THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING LESSER ANTILLES: A MICROCOSM OF MIGRATION AS A FEATURE OF STRUCTURAL DEPENDENCY IN THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN

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ABSTRACT

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This study is concerned with the international migration of labor from the English-speaking eastern Caribbean islands, the Lesser Antilles, which include both the Leeward and Windward groupings. Particularly evident after 1950, the focuses of the research are the historic, economic and political formations in this dependent and underdeveloped area which result in continuous, large-scale out-migrations from these islands.

The research methodology used in this study is historical/documentary, which draws upon both qualitative and statistical information found in both primary and secondary sources.

The major findings include the: (1) patterns of migration to both center nations outside the region (United States, Canada, United Kingdom) and to regional periphery nations (United States Virgin Islands, Trinidad, Barbados); (2) historical conditioning and creation of massive labor surpluses in the area, and the resultant persistence of migration as a temporary remedy to island conditions; and (3) impact of remittances on these economies.

To my father

For his patience and love

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INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Throughout the industrializing era of the western world in nations such as the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom, foreign workers have been welcomed into the labor force. While the bulk of the emigrant work force originated from southern and eastern Europe, these were not the only locales tapped to assist the advance of industrialization in the Twentieth century. Since the turn of the century, black workers from the Caribbean islands have arrived in these countries in significant numbers, and have worked alongside members of the economically active indigenous population, together participating in the growth and development of various industrial nations.

The appearance of an international reserve army of labor, which is relatively cheap, highly mobile and quite sensitive to fluctuations in expanding economies, is a predictable feature of advanced capitalism. This tendency became most noticeable, for all areas of the world, during the post-World War II economic growth period. The Caribbean Sea basin, as a source, has gained greater importance since the 1950's. For the Caribbean, the significance of this period is characterized by many global factors: (1) the Western European redevelopment plan,

which resulted in (2) the need for cheap and accessible labor, and the subsequent use of available workers from existing colonial territories which the United Kingdom continues to influence by virtue of its recently extended Commonwealth relations, and (3) confirmed United States expansion of dominance into the Caribbean. The purpose of this study is not to attempt a comprehensive historical analysis of the movement of labor from the area, but rather to focus upon one particular era in this process.

There is a need for research which focuses upon the structurally permissive factors of the region which result in large-scale migrations from the smaller islands in the eastern Caribbean. Many territories, large and small, have been drawn historically into the world capitalist system, and figure into an analysis of the migration of labor as a tendency resulting from the historically conditioned state of underdevelopment, dependency and exploitation. The following study investigates the black reserve labor pool found in the British Lesser Antilles grouping in the eastern Caribbean, which includes the Leeward Islands of Anguilla, Antigua, Barbuda, Montserrat, Nevis and St. Kitts and the Windward Islands of Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and the Grenadines.

The purpose of this study is to understand the migratory process within the context of the historical and political development of the Caribbean, and the economic and social formations which emerge within that context.

Particular attention is focused first on the process of migration because, as a population factor, it makes the area distinctive as one of the leading areas of highest out-migration in the world. Secondly, and more importantly, since the 1950's, North America has depended as much on migrant workers from the Caribbean as on those coming from Latin America. During this same period, migration of persons from the British Commonwealth to the United Kingdom, which was largely West Indian peaked. Prior to this period, eastern Caribbean migration was relatively insignificant.[1] In each case, these workers have become indispensable to these economies.[2]

To facilitate greater comprehension of the migratory process two separate but interrelated lines of investigation are pursued. First, it is necessary to assess the structural conditions of these islands, which allow the mobility of a significantly large number of their insular populations to be used as a continuous labor force in a variety of geographical locales. Neither population pressure nor unemployment, alone or in combination, provide sufficient explanations for high rates of migration from the region. The second task is to illustrate how the region figures into the global functioning of the world capitalist system as a significant pocket of the international reserve army of labor. It is necessary to document for all contributing sectors, their role in this process. Here concentration on the smaller island

migratory patterns provides a basis for future comparisons with other larger and more populous English-speaking islands.

The process of labor migration is a notable feature resulting from structural conditions which are linked with underdevelopment and dependency. The process stems from the historic, economic and political realities in the Caribbean. The Lesser Antilles exist as tiny, high density, insular units initially settled for agricultural production, functioning as extensions of earlier occupations of other, larger Caribbean islands by Europeans. British colonization was established in this region during the first half of the seventeenth century, and slavery became an essential part of the economic structure. Imported African slave labor was used in the development of a plantation economy which was dependent on three main trades: (1) tropical staples of sugar, molasses and rum, (2) British manufactures, food, livestock and lumber, and (3) African slaves.[3] Historically, the forced migration of labor into the area was economically beneficial to, and necessary for, the growth of the world capitalist system.

At present, the primary function of the area as a center for agricultural production is essentially unchanged. Modifications of the function of the area are apparent only in the types of export crops grown, which are dictated by the changing needs of the overseas markets. Today, migration has become a tremendously disruptive factor for the social structure of the area. The

transient nature of the labor force acts as one of the most profound features unifying this area.

Explanations for the migration process range from the individual level of analysis to that of the world systems approach. Individual causes have been sufficiently documented elsewhere.[4] Highlighted here are applicable island structural features which result in significant levels of migration. The particular patterns of migration found in the Lesser Antilles are predictably based on the history of the area dating back to its settlement and initial colonization. These patterns are rooted in the existing social structure of the region.

The changing patterns of Antillean islander movement over time provide perhaps the most revealing insight into the complexity of the migration process. Thus, several research questions emerge. First, what migratory patterns are discernible? Secondly, what are the significant economic and social structures which accompany these patterns? Finally, how might one account for these patterns? Each question is addressed in turn below.

A. Patterns of Migration

Fluctuations in the patterns of migration are affected primarily by the destination of the migrants. Alterations of the patterns are most evident by the volume of movement to varying destinations. From the seventeenth century on, labor transfers from one island economy to another have

existed in order to assist the seasonal labor needs of the plantation system.

> Several phases of migration took place simultaneously: fresh trends to new places coincided with secondary and sustained movements to the old destinations. Migrants shifted from one territory to another and sometimes returned to the countries from which they had come.[5]

However, the twentieth century has witnessed a notable increase in the volume of labor migration away from these peripheral island economies to industrial center-nations.

Within center-nations, the demand for migrant labor exists for three basic reasons: (1) as a response to general labor shortages, (2) as a means of filling bottom positions in the social hierarchy of labor and (3) as a way of meeting the requirements of a secondary sector of a dual labor market.[6] Economic expansion creates temporary labor shortages, particularly in low-paying, low status jobs. So, the migrant labor force basically fits into an already pre-determined set of jobs. Migrant labor is, thus, for the most part, complementary to, and not competitive with, native labor, helping to preserve native jobs and sustain native consumption patterns.[7] Workers most likely to fill such jobs are by and large "target-earners" or peasant workers, who work in industry or outside of their home countries in order to supplement their agricultural subsistence base.[8]

Additionally, there have been significant and simultaneous periphery to periphery movements within the area

itself, and with other peripheral economies in Central and South America. Both Petras and Nikolinakos admit that the expansion and movement of capital, and consequently the movement of labor, has not taken place to center-nations alone. The expansion of less profitable industrial production into peripheral areas of the Caribbean is an interesting phenomenon which has flourished since World War II. This expansion has taken place without significant absorption of surplus labor in the area.[9] Nevertheless, it attracts workers from neighboring islands within the area.

Piore suggests that because of the changing needs of the capitalist system, the character of the external migration stream is not stable, but is continuous. It appears to shift systematically over time, as the migration process ages, and the economy at the place of origin changes.[10] Much migration is of a temporary nature, for a period of three to ten years. However, such temporary migration has effects similar to permanent migration when, the returning migrant is replaced within the migrant stream by another compatriot with similar characteristics. Such migrants may be regarded as a permanent social group with rotating membership.[11] Differing from settler immigrants of another era, many Third World migrants intend eventually to return to their home countries. They are "economic exiles" who leave for a time to work and save.[12] Most islanders regard migration to neighboring

countries, and to North America, as the normal solution to lack of economic activity at home. Despite this reality, it is not unusual to find that many migrants are employed in their homelands in the period immediately prior to their departures.[13]

As a consequence of migration, the accompanying pattern of monetary transfers in the form of remittances to home islands parallels the movement of workers. While remittances are perhaps the greatest personal incentive motivating migrants, more general factors affecting migration must be noted. Petras outlines seven possible factors which may influence migratory patterns: geographic proximity, cultural affinity, political and economic networks, occupational and wage categories, degree and mode of labor control, tradition of class organization and political participation, and remittances and foreign exchange. While all of these may be possible factors, perhaps the most important for the Lesser Antilles have been proximity, political and economic networks, and remittances. Petras notes that proximity between labor surplus zones and labor importing zones reduces the costs of transportation, communication and the complications of movement, regardless of who bears the cost.[14] Economic networks such as trade relations and colonial histories, which bind identifiable peripheral and center-nations, create equally powerful though sometimes, less formal and legally defined movements.[15] Remittances, while informally stimulated by

family ties, are often legally compelled by island government regulations.[16]

B. International Migration

Explanations for the migratory process which accomodate the existence of global structures operating beyond the level of the nation-state are explored below. While both individual motives and island-specific features of migration are recognized as explanations for the continuous movement of people out of the Lesser Antilles, structural features of a global nature affecting this process are highlighted here. First, migration may be viewed as an attendant feature of the capital accumulation process, and primarily as an extension of the division of labor to an international scale. Second, it is possible to conceptualize migration as part and parcel of structural dependency and underdevelopment, resulting in a conditioned response to fluctuations in former and existing colonial-power economies. The second factor feeds into, and is an integral part of, the capitalist accumulation process. Thus, migrants and the migration process must be viewed from these two separate, but integrated, levels.

Migration as a Feature of the Capitalist Accumulation Process

Many international migration theorists agree that the main purpose of migration is to add manpower to the existing available supply of labor in a particular area. Ceri Peach's study on West Indian migration to Britain focused on the dynamic attraction of the industrial British economy, rather than on the island's permissive push factors. The study suggests that despite "adverse" conditions in the sending areas, migration coincides with periods of demand outside of these countries, rather than with perceived crises of surplus labor inside them. He notes that the migrations after World War II took place against a backdrop of improving conditions of decreased unemployment and decreased population growth.[17]

Similarly for North America, Petras looks beyond the European migration experience, reiterating that Third World migration oscillations do not necessarily co-vary with levels of the birth rate, gross domestic product, unemployment, or education. Rather, she notes that migrations have varied historically with the alternating market conditions within center-nation labor importing zones, or even within the hierarchy of wage differential and capital expansion within the Caribbean itself. Conclusively, Petras notes that major cross-national networks of labor flows parallel the movement of commodities and capital within an international grid of exchanges.[18]

However, caution must be taken so as not to present an over-rationalized view of migration. No country has decided in advance on the scale and character of immigration. The movements have developed in accordance with the economic needs of industry on the one hand, and of migrants on the other. Government immigration policies have more often come after the event in order to control and direct already existing movements, rather than to determine them from the outset.[19]

Historically, the international division of labor is best comprehended by analyzing the distribution of economic roles, and the functions between center and periphery areas. The function of the foreign-dominated periphery is primarily production. External markets located in the center nations dominate the economic process and the production of producer goods, manufactures, technology and related services, by controlling all internal markets.[20] It is further concluded that Caribbean government population policy complies with this distribution of international production, because it regularizes the islands' unemployment problem through the migration of labor.[21] Samir Amin[22] suggests that all factors of production (capital and labor) are mobile. Yet the accumulation process in capitalism has generally resulted in the concentration of money and physical capital in the developed core regions, and in the massive geographic concentrations of labor in the undeveloped regions.

Capital migration intensifies only when labor migration is impractical for historically determined social or political reasons. The maximum rate of accumulation depends on the rate of profit or labor exploitation of workers without political rights.[23] That is, capitalists pay immigrants a relatively low wage and native workers a relatively high wage, with the effect that average wages remain unaffected.[24] This practice creates an aristocracy of labor in center areas, making immigrant workers the new industrial reserve army.[25] This periphery-based surplus labor has acted as a reserve army of labor, which has been tapped in order to accommodate cyclical and sectoral economic shifts of the center.[26] Such migration, whether it was forced movement (slave or indentured) or free labor movement (from rural to urban and/or periphery to center), has been involved at every stage of this development as part of the dynamics of the social relations of production.

Capital needs two types of reserve armies of labor.[27] First, a "floating" reserve army which is more or less permanent and fully employed, but which changes jobs frequently in accordance with sectoral shifts in the economy. Secondly, a "stagnant" reserve army which is thrown into and removed from the work force as dictated by economic demand.[28] Both types of migration have a stabilizing function in both the sending and the receiving areas (by providing a constant labor supply and

siphoning off the chronically unemployed, respectively) while keeping the reserve army in continuous motion.[29]

Several migration theorists have attempted to explain the migration of labor solely from the vantage point of capitalist center-nations. Taton suggests that from the perspective of industrialized nations the role of migration is to keep the developing nations non-competitive. Using the example of more skilled and better educated migrants he states that:

> The policies of the developed nations which perpetuate the brain-drain, whether so intended or not, in effect are a new and subtle and highly effective form of colonialism. The brain-drain helps assure that the less developed nations will not become competitors of the more developed nations for raw materials and for markets for manufactured goods.[30]

While Castles and Kosack state that the basic determinant of migration is the socio-economic structure, they suggest that immigrants should not be looked at in terms of their specific group characteristics such as ethnic, social and cultural features, but in terms of their actual social positions in the host country.[31] According to these theorists such a point of view is possible since immigrants do not have to adopt universally accepted norms and customs. They are assigned a place in the non-egalitarian social order. Castles and Kosack do not view immigrant social relations as being with the receiving society as a whole, but with specific social groups within it such as employers, landlords, fellow workers, and so on. One

special mechanism which ensures that immigrant social conditions do not improve is discriminatory legislation which restricts civic and labor market rights and informal discriminatory practices.[32]

However, these single dimension explanations, focusing primarily on the receiving areas, do not help to explain sending country characteristics, nor do they anticipate or illuminate for these labor reserves, the patterns of movements to a variety of receiving areas existing for decades. More importantly, despite the increase of capital-intensive labor, there continues to exist a requirement for a certain percentage of a permanent, semi-skilled and unskilled labor force, necessary first for maintenance of the structure, and secondly for accumulation.[33] In discussing the importation of foreign workers, writers for both Western Europe and North America admit that industrialist and agricultural growers have been unable to reduce their dependency on a sizeable work force through mechanization, and that they have gone to great lengths to obtain a supply of cheap and steady labor, and to keep it unorganized and tightly controlled.[34]

Migration as a Feature of Structural Dependency

The process of migration cannot be divorced from the economic and political structures which exist in the Caribbean. Using analytical categories of the island economies, their varying political statuses, and the common social dynamics of migratory workers as illustrative features, a microcosm of contemporary dependence and underdevelopment may be constructed. It is argued, for example, that migration is part of an historically conditioned situation rooted in the structural transformations of the British Lesser Antilles which have taken place largely from the seventeenth century to the present.

Initial contact of Europeans with the Caribbean began as a purely economic relationship[35] during the sixteenth century primarily with forced population movements into the area from Africa for the primary purpose of production of the land. Formal political ties in the form of colonies were soon established by the French and the British in order to assure the continuance of the economic relation and to safeguard against encroachment by other existing powers. The structure of the economic relations has typically been in the form of: (1) concentration and monopoly of trade partners in a single controlling nation, (2) mono-crop concentration of commodities produced, and (3) dependence of these nations on other stronger nations for financial, military and international representation.

Teodor maintains that an analysis of labor migration must consider not only the characteristics and needs of metropolitan capital, but also the process of disintegration and change in rural economies and societies.[36] Still, this is not separate from the accumulation process. Although the early formalized colonial relationship between the Lesser Antilles and center-nations is crucial to their later labor reserve function, the economic conditioning of the work force through the plantation system as a mode of production[37] is perhaps more insightful. The Lesser Antilles remain agarian plantation economies where the major export products are sugar and to a lesser extent, cotton in the Leeward Islands, and bananas, citrus fruits, and spices in the Windward Islands. The formation and roles of the peasantry in the area have been conditioned by the evolution and transformation of these societies, as they produced more goods and became more engrossed in the world capitalist system.

The manner in which a territory is integrated into the capitalist system dictates its laws of internal development.[38] An area becomes underdeveloped when its internal production system is determined by international commodity and capital markets. The process of the development of underdevelopment as an unnatural, and perhaps unnecessary, stage in development helped prepare the Antilles for incorporation into the world capitalist system. Thus, Galtung's[39] "center-periphery" dichotomy or Frank's[40]

"metropole-satellite" paradigm, which depict unequal exchange and differential development between two regions, become appropriate contexts in which to discuss developments in the Antilles.

Dos Santos[41] suggests that the historic and structural nature of economic dependency is a result of colonialism. In general, economic dependence was accomplished through isolation of periphery regions from each other, and the development of insularity, separate and disparate administrations in each isolated segment, and of rigidly imposed gradations as a basis of social stratification.

Dos Santos outlines three stages in the structure of dependence: colonial dependence, financial-industrial dependence, and technological-industrial dependence. Each level can be correlated with the development of capitalism from the seventeenth century to the present in the Antilles. Today, remnants of former political eras are evident. All of the Lesser Antilles remained formal colonies until the late 1950's, when changes in the international political and economic scene dictated a less conspicuous relationship. Neo-colonialism[42], a subsequent phase of imperialism following colonialism, during which an indigenous elite acts in the interest of the stronger nation without legal sanction, has taken root. The Antilles remain a mixture of de facto and de jure political statuses, ranging from pure colonialism (Montserrat and Anguilla) to adaptive variations of neo-colonialism,

despite the existence of four flag-independent islands (Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent). British associated statehood has been devised for the remaining territories (Antigua-Barbuda and St. Kitts-Nevis) as an anticipatory prelude to independence. However, political status alone does not act as the sole criteria for a neo-colonial relationship, but instead only acts to formalize economic motives.

The third phase, technological-industrial dependence, is the present context in which the structure of dependent migration operates. This late twentieth century phase depicts the expansion of influence in the Caribbean to include other industrial center-nations, and is characterized by the rise of multi-national corporation investments in markets of countries which have been underdeveloped. However, it is financial dependence which ushers in this third phase. With the initial use of the Caribbean territories as way-stations during early European explorations, their productive capacities mandated investments in and inclusion into, early mercantile development. Thus trade relations and migratory flows help to more clearly identify this neo-colonial phase.

In the heyday of British colonialism the British Caribbean colonies in general were more important and brought greater returns to investors than the North American colonies.[43] However, by the mid-twentieth

century, official British government subsidies, in the form of compulsory remittances and grants-in-aid, had replaced many of the private investments in the islands.

External technological-industrial reliance is particularly evident, not necessarily by the volume of jobs, but instead by work with significnat income differentials. Here, the growth of secondary and tertiary industries, especially of processing industries for sugar, cotton, fruit, and most recently for oil refining, as well as employment in the tourist industry, has brought wage-work into competition with piece-work in the area. Currently, the influence of outside nations has been extended beyond the United Kingdom, to include the United States and Canada as primary benefactors of such relations through comparatively advantageous trade relations and the use of the Caribbean work forces.

Therefore, economic production and trade relations have had serious consequences for the financial and technological developments in the region. These factors act as the single most permissive force which affects the migration of significant segments of the economically productive populations of the Antilles. The debilitating effects of this new dependence are many. Resultant limitations include high rates of exploitation of the labor force through striking differentials among domestic wage levels in a cheap labor market, the use of labor-displacing

capital-intensive technology, and the transference abroad of both displaced manpower and economic surplus generated within the islands.

Early structural transformations in the Antilles have had special implications for the present work force. Petras suggests that both slave and indentured labor forces typify this process in the Caribbean during the accumulation era in that region. Eventual withdrawal of center-nation capital from production in these zones resulted in the creation of massive labor surpluses, since there had been no prior subsistence level sectors, or displaced peasant or artisan sectors.[44] Thus, general displacement from the prior mode of organization of production, the plantation, resulted in proletarianization of these peripheral populations, and movement from lower wage to higher wage work zones.[45] Here, accumulated capital accelerated the creation of this labor surplus. For the Antilles, unequal development has led to a complex combination of oscillating "peasantry" and "proletarian" tendencies in the labor force.

The propensity of the populace to simultaneously perform both industrial and agricultural tasks complicates classification of the Caribbean work force. Stavenhagen's[46] observations in Latin America are instructive within this context. Basing his theory on an analysis of land tenure systems and patterns of migration, he identifies a six-factor process in the social transformation of the

peasantry: (1) establishment of a money economy, (2) private landownership and mono-culture, (3) urbanization, (4) industrialization, (5) migration of workers, and (6) national integration.

In contrast with Stavenhagen, writers such as Mintz and Hall[47] argue that in some cases the peasantry originated within the plantation system itself. The latter is perhaps more applicable to the Lesser Antilles. Small peasant production and share-cropping became quite important after the abolition of slavery, particularly in the southerly Windward Islands where a balance between estates and small independent peasant production is notable. In the Leewards, where fixed resources were much more limited because of the monopoly of plantation estates, a higher percentage of organized workers in the secondary sector and higher rates of labor migration are evident.

Compounding a rather amorphous classification of the work force are trade union politics of governments which range from colonies to independent nations. The issue of political status emerges as a critical variable in setting development strategies, since the movement of people between islands constantly emerges as an area of economic concern for each. The political context of both "primary" and "secondary" movements of labor as part of the internationalization of labor involves the transfer

of workers between center and periphery nations, and amongst periphery island economies, at various points in time.

Often disregarded are the "secondary" movements of labor. Chaney notes that in general there are interregional movements within Asia, Africa, and Latin America of people seeking jobs in countries which may be only slightly better off than their own, and these are noted even less than larger hemispheric movements.[48] Nevertheless, these movements, like primary movements, are also conditioned and directed by fluctuations in the general world capitalist system. Historical examples of labor migrations within the Caribbean which occurred as a consequence of concerted or unilateral decisions of nations such as the United States, United Kingdom and other European powers began to emerge at the turn of the century. Such labor transfers were apparent in the construction of the Panama Canal, the United Fruit Company investments in the Cuban and Costa Rican fruit industries, and agricultural and dock work in the United States Virgin Islands. Similarly, after World War II the growth of construction industries, processing industries and tourism resulted in large scale influxes of migrant workers to the United States Virgin Islands, Aruba and Antigua. Of primary movements, Chaney adds that few economically advanced countries industrialized without causing the emigration of large numbers of people who

were dislocated by the process, and without using cheap labor of others.[49]

Thus, the three employment options open to the Antillean population, independent peasant production, plantation work and migration for work, have not been mutually exclusive alternatives. Rather, combinations of the alternatives, coupled with limited non-agricultural employment in the secondary and tertiary sectors, have been apparent. Local employment, individual small farming, and remittances from emigrated workers are all necessary to make ends meet. Referring to the uncertainty of wage work and the lack of control over the land, Richard Frucht[50] describes the Caribbean's economically active sector as a mixture of dependence on proletarian relationships, peasant holdings, bourgeois aspirations and bourgeois consumer behavior.[51] Remittances from individual migrant workers remain crucial to the area today. Acting as an investment in human survival, rather than in industrial growth, remittances help stop the gap between the increased cost of living and insufficient wage work. Foreign financing is necessary to cover existing island deficits and future developments, filling up the holes that it cyclically creates.

C. Summary and Research Hypotheses

This thesis is particularly concerned with the process of migration as it relates to structures of dependency resulting from the underdevelopment of the Lesser Antilles. In general, the structures of underdevelopment emerging in the region were dictated by global developments essential for incorporation of the area into the capitalist system, and thus provide the necessary framework in which to view migration. As a feature of the capitalist accumulation process, large scale migrations have been possible for several reasons. A massive surplus of labor and capital has resulted in: (1) displaced and unskilled workers, since the Antilles exist as monocrop export economies, (2) the growth of technological-industrial reliance on multi-national interests in the area, particularly in secondary and tertiary sectors, and (3) wage employment opportunities which are seasonal, sparse, and tenuous. Thus migration for work has emerged as a viable complement to existing structures. Workers have come to depend on wage work wherever possible for survival. This is most clearly manifested by an increased insular reliance on remittances from migrated workers. Consequently, the patterns of migration follow capital and industrial development flows. These capital flows lead workers to expanding industrial economies, that is, to center nations, and to other peripheral

economies just beginning to experience limited forms of industrial development because of the shift of less profitable industrial production from the center to these areas.

In summary, the guiding hypotheses for this study are the following:

(1) If migrant workers tend to follow capital and industrial flows, then migration will take place to both center and periphery nations, rather than to center nations alone.

(2) If massive labor surpluses exist in the Antilles, then a significant portion of their populations will have migrated for work at any given point in time, rather than only during periods of economic expansion.

(3) If remittances are necessary for survival, then they will register as significant contributions to both personal incomes and general island economies, rather than to individual consumption alone.

Chapter II

METHODOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Methodology

The research methodology used in this study is historical/documentary, which draws upon both qualitative and statistical information on the English-speaking Lesser Antilles, and is found in both primary and secondary sources. In order to discern patterns and to document the relationships between the variables (wage differentials, employment opportunities, and patterns of migration), various types of information are used. The effect of wages on migration is frequently measured by migrants' remittances to home islands. Employment opportunities of workers abroad are compared with their work experience in their home countries. Thus a three sector breakdown of each island economy is surveyed. Labor migration patterns are analyzed in relation to economic and trading patterns, and to the extent of capital investments, vis-a-vis primary, secondary, and tertiary sectoral developments in the region. Consequently, information on trade relations and actual migratory flows are imperative.

Preliminary data on these economic and social dimensions for the Lesser Antilles were obtained through various books, journals, and government publications from the United States, the United Nations, the International Labor Organization documents, and the 1970 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean. Specific information on migratory trends and remittances were obtained through archival research at various British governmental offices during the Summer of 1979. There, individual island data were gathered from island statistical yearbooks and periodic reports housed in the Overseas Development Administration Statistical Office, located in Eland House at Stag Place, London, England.

In general, these migration statistics are part of the statistical data on "Migration and Tourism", of which the general movements of island residents and monetary transfers are a part. Because the compilation of statistical information is handled by individual statistical units within each island, temporal and reporting format consistency was not possible. Thus, selected were the available data from several territories, which were deemed representative of general regional trends based on the qualitative analysis of secondary sources.

Selection of the data on migration is restricted to the period after 1950. It was at this time that migration from the Antilles peaked. While an historical view of

migration is presented, the focus will be primarily on illustrative trends of migration for the past two decades. As previously stated, global factors in European redevelopment and the latest shift in spheres of influence in the Caribbean are notable at this time.

Organization of the Study

This study takes as its test case the contemporary international migration of labor from the Caribbean, the eastern English-speaking Lesser Antilles. Focused upon at the island level are structural factors which influence migration from the region. Stemming from the Antilles political history are economic and social structures which together provide the rationale for large-sclae migrations away from the region. The relations of production and trade are highlighted in the economic structure, while the dynamics of working class family organization, and the tendency to rely on remittances as a constant source of income, allow insight into the Antillean social structure. However, global considerations, that is, the demands of the international markets, determine the range and variation of migratory flows.

Thus included in the following section is an analysis of Antillean movements, using data on the economic and social variables within these islands which contribute to and perpetuate the migration patterns displayed. Included is information on migratory patterns, trade

relations, labor force participation, examples of growth in the tertiary sector, and remittance accounts. Finally, a general summary of the data closes the discussion. The section opens with a brief sketch of the Lesser Antilles today.

Chapter III

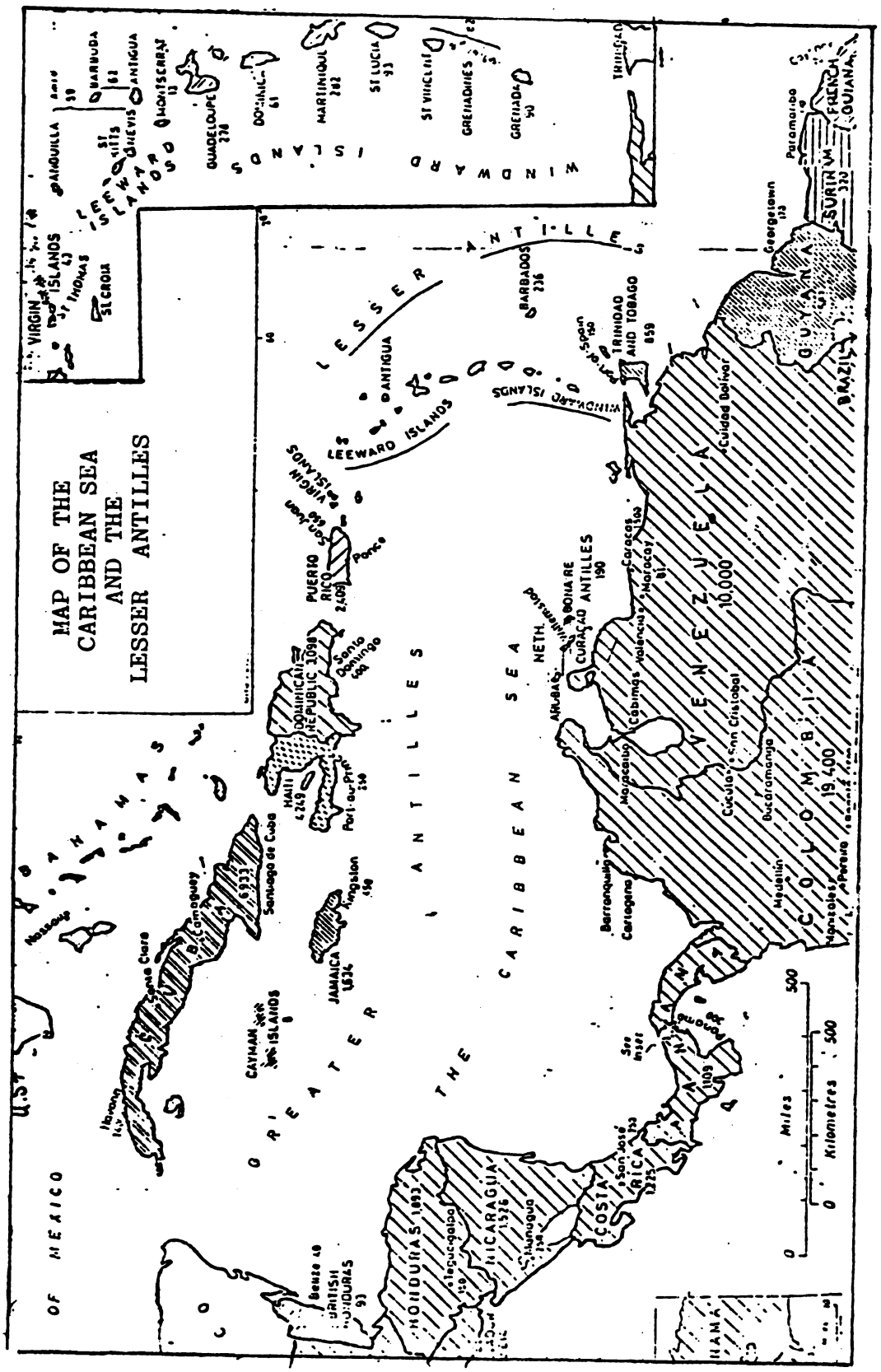
CASE STUDY: THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING LESSER ANTILLES

A. Background to the Lesser Antilles

Location

The Lesser Antilles lie to the southeast in the Caribbean and include the Windward and Leeward islands. Separated primarily for administrative convenience, this chain of tiny islands begins with Anguilla at the northern end and extends south to Grenada. These eleven principal islands are located between the Virgin Islands on one end, and Trinidad at the other, and are intermixed with the Netherland and French Antilles. Together, they act as the eastern gateway to the Caribbean. These islands have been of central importance to world powers for strategic, economic and political reasons, and they have been used historically for purposes of defense, production, commerce, and communications.

FIGURE 1


MAP OF THE
CARIBBEAN SEA
AND THE
LESSER ANTILLES
GREATER ANTILLES
LESSER ANTILLES
CARIBBEAN SEA
GULF OF MEXICO
VIRGIN ISLANDS
ANGUILLA
BARBUDA
ANTIGUA
MONTSERRAT
GUADELOUPE
DOMINICA
MARTINIQUE
ST LUCIA
ST VINCENT
GRENADINES
GRENADA
TRINIDAD
WINDWARD ISLANDS
LEEWARD ISLANDS
BARBADOS
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
PUERTO RICO
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
HAITI
JAMAICA
CAYMAN ISLANDS
CUBA
ARUBA
BONAIRE
CURAÇAO
NETH. ANTILLES
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
GUYANA
SURINAM
FRENCH GUIANA
BRAZIL
PANAMA
COSTA RICA
NICARAGUA
HONDURAS
BRITISH HONDURAS
Caracas
Maracay
Valencia
Cabimas
Maracaibo
Barranquilla
Cartagena
Ciudad Bolivar
Georgetown
Paramaribo
Miles
Kilometres

Topography and Population

The Antilles account for only 5 percent of the total land area of the Caribbean. The Leeward group sits to the north of the chain and includes Anguilla, St. Kitts, Nevis, Barbuda, Antigua and Montserrat. It is the smallest of the English-speaking islands in the Caribbean. A dry climate is typical of this grouping which is a mixture of volcanic, coral and limestone formations. The Windwards lie in the southernmost section of the Antilles chain and include Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, and a tiny chain of islands and islets, the Grenadines, which have been divided between St. Vincent and Grenada. Generally, the Windwards are mountainous, volcanic, and wetter than the Leewards, and sit in the heart of the hurricane zone. They are a larger, but younger group of islands and have semi-active volcanoes, peaceful craters and hot springs.

The population of the Antilles averages less than 100,000 people per unit. The Windwards, with 2,196 square kilometers and around 430,000 people, more than double the land area of the Leewards measured at 1,057 square kilometers, and nearly triple the population figures which total near 160,000 people. This disparity in population distribution is because of varying historical circumstances as well as geographic capacities.

Economic Activity

The Lesser Antilles exist as a center for agricultural production begun during the European Mercantilist era. Today, within the Leewards, estate sugar and cotton production remain among the leading sources of export revenues, but these industries face competition from growth in other sectors of these economies. Since the 1950's a major source of export revenue and the most unifying economic factor for the Windwards has been the banana industry, Aside from bananas, other edible export crops, such as citrus fruits and spices, remain an integral part of the small farming tradition which is quite strong in the Windwards. Gross Nation Products averaging approximately $300, high unemployment consistently averaging over 30 percent, and a significant organized labor force characterize the present economic conditions of the area. Predictably, these plantation agricultural islands exhibit a low level of urbanization. The capital city is usually the single locale for urban populations, where less than 30 percent of most island's total population reside.

Political Status

Historically, most of these locales were pawns in the Anglo-French struggle for Caribbean supremacy, as an extension of the larger quest for world domination. All

eventually became British possessions. Another recent political commonality shared by the Antilles is that they were part of the West Indies Federation along with Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados. This political experiment started in 1958 and was finally abandoned in 1966. With the collapse of the West Indies Federation, many of the Leeward and Windward islands were granted the status of British Associated States, while others remained colonies. Associated Statehood was to be a stage between that of a colony and a totally independent nation. In all internal matters an Associated State would be self-governing, while defense and foreign affairs were left to Britain. Presently, all of the Windwards are independent. In the Leewards the units of Antigua-Barbuda and St. Kitts-Nevis are associated states, and Anguilla and Montserrat remain colonies. The Grenadines in the Windwards, and Barbuda and Nevis in the Leewards, are administrative tributaries of other islands in these two groups.

Race, Class and Culture

The Antilles can be described as homogeneous in terms of race, since nearly 90 per cent of the population is of African descent, that is, black and black-mixed persons. Nevertheless, the racial composition of the islands also includes Europeans, Carib Indian, and East Indians. The majority of blacks are descendants of

former slaves that were imported to the region during the Atlantic Slave Trade. Interesting, however, is the fact that because of the location of these islands and their later exploitation, much of the present-day black population was derived from the settlement of black people born in other Caribbean islands who migrated to these islands. Thus, many have suggested that the population of these islands has been by "native West Indians." Culturally, Africanisms have survived and are practiced in secular and religious life. Despite this fact, English and French as languages, and Protestantism and Roman Catholicism predominate, reflecting the 100 year rivalry between the British and the French for control of the territory.

Class relations are defined by a combination of factors which include objective conditions of race/color, land tenure, occupation, and cultural elements. Clearly, stratification in these insular societies has been less fluid than other territories, largely because of the historical development of the islands, which has resulted in a lack of diversification of industries and therefore, a lack of expanding or sufficient employment opportunities.

> [T]he classic hierarchy still maintains itself to a larger degree: A small group of Creole whites enjoying the highest social prestige, an intermediate group of coloreds holding an intermediate position and the numerically largest group--Negroes--occupying the lowest social position.52

The focus of this research is the largest group of islanders, who are:

> [a]t the base of the pyramid...These include as many as 90 percent of the population and are made up of the propertyless rural and urban workers, poor peasant small holders, some artisans and semi-skilled workers.[53]

Quality of Life Features

Other social conditions in the Antilles are epitomized by the general quality of life features of the islands. Characteristic of this area are high birth and infant mortality rates. Rapid rates of population growth are notable in the Windward islands where the annual rate of natural increase averages 2.02 percent. The lower rate of natural increase in the Leewards can be linked to the higher rates of out-migration and lower net migration for these islands. Additional characteristics include low sex ratios, high rates of literacy and relatively low life expectancies, averaging 58 years. Literacy rates are strikingly high for developing areas, at 80 percent for almost all territories, and reflect nearly universal primary school training. Low sex ratios reflect the young age structure of the Antilles and the loss of males to migration away from the territories.

Migration History

Today, the Antilles exist as insular units which have inherited the conditions of underdevelopment,

dependency and exploitation, and the export of labor as a visible consequence of this development.

In addition to export crops such as sugar, bananas, citrus fruit and spices, the export of people from the area is significant. Particularly significant is the period following World War II, when the volume of movement out of the area peaked. In general, the subsequent effects of this movement of labor has tailored developmental processes both inside and outside of the region. In most cases, the movement out of the area is almost entirely financed by resources of the migrants[54] although historically this was not the case.

It was early nineteenth century labor recruitment schemes, especially in Central and South America, that resulted in the historical and structural conditioning of people in the Caribbean into a highly mobile work force which persists to the present,

> Most of the first movements took place from one British Caribbean colony to another, especially within the southern and eastern Caribbean. Some of these inter-colonial population transfers were officially arranged on request for labour by the Governments of labour deficit territories; but voluntary movements were added to these as soon as the apprenticeship regulations were removed in 1838.[55]

Precipitated by European and American economic activities in canal, railway and fruit company operations, workers traveled chiefly to the Hispanic Caribbean rimland.[56]

The spontaneous movement of labor beyond the bounds of labor recruitment programs increased in momentum in the early part of the present century. Even when opportunities for work diminished or entirely ceased and the "official recruitment" of labor was generally discouraged, only restrictive racist legislation in the host countries sharply arrested the flow of workers. Official recruitment in the British West Indies occurred again during World War II. An agreement between the United States and the British government allowed entrance of large numbers of workers mainly into United States controlled territories, such as the United States Virgin Islands and North America, under the auspices of the United States War and Food Administration.[57] This move was counter to the 1921 immigration restrictions for the United States, which was quickly reinstated at the War's end with the 1952 McCarran Act.

It was at this time that the extra-regional migration destination shifted to Britain, and to a lesser extent Canada, which maintained its level of intake. The total number of West Indians entering the United Kingdom in 1961 was reported as 238,000. Between 1955 and 1961, the number of people entering the United Kingdom from the Leewards was 3,524 and was more than doubled by persons from the Windwards at 8,202 people.[58] Great Britain saw West Indian immigration as indispensable aid to the British economy and encouraged it during the 1950's after

the United States McCarran Act curtailed entry there. Ten years later, in 1962, Britain imposed the Commonwealth Immigration Act, limiting the number of immigrants from each Commonwealth territory and imposing selective immigration laws preferring persons who had employment established before entering Great Britain.

Most influenced numerically and structurally was the group composed primarily of unskilled, young adults who were agricultural wage laborers or small farmers. Others included the semi-skilled and female migrants. In general:

> Many of the smallest West Indian islands routinely export so many young adults that those left behind are mainly children and old people. Shipping, deep-sea fishing, domestic service, and other off-island jobs are not the exceptional but the expected lot for the young folk of Saba, Anguilla, the Caymans, Carriacou. Half the de jure population of these islands is 'away' at any given time.[59]

B. Data Presentation and Analysis

The migration of labor is influenced by many factors. Three selected dimensions of this process are explored below, and correspond to the three research hypotheses: (1) the destinations of workers, (2) the economic relations of production in the Antilles, and (3) the impact of remittances. Generally, migration is affected by capital flows and industrial development within the world market. If migrant workers tend to follow these

flows and developments, then a single indicator of their patterns should be the places of destination or points of departure for their return to home-islands. The major factor determining the extent of migration from an island is the lack of employment opportunities offered by a persistently underdeveloped, labor-displacing economy. Thus, at any point in time, there should exist a significant share of unskilled workers migrating.

Correlated with the destination of capital flows and industrial developments are varying wage zones. Higher wage zones tend to be associated with center nations in general and with particular peripheral economies experiencing industrial growth. In light of this conditioned dependence on migration for adequate wage work, economic and social relations have been altered. Monetary transfers back to home islands have become a necessity for those left behind, and should then constitute a significant contribution to individuals and to general island economies.

HYPOTHESIS #1: Worker Migratory Patterns

Migrants are generally attracted to labor markets where from their perspective work is remunerated at a level more attractive than their current earnings. Such conditions usually exist in (1) industrial center-nations where constant capital flows for industrial growth exist, and (2) industrializing peripheral economies which are

experiencing some labor-intensive expansion. For this study, capital flows and industrial developments are measured by trade relations and growth in the secondary and tertiary sectors, respectively. Here it is suggested that trade relations account for most of the extra-Caribbean economies since the 1950's, primarily in tourism and associated construction work, and to a lesser extent in processing, have affected movements within the region.

Trade Relations

Today, trading patterns in the Antilles follow the path of the early British mercantilist tradition. Mono-crop agricultural production and semi-feudal land tenure schemes resulted in the domination of commerce by the United Kingdom and its former and existing territories. Presently markets exist for the Antilles inside and outside of the Caribbean.

Table 1 indicates that trading partners outside of the Caribbean are led primarily by the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada. Additionally, there is evidence of trade with other western nations, such as West Germany and the Netherlands in Grenada, and Japan in St. Kitts-Nevis. The United Kingdom leads all territories as the major trading partner with the islands, except for St. Kitts-Nevis where the United States holds the highest percentage of trade. Canada ranks among

TABLE 1

Lesser Antilles Trade Relations, 1970's

COUNTRY	LEADING INDUSTRY	LARGEST SOURCES OF EXPORT REVENUE % OF TOTAL	MAJOR IMPORTS	LEADING TRADING PARTNERS	
				IMPORTS %	EXPORTS %
ANTIGUA	oil refining tourism	petroleum products, cotton (57%)	crude oil, food, clothing	30% - U.K.; 25% - U.S.; 18% commonwealth Caribbean (a)	
MONTSERRAT	vegetables, cotton tourism	vegetables, cotton (81%) (1972)	foodstuffs manufacturers	31%-U.K.; 20%-W.I. 15%-U.S. 12%-Canada	72% - W.I. 10% - U.K.
ST. KITTS-NEVIS-ANGUILLA	sugar processing salt extraction	sugar, molasses, cotton, salt, copra (46%)	foodstuffs, fuel, manufactures	50% -U.S. 35% -U.K.	21% - U.K. 17% - Japan 11% - U.S.
DOMINICA	agricultural processing, tourism	bananas, lime juice, lime oil, cocoa, (57%)	machinery and equipment, food stuffs, cement, manufactures	47% - U.K.; 15% - Caricom; 7% - U.S.; 6% - Canada (a)	
GRENADA	tourism	nutmeg, cocoa beans, banana, mace (23%)	food, machinery building materials	33% -U.K. 19% -W. Germany 13% -Netherlands	27% - W. Indies 27% - U.K. 9% - U.S.
ST. LUCIA	tourism, lime processing	sugar, bananas, cocoa (51%)	food stuffs, machinery and equipment, petro products, fertilizer	51% - U.K; 9% -Canada (a) 17% - U.S.	
ST. VINCENT	food processing	bananas, arrowroot, copra, (23%)	fertilizer, flour, transportation equipment, lumber, textiles	61% - U.K. 30% - Caricom 9% - U.S.	29% - Caricom 28% - U.K. 9% - U.S. 9% - Canada

Source: U.S. Central INtelligence Agency, U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency and U.S. State Department. National Basic Intelligence Factbook, No. GCBIF 78001, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Printing Office, January 1978.

U.S. Department of State. Background Notes: Grenada 1977. Pubn. 8822, Revised November 1977.

United Nations. General Assembly, 30th Session, 1977. Report on the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. (A/10023/Rev.1/Add.8) Supplement 23, Vol. 4.

(a) disaggregated trade statistics unavailable.

nations with leading trade relations in all islands except for Grenada and Antigua.

Antillean trade has traditionally been with neighboring islands despite divergent colonial pasts. St. Kitts-Nevis and St. Lucia provide the only examples of territories where trade relations with other Caribbean nations are not reflected among their leading trade partners. Proximity and political economies have dictated trade relationships.[60] Bartering is carried on with the nearby islands belonging to the French and Netherland groupings, as well as with the British Antilles. For this purpose, certain islands have developed as marketing distribution centers within the region, notably the Leeward islands of Antigua and St. Kitts. Assets of these islands, such as the deep water harbors in the former and the relatively more well developed infrastructure in the latter, have made them attractive transportation centers.

Industrial Growth

One of the more striking patterns within the Caribbean has been the shifts in these plantation economies toward diversification of these traditionally agricultural production centers in their secondary and tertiary sectors. Here plantation economy is used in a much broader sense than the typical definitions.[61]

Secondary and tertiary industries for the Antilles are largely absorbed by the processing industries and tourist industry. Historically, overseas firms have managed processing aspects of production or have carefully directed its development in the Antilles. These industries in this area primarily take the forms of sugar milling, fruit processing, and oil refining. Processing is primarily, although not exclusively, carried on for the overseas market.

Sugar milling is carried on by one government-controlled company in St. Kitts. With the exception of Montserrat (which handles some cotton ginning, distillation of rum, lime juice and lime oil processing, soap manufacture, and canning) food processing has been more typical of the Windwards. Since 1890 Dominica has been a substantial producer and exporter of lime products, the major industry. The citrus industry in the West Indies is led by Dominica, but is aided by other islands such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and to a lesser extent, Grenada and St. Lucia. The citrus industry in Dominica competes not only with other Caribbean islands, but with other growers in the Mediterranean, the United States and Europe.[62] Thus banana production continues to account for a significant share of Dominica's exports.

Oil and natural gas processing is the newest supplemental industry in the Caribbean. Oil refining as a major industry in Antigua has its roots in the world industrial needs of the 1940's. By the mid-1950's this island experienced substantial changes in the structure of the economy from primary industries to secondary and tertiary complexes.[63] By 1970, a United States oil company, Texaco Inc., established facilities for the bulk shipping and distribution of liquid propane gas for Dominica, Nevis and St. Kitts.[64]

In addition to changes in the production process in the Leewards, there have been more significant modifications in the production roles of neighboring islands such as the United States Virgin Islands and Trinidad and Tobago. For the Leewards, a consistently high number of workers migrating to the United States Virgin Islands has been noticeable since 1952, with the reauthorized entry of British West Indian workers as part of the "Bonded Alien Labor Program" initiated in 1941 on an ad hoc basis. The program authorized the recruitment of workers from nearby islands primarily for agricultural, hotel and domestic work. Virgin Island industries were given tax incentives to employ alien workers who were hired as temporary laborers, and who could not legally become permanent residents or citizens. The program is predominated by Leeward islanders and helps to explain the preponderance of Antiguans, who account for the second

largest contributor of officially certified workers, with 23 percent in 1973, after St. Kitts-Nevis and Anguilla which account for 39 percent.[65]

Recruitment programs, proximity and contact with American bases in the area, particularly on St. Lucia, helped the Windwards to subsequently parallel this Leeward island pattern. In 1973, Dominicans accounted for nearly 10 percent of the total number of Bonded Alien labor in the United States Virgin Islands. However, St. Lucia leads the Windward grouping in this program with 14 percent in 1973, and constitutes the third highest contributor of labor after the Leewards.[66]

Destinations

Historically, migration has been an integral part of a general pattern of the movement of labor. The range of destinations of migrants is most dispersed within the confines of the Caribbean Sea borders, with only three major receiving areas outside of the region. The volume of movement has been much more balanced between Panama and the Virgin Islands within the area, and North America and the United Kingdom outside. In addition there are continuous movements between neighboring islands within the Lesser Antilles.

The destination of workers acts as the major variant in distinguishing the Leeward Islands migratory trends from that of the Windwards. Although the temporal pattern

of movement has been similar, proportionately, the arrival points of the migrants, both inside and outside of the Caribbean, have been disparate. Generally, there is a greater tendency for Leeward islanders to go to the United States and to the United States controlled areas in the Caribbean. This may be accounted for by the proximity of the territory to the United States Virgin Islands, as well as by the contact with American employers on naval bases and oil refining industries found in several Leeward islands. For the Windward Islands, the United Kingdom and other former British controlled islands such as Barbados and Trinidad, are more likely destinations. In general the type of work available at these destinations has been restricted to agricultural work, service employment in hotels and as domestics, or industrial jobs in construction or manufacturing.

Conditions in the Antilles, as well as the attractiveness of areas outside of the region, have resulted in a large flow of people from the area. Both economic and social variables within these islands contribute and reinforce this tendency. Contemporary patterns of migration in the 1960's and 1970's are discussed in order to illustrate the commonality of trends which synthesize this area.

While Table 2 is not an exhaustive representation of the range of destinations of workers in the Lesser

TABLE 2

Antigua, Inter-Island and Regional Trends, 1974-77

COUNTRY	DEPARTURES				ARRIVALS			
	1974	1975	1976	1977	1974	1975	1976	1977
LEEWARD ISLANDS:								
Montserrat	1,314	1,528	1,750	1,736	1,410	1,585	1,459	2,017
St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla	350	1,233	1,712	1,228	1,219	1,506	1,389	1,631
St. Martin	557	489	614	1,133	513	95	718	1,088
WINDWARD ISLANDS:								
Guadeloupe	466	589	523	959	482	610	544	1,007
Dominica	663	626	641	734	639	718	548	796
Martinique	91	60	103	86	57	35	106	85
St. Lucia	338	431	381	440	394	543	364	480
St. Vincent	50	50	32	21	56	31	25	28
Grenada	76	62	68	58	51	27	37	29
OTHER CARIBBEAN:								
Jamaica	182	19	164	81	181	11	33	2
Puerto Rico	1,982	1,723	1,592	1,120	2,136	1,002	1,747	1,277
Trinidad & Tobago	751	755	861	894	853	721	851	982
Barbados	2,024	2,115	2,169	2,920	2,173	2,095	2,263	3,031
St. Thomas	2,319	2,086	1,460	1,997	2,625	2,288	1,860	2,154
St. Croix	2,829	2,290	2,159	3,246	3,945	3,036	2,822	3,185
Tortola	325	32	130	282	240	164	151	193
NORTH AMERICA:								
Canada	859	881	1,072	1,171	513	738	1,236	1,071
U.S.A.	1,604	1,591	1,867	3,076	1,608	1,876	2,712	2,966
Bermuda	53	56	64	100	39	47	80	157
SOUTH AMERICA:								
Guyana	39	59	80	102	61	66	79	108
Venezuela	19	9	7	1	1	-----	3	-----
Columbia	2	-----	14	-----	14	9	9	2
Peru	8	-----	-----	2	-----	-----	24	-----
UNITED KINGDOM	65	620	777	105	627	699	1,047	972
TOTAL	18,504	17,304	18,237	22,544	19,842	19,103	20,108	23,266
NET MIGRATION					+1,338	+1,799	+1,871	+ 722

Source: Statistics Office, Ministry of Finance. Antigua Statistical Yearbook, 1978. St. Johns.

TABLE 3

Antigua, Percentage Distributions for Table 2

AREA	DEPARTURES				ARRIVALS			
	1974	1975	1976	1977	1974	1975	1976	1977
Leeward Islands	12.7	19.0	21.8	18.3	15.9	18.3	17.7	20.4
Windward Islands	9.0	9.4	8.5	9.1	8.5	19.7	8.1	10.4
Other Caribbean	59.8	52.6	47.8	47.0	61.2	54.0	48.4	46.5
North America	14.5	15.0	16.9	19.7	10.9	13.9	20.0	18.0
South America	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.5
United Kingdom	3.6	3.6	4.4	5.4	3.2	3.7	5.2	4.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistics Office, Ministry of Finance. Antigua Statistical Yearbook, 1978.

Antilles, it is representative of the general trends of movement from the islands in the 1970's and parallels existing trade relations.

Extra-Regional Destinations

A representative trend for the Leewards is manifest in the greater tendency for Antiguans to go to North America rather than the United Kingdom. Figures from Table 3 demonstrate that three to four times the percentage of migrants going to Britain end up in North America. The latter territory accounted for nearly one-fifth of the total departures from the island in 1977. However, the North American trend runs a distant second behind "Other Caribbean" territories, which accounted for 47 percent of the migrants in the same year. Although a number of Antiguans emigrate each year, the outflow seems to be balanced by an inflow of migrants from other islands, primarily of skilled workers.[67] The development of this trend is largely due to short-term seasonal work schemes on nearby islands. As a result, these migrants uniformly reassume their reserve army tendency, and the increasing return migration figures for this brief period is evident.

In contrast, Dominica is illustrative for the Windwards, showing divergent destinations from those of the Leeward Islands. Table 4 shows the United Kingdom as the preferred extra-Caribbean locale for this group, particularly for permanent emigration. Nearly 84 percent

TABLE 4

Dominica, Returning Residents, 1960-1964

YEAR	ARRIVALS	DEPARTURES	NET CHANGE	RETURNING RESIDENTS	RESIDENTS AS % OF ARRIVALS
1960	5,415	6,391	-976	2,271	41
1961	6,100	6,977	-877	2,200	38
1962	6,978	6,683	+295	2,964	42
1963	7,291	6,890	+401	2,995	41
1964	8,172	8,155	+ 17	3,443	42

Source: Statistics Section, Ministry of Finance. Dominica Annual Statistical Digest, 1965 (Roseau: 1965).

of the permanent emigrants were enroute to the United Kingdom in 1960. By 1964, emigrants to the United Kingdom still counted for two-thirds of the total permanent migrants from Dominica. In contrast with the trend for the Leewards, North America ranked among the last destinations after other Caribbean territories. Similarly, St. Lucia shows paralleling trends. Because of the importance of its ports and work provided in the American bases, St. Lucians have had considerable non-agricultural employment and freedom of movement as seamen. In a single year, 1960, some 2,500 persons migrated: 2,000 to the United Kingdom, 229 to the United States, 111 to the United States Virgin Islands, 111 to Antigua, and 16 to Canada.[68] The seasonality of the banana industry has led to emigration overseas, which was assisted by the St. Lucian government. In 1964 there were agreements with Canada and the United States for recruitment of labor from this territory.[69] Exceptional here is Windward Island migration for temporary work (see Table 5). Under those circumstances, Dominica shows that North America outranks the United Kingdom as a temporary destination for these islands.

Regional Destinations

Extra-regional migratory trends account for only a small portion of the possible destinations for the islanders. Despite a 12.8 percentage decrease to the

"Other Caribbean" area over the illustrated four year period (Table 3), this area continues to reflect the location to which the greatest share of Antiguans go. Table 2 demonstrates that St. Croix, followed by St. Thomas, Barbados and Puerto Rico, receives thousands of migrants from this nearby island yearly. While a continuous decline in the number of Antiguans entering Puerto Rico is evident, the other areas basically show increases, with the island of St. Croix accounting for the single largest receiver at 3,246 people, closely followed by the United States and Barbados with 3,076 and 2,920 respectively in 1977. In addition to more northerly destinations, Leeward Island labor has been recruited from islands such as Anguilla for the southern Dutch oil fields in Aruba, as well as St. Thomas. Some estimates put the Anguillan total émigré populations at more than 6,000 people, which would almost equal the total population on the island, measured at 6,500[70], to places such as St. Thomas, New York, Virginia, New Jersey, Perth Amboy and England.

Windward islander migratory patterns for temporary migrants (Table 5) also differ from the Leewards prior to the 1960's. As opposed to the northerly United States Virgin Islands, other Commonwealth Caribbean territories such as nearby Barbados and Trinidad attracted a sizeable portion of this group. Similarly, in St. Vincent in 1956, the census of the island enumerated 13,000 Vincentians outside of St. Vincent. An overwhelming majority (88

TABLE 5

Dominica, Permanent and Temporary Migration, 1960-1964

YEAR	TOTAL	COMM. CARIBBEAN	FORIEGN CARIBBEAN	U.S.A.	CANADA	CENTRAL & SOUTH AMERICA	U.K.	OTHER
PERMANENT EMIGRANTS								
1960	2,582	164	199	25	14	22	2,157	1
1961	1,873	126	49	1	9	16	1,671	1
1962	820	183	83	12	9	--	527	6
1963	420	98	29	66	17	--	180	30
1964	697	136	58	19	14	--	470	--
TEMPORARY EMIGRANTS								
1960	20	14	3	2	--	1	-----	--
1961	94	37	5	50	--	--	2	--
1962	134	41	33	56	1	--	3	--
1963	135	78	32	15	5	--	2	3
1964	143	57	18	57	2	--	9	--

Source: Statistics Section, Ministry of Finance. Dominica Annual Statistical Digest 1965 (Roseau).

percent) were found on Trinidad and Tobago, while the remaining 12 percent was distributed between the other Windwards (6 percent), Barbados (3 percent), and Guyana (3 percent).[71] Since the 1960's, however, the bulk of regional movement has been to the United States Virgin Islands.

Based on the preceding discussion, Hypothesis #1 can be accepted. Tailored by the Lesser Antilles trading relations, it is observed that the destination of workers includes a significant share of extra-Caribbean locales for work. However, contrary to the emphasis given to periphery to center migratory flows, the data reflects that there are more voluminous, and perhaps more frequent movements, between the islands within the Caribbean. The acknowledgement of inter-island movement is usually alluded to in the literature, but is seldom documented and rarely is the comparatively higher volume noted.

If the patterns of migrant workers help explain from a global set of relations the networks along which migrants travel, even greater insight into the migration process can be gleaned from investigation of local economic and social structures.

HYPOTHESIS #2: Relations of Production and Massive Surplus Labor

The persistent lack of adequate economic opportunities has resulted in constant migration for work by Antillean

islanders. Several factors have contributed to this process in the Antilles: (1) its land tenure system, (2) changes in the area's agricultural production role, and (3) growth of the tertiary sector.

Land Tenure

Contrasting features of the quality of participation in the labor force are most noticeable when comparing land tenure within the Leeward grouping to the Windwards. The latter demonstrates a higher degree of mixed agricultural production through small peasant holdings than in the Leewards where estates predominate. It has been pointed out that in the Leewards with their small size, their high population density, and the long established plantation sugar industry there were few, if any, opportunities for individual land acquisition.[72] For instance, in St. Kitts, estimates of arable land under sugar cultivation are high, ranging between 90 and 97 percent and 63 percent of the island's total surface area. There are few small independent farmers, and nearly all of the working population finds employment as wage earners in the sugar industry. The land tenure is held by many individual companies, the major churches, and the government. The government lands have increasingly been divided and made available to landless farmers for food crops. This opportunity has not been attractive to them because it does not offer profits competitive with sugar production.

Although land tenure in the Leewards continues to be dominated by estates, in most of the remaining territories, cultivable land is divided between estate and peasant holdings. In Antigua, numerous smaller private estates are rented to peasants and used as sources of income subsidy to wage work. Unlike the other islands, Antigua has a fairly equal amount of employment in secondary industry.

There are more balanced land holdings in the Windwards. Before 1740, small farmers in these islands did not need, and could not afford, many extra laborers. Holdings in islands like Dominica, at this time, were worked by planter family and friends. Remnants of this tradition are evident today, since small peasant farming is not unusual in this grouping. The discontinuation of sugar production marked a phase in St. Lucia's evolution from a wage earning to a wholly peasant economy. The banana industry's emphasis is on the self-employed peasant farmer. Similarly in Grenada, the collapse of the sugar estates and the introduction of nutmeg and cocoa encouraged the development of smaller land territories. Today, Grenada is an island of small farmers. About half of the cultivable land is in estates and half in peasant holdings. Forty percent of the farms are less than an acre in size and 90 percent are less than five acres.[73]

The existent economic activity has produced changes in the social relations today. A major difference lies in the fact that a large number of small farmers are females with family responsibilities, because of selective migration schemes. For instance, the banana industry in the Windwards particularly relies on female workers. St. Vincent's recent increase in the out-migration of females has helped correct its low sex-ratio, but at the same time, it has had serious affects on its traditionally female-dominated banana industry.[74] However, modifications of the function of the area from previous eras are most apparent in the types of export crops grown. For the most part, these changes have been dictated by the changing needs of the overseas markets. Consequently, there has been a significant decline in importance to the world market of these insular territories.

The primary function of the area as a center for agricultural production is unchanged, since all of the islands share the common experience of agriculture as the predominant economic activity. A major requirement of mono-crop agricultural production is a cheap and readily available supply of labor. Neither sugar, cotton, nor bananas offer all-year round employment, and all are associated with a marked seasonal demand pattern requiring abundant and cheap labor during the growing season. Thus, this seasonality of work, in combination with a significant degree of supplemental forms of production, such as

sea-faring and general migration, has resulted in significant participation of women in the work force, particularly in small peasant production. It has been noted that the harvesting of crops such as cotton and bananas has largely been relegated to women. In addition, the marketing of crops has traditionally followed a sexual division of labor, and is closely associated with migratory patterns of males. Several supplemental forms of production exist to compliment agriculture.

The economically active segments of these societies have been conditioned by the economic structure of these plantation economies and its resultant land tenure system which is geared for particular types of work. Basically, there are four categories of work into which labor falls: agriculture, marine and livestock industries, processing industries, and the service sector, none of which requires highly skilled training or work experience.

Changing Agricultural Production Role

The relegation of former principal export products, such as sugar and cotton, to subordinate positions on an international scale has had serious affects on the Antilles in general. There have been some substitutions of the early settler crops, but nevertheless, mono-crop export production persists. Stiff competition from other sources of early export crops from territories outside of the Caribbean resulted in the fading of certain crops from

the Antilles. Until the 1950's, St. Vincent held the world monopoly on production of Sea Island Cotton, a luxury item of superfine quality. However, competion from other export crops and from semi-luxury cotton, along with synthetic fibers from Egypt and center-nations respectively, made cotton in St. Vincent unattractive.[75]

Most important were the changing needs of the British economy, particularly during the major world wars when the agricultural supply function of the Antilles was altered. For instance, Antigua witnessed reductions in both sugar and cotton in deference to war time needs of Britain. Between the 1940's and the 1960's estate acreage under cotton decreased three-fold. This steady decline in overall acreage under cotton occurred for two reasons: first, demand for labor for the construction of the United States naval bases at English Harbor, secondly, statutory impositions on land owners and peasants to grow more food crops during the war, which resulted in virtually all land for cotton used for food crops.[76] So, despite the comparative advantage enjoyed by the islands because of the growth of a certain crop, the economic demands of Britain took precedence.

Consequently, other primary industries, such as fishing, herding livestock and marine activities, have survived as supplemental activities and accompany subsistence farming as natural residuals in insular territories. Such activity predominates on the smaller and less agriculturally

productive units. In addition, employment outside of agriculture is typically held in sea-faring activities, taking many productive people away from the islands at various points in time. Such modifications in the economic structure have resulted in high prices for consumer goods and food-stuffs. Ostensibly the expanding tourist industry and work in construction on United States naval bases attract workers from lesser paying agricultural work.[77]

Growth of the Tertiary Sector

The most recent addition to these plantation economies has been the growth of the service sector. Here the service industry is geared primarily for the tourist trade, but is inclusive of occupations related to commerce. Traditionally, the tourist industry has been viewed as a panacea for these territories, a necessary force in bolstering sagging economies. However, Table 6 contrasts employment and tourism statistics from the former unit of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla for a ten year period, 1964 to 1973. It demonstrates the failure of the tourist industry to effectively modify the employment structure. Unemployment in 1963 (a base index year) was 4 percent. Contrary to governmental expectations, as tourism increased two and one-half fold to 253 in 1973, unemployment soared to 13.6 percent. Within that ten year period an inverse relationship of tourism to employment, rather

TABLE 6

St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Labor Force Participation and Tourism

EMPLOYMENT					TOURISM	
YEAR	TOTAL LABOR FORCE	EMPLOYED	UNEMPLOYED	% UNEMPLOYED	TOTAL VISITORS	INDEX
1964	18,276	17,540	736	4.0	22,687	97
1965	18,205	17,505	700	3.8	26,135	114
1966	18,205	17,847	1,053	5.8	38,288	166
1967	19,618	18,189	1,429	7.3	41,549	181
1968	20,328	18,531	1,797	8.8	63,368	275
1969	21,062	18,873	2,189	10.4	59,579	259
1970	21,809	19,215	2,594	11.9	59,603	259
1971	22,053	19,328	2,725	12.4	60,084	261
1972	22,298	19,441	2,857	12.8	61,440	267
1973	22,545	19,554	2,991	13.6	58,222	253

1 - 1963 is used as base year (Index = 100 and Number = 23,008)

Source: Statistics Division Planning Unit, Ministry of Finance. St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Digest of Statistics (Basseterre, January-December 1973).

than a corresponding one, existed in this insular unit. The total labor force grew by slightly more than 100 percent, however, the unemployed grew by 400 percent. Despite the increasing number of visitors to the islands, especially in the peak year (1968 at 63,368 persons), the unemployment rate continued on its steady incline, an occurrence which is related to fluctuations in the economic and political climate.

So, once limited amounts of marginal land had been saturated and alternative means of local employment proved to be inadequate, much of the Antillean work force had to consider employment options outside of their home islands during the 1960's and 1970's. The lack of industrial diversity retarded the development of technical skills of the island work force. Consequently, restrictions on the diversity of employment opportunities are evident. Much of the economically active population in the area are found in unskilled, primary and secondary sectors. Table 7 illustrates that, with the exception of Antigua, over two-thirds of the workers were found in these two sectors. It is important to note that there are nearly matching numbers of workers who are not classified as workers in one of the three sectors of the economy. The category "Workers Not Elsewhere Classified" represents wage and non-wage workers whose work activity does not fall under a single heading. Thus migration provides for the individual a measure of security and independence,

TABLE 7

Lesser Antilles Labor Force by Sector, 1970's

COUNTRY	PRIMARY AGRICULTURE/ FISHING ETC. NUMBERS	%	SECONDARY MANUFACTURING/ BUILDING ETC. NUMBERS	%	TERITIARY TOURISM/ SERVICES ETC. NUMBERS	%	WORKERS NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED (NEC) ** NUMBERS	%	PERCENTAGE LABOR FORCE ORGANIZED %	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE %	GNP PER CAPITA $	GDP (MILL.) $
ANTIGUA	2,508	11	4,967	22	15,592	68	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	20 to 40 (1971)	640	(1974) 51.0
MONTSERRAT	788	21	1,788	48	1,169	31	2,950	41	n.a.	40	412	(1970) 11.5
ST. KITTS-NEVIS-ANGUILLA	4,250	35	4,696	39	3,142	26	8,968	43	34	29*	210	(1970) 14.7
DOMINICA	7,754	40	7,148	36	4,689	24	14,216	42	25	15 to 20 (1974)	270	(1971) 21.0
GRENADA	8,694	35	10,389	42	5,893	24	19,233	44	33	30	440	43.0
ST. LUCIA	10,509	40	10,013	38	5,696	22	22,606	46	20	30 to 35	300	33.2
ST. VINCENT	6,157	30	7,910	39	6,464	31	19,100	48	10	60	200	(1971) 20.0

Source: Census Research Programme University of the West Indies. 1970 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean, 1976.

U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency and U.S. State Department. National Basic Intelligence Factbook, No. GCBIF 78-001. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Printing Office, January 1978.

International Labour Office. 1977 Yearbook of Labour Statistics. 37th Issue. Geneva: ILO Publication, 1977.

United Nations General Assembly, 30th Session, 1977. Report on the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/10023/Rev.1/Add.8) Supplement 23, Vol. 4.

United Nations General Assembly, 28th Session, October 1973. Report on the Special Committee on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. (A/9023/Rev.1/Add.6) Supplement 23, Vol. 5.

*Calculated

**Represents percentage of total work force, i.e. wage and non-wage workers, and therefore does not correspond to the percentage in the three previous percentage columns.

measured through greater remuneration for work elsewhere, regardless of its type. It is also a means of social mobility, as defined by the level of income measured by wages, property held, and one's position in the economic structure outside of non-wage agriculture.[78]

Impact on Migration

Given these above conditions, it is not unusual to find a significant segment of the economically active population outside of their home-islands. The decade from 1960 to 1970 marked a period of high out-migration. Correspondingly for the period, the annual average rate of emigration as a percentage of the natural increase in the population was consistently over 50 percent for various countries: St. Lucia = 53%, Grenada = 78%, Dominica = 76%, St. Kitts-Nevis = 142%, Montserrat = 124%.[79] In Table 2 Antigua is illustrative in that the percentage of returning residents usually approximates the percentage of people leaving. North America is exceptional here, since the percentage of people leaving is slightly higher than the returnees for three out of the four years. The year 1976 follows the general trend for other areas, but is significant in that it shows 20 percent of the workers coming from Canada and the United States, with an increase in each return of 67 percent and 49 percent respectively over the previous year.

Migration figures for returning residents also provide insight into the number of islanders away at any given point in time. Table 8 indicates the severity of migration for Montserrat simply by revealing the number of returning residents as compared to the total population. For the eight year period covered in the table an average of approximately 49 percent of the total population was counted as returning residents. The year 1972 marked a peak year for returning migrants, with nearly 60 percent of the island population estimated as arrivals. Although the island experienced absolute population losses for only four out of the eight years, the greatest loss in 1973 at 338 persons is critical for tiny islands such as this.

Similarly, the tremendous seasonal loss of population from other islands within the Leewards is inferred from the yearly high percentage of returning migrants to St. Kitts-Nevis. Table 9 shows that over 50 percent of the total arrivals to these islands are returning residents from the United States Virgin Islands. For this eleven year period, there was a consistent net inflow from this unit to the United States Virgin Islands except for 1971. In a related manner, Dominica (Table 4) denotes the tail-end of heavy population loss because of migration. From 1955 to 1961 departures consistently exceeded arrivals; in the last two years, 1960-1961, losses amounted to nearly 2,000 people. For the five-year period 1960-1964, returning

TABLE 8

Montserrat, Departures and Arrivals, 1970-1977

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	DEPARTURES					ARRIVALS				NET MIGRATION
		UNITED KINGDOM	CANADA	UNITED STATES	THREE AREA TOTAL MIGRATION	% OF TOTAL OF 3 AREAS	TOTAL ARRIVALS	RETURNING RESIDENTS	% RESIDENT OF TOTAL	% RESIDENTS OF TOTAL POPULATION	
1970	11,433	22	29	222	273	2.3	18,962	4,887	25.8	42.7	N.A.
1971	11,742	17	30	215	262	2.2	19,635	6,191	31.5	52.7	+127
1972	12,117	10	22	223	255	2.1	20,004	7,246	36.2	59.8	+208
1973	11,949	3	25	232	260	2.1	19,868	6,596	33.2	55.2	-338
1974	12,402	11	37	143	191	1.5	19,080	5,612	29.4	45.2	+245
1975	12,398	9	29	183	221	1.9	17,851	4,989	27.9	40.2	-125
1976	12,362	5	36	166	207	1.7	16,773	5,538	33.0	44.7	- 92
1977	12,160	3	22	138	163	1.3	19,025	6,284	33.0	51.6	-285

Source: Jill Hanson; Montserrat Statistical Digest, 1977, 5th Edition.

TABLE 9

St. Kitts-Nevis, Returning Residents, 1963-1974

YEAR	TOTAL ARRIVALS	RETURNING RESIDENTS	% TOTAL	RETURNING RESIDENTS FROM U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS	% RETURNING RESIDENTS
1963	15,503	8,787	56.6	2,926	33.3
1964	15,891	9,010	56.7	3,878	43.0
1965	16,569	9,020	54.4	4,618	51.9
1966	24,135	14,107	58.4	6,086	43.1
1967	21,246	11,773	55.4	5,501	46.7
1968	23,159	12,693	54.8	7,480	58.9
1969	27,214	15,033	55.2	8,436	56.1
1970	29,892	16,200	54.2	8,337	51.4
1971	34,624	19,254	55.6	9,448	49.0
1972	36,632	19,961	54.4	9,405	47.1
1973	35,879	20,578	57.3	9,572	46.5

Source: Statistics Division Planning Unit, Ministry of Finance. St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Digest of Statistics (Basseterre: January-December 1973).

residents accounted for an average of 40 percent of the arrivals. What should be noted, nonetheless, is that Dominica's population increases at this time coincided with the tightening of migration policies in 1961 in the United Kingdom.

Given this assessment, Hypothesis #2 can be accepted. Selected migration figures for the Antilles show that a significant proportion of these islands' populations were away at various points in time. Despite periods of recession in industrial center-nations, as reflected in restrictive government legislation, significant numbers of workers persistently existed outside of their home islands. The land tenure system, changes in the area's agricultural production role, and growth of the tertiary sector are all factors which highly correlate with the lack of employment opportunities in the Antilles. The creation of massive surplus labor has resulted in the migration of workers as a temporary remedy to this situation. The migratory process has had a tremendous impact on social relations and the pace of societal development.

HYPOTHESIS #3: Impact of Remittances

Significance of Remittances

Remittances from migrating workers to families left behind have been a common attribute of circulatory people. With the persistent loss of the real and potential

economically active population from the area, financial supplements to all islands, at both the governmental[80] and individual levels, exist as an objective feature of the Antilles. The constant flow of substantial shares of workers' wages have found their way to individual family units, through both monitored and unmonitored channels. Measurable official remittance figures are normally recorded when money is sent through the legal channel of the Post Office, and is monitored to a lesser extent through bank money orders. Other, less auditable means include workers simply "stuffing" currency into letters and sending funds by returning workers acting as carriers.[81]

The fact that these economies lack the ability to employ fully all of their potential labor forces at viable wages, results in heavy dependence on remittances from workers abroad. In an exemplary island such as Nevis, remittances were greater in 1962 than the proceeds of cotton in its best year.[82]

Remittances from individuals working away from home are often lauded as making a considerable contribution to these insular societies in general. Often such a rationale is advanced in order to justify the heavy loss of their populations because of migration. It is said that people on small islands like Bequia and Barbuda appear to be prosperous because of remittances sent home from relatives abroad and at sea, while others conclude

that Nevisians, for instance, are living off the hard work of their relatives in England and other places. It is said that this new source of cash has visibly improved the standard of living among the lower class, and has brought about a new style of life which does not include agriculture.[83] However, on closer inspection of data on cash flows to the islands, an alternative view might be pursued.

Substantial increments to income through remittances in Montserrat do not appear to have led to an increase in the standard of living. For the most part, remittances have stopped the gap created by rising prices and insecure employment conditions, and to some extent they have increased private savings.[84] Many theorists have commented on the lack of reciprocity in the exchange between manpower and partial wage remittances.[85]

There are various ways to measure the impact of remittances: as a percentage of total government revenue, as part of the gross national product, comparisons with the gross domestic product, indirectly through specific types of consumerism, and so on. Available data are advanced in tables 10 and 11 to provide some assessment of the possible impact of remittances. Accounts for both Grenada and St. Lucia are used as representative for the Windward Islands.

Individual Measures

Table 10 for St. Lucia shows the dollar amount of remittances received for an eleven year period, 1962-1973. In a situation similar to Grenada and paralleling Windward Island migratory trends, more remittances originate from the United Kingdom. This suggests that despite the fact that the volume of movement of labor, especially seasonal labor, may be greater within the region, comparable wages to those found in the United Kingdom and the United States are not evident in the neighboring units.

Additional insight into this disparity in wage levels may be deduced from monetary transfers away from the Antilles, that is, cash flows which operate in both directions despite the fact that the amount of remittances into home islands is much greater. Thus, although remittances from the United States and the United Kingdom result in net gains to the region, monetary transfers away from St. Lucia do not parallel those from center nations. Instead, remittances to the "Commonwealth Caribbean" fairly consistently outnumbered the amount sent to the United Kingdom, and were approximated by money sent to "Other Countries" for only three years: 1963, 1967 and 1968. A high cost of living, coupled with relatively low wages in certain wage zones, is perhaps indicative of the need to assist family members working away from home.

TABLE 10

St. Lucia's Remittances, 1962-1973

YEAR	SOURCE AND VALUE ($)			TOTAL ($)	DESTINATION AND VALUE ($)			TOTAL ($)	NET REMIT-TANCES ($)	EXPORT REVENUE (MILL. E.C.$)	REMITTANCE AS % OF EXPORT *
	UNITED KINGDOM	COMMON-WEALTH CARIB-BEAN	OTHER COUNTRIES		UNITED KINGDOM	COMMON-WEALTH CARIB-BEAN	OTHER COUNTRIES				
1962	284,669	24,031	112,268	420,968	15,768	21,696	10,000	47,464	373,504	7.62	.06
1963	218,315	23,911	121,091	363,317	16,099	14,424	14,465	44,988	318,329	8.00	.05
1964	211,764	25,033	135,112	371,909	13,032	16,748	12,304	42,075	329,834	9.80	.04
1965	225,679	21,035	162,466	409,198	10,319	17,880	12,945	41,152	368,046	11.20	.04
1966	200,713	28,288	142,050	375,051	10,861	17,057	12,852	40,770	334,281	12.10	.03
1967	195,576	26,656	139,324	361,466	6,025	15,036	15,554	36,615	324,851	11.70	.03
1968	195,567	14,209	172,776	382,552	5,886	17,954	16,565	40,405	342,147	12.60	.03
1969	190,152	12,518	172,207	374,877	6,922	17,422	11,497	35,841	339,036	16.50	.02
1970	195,103	9,952	169,256	374,310	7,302	23,609	10,578	41,488	332,822	8.70	.04
1971	202,041	8,405	189,049	399,495	5,249	25,428	11,632	42,309	357,186	12.20	.03
1972	231,973	10,363	118,917	361,253	5,037	14,304	11,410	30,771	330,482	15.10	.02
1973	214,771	10,606	92,469	317,846	5,275	13,970	64	19,759	298,087	NA	NA

SOURCE: Central Planning Unit. St. Lucia Annual Statistical Digest, 1970.

United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs Statistical Office. 1978 Statistical Yearbook. 30th Issue, New York 1979, 1975, 1970.

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Statistical Office. Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1974. Vol. 1, New York: United Nations, 1975.

*Calculated

Societal Measures

Table 11 illustrates the significance of remittances for Grenada. Here, with only slight variation, work sites outside of the Caribbean constituted in absolute number the bulk of remittances coming into the island. The United Kingdom consistently led as the single country which accounted for 42 percentage of the private cash flow into the island. In Grenada, remittances are compulsory and are subject to taxation when above a given amount.[86] Hypothetically, if the Grenada government could tax the total amount of remittances as shown in Table 11, it would be collecting revenue on amounts averaging about 25 percent of total government revenue for the four years shown. In 1962, remittances were about a third as much as the total government revenue. Nonetheless, calculations suggest that when averaged out, an average individual remittance would total less than $5.00. For an area which is said to rely on remittances for survival, this is hardly a significant contribution. Unfortunately, the lack of information on Grenada's taxation system does not allow a real assessment of the effect of remittances on government revenues.

Remittances may also be measured as a percentage of export revenue. In an eleven year period for St. Lucia, the contribution of remittances to export revenue consistently accounted for an average of 3.5 percent of the

TABLE 11

Grenada's Remittances, 1961-1964

YEAR	TOTAL NUMBER OF REMITTANCES BY SENDING COUNTRY				TOTAL NUMBER REMITTANCES	(1)$ TOTAL AMOUNT REMITTANCE	(1) $ TOTAL AMOUNT GOVERNMENT REVENUE	% REMITTANCES IN RELATION TO TOTAL GOVERNMENT REVENUE *	AVERAGE DOLLAR AMOUNT REMITTED PER REMITTANCE *
	TRINIDAD	U.S.	U.K.	OTHER					
1961	92,271	87,993	205,291	60,455	466,010	1,993,220	8,052,000	24.8	4.28
1962	73,801	92,687	194,031	65,212	425,720	1,992,805	6,590,000	30.2	4.68
1963	61,146	86,922	121,684	49,999	319,751	1,526,510	8,094,000	18.9	4.77
1964	66,764	56,852	128,420	94,118	346,154	2,024,206	9,021,000	22.4	5.85

SOURCE: Grenada Statistical Unit. Bulletin Nos. 7, 8, 9 July-September, 1965

(1) U.S. $1 = B.W.I. $1.68.

* Calculated

4.90
Average Amount Remitted Over the Four-Year Period

island's government revenue, with the greatest contribution in 1962 at 6 percent and the lowest in 1969 at 2 percent. However, while the data suggests that remittances from migrating residents is reflected at both the individual and societal level, the significance of this impact is questionable.

Thus, in light of the representative information above, Hypothesis #3 cannot be accepted. Perhaps the most that can be said of remittances is that they are an expected source of income. The extent to which remittances are both necessary and sufficient for survival is indeterminate based on available data and analysis.

In summary, the data presented supports two of the three research hypotheses advanced in this study. First, the destinations of migrating workers is substantially related to the historic, economic and political networks linking the Antilles to the global political economy. The economic dominance of North America and the United Kingdom in the Antilles has conditioned the destination of workers from both the Leeward and Windward groupings. Leeward Islanders tend to end up in greater numbers in North America and the more northerly United States controlled territories in the Caribbean, while Windward Islanders travel primarily to the United Kingdom and to territories in the closer, southernmost section of the Caribbean.

Trade relations primarily affect extra-Caribbean migration, and industrial development within the Caribbean most directly affects regional movements. The data support the notion that there are both periphery to center and periphery to periphery movements of labor from the Antilles. Interestingly enough, the latter movements are the most voluminous.

Secondly, the data demonstrates the importance of assessing economic conditions and opportunities in the islands from which workers migrate. Documentation of the process by which surplus labor develops includes inherited land tenure arrangements, changing agricultural roles and the growth of secondary and tertiary sectors of these economies. All of these factors help illustrate the persistent reliance of Antillean workers on migration. Thus at any point in time, a significant segment of these insular societies will be mobile and not just during periods of economic flux in center-nations.

Finally, the last objective of this section was to assess the significance of the factor frequently advanced as a positive, concrete impetus to migration, that of remittances. In looking at these dependent economies, it was expected that a significant advantage in the form of financial gain would accrue to the sending area. However, the impact of remittances measured at the individual level proved inconclusive. Adequate direct measures were unavailable and indirect measures did not produce consistent

corresponding relationships. On the societal level, when remittances were measured as a percentage of export revenue, the significance of the small average contribution which accounted for less than 5 percent of total export revenue is questionable. Thus the third hypothesis related to remittances could not be accepted and the findings are inconclusive.

Chapter IV

SUMMARY, LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Summary

This study demonstrates that migration from the English-speaking Lesser Antilles is first a function resulting from structures in this area which were created by historical conditions of dependency and underdevelopment. These conditions permit a significantly large number of people from the area to be used as a continuous labor force. This use of labor has been particularly pronounced during the period since World War II. Second, the patterns of movements have not been haphazard, but instead have been affected and tailored by the global functioning of the world capitalist system, which continues to use the area as an international reserve labor pool. Economic benefits, in the form of cash flow remittances to these insular territories may not be a major factor in the overall "survival kit" of individuals, and of the countries as a whole.

Limitations of the Study

Whereas theoretical validity about migration from the Antilles is gained from this study, accessibility to consistent longitudinal migration and remittance data for each island was a major limitation. Individual island data was used to suggest representative trends for the entire area. Thus, the qualitative validity of the research could have been enhanced if access to similar statistics for each island had been possible. A second limitation relates to the research interpretation of migration and remittance information compiled by individual island statistical units. Specific information on a group of migrants from a particular island in a host country was severely limited, and would have added strength to the dual labor market theory by highlighting the type of work performed there. The data used simply indicates that a certain number of islanders, amorphously classified, had gone to or come from a given destination.

Information relating to travel between various countries outside of a home island was unavailable. For instance, a migrant who had spent six weeks on a work site in the United States, Canada, Puerto Rico or wherever during his stay away from Antigua, could conceivably register as a returning migrant to Antigua from a terminal work site in the United States Virgin Islands. Information relating to this dimension would improve the accuracy and

understanding of the complexity of the migration process. Similarly, disaggregate data on remittances and material goods sent to home countries would facilitate more substantive analyses regarding the impact of remittances.

Implications for Future Research

Since a major objective of this study was to document the contribution of the Lesser Antilles to the world system as part of the international reserve army of labor, such research must be interfaced with migration research already undertaken for larger, more populous territories in the area. Greater attention must be given to all Caribbean territories whose similarities converge in their labor functions. Patterned migration to various industrial sites continues to hold implications for migration policies, especially in the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada. Migration understood in a global economic and political context, rather than simply as a population concern for a particular country, has implications for much of the population policies adopted in the area.

Secondly, this study holds implications for economic planners in these insular societies whose employment-producing schemes often result in labor-displacement. Lessening the burden of dependent industrial development and fixed trade relations has not come merely through changes in political status since one grouping,

the Windwards, now experiences political independence. More important are the economic and strategic advantages of the region which must be harnessed.

Finally, this study highlights the need for theoretical refinement of paradigms outlining the patterns of migration. While inter-island and general regional movement does not contradict existing theoretical explanations of periphery to center migration, the volume, range, and frequency of periphery to periphery movement mandate more integral incorporation of this dimension into future research.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ceri Pearch, West Indian Migration to Britain (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 11.

2. Stephen Castles and Godula Kosack, "Function of Labour Migration in Western European Capitalism," New Left Review no. 73 (May-June, 1972); Elizabeth McLean Petras, "The Global Labor Market in the Modern World-Economy," paper presented at Conference on International Migration Studies, Rockefeller Foundation, Bellagio, Italy, June 4-9, 1979.

3. Elsa V. Goveia, Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. vii-1.

4. William Petersen, "A General Typology of Migration," American Sociological Review 23, no. 3 (1958): 264; Nathan Glazer and D. Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963); Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," Demography 3, no. 1 (1966): 47-57; J.J. Mangalam and Harry K. Schwarzweller, "General Theory in the Study of Migration: Current Needs and Difficulties," International Migration Review 3, no. 1 (Fall, 1968): 3-18; Stuart Philpott, West Indian Migration: The Montserrat Case (New York: Athlone Press, 1973).

5. Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope, "The Establishment of a Migration Tradition: British West Indian Movements to the Hispanic Caribbean in the Century After Emancipation," Caribbean Social Relations, ed. C. Clarke, Centre for Latin American Studies Monograph Series no. 8 (Liverpool: University of Liverpool, 1978), pp. 68-69.

6. Michael J. Piore, Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 26; Edna Bonacich, "A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labor Market," American Sociological Review 37, no. 5 (October 1972): 547-559; Stephen Castles and Godula Kosack, Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

7. Piore, Birds of Passage, p. 86.

8. Ibid., pp. 87-88.

9. Marios Nikolinakos, "Notes Toward a General Theory of Migration in Late Capitalism," Race and Class 17, no. 1 (Autumn, 1975): 10; Petras, "Global Labor Market", p. 6.

10. Piore, Birds of Passage, p. 178.

11. Castles and Kosack, "Labour Migration", p. 5.

12. Elsa Chaney, "The World Economy and Contemporary Migration," International Migration Review 13, no. 2 (Summer, 1979): 209.

13. Ibid., p. 204.

14. Petras, "Global Labor Market", pp. 22-26.

15. Ibid., p. 25.

16. Compulsory remittances are required money transfers to home islands by island governments who subsequently tax and/or collect such money as reimbursements for permission to use its active work force. Such regulations most often relate to government sanctioned work contracts in other countries.

17. Peach, West Indian Migration, p. 92.

18. Petras, Global Labor Market", pp. 21-22.

19. Castles and Kosack, "Labour Migration", p. 25.

20. Hilbourne Watson, "International Migration and the Political Economy of Underdevelopment: Aspects of the Commonwealth Caribbean Situation," The Brain-Drain From the West Indies and Africa, ed. N. Niles and T. Gardner. Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the West Indian Student Association, Michigan State University, May 1976, p. 39.

21. Ibid., p. 53.

22. Samir Amin, Modern Migrations in West Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974): Introduction.

23. Santa Cruz Collective on Labor Migration, "The Global Migration of Labor and Capital," U.S. Capitalism in Crisis, (New York: URPE, 1978): 106-107.

24. Ibid., p. 108.

25. Castles and Kosack, "Labour Migration," p. 3.

26. Santa Cruz Collective on Labor Migration, "Global Migration", pp. 102-104.

27. Ibid.; Castles and Kosack, "Labour Migration"; Castles and Kosack, Immigrant Workers; Petras, "Global Labor Market".

28. Santa Cruz Collective on Labor Migration, " "Global Migration", p. 105.

29. Nikolinakos, "General Theory of Migration", pp. 11-12.

30. John H. Taton, "International Migration as an Obstacle to Achieving World Stability". Third Place Mitchell Prize Competion, 1975, p. 5.

31. Castles and Kosack, Immigrant Workers, p. 5.

32. Castles and Kosack, "Labour Migration,", p. 12.

33. See the French Structuralist arguments on this position, for example: Pat Walker, Between Capital and Labor (Boston: South End Press, 1979): Part I; Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel, Unorthodoxed Marxism (Boston: South End Press, 1978; Andrew Zimbalist, Case Studies on the Labor Process (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979).

34. Nikolinakos, "General Theory of Migration", p. 7; Ed McCaughan and Peter Baird, Carter's Immigration Policy: Attack on Immigrant Labor. North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) Pamphlet, February, 1978.

35. Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery, (London: Andre-Deutsch Ltd., 1964).

36. Shanin Teodor, "The Peasants are Coming: Migrants Who Labour, Peasants Who Travel and Marxist Who Write", Race and Class 19, no. 3 (1978): 282-283.

37. George L. Beckford, Persistent Poverty, Under-development in Plantation Economies of the Third World (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

38. Ibid., p. 12.

39. Johann Galtung, "Structural Theory of Imperialism", Journal of Peace Research 8, no. 2 (1971): 81-117.

40. Andre Gunder-Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," Dependence and Underdevelopment, Latin America's Political Economy, ed. J. Cockcroft, A.G. Frank and D. Johnson (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1972): pp. 3-17.

41. Theotonio Dos Santos, "The Structure of Dependence," American Economic Review 60 (May, 1970): 231-236.

42. Galtung "Structural Theory of Imperialism".

43. Williams, Capitalism and Slavery, pp. 53-54.

44. Petras, "Global Labor Market", p. 5.

45. Ibid., p. 7.

46. Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Social Classes in Agarian Societies, (New York: Anchor Press, 1975).

47. Sidney Mintz, "The Question of Caribbean Peasantries: A Comment" Caribbean Studies 1, no. 3 (October, 1961): 31-34; Sidney W. Mintz and Douglas Hall, "Origins of the Jamaican Internal Marketing System" Papers in Caribbean Anthropology, (ed) Irving Rouse, Sidney Mintz (comp.) (New Haven: Yale University Publications in Anthropology, nos. 57 to 64, Department of Anthropology, Yale University, 1960).

48. Chaney, "World Economy and Migration", p. 205.

49. Ibid., p. 206.

50. Richard Frucht, "Emigration, Remittances and Social Change: Aspects of the Social Field of Nevis, West Indies," Anthropologica 10, no. 2 (1968): 193-208.

51. Frucht, "Emigration, Remittances and Social Change", p. 206.

52. H. Hoetink, Slavery and Race Relations in the Americas, Comparative Notes on Their Nature and Nexus (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1973).

53. T.G. Mathews, et al, Politics and Economics in the Caribbean. Institute of Caribbean Studies Special Study no. 3 (Rio Piedra: University of Puerto Rico, 1966), pp. 202-203.

54. G.W. Roberts, "Prospects for Population Growth in the West Indies" Social and Economic Studies 11, no. 4 (December 1962): 348.

55. Thomas-Hope, "Establishment of a Migration Tradition," p. 66.

56. Ibid., p. 68.

57. Centre for Multi-Racial Studies, University of the West Indies and the University of Sussex, "Migration", Barbados, October-December 1968 (Mimeographed).

58. Claudia Jones, "The Caribbean Community in Britain," Black Society in the New World, ed. R. Frucht, (New York: Random House, 1971): 234-247.

59. David Lowenthal, "West Indian Emigrants Overseas", Caribbean Social Relations, ed. C. Clarke, Centre for Latin American Studies, University of Liverpool, 1978, p. 83.

60. To this end the Leewards and Windwards have negotiated between themselves agreements which provide for the establishment of a common external tariff, CARIFTA: and for the coordination of economic policies particularly in the fields of agriculture, industry, transport, and currency taxation, CARICOM. On this point, see Alistair McIntyre, "Caribbean Free Ports Among the Islands", Ceres FAO Review 1, no. 6 (November-December 1968): 38-41.

61. Beckford describes the "plantation economy" as a situation where the internal and external dimensions of the plantation system dominate the country's economic social and political structure and its relations with the rest of the world. See argument in Beckford, Persistent Poverty, p. 12.

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63. Carleen O'Loughlin, "The Economy of Antigua", Social and Economic Studies 8, no. 3 (September 1959): 232.

64. United Nations, General Assembly, 30th Session, 1977, Report on the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. (A/10023/Rev.1/Add.8), p. 73.

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66. Ibid.

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73. Carleen O'Loughlin, Economic and Political Change in the Leeward and Windward Islands, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 63.

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79. Watson, "International Migration", p. 47.

80. Since the 1950's there have been an increasing reliance by Antillean governments on British grants-in-aid in order to support their economies. Such aid became necessary when these territories were unable to meet current government expenditures out of local revenues. See O'Loughlin, "Economic Problems", pp. 44-47.

81. S.B. Jones-Hendrickson, "An Analysis of Migration: St. Kitts-Nevis to the U.S. Virgin Islands, Migration Today 8, no. 2 (1980): 25-26.

82. Frucht, "Emigration, Remittances and Social Change," p. 208.

83. Ibid., p. 206.

84. Carleen O'Loughlin, "The Economy of Montserrat, A National Accounts Study," Social and Economic Studies 8, no. 2 (June 1959): 174.

85. Beckford, Persistent Poverty: Watson, "International Migration"; Ransford Palmer, "A Decade of West Indian Migration to the United States: An Economic Analysis," Social and Economic Studies 23 (December 1974), pp. 571-587.

86. Jones-Hendrickson, "Analysis of Migration", p. 26.

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