Exchange
Pamela Francis	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	TSTT
Pat Minicucci	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	CILCO, C L Financial
Patricia Elder	Bishop's High School, POS	Female	Unknown	African	Royal
Patrick Kelly	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	CITI
Patrick Patel	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	Unknown	FCB
Paul Anthony Buxo	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	PILDECO
Paul Jay Williams	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Chinese	NFM
Paul Rodgers	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NFM
Paula Rajkumarsingh	St. Joseph's Convent, POS	Female	Unknown	African	New India
Pelham Mc Sween	Osmond High School	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Lake Asphalt
Peter Clarke	St. Mary's College	Male	Catholic	African	C L Financial, M&M
Peter Cowperthwaite Godsoe	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	PILDECO



Peter Emanuel Salvary	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	FCB
Peter Jean July	Queen's College	Male	Unknown	White	NIPDECO
Peter Machikan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NFM
Peter Malcom George Farah	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Neal & Massy
Peter Pena	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Scotia
Phillip H. Green	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	NFM
Phillip Terrence Rajnauth	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	CLICO
Prakash Ramnarine	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Lake Asphalt
R. Kendall Nottingham	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	CNM, TSTT
Rabindranath Lackhan	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	Indian	Lake Asphalt
Rae Anthony Stewart	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	FCB
Raffique Shah	Presentation College, San Fernando	Male	Unknown	Indian	FCB
Rafik Elia	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	CLICO, CITI, C L Financial
Rajaram Krishna Boodhai	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	PILDECO
Ramchand Ramnarine	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Agostini
Ramish Ramanand	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	CLICO
Rampersad Motilal	Presentation College, San Fernando	Male	Unknown	Unknown	TSTT
Randy Ramtahal	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Royal
Ranjit Jeewan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Ansa McCal
Ranjit Ramnarine	Presentation College, San Fernando	Male	Unknown	Indian	Gulf
Raval Singh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Lake Asphalt
Ravi Ramoutar	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	NIPDECO

Ravi Ratiram	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Lake Asphalt
Ray Sumairsingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	CLICO
Raymond Albert Bernard	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Scotia
Raymond Gatcliffe	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	BritishAmerican, CLICO, C L Financial
Razai Azard Rahaman	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	CNM
Reyaz W. Ahamad	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	NFM
Ricardo Garcia	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Royal
Richard de Souza	Unknown	Male	Catholic	White	PILDECO
Richard Earl Waugh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	LJW, Republic
Richard Gayle	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NP
Richard Jay Williams	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Chinese	UNDECOTT
Richard Peter Young	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	Chinese	UNDECOTT
Rikhi Rampersad	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	TSTT
Rita Persaud-Kong	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	NIPDECO
Robert Bermudez	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	TSTT
Robert Fullerton	Unknown	Male	Christian	Indian	FCB
Robert Hartland Pitfield	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	NIPDECO, UDECOTT
Robert Le Hunte	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	M&M
Robert Lerwill	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Agostini
Robert Oscar Rowley	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	UNDECOTT
Robert Ramchand	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	British American
Robert Riley	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Agostini, Republic
Robert Stephen Foster	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	TSTT
Robert Tang Yuk	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Chinese	FCB
Robert Yorke	Unknown	Male	Anglican	African	ALGICO
Roderick Stirling Pennycock	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	CNM
Roger Anthony Graham	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Ansa McCal

Farah					
Roger Duprey	Fatima College	Male	Unknown	African	Stock Exchange
Rohan Roopnarine	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Stock Exchange
Roland Graham	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NFM
Rollin Bertrand	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NIPDECO
Rolph Balgobin	Presentation College, San Fernando	Male	Unknown	Indian	Ansa McCal
Ronald Anslem Chan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Chinese	PILDECO
Ronald Frederick deCreft Harford	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	C L Financial
Ronald Gorgomus Huggins	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	NFM
Ronald Le Hunte	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Neal & Massy
Ronald Rattan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NP
Ronnie Boodoosingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	FCB
Ross Alexander	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	CITI, Gulf
Roxane De Freitas	Bishop's High School, POS	Female	Unknown	White	NP
Russell Martineau	Bishop's High School, Tobago	Male	Unknown	African	M&M
Russell Ramkhalawan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	PILDECO
Ruthven A Jaggassar	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Neal & Massy
Samuel Martin	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Republic
Sardanand Ramnarine	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Lake Asphalt
Satyakama Maharaj	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Agostini
Seeram Maharaj	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	M&M
Shaffeek Gregory Amrall Sultan-Khan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	CNM
Shaffira Khan	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	FCB
Shankar Bidaisee	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	PILDECO

Sharma Deonarine	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	CITI
Sharon Gopaul-Mc Nicol	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	ALGICO
Sharon King	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	NP
Shazan Ali	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Royal
Sheila Maharaj	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	NIPDECO
Shobee Jacelon	Bishop's High School, POS	Female	Unknown	Indian	Agostini, CILCO, C L Financial
Shodan Mahabir	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	AnsaMcCal, CILCO
Shri Rajendra Beri	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	CLICO, New India
Srinivasan Gopalan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	LJW
Stephan Gift	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Neal & Massy
Stephanie Daly	Unknown	Female	Unknown	White	NP
Stephen Edghill	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Republic
Stephen John Joseph	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	New India
Stephen Pollard	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	CNM
Stephen Roger Castagne	Real Colegio	Male	Unknown	White	Neal & Massy
Stephen Webster	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NIPDECO
Sterling Chase	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	TSTT
Steve Bideshi	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	CNM
Steve De Las	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	PILDECO
Subhas Ramkhelawan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	CITI
Suresh Balkaran Sookoo	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	Indian	NIPDECO
Suresh Maharaj	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Great Northern
Susilla Ramkissoon	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	Neal&Massy, Republic, TSTT
Sylvia Baldini-Duprey	Unknown	Female	Unknown	White	Republic
Taft Sumonds	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	NP
Tarun Bajaj	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	M&M
Teasley Taitt	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Royal

Teresa White	Unknown	Female	Unknown	White	Stock Exchange, TSTT
Terrence A. J. Martins	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	New India
Terrence Chang	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Gulf
Terrence W. Farrell	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	FCB
Thokozile James	Diego Martin Government	Female	Unknown	African	New India
Thomas Jay Williams	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Chinese	UNDECOTT
Thomas Reginald Evans	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	CNM
Timothy Mooleedhar	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	New India
Timothy Pennington	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Lake Asphalt
Trevor Farrell	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	C L Financial, Stock Exchange
Trevor Michael Boopsingh	Presentation College, San Fernando	Male	Catholic	Indian	CLICO
Trevor Romano	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	PILDECO
Trevor Townsend	Queen's Royal College	Male	Unknown	Unknown	New India
Trystram Alley	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	CILCO, C L Financial
Utam Maharaj	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Ansa McCal
Vallence Rabbharat	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	TSTT
Ved Seereeram	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Indian	FCB
Victor E Mouttet	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	Scotia
Victor Herde	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Scotia
Victor Mitchell	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	PILDECO
Victoria Phillips-Jerome	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	Gulf
Vincent Cabrera	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	CITI
Vincent Moe	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Scotia
Vindra Naipaul	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	CLICO
Vishnu Dhanpaul	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Ansa McCal

Vishnu Musai	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	New India
Vishnu Ramlogan	Fatima College	Male	Unknown	Indian	LJW
Walter Keith Welch	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	New India
Wayne Corbie	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Republic
Wayne Maughan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Neal & Massy
Wendell Dottin	St. Mary's College/Queen's Royal College	Male	Unknown	African	ALGICO
William Aguiton	Fatima College	Male	Unknown	African	CNM
William Harold Pierpont Scott	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Chinese	NP
William Peter Lucie- Smith	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	FCB
Winston Alexander	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	FCB
Winston Andrews	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	C L Financial, CLICO, British American, FCB, NIPDECO
Winston Connell	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	Royal, Neal & Massy
Winston Mootoo	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	Agostini
Winston Padmore	Queen's Royal College	Male	Unknown	African	ALGICO
Winston Romany	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	Ansa McCal
Yvonne Attale	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	PILDECO

APPENDIX C: NATIONAL SENATORS

<b>Full Name</b>	<b>High School</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Parliament</b>
John Rojas	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	1-I
Ramchand Kirpalani	Unknown	Male	Hindu	Indian	1-I
A. K. Sabga-Aboud	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Syrian/Lebanese	1-I
Raymond Lange	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-I
Beatrice Walke	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	1-I
Lilias Wright	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	1-I
Alexander Ramhit Sinanan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-I
Jagan Singh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-I
Nathaniel Crichlow	Tunapuna RC Primary School	Male	Unknown	African	1-I, 1-R, 2-R
George Armsby Richards	Belmont Boys' RC Primary School	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-I, 2-I
Patrick Hobson	Queen's Royal College	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-I, 2-I
Jeffrey Stollmeyer	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	White	1-I, 2-I
Verna Crichlow	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	1-I, 2-I
Ronald J. Williams	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Chinese	1-I, 2-I
Margaret Lucky-Samaroo	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	1-I, 2-I
Julius Hamilton Maurice	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-I, 2-I
Ada Date-Camps	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	1-I, 2-I
Wilfred Alexander	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-I, 2-I
Lancelot Beckles	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-I, 2-I
Thomas Bleasdell	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-I, 2-I

Terrence C. Shears Shears	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-I, 2-I
Mark Julien	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-I, 2-I, 3-I
Donald Pierre	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	1-I, 2-I, 3-I
Nicholas Simonette	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-I, 2-I, 3-I
Carl Tull	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-I, 2-I, 3-I
Michael Beaubrun	Grenada	Male	Unknown	African	1-R
James Manswell	Osmond High School	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-R
Selwyn Augustus Richardson	Unknown	Male	Catholic	African	1-R
Glenville Taitt	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	1-R
Marilyn Gordon	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	1-R
Desmond Cartey	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	1-R
John Stanley Donaldson	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	1-R
Gerald Chen	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Chinese	1-R
Dora Bridgemohan	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	1-R
Kusha Haraksingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	1-R
George Bowrin	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-R
Joseph Hamilton- Holder	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-R
Elmina Clarke-Allen	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	1-R
Elmo Andrew Gonzales	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-R
John Humphrey	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	1-R
Victor Mouttet	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	1-R
Michael de la Bastide	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	White	1-R, 2-R
Alwin Chow	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Chinese	1-R, 2-R
Carlton Alert	Unknown	Male	Anglican	Unknown	1-R, 2-R
Emru Millette	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-R, 2-R
Nuevo Diaz	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-R, 2-R



Rudolph Hypolite	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	1-R, 2-R
George Bovell	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	1-R, 2-R
Mervyn De Souza	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	1-R, 2-R
Louise Horne	Eugene Laurent's Private	Female	Catholic	African	1-R, 3-R
Krishna Bahadoorsingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	1-R, 3-R
Vishnu Ramlogan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	1-R, 3-R
Roy Neehall	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	2-I
Kalawatee Permanand	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	2-I
Ramzan Ali	Unknown	Male	Muslim	Indian	2-I
Conrad O'Brien	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	2-I
Clive Spencer	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	2-I
Leslie Balgobin	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	2-I
Saied Mohammed	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	2-I
Walter De Suza	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	2-I, 3-I
Wendell Mottley	Queen's Royal College	Male	Unknown	African	2-R
Lloyd Best	Queen's Royal College	Male	Unknown	African	2-R
Neville Hilton-Clarke	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	2-R
Russell Martineau	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	2-R
Basil Ince	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	2-R
Patrick Arnold	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	2-R
Ashford Shahtri Sinanan	Unknown	Male	Presbyterian	Indian	2-R
Brinsley Samaroo	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	2-R
Percival Harnarayan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	2-R
Waffie Mohammed	Unknown	Male	Muslim	Indian	2-R
Winfield Scott	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	2-R
Muriel Greene	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	2-R

Olive Sawyer	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	2-R
Neville Connell	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	2-R
John Eckstein	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	2-R
Daniel Reid	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	2-R
William Scott	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	2-R
Anthony Jacelon	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	2-R
Jacob Elder	Charlotteville Western Secondary	Male	Methodist	African	3-I
Basdeo Panday	Presentation College, San Fernando	Male	Hindu	Indian	3-I
Thomas Alexander Gatcliffe	Queen's Royal College	Male	Unknown	White	3-I
Francis Prevatt	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	3-I
Canute Spencer	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	3-I
Harold Robinson	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	3-I
Cleopatra Romilly	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	3-I
Winston Lamont	Unknown	Male	Anglican	Unknown	3-I
Ruby Felix	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	3-I
Lorna Goodridge	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	3-I
Beulah Nelson	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	3-I
John Daniel	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	3-I
Irwin Kenneth Merritt	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	3-I
Jesse Noel	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	3-I
John Tyson	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	3-I
Bisoondath Ojah- Maharaj	Unknown	Male	Hindu	Indian	3-I, 1-R
Wahid Ali	Unknown	Male	Muslim	Indian	3-I, 1-R. 2-R
Vernon Glean	Unknown	Male	Anglican	Unknown	3-I, 2-R
Keith Rowley	Bishop's High School, Tobago	Male	Unknown	African	3-R

Sahadeo Basdeo	St. Benedict's College	Male	Unknown	Indian	3-R
Neil Bhagan	St. Benedict's College	Male	Unknown	Indian	3-R
Kenneth Gordon	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	African	3-R
Augustus Ramrekersingh	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	Indian	3-R
Clive Pantin	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	White	3-R
Robert Amar	Tranquility Boys	Male	Unknown	Indian	3-R
Kenneth Valley	Unknown	Male	Catholic	African	3-R
Allan Alexander	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	3-R
George Weekes	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	3-R
Benedict Armstrong	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	3-R
Herbert Atwell	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	3-R
Hochoy Charles	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	3-R
Winston Moore	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	3-R
Michael Williams	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Chinese	3-R
Amrika Tewari	Unknown	Female	Hindu	Indian	3-R
Fyard Hosein	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	3-R
Motilal Moonan	Unknown	Male	Hindu	Indian	3-R
Prakash Persad	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	3-R
Winston Joseph	Unknown	Male	Anglican	Indian	3-R
Ralph Khan	Unknown	Male	Muslim	Indian	3-R
Donna Prowell	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	3-R
Carlyle Walters	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	3-R
Angus Khan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	3-R
Horace Wilson	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	3-R
Alloy Le Quay	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	3-R
Una Charles	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	3-R
Trevor Belmosa	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	3-R

Leonard Bradshaw	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	3-R
John Gonzales	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	3-R
Kelvin Khan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	3-R
John Gerald Furness-Smith	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	3-R
Michael Mansoor	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	Syrian/Lebanese	3-R, 4-R
Salisha Baksh	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	3-R, 4-R
Joseph Emmanuel Carter	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	3-R, 4-R
John Rooks	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	3-R, 4-R
John Spence	Queen's Royal College	Male	Unknown	Mixed	3-R, 4-R, 5-R
Wade Mark	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	3-R, 4-R, 5-R, 6-R, 8-R, 9-R
Ramesh Deonsaran	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	3-R, 6-R, 7-R, 8-R, 9-R
Robin Montano	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	3-R, 8-R
Surujrattan Rambachan	Unknown	Male	Hindu	Indian	3-R, 9-R
Camille Robinson-Regis	Bishop Anstey High School, Port of Spain	Female	Unknown	African	4-R
John Rahael	Holy Cross College	Male	Catholic	Syrian/Lebanese	4-R
Kamla Persad-Bissessar	Iere High School	Female	Unknown	Unknown	4-R
Roi Kwabena	Private High School (W'brook)	Male	Unknown	African	4-R
Ainsley Mark	Queen's Royal College	Male	Unknown	African	4-R
Barry Barnes	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	Unknown	4-R
Russell Huggins	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	4-R
Gordon Draper	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	4-R
Standford Callender	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	4-R

Hydar Ali	Unknown	Male	Muslim	Indian	4-R
Ramcharan Gosine	Unknown	Male	Hindu	Indian	4-R
Ashick Hassim	Unknown	Male	Muslim	Indian	4-R
Surendranath Capildeo	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	4-R
Everard Dean	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	4-R
Harry Kuarsingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	4-R
Jean Elder	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	4-R
Carol Mahadeo	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	4-R
Muntaz Hosein	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	4-R
Sam Maharaj	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	4-R
Deodath Ojah-Maharaj	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	4-R
Brian Kuei Tung	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	Chinese	4-R, 5-R
Barbara Gray-Burke	Unknown	Female	Spiritual Baptist	African	4-R, 5-R
Carol Merritt	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	4-R, 5-R
Diana Mahabir-Wyatt	Unknown	Female	Unknown	White	4-R, 5-R
Daniel Teelucksingh	Unknown	Male	Presbyterian	Indian	4-R, 5-R, 6-R
Martin Daly	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	4-R, 5-R, 6-R
Joan Yuille-Williams	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	4-R, 5-R, 6-R, 7-R, 8-R
Knowlson Gift	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	4-R, 7-R, 8-R
Lenny Saith	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	4-R, 7-R, 8-R, 9-R
Deborah Moore-Miggins	Bishop's High School, Tobago	Female	Methodist	African	5-R
Pennelope Beckles	St. Joseph's Convent, San Fernando	Female	Unknown	African	5-R
Carol Cuffy-Dowlath	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	5-R
Elizabeth Mannette	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	5-R
Joseph Theodore	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	5-R
Eric St. Cyr	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	5-R

Cynthia Alfred	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	5-R
Daphne Phillips	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	5-R
Carlos John	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	5-R
Winston John	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	5-R
Orville London	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	5-R
Nathaniel Moore	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	5-R
Anna Mahase	Unknown	Female	Presbyterian	Indian	5-R
Dhanayshar Mahabir	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	5-R
Nizam Baksh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	5-R
Mahadeo Jagmohan	Unknown	Male	Hindu	Indian	5-R
Selwyn John	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	5-R
Nafessa Mohammed	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	5-R
Finbar Gangar	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	5-R
Muhummad Shabazz	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	5-R
Vernon Gilbert	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	5-R
Carlene Belmontes	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	5-R
Vimala Tota-Maharaj	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	5-R
Agnes Williams	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	5-R
John Bharath	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	5-R
Carlton Callender	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	5-R
George Dhanny	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	5-R
Andrew Gabriel	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	5-R
Philip Marshall	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	5-R
Philip Hamel-Smith	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	5-R
Lindsay Gillette	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	Chinese	5-R, 6-R
Julian Kenny	St. Mary's College	Male	Unknown	Unknown	5-R, 6-R
Jerlean John	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	5-R, 6-R
Ganace Ramdial	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	5-R, 6-R
Eastlyn McKenzie	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	5-R, 6-R, 7-R, 8-R

Kenneth Ramchand	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	5-R, 6-R, 7-R, 8-R
Danny Montano	Unknown	Male	Unknown	White	5-R, 6-R, 7-R, 8-R, 9-R
Sadiq Baksh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	5-R, 8-R
Gillian Lucky	Naparima Girls' High School	Female	Unknown	Indian	6-R
Michael Als	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	6-R
James Lambert	Unknown	Male	Catholic	African	6-R
Vincent Lasse	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	6-R
Stanley Ryan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	6-R
Gerald Yetming	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Chinese	6-R
Roodal Moonilal	Unknown	Male	Hindu	Indian	6-R
Joel London	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	6-R
Glenda Morean-Phillips	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	6-R, 7-R, 8-R
Rennie Dumas	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	6-R, 7-R, 8-R
David Quamina	Unknown	Male	Anglican	African	6-R, 7-R, 8-R
Christopher Thomas	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	6-R, 7-R, 8-R
Christine Kangeloo	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	6-R, 7-R, 8-R
Mary King	Unknown	Female	Unknown	White	6-R, 7-R, 8-R
Raziah Ahmed	Iere High School	Female	Muslim	Indian	6-R, 8-R
Roy Augustus	Unknown	Male	Catholic	African	6-R, 8-R
Tim Gopeesingh	Unknown	Male	Hindu	Indian	6-R, 8-R
Jennifer Jones Kernahan	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	6-R, 8-R, 9-R
Donna Carter	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	7-R
Rawle Titus	Bishop's High School, Tobago	Male	Unknown	African	7-R, 8-R
Mustapha Abdul-Hamid	Queen's Royal College	Male	Muslim	Indian	7-R, 8-R
Maniedeo Persad	St. George's College	Male	Hindu	Indian	7-R, 8-R

Howard Chin Lee	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Chinese	7-R, 8-R
Parvatee Anmolsingh-Mahabir	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	7-R, 8-R
Linda Baboolal	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	7-R, 8-R
Noble Khan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	7-R, 8-R
Hazel Manning	St. Joseph's Convent, San Fernando	Female	Unknown	African	7-R, 8-R, 9-R
Arnold Piggott	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	7-R, 8-R, 9-R
Dana Seetahal	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	7-R, 8-R, 9-R
Conrad Enill	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	7-R, 8-R, 9-R
Ato Boldon	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	8-R
Christine Sahadeo	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	8-R
Arnim Smith	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	8-R
Glenn Ramadharsingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	8-R
Carolyn Seepersad-Bachan	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	8-R
Rudranath Indarsingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	8-R
Harry Persad Mungalsingh	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	8-R
Satish Ramroop	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	8-R
Joan Hackshaw-Marslin	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Unknown	8-R
Sastri Moonan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	8-R
Francis Pau	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	8-R
Ronald Phillip	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Unknown	8-R
Angela Cropper	Unknown	Female	Unknown	White	8-R
Martin Joseph	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	8-R, 9-R
John Jeremie	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	8-R, 9-R
Basharat Ali	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	8-R, 9-R
Tina Gronlund-Nunez	Naparima Girls' High School	Female	Unknown	White	9-R



Mariano Brown	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	9-R
Emily Gaynor Dick-Forde	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	9-R
Brigid Annisette-George	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	9-R
Charles Carlson	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	9-R
Corinne Baptiste-McKnight	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	9-R
Sharon-Ann Gopaul McNicol	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	9-R
Verna St Rose Greaves	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	9-R
Michael Annisette	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	9-R
Christopher Joefield	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	9-R
June Melville	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	9-R
Annette Nicholson-Alfred	Unknown	Female	Unknown	African	9-R
Wesley George	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	9-R
Linus Rogers	Unknown	Male	Unknown	African	9-R
Subhas Ramkhelawan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	9-R
Cindy Devika Sharma	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	9-R
Adesh Nanan	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	9-R
Gail Merhair	Unknown	Female	Unknown	Indian	9-R
Jerry Narace	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	9-R
Mohammed Faisal Rahman	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Indian	9-R
Mervyn Assam	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Mixed	9-R
George Hadeed	Unknown	Male	Unknown	Syrian/Lebanese	9-R
Helen Drayton	Unknown	Female	Unknown	White	9-R

APPENDIX D: UNISCIS

<b>Economic Activity</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>Combined Group</b>
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	A	Construction, extraction, agriculture and manufacturing
Mining and quarrying	B	Construction, extraction, agriculture and manufacturing
Manufacturing	C	Construction, extraction, agriculture and manufacturing
Electricity, gas steam and air conditioning supply	D	Construction, extraction, agriculture and manufacturing
Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	E	Construction, extraction, agriculture and manufacturing
Construction	F	Construction, extraction, agriculture and manufacturing
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	G	Construction, extraction, agriculture and manufacturing
Transportation and storage	H	Construction, extraction, agriculture and manufacturing
Accommodation and food service activities	I	Service, arts, education and health
Information and communication	J	Service, arts, education and health
Financial and insurance activities	K	Financial and insurance activities
Real estate activities	L	Service, arts, education and health
Professional, scientific and technical activities	M	Professional, scientific and technical activities
Administrative and support service activities	N	Service, arts, education and health
Public administration and defense; compulsory social security	O	Service, arts, education and health
Education	P	Service, arts, education and health
Human health and social work activities	Q	Service, arts, education and health
Arts, entertainment and recreation	R	Service, arts, education and health
Trade union activities	S	Service, arts, education and health
Clergy	U	Service, arts, education and health

High court judges	V	High court judges
Appeal court judges	W	Appeal court judges
Chief Justices	X	Chief Justices
Unspecified retirees	Y	Unspecified retirees
Not stated	Z	Not stated

APPENDIX E: PRESTIGE SCHOOLS

<b>Prestige Schools</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>	<b>Year founded</b>
Bishop's Anstey High School, Port of Spain	Anglican	1921
Bishop's High School, Tobago	Anglican	1925
Fatima College	Catholic	1945
Hillview College	Presbyterian	1955
Holy Cross College	Catholic	1957
Holy Name Convent, Port of Spain	Catholic	1902
Naparima Boys' College	Presbyterian	1984
Naparima Girls' College	Presbyterian	1912
Presentation College, Chaguanas	Catholic	1959
Presentation College, San Fernando	Catholic	1930
Queen's Royal College	Government	1859
St. Augustine Girls' High School	Presbyterian	1950
St. Joseph's Convent, Port of Spain	Catholic	1836
St. Joseph's Convent, St. Joseph	Catholic	1870
St. Joseph's Convent, San Fernando	Catholic	1882
St. Mary's College (College or the Immaculate Conception)	Catholic	1863
Trinity College, Moka	Anglican	1958