

HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTION AND COMPOSITION IN NEVIS, W.I.

HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTION AND COMPOSITION:

A RE-STUDY

OF SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

IN NEVIS, BRITISH WEST INDIES

A Thesis

Submitted to

the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

McGill University

Department of Anthropology

in Partial Fulfillment

of Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Sydney Sharpe

February 23, 1973

RESUMÉ

COMPOSITION DES MÉNAGES ET PRODUCTION: UNE RÉ-ETUDE
DE QUELQUES ASPECTS DU CHANGEMENT SOCIAL À NEVIS, AUX
ANTILLES.

Thèse de maîtrise par Sydney Sharpe, Département d'Anthropologie,
Université McGill.

Cette thèse, basée sur une recherche sur le terrain à Névis, aux Antilles, est une nouvelle étude d'une communauté décrite en 1962 par Richard Frucht. Des données comparables ont été rassemblées afin de faire une analyse de la composition des ménages et de la production agricole sur une période de dix ans. Ces données ont aussi été employées afin de prouver l'application du modèle de Nancie Gonzalez du ménage consanguin et ainsi mieux comprendre le changement social à Nevis. Deux découvertes s'en sont suivies. En premier lieu, contrairement à l'hypothèse de Frucht, qui prédisait dans ce sens une non-production de plus en plus croissante à Nevis, la production demeure bien qu'elle soit plus limitée à une production maraîchère qu'à une agriculture commerciale à grande échelle pour l'exportation. Deuxièmement, la maisonnée consanguine est une

indication pertinente de l'interaction solide d'une action réciproque entre les migrations périodiques, le rapport déséquilibré, entre les sexes (à cause des facteurs économique et démographique), et une situation néocoloniale qui prédomine dans l'île. La basse productivité agricole est à la fois la cause et l'effet des changements dans la composition du ménage puisqu'elle mène à la migration des travailleurs qui envoient leurs revenus chez eux; ce qui ne permet pas à ces ménages, dont le chef est généralement la grand-mère, de s'adonner à des cultures industrielles. L'absence d'un plan économique général fait que les jeunes dès qu'ils arrivent à l'âge productif ne trouvent pas d'opportunités locales et c'est ainsi que le complexe de la migration et l'envoi des fonds continue.

ABSTRACT

HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTION AND COMPOSITION: A RE-STUDY OF SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN NEVIS, WEST INDIES

A Master's thesis by Sydney Sharpe, Department of Anthropology,
McGill University.

This thesis, based on fieldwork in Nevis, West Indies, is a re-study of a community described in 1962, by Richard Frucht. Comparable data was collected in order to analyze changes in household composition and agricultural productivity over a ten year period. The data were also used to test the applicability of Nancie Gonzalez's model of the consanguineal household for an understanding of social change in Nevis. Two major findings emerge. First, contrary to Frucht's prediction of increasing non-production in Nevis, production exists albeit limited to market-gardening rather than cash crops for export. Second, the frequency of the consanguineal household is a valid indication of the interaction of recurrent migration, an imbalanced sex ratio (due to economic and demographic factors), and neo-colonial political and economic status of the island. Low agricultural productivity is both cause and effect of changes in household composition since it leads to labor migration and subsequent receipt

of remittances which in turn enables these grandmother-centered households to avoid cash-crop cultivation. Lack of overall economic planning ensures that when the youth enter their productive years local opportunities are lacking and the migration-remittance syndrome continues.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Chapter 1 Introduction of Problem	1
Chapter 2 The Geography and Economy of Nevis	15
Part 1: The Geography	15
A : Physical Geography.....	15
B : Cultural Geography & Population	19
Part 2: Economy	26
A : Economy & Society to 1962	27
B : Economy & Society Today	30
Summary	61
Chapter 3 The Geography & Population of Rawlins Village	64
A : Physical Geography.....	64
B : Cultural Geography.....	65
C : Population	66
Chapter 4 Economic Relations in Rawlins	74
A : Economic History of Rawlins.....	74
B : Present Economic Relations in Rawlins	78

	<u>Page</u>
Chapter 5 Social Relations in Rawlins	100
A.: Household Structure	100
B : Material Consumption in Rawlins	114
C : Co-operation and conflict in Rawlins.....	122
Chapter 6 Conclusion	126
Appendix 1	136
Appendix 2	138
Bibliography.....	139

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Population of Nevis 1871-1970	19
2	Comparative Population Distribution According to Parish in 1960 and 1970	21
3	Comparative Household Distribution According to Parish in 1960 and 1970	21
4	Electrical Supply on Nevis From 1962-1969	24
5	Production of Cash Crops on Nevis Sugar Cane (1966-1970) and Cotton (1963-1969)	31
6	Meat Consumption in St. Kitts-Nevis 1964-1968	34
7	Export of Live Animals for Food 1964-1968	34
8	Housing and Home Improvements on Nevis From 1963-1970	49
9	New Vehicles Registered on Nevis 1964-1970	50
10	Land Litigation in Nevis From Jan. 1961-Aug. 1971	51
11	Population of Rawlins 1962 and 1971	67
12	Emigration From Rawlins	71
13	Cumulative Distribution of Households Cultivating Ground Provisions 1962 and 1971	80
14	Households Cultivating Market Provisions	81
15	Households Receiving Remittances 1962 and 1971	83
16	Kind of Labor 1962 and 1971	85
17	Changing Task 1962 and 1971	86

<u>Table</u>		<u>Page</u>
18	Household Income and Household Cultivation	88
19	Households Engaged in Wage Labor 1962 and 1971.....	94
20	Housespot Tenure 1962 and 1971.....	96
21	Households with Land Besides Housespots 1962, 1971..	97
22	Household Type in Rawlins 1962, 1971	101
23	Head of Household 1962 and 1971	103
24	Household Composition in Rawlins 1962, 1971	106
25	House Structure in Rawlins.....	120
26	Consumption Preferences in Rawlins	121
27	Living Conditions in Rawlins.....	121

MAPS

<u>No.</u>		
1	Map of West Indies.....	13
2	Map of Nevis.....	14
3	Map of Rawlins	63

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	'F' Family Household Composition	113
Figure 2	Migration-Remittance Syndrome.....	129

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank McGill University, through the Brace Research Institute and the Centre for Developing Area Studies, for providing the funds for fieldwork in Nevis, W.I. I am indebted to Dr. Richard Frucht for providing both unpublished field notes and helpful suggestions. I especially thank Dr. Frances Henry for critically examining this thesis at its various stages, and Nicole Lafleur for typing it.

Finally, I am grateful for the co-operation and friendship extended to me by the people of Rawlins Village in Nevis.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION OF PROBLEM

This is an inquiry into the direction of social change on Nevis, British West Indies. One of the concerns of this thesis is the applicability of the Gonzalez (1969) consanguineality model to understanding change, in the village of Rawlins. The study focuses specifically on household production and composition in the village of Rawlins, a settlement examined by Richard Frucht (1966) nearly a decade ago. As such it is a re-study of the Frucht material.

During that time, Nevis was described by Frucht (1966, 1967, 1968) as an island characterized by increasing non-production and dependent upon remittances sent by emigrants as the major source of cash. He predicted, however, that emigration and remittances would decline (1966: 189-90).

This study shows that the economy of Nevis now realizes an almost complete dependence upon remittances, while at the same time, experiencing a decline in large-scale agricultural activity.

From this situation derives the other concern of this thesis, which is that there is some agricultural production on Nevis, contrary to Frucht's prediction. A decade ago, agricultural activity focused primarily on large-scale cash crop production of sugar cane and cotton, designed for an external market. Agricultural activity today is confined to an internal marketing system, based on the small-scale production of fruits and vegetables. The receipt of remittances enables the household to expend time and energy on produce designed primarily for home, and secondly for market use. Further, I offer the proposition that the amount of outside income that enters the household in the form of wages and remittances directly affects the amount of labor expended on the household land.

That the economic structure of the society affects both the production and composition of the household is a topic hardly new to Caribbean studies. (See for instance Clarke 1957, Cumper 1958, 1954, 1961, Gonzalez 1969, Mintz and Davenport eds. 1961, Otterbein 1965, M.G. Smith 1962a, 1962b, and R.T. Smith 1956, 1960, 1971).

One of the more important aspects of this topic is the presence of the female-headed household. However, it is only within the last two decades that this particular household phenomenon is being attributed to the economic base of the particular society.

During the late 1930s and 1940s, Melville J. Herskovits (1937, 1941, 1947) declared that the "matriarchal" family originally derived from polygynous family forms in some West African societies. This situation in certain Caribbean societies where the mother assumed most of the responsibility for the rearing of the child, was to Herskovits another example of African retentions in the New World.

Franklin Frazier (1948) disagreed with Herskovits and stated that this "matriarchate", composed of "a matricentric cell", was the only family form strong enough to survive slavery. Frazier did accept the Herskovitsian viewpoint vis-a-vis the insignificant role of the father in the rearing of the child. However, Frazier insisted that this situation was subject to change when the economic insecurity of the male ceased. This attribution of the role of the male to poverty was also accepted by Henriques (1953) and Simey (1946).

Both M.G. Smith (1962b) and R.T. Smith (1960) write that the present family structure in the Caribbean originates as a result of conditions imposed during slavery. But M.G. Smith maintains that

there are no longer hypothetical illustrations of cultural persistence of after effects of slavery; such diachronic speculations have been replaced by emphasis on synchronic analysis of these family systems (op.cit.:6).

From household surveys conducted in various West Indian societies (Carriacou, Grenada, and Jamaica), M.G. Smith concludes

that the "materterine" household can best be understood in terms of the society as a whole. By sampling households from the total population, the mating patterns of the society can be established. The most important determinants of the "materterine" household, according to M.G. Smith, are the mating patterns existent in the society.

Family organizations cannot be explained by demographic or ecological considerations; nor can they be regarded as correlates of urbanization. It is clear that mating organization governs the form of the domestic system and provides the central principle of the family structure (ibid:210).

R.T. Smith contends that economic factors determine West Indian household patterns (1956, 1960, 1971). Based on a study of lower class blacks in British Guiana, he concludes that "there is a significant relationship between the form of family structure and economic and status factors (1960:73)". R.T. Smith further describes the West Indian family in terms of the peripheral role of the father.

This matrifocal system of domestic relations and household grouping...can be regarded as the obverse of the marginal nature of the husband-father role. (Further, there is a) correlation between the nature of the husband-father role (and) the role of men in the economic system (1956:221).

Edith Clarke (1957) attributes family structure and the dominance of the maternal kin to the socio-economic base of the society and, more specifically, to land ownership.

The fear of the sisters that, if they do not occupy and use the home, their brother may attempt and even succeed in establishing individual ownership, has its result in their separation from the several fathers of their children (op.cit.:105).

G.E. Cumper who, like Clarke, undertook research in Jamaica, also suggests that the existence of the woman-headed household can be explained in terms of land ownership (1954). However, on the basis of research in Barbados, Cumper appears to synthesize the disparate positions of R.T. Smith and M.G. Smith.

...while an analysis of the direct effects of economic circumstances can take us some way to understanding the form of household and family in the West Indies, it is necessary to give an important place to the interaction between the economic environment and the cultural prescription of the economic conditions for marriage and the household (1961:416).

With the exception of the Herskovits and Frazier schools of thought, the Caribbeanists presented to this point, stress a synchronic rather than a diachronic analysis of the family and household. This approach provokes criticism from, among others, John Murra who states in a response to R.T. Smith that

variations in family and household forms correspond to historically deep-rooted subcultures (emphasis his) which cannot be fully understood without considerable ethno-historical research as well as contemporary structural comparison.

Culture-historical research need not be only a search for Africanisms. We can expect to join the synchronic, structural approach in elucidating the events and forces at work in the Caribbean in the century since emancipation, the period when the Caribbean rural community came into its own (1960:76, 78).

This dual diachronic-synchronic approach to the study of the family and the household in the Caribbean has been undertaken by

Nancie Solien Gonzalez in her work Black Carib Household Structure 1969. Gonzalez stresses the "role of migratory wage labor in historical perspective as a major factor in the development of consanguineal households (op.cit.:xvi)". Consanguineal households as defined by Gonzalez are composed of members "usually related in the maternal line (ibid:70)" where the "nucleus" is "usually a mother and a child (ibid:38)".

The Gonzalez thesis maintains that

the consanguineal household is an alternate type of domestic group that develops during the process of acculturation of neoteric societies in which the primary mechanism of Westernization is recurrent migratory wage labor with low remuneration (ibid:16).

By applying her thesis to societies outside as well as within the Caribbean, Gonzalez justifies her model as an explanatory mechanism for the existence of a specific household type, the consanguineal household. Moreover she incorporates into her thesis some of the findings of previous Caribbeanists cited, by revealing certain weaknesses in their arguments (see especially ibid:120-130).

Gonzalez contends that the consanguineal system can occur and exist indefinitely in a society that features these three characteristics: (1) dependency upon recurrent migrant wage labor which gives rise to (2) a sex ratio imbalance of women over men, and (3) a society exhibiting a "neoteric" quality (ibid:140).

A neoteric society as defined by Gonzalez is one

whose traditional culture has been forcibly changed or dissolved through the intervention of forces from the Western world, or to societies of mixed-bloods who have found themselves occupying a position between the two cultures from which they derived. Such groups have characteristics different from those of the larger society within which they are living, yet they cannot be termed primitive, peasant, folk, or any other such designation which implies a traditional basis for the society... Such a society must also be placed in the position of having to adapt to an economy dependent upon industrialization through the mechanism of migrant wage labor, while being denied full admission to the industrial society as a whole, both as a class and as individuals (ibid:9-10).

In a later publication, Gonzalez qualifies this statement by suggesting that

the neoteric society develops out of those circumstances in which, as a response to the pressures brought about by the spread of the industrial system, there is marked physical mobility of individuals with a consequent mixing of ethnic and social background (1970:5).

Although the Gonzalez statements describe certain conditions existent in such societies, it is not clear why the term "neoteric" has been introduced. These particular conditions it seems are universal in that they can be applied not only to the Caribbean but to most Third World societies, (see for instance the works of Beckford 1972a, Best 1967, A. Gunder Frank 1967, Jalee 1969). Such societies are the objects of exploitation during past colonial and present imperialist expansions of the metropolitan powers. This exploitation

is also expressed in the industrial nations' need for cheap labor, in the form of migrants from Third World countries, who cannot find productive work at home. Because these societies have been and are being stripped of their natural and human resources, they are neo-colonies or satellites of the industrial nations.

In the words of the first Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL), 1966:

In the colonies, imperialism adapts traditional societies to the purposes of its exploitation, turning them into simple dependencies of the metropolis, suppliers of cheap raw materials and buyers of manufactured goods from the powers that own them. In the case of the countries that have gained their political independence, imperialism does its best to maintain them in similar economic dependence through the possession of their main sources of wealth and by monopolist control of their foreign trade and of their financial resources that together with the investment of capital on the part of imperialist monopolies, form the principle supports of neo-colonialism (Jenkins 1970:197).

The Gonzalez term seems to me to obscure the exploitative relationships imposed by the industrial powers on Third World societies. These societies exist in a state of "un-freedom" and should be so recognized. Thus the empirical characteristics which Gonzalez describes will be referred to in this thesis, as well as additional characteristics of colonialism (to be described later). We will avoid the term "neoteric".

Within this political and economic context, the existence of migrant labor and the consequent imbalance of sex-ratio are integral parts of a colonial and neo-colonial system. The increase in the frequency of consanguineal households may be interpreted as one index of the continuing effects of conditions which give rise to this institution. In other words, this indicates a continuing domination of and exploitation by the metropolitan society, and a continually widening gap between metropolis and satellite. Thus, under certain circumstances the Gonzalez consanguineality model may offer a unique framework for understanding the existence of a particular household phenomenon.

Gonzalez points out that in order for her model to be operable, the consanguineal household must not be the preferred type of living arrangement. It exists alongside the affinal household. In fact, the affinal type is actually preferred, but, due to circumstances such as recurrent migration resulting in a sex-ratio imbalance of more females to males, it is not always attained. Rather, the consanguineal household occurs more as a result of default than preference. For this reason, the Nayars of south India (see K. Gough 1952, 1959; J. Mencher 1962) and the Minangkabau of Sumatra, Indonesia (see P.E. de Josselin de Jong 1951), cannot be considered as conforming to the Gonzalez model, since consanguineality is the prescribed and preferred household form within these societies.

Gonzalez also stresses that only one type of migration leads to the formation of the consanguineal household, and this is recurrent migration. As defined by Gonzalez, recurrent migration occurs when

men make irregular journeys of varying lengths of time to obtain wage labor through their productive years (1961:1970).

The migrant's return to his home society is dependent on: the location of his job; the wages; and the job security.

Four other types of migration are described by Gonzalez.

Seasonal migration refers to those individuals or families who are absent from their society only once a year for employment. This type has "little or no effect on family organization". Temporary non-seasonal migration includes men who leave home during their youth, but return a few years later, to remain in the home village. According to Gonzalez, any changes that occur in their home society are "gradual and non-violent". Any "disequilibrium" is temporary, as the society quickly develops mechanisms for adapting to these new changes. Continuous migration refers to entire families that travel from job to job, with no home society to return to. Permanent removal involves families and individuals who leave the home society permanently for the place of guaranteed employment.

Gonzalez contends that the only type of migration which necessitates a man's absence during his most productive years is recurrent migration.

Without the husband, who forms the link between his family of procreation and his family of orientation, the wife is more prone to turn to her own relatives for co-operation and assistance (op.cit.: 1972).

The increase in consanguineality, however, may not only be attributable to recurrent migration resulting in a sex-ratio imbalance of more women than men. As we will see for Rawlins, consanguineality may also occur as a result of a higher mortality rate amongst the male population and earlier male migration. We will also see, that at least for Rawlins, recurrent migration can involve both men and women. In this case, consanguineal households may continue to form, but the core changes from the mother and her child to the maternal grandmother and her grandchild.

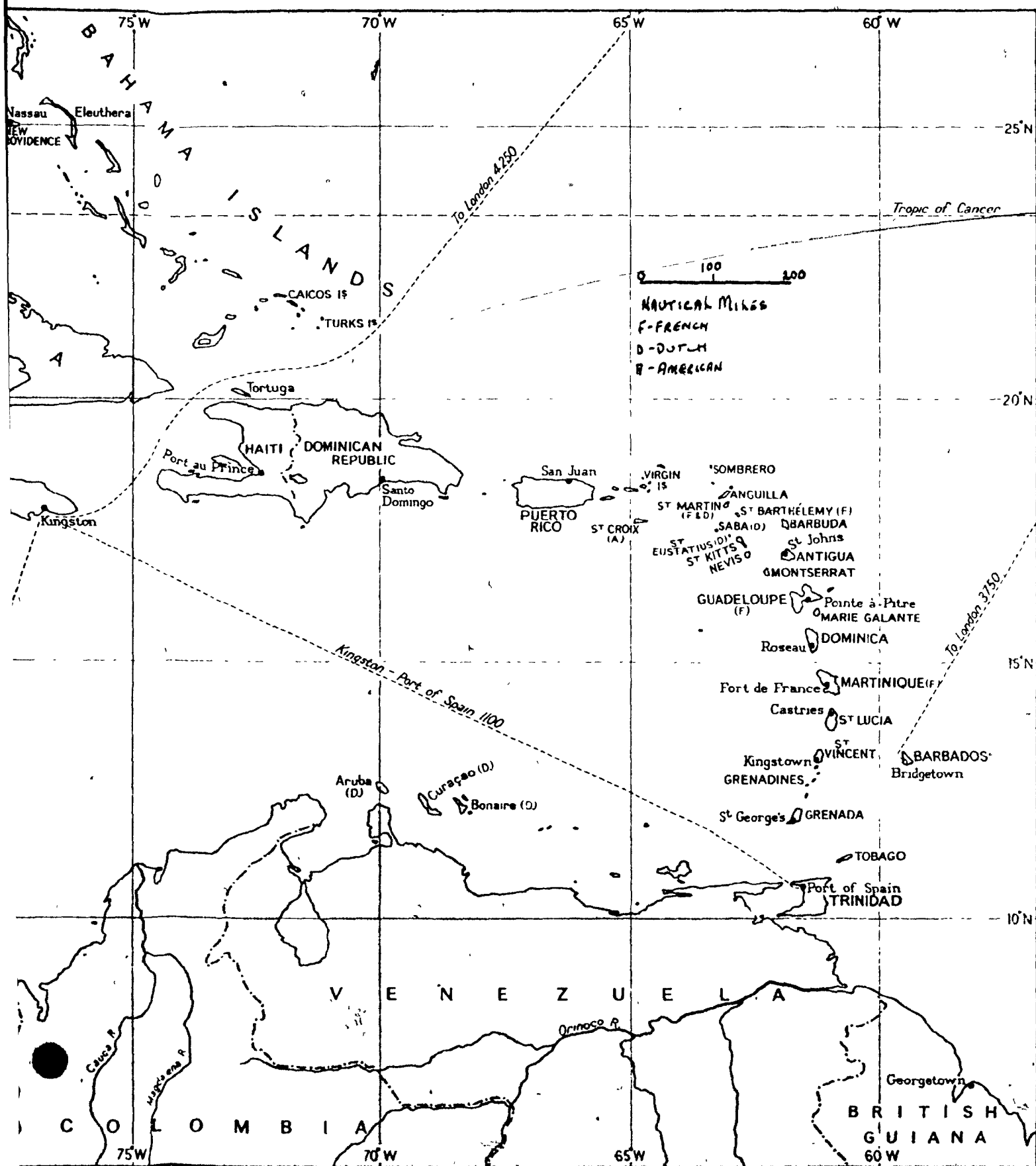
To conclude, this thesis is a re-study of a work undertaken ten years ago by Richard Frucht. During that period, Frucht surveyed the village of Rawlins. We re-survey Rawlins, in order to determine what changes in household production and composition have occurred within the last decade. From this analysis, we offer these hypotheses. First, contrary to Frucht's prediction, there is some agricultural production on Nevis. This production is geared to an internal marketing system, focusing on food crops cultivated

on small plots of land, rather than an external market, based on large-scale cash crop production of sugar cane and cotton. Second, there is an inverse correlation between the amount of work expended on the household land and the amount of income entering the household. Finally, household structure in Rawlins may be explained in terms of certain modifications of the Gonzalez consanguineality model.

The organization of this thesis is as follows. The physical and cultural geography, as well as the social and economic features of Nevis, are presented in Chapter II. Chapter III discusses the geography and population of Rawlins. The changes in the economy of Rawlins, and the subsequent effect on production in the household are examined in Chapter IV. Chapter V explains the structure and composition of the household, including the increase in consanguineality in Rawlins.

All currency quoted is in British West Indian (B.W.I.) dollars, unless otherwise indicated. The rough equivalent of \$1.00 B.W.I. in Canadian funds is \$0.50.

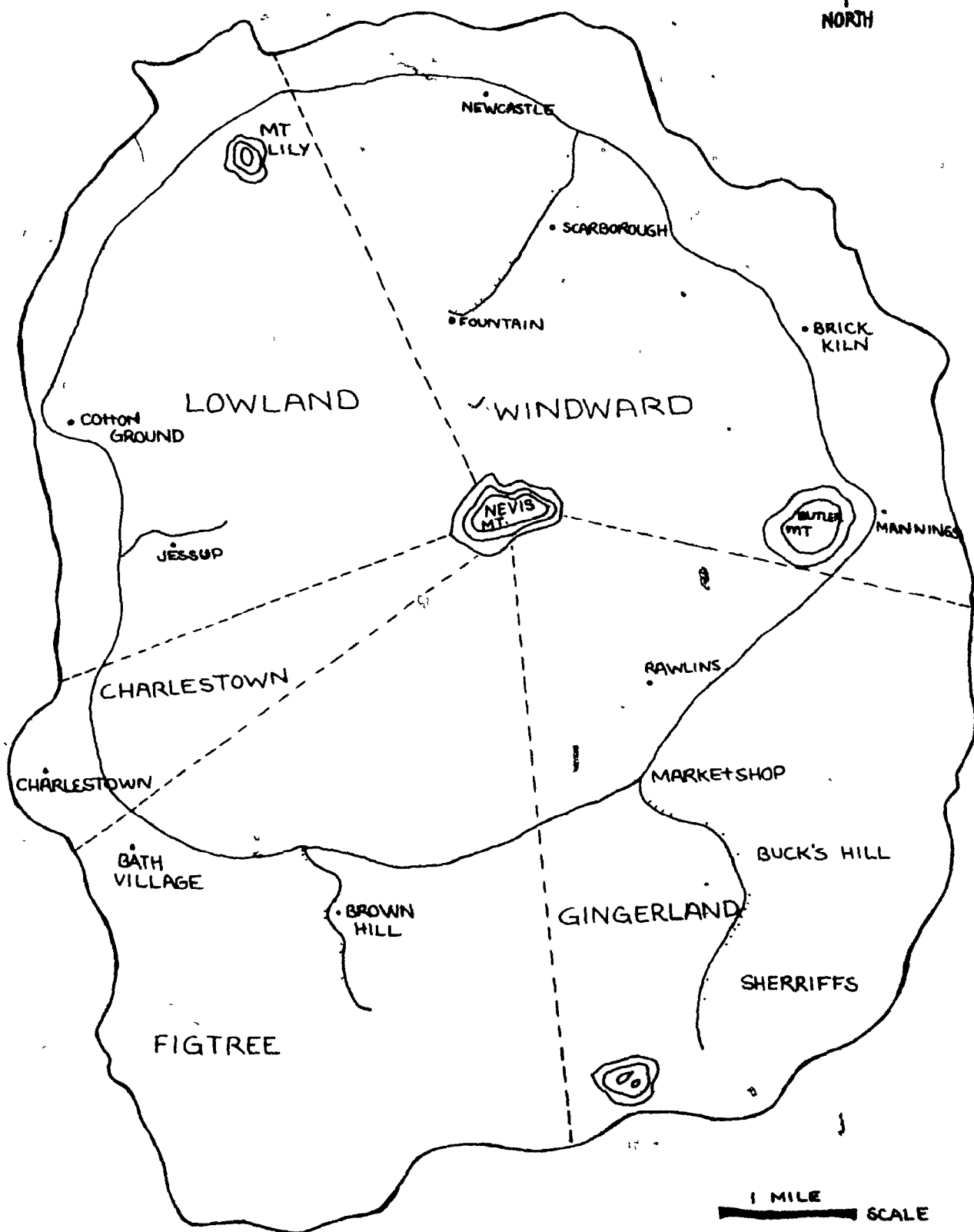
THE WEST INDIES



FROM: J. MACHERION, CARIBBEAN LANDS

NEVIS

14



1 MILE SCALE

KEY

- MAIN ROADS
- - - PARISH BOUNDARIES
- VILLAGES
- SECONDARY ROADS

CHAPTER II

THE GEOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY OF NEVIS

This chapter is in two parts. We will begin by describing the physical and cultural geography of Nevis, followed by a discussion of certain socio-economic features of the island.

Part 1

A more comprehensive understanding of the physical geography of Nevis is given by H. Finkel 1962, F. Hardy and G. Rodrigues 1947, and G.C. Merrill 1958. The cultural geography, including infrastructural development on the island is examined by K. Padmore 1966, A.W. Shurcliff and J.F. Wellemeyer 1967, and D.B. Wint 1965.

A : Physical Geography

The island of Nevis is one of three islands in the British Caribbean Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla.* Situated in the northern Lesser Antilles at 17°10'N latitude and 62°35'W longitude,

* The particular status of Anguilla within the three-island union is a point of contention since Anguilla seceded from the State in 1967. (For an analysis of the situation consult the Report of the Commission of Inquiry to Examine the Anguilla Problem, November 1970, London).

Nevis is separated from St. Kitts to the north-west by a two-mile channel known as the Narrows.

The small circular island of 50 square miles is dominated by the dormant volcano Mt. Nevis, which rises to 3600 feet. From the crater of Mt. Nevis, the land slopes at an approximate gradient of 40 degrees, diminishing slowly until the coast becomes almost flat. The volcanic activity, which includes earth tremors as recent as 1963, leaves the upper and lower slopes of the land with huge unmovable rocks, rendering even some of the good soil uncultivable.

The island is divided into five geographical districts referred to as parishes: St. Paul Charlestown (2 square miles); St. Thomas Lowland (9 square miles); St. James Windward (10 square miles); St. George Gingerland (8 square miles); and St. John Figtree (8 square miles).

On the north-west slope of Mt. Nevis, in Lowland parish, there is a soufrière, which is a volcanic vent in the side of the mountain. On the north-east slopes in Windward parish, there are two springs which serve as the water source for the entire island. Since there are no rivers or streams on Nevis, the ghauts (or gullies) which run from the mountain are dry except after a rainburst.

Rainfall

Rainfall is sporadic on Nevis, even during the "rainy" season from July to January. The area on the higher slopes of Mt. Nevis can receive up to 80 inches annually. As the altitude decreases, so too does the amount of precipitation, until the almost-flat coastal plains receive less than 40 inches of rainfall annually.

Since the rainfall varies in concentric bands around the island, the coastal plains may experience droughts of over six months duration, from January to June. Even those areas further up the slope of the mountain are not free from droughts. During my stay in Gingerland parish, in an area considered to be part of the continuously moist zone (with a total annual rainfall of 60 inches), the lack of precipitation was such that this important farming area was unable to grow necessary garden produce for the island market. It became necessary for Nevis to import fruits and vegetables from St. Kitts, rather than vice-versa. This situation is not uncommon, as Frucht cites his experiences during a similar drought a decade ago.

Because Nevis is situated in the hurricane zone, they may be expected from August until the end of October. The island was last hit by a hurricane in 1928, although more recent storms have left their toll on neighboring islands.

Soils

According to Hardy and Rodrigues (1947), the soils of Nevis are either shoal soil or lithosol. Comprising 72% or 18,600 acres on Nevis, shoal soils are "shallow and relatively unproductive as they have tight, concrete-like substrata" (Finkel 1962:34). Most of the low ground (except for the area between Charlestown and Cotton Ground) is of shoal soil, as is the area at the base of Mt. Nevis just below the 1000 feet contour, as well as the old weathered hills (Hurricane, Cone Mountain, and Saddle Hill).

Lithosol accounts for 28% or 7200 acres of Nevisian soils, and is "the immature volcanic parent material which shows little weathering or zonal differentiation, and is largely fresh loose material" (Finkel op.cit.:34).

The soils of Nevis have been under cultivation for over 300 years. Although poor agricultural practices have affected soil conservation, Merrill (1958) notes that the soils have weathered these drawbacks.

This is largely the result of the quality of the parent material provided by recent vulcanism (in Nevis). The fragmented volcanic material is rich in mineral elements required by plants. The physical qualities of the deposits are such that the parent material weathers rapidly into soil... We may conclude that the ill effects of soil erosion on the cultivated slopes of Nevis have been somewhat offset by the rapid rate of soil formation. (Merrill op.cit.:40).

B : Cultural Geography and Population

According to the unpublished Population Survey, the population of Nevis in 1970 was 11,200 with 6000 females and 5200 males. In 1960 the official population was 12,700 with 7100 females and 5600 males. The ratio of males to females in 1970 was 85:100, and in 1960 was 79:100.

TABLE 1

Population of Nevis

1871 - 1970

1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
11,700	11,900	13,100	12,800	12,900
1921	1946*	1951	1960	1970
11,600	11,400	13,700	12,700	11,200

Source: 1. G.C. Merrill, 1958
2. Unpublished population survey.

* No census taken between 1921 and 1946.

In the last 100 years, the present population appears to be the lowest on record. Moreover, the decline in population appears to be the largest decline for each ten year period since 1871.

Because there are no published figures on the rate of emigration from Nevis, we are unable to categorically state that the decline in population is primarily attributable to migration. The Government Digest of Statistics, Number 5, does indicate that for

the period 1963-1969, the number of births exceeded the number of deaths by nearly 4:1; therefore, this demographic factor would appear to have little bearing on the present decline in Nevisian population.

The sex ratio imbalance of more women than men on Nevis is the norm on "the smaller islands which are habitually depleted of young adults, especially males" (Lowenthal 1972:221).

In 1960 Cayman Island females outnumbered resident males by four to three; in Anguilla the ratio was five to four... In Carriacou women outnumber men by 3:1... In 1946 British Caribbean had 932 males per 1000 females and in Barbados and Grenada the ratio was 4:5 (op.cit.:219).

If the village of Rawlins is any indication, however, this sex ratio imbalance may also be due to a higher male mortality rate, and earlier male emigration. Because the sex-ratio imbalance is narrowing from 79:100 in 1960 to 85:100 in 1970, we may propose that more women are leaving the island than formerly.

Within the last decade, the population has dropped in every parish except Charlestown St. Paul.* Because Charlestown houses the administrative and commercial headquarters for the island of Nevis, it offers the greatest opportunities for employment on the island.

* The town of Charlestown is not to be confused with the parish of Charlestown, since the parish is also composed of other very small villages such as Bath village which is situated on the outskirts of the town of Charlestown.

TABLE 2

**Comparative Population Distribution
According to Parish
in 1960 and 1970**

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Population</u>	
	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
Charlestown, St. Paul	1500	2100
Figtree, St. John	3100	2000
Gingerland, St. George	3000	2800
Lowland, St. Thomas	2400	2150
Windward, St. James	2600	2150

TABLE 3

**Comparative Household Distribution
According to Parish
in 1960 and 1970**

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Household</u>	
	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
Charlestown, St. Paul	400	500
Figtree, St. John	700	450
Gingerland, St. George	750	650
Lowland, St. Thomas	600	500
Windward, St. James	600	500

**Source: Unpublished draft of the Population Census for
St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla 1970.**

Census of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, 1960, Vol. II.

In comparison with the much smaller villages scattered throughout Nevis, Charlestown can be considered the only urban area on the island, with its substantial population of 1700.

The villages of Nevis can be divided into three types of residential patterns. The oldest type is the slave village which existed during slavery, either within the estate boundaries or between adjacent estates.

Another type of village is the post-emancipation settlement, formed on the peripheries of estates which were sold or rented to former slaves. This type of village may be found midway up the mountain, or on hilly slopes just below the heavy forested areas, or on the perimeters of arid lowlands.

Neither of the villages within these two types could be considered isolated units. Rather, their boundaries often converge to form neighboring settlements. For example, Rawlins, a post-emancipation village that formed on the slope of Mt. Nevis, is one of three nearby villages; Zetlands village is situated to her west and Stoney Hill village to her north-east.

The third type of residential pattern is the Strassendorf type of settlement, where homes are arranged alongside the main road. Increasingly, more houses are being constructed to conform to this

pattern, especially, since the "break-up of estates and the increase in number of small holders during and after the 1930s". (Frucht 1966:17).

A major road that circles the island is twenty miles in circumference. Small side roads adjoin it. Characterized by pot-holes and poor repair, the main road makes for hazardous driving at the best of times. This is quite a contrast to the quality of the roads on Nevis a century ago. John Davy (1854:488-9) remarks that although Nevis is small, her roads compare favorably with those of the larger and more productive island of St. Kitts.

Aside from the poor condition of the roads, the most serious infrastructural problem on Nevis today, is the lack of an adequate water scheme. Since there are no perennial streams on the island, water must be tapped from the two major springs which originate from Mt. Nevis in Windward parish. A water main connects the springs to two large reservoirs in Charlestown. Because these reservoirs must also rely on sporadic rainfall, they seldom meet the requirements for the island. Consequently water must be rationed.

An electric power station was first installed in Charlestown in 1957. A more powerful generator has recently been installed, coupled with the government's intention to "serve every home and

business... in each village in Nevis" (Labour Manifesto 1971).

Electricity, however, has still to reach many Nevisians, as Table 4 attests. The cost to consumers is a deterrent, especially to those Nevisians who are barely able to meet the rising cost of living. When Rawlins village recently received electricity, a farmer with no other means of income, remarked that "electricity too dear; I have to be with kerosene". Another farmer demonstrates that "after all, you can't get all these fine things without you got foundation."

TABLE 4

Electrical Supply on Nevis

<u>Year</u>	<u>New Consumers</u>	<u>Total Consumers</u>
1962	58	495
1963	39	530
1964	33	566
1965	52	616
1966	27	643
1967	56	699
1968	51	751
1969	23	775

(These figures are from the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla
Digest of Statistics No. 5, 1969)

Communication

There are five telephone lines which link Nevis with St. Kitts and from there, points overseas. Subscribers on the island are comparatively few, at less than one per cent of the island's population.

There is no radio station on Nevis, but the St. Kitts radio station ZIZ broadcasts to Nevis. A television station ZIZ has just begun programming, and receiver facilities operate on Nevis. Both the radio and television stations are state-owned.

A government ferry, leased to a Nevisian businessman sails between St. Kitts and Nevis six days a week. Under favorable weather conditions, the crossing covers the twelve miles between Charlestown and Basseterre (St. Kitts) in forty-five minutes. The fare is \$1.50 per person, one-way.

A daily air shuttle service operates between the two islands. Piper cub airplanes travel the route in seven minutes. The fare is \$9.50 per person, return. LIAT (Leeward Islands Air Transport) maintains this service franchise, which also includes a similar service to Antigua. The Newcastle Airport on Nevis has recently been enlarged and paved at a cost of \$300,000; Canadian funds have provided half the cost.

Part 2

This part of Chapter II presents a general discussion of the social, economic, and political characteristics of Nevis today.*

The post-emancipation period up to 1962 is documented by R. Frucht (1966, 1967, 1968). We will only briefly deal with his main points.

The period prior to Emancipation (1834) has been recorded by Elsa Goveia (1965) who writes that

If the British West Indian sugar industry had not been in severe economic difficulties (it is) unlikely that the humanitarians could have succeeded in abolishing either the British slave trade or British colonial slavery... they succeeded only when their humane objectives coincided with practical political and economic circumstances (pp. 335-6).

Goveia's statement emphasizes the total manipulation and exploitation that the imperial or metropolitan power inflicts on the colony. This is accompanied by an idea and beliefs system which serves to justify the process of colonization and imperialism.

Jomo Kenyata puts it more succinctly:

The white man came and asked us to shut our eyes and pray. When we opened our eyes it was too late--our land was gone (quoted in Jenkins 1971:142).

* For an excellent insight into the nature of Nevis society at the height of the sugar era, Richard Pares (1950) has traced the travels of the Pinney family, a once prominent member of the Nevisian plantocracy. Katherine J. Burdon (1920) the wife of the governor of Nevis at the turn of the century, has also presented her perspective of the island society.

Colonialism implies a certain way of life which is here defined by Raymond Kennedy, the anthropologist. It is distinguished by five characteristics: (1) economic dependency; (2) political dependency; (3) under-developed social services; (4) limited social interaction between natives and ruling class; (5) color line (quoted by Frucht 1967:2-3). It is within this context that the history and present socio-economic position of Nevis must be understood.

A : Nevis Economy and Society to 1962: a Brief Synopsis

Nevis was first colonized in 1628 by a party of small cultivators from St. Kitts. Later, large slave populations from West Africa were imported into the island, where their labor was exploited in the production of sugar cane.

Sugar cane remained the main cash crop on Nevis until the introduction of a central factory in St. Kitts in 1912. As costs of production increased and profits declined, sugar cane was superseded by Sea Island cotton in an attempt to bolster the sagging plantation economy. The growers and marketers of this cash crop, however, continued to experience capital losses, with the exception of the two World War years when monetary returns met favorable increases. After World War II, the production of cotton again declined, to the point where today that former cash crop provides negligible profits to the Nevisian economy.

Nevis was established as a plantation colony for purposes of providing sugar cane and later cotton to the metropolitan countries of Great Britain and Canada. As many Caribbean scholars (such as Beckford 1972a; Best 1967; G. Lewis, a Welsh scholar at U.P.I. 1968; and Williams 1944, 1970) have explained, the vagaries of the international cash crop market must be acknowledged in order to comprehend the particular history of former and present plantation societies.

The social and economic history of Nevis can be perceived in terms of four key changes in the productive processes, each of which occurred as a result of "social and economic forces originating outside the island society" (Frucht 1966:90).

The first change was a shift in the organization of production from that of plantation slave labor to plantation free labor. The reason for this transition was the declaration of emancipation by Britain in 1834.

The second change was a shift in the organization of production from that of plantation gang labor to that of sharecropping, where the household became the major productive unit. This change occurred in the 1840s, as a result of the "scarcity of capital brought on by the commercial crises in England, and the decline of the cane sugar market" (op.cit.:6).

The third change was the shift from plantations to small plots of land, that is from latifundia to minifundia. This transition was due to the depression in the muscovado sugar and Sea Island cotton markets which dominated Nevis economy. As the Nevisian planter class realized continued losses, most either deserted their estates or sold them to the colonial administrators for the island (that is the Crown). This period of economic recession and depression in the 1930s was also one of strife and revolt by workers in both the metropolitan and colonized countries. By creating a landed peasantry, Britain hoped to prevent similar uprisings in Nevis. Consequently, the recently acquired Crown land was divided into small holdings and sold. This continued until 1939 when a program for the long-term rental of three-acre plots was instigated. For this reason, the St. Kitts government owns more land on Nevis than any other single holder (see Appendix 1).

The fourth change in the organization of production is that which is occurring at present, which is the shift to increasing non-production of cash crops. The reasons for this present position are: the loss of world markets for sugar cane and Sea Island cotton; the emigration of Nevisians to Britain, Canada, United States, and the U.S. Virgin Islands in search of employment; and the subsequent receipt of remittances by Nevisians. This may

render their submission to cash crops finished, but not their dependence on the metropolitan countries for employment and subsequent remittances.

Depression, market failures, competition among colonies, together with industrialization and urbanization in the metropolitan countries force colonial peoples off the land, out of the colonies and into new proletarian situations. The transformation from dependence upon agriculture to dependence upon remittances is made (ibid:92).

B : Nevis Economy and Society Today

Sugar Cane

During Frucht's residence in Nevis in the early 1960s, sugar cane still provided some income for many Nevisian farmers. Today that is no longer the case; the St. Kitts government stopped purchasing cane from Nevisian growers in 1969 (see Table 4).

The reasons for this were: the high cost of shipping the sugar cane by barge from Nevis to the central sugar factory in St. Kitts; the low quality cane which usually resulted from this transport; the dominant depression in the international sugar market. The St. Kitts government declared that the unprofitability of Nevisian cane did not warrant its continued purchase. Needless to note, this decision did little to hamper the already strained relations between the government and the Nevisian farmer.

TABLE 5

Production of cash crops on Nevis

CANE

<u>Year</u>	<u>Tons</u>	(B.W.I. currency) \$
1963	2100	14,637.80
1964	2002	14,015.66
1965	1711	11,974.53
1966	2075	14,527.76
1967	1478	10,773.83
1968	874	5,909.29
1969	974	6,811.78

Last price paid was \$7.00 per ton in 1969. The government has since stopped purchasing cane from Nevisians as they say the cost of transport to the central factory in St. Kitts is too expensive.

COTTON

<u>Year</u>	Clean at \$0.24/lb. Lbs.	Stain at \$0.03/lb. Lbs.
1966	213,265	no figures
1967	105,741	no figures
1968	147,369	7,189
1969	59,028	3,774
1970	16,770	750

Price per lb. of clean seed-cotton has dropped substantially: in 1958 at \$0.38/lb; in 1960 at \$0.25/lb; in 1961 at \$0.30/lb; in 1962 at \$0.28/lb; in 1970 at \$0.24/lb. The new price proposed by the government for 1972 is \$0.40/lb.

Cotton

Unlike sugar cane, Sea Island cotton continues to be grown as a cash crop, although it offers scant remuneration at present. The plant, with its long staple, produces a strong smooth fabric, highly praised for its prime quality. Although both the productivity of cotton and the price received, have declined in the past decade, the St. Kitts Department of Agriculture has recently announced its intention to "promote the production of Sea Island cotton on Nevis".

The Permanent Secretary for the Department of Agriculture, discussed the proposed program for cotton production on Nevis, and the reasons for its revival. The initial project involves the cultivation of 12 acres of cotton on each of five government estates, culminating in a total of 60 acres under cotton production. Each estate employs one woman per acre to seed, weed, and pick the cotton, hence a total of 60 women are required. Private cultivation is also encouraged. For the grower the price to be paid per pound of clean seed-cotton is \$0.40, considerably higher than the 1970 paid price of \$0.24 per pound. It is intended that this high price will serve as an inducement for the Nevisian farmer to grow cotton. A number of farmers with whom I spoke plan to produce the crop again.

The cotton itself is considered a triple purpose plant. First, the cotton bolls are brought to the Nevis Cotton Ginnery, which is being restored to meet the increased production. Second, the high protein content of the cotton plant warrants its use as feed for the expanding cattle enterprise on Nevis. Third, the oil is to be extracted from the cotton seed. If enough cotton is grown, it is hoped that the seed oil may serve to re-activate the output of oil for export to other West Indian Islands.

Livestock

Within the last decade, the Department of Agriculture's livestock enterprise has expanded. In particular the breeding of cattle of the Senepol and Zebu stock has been emphasized in order to meet the increased demand for local meat consumption. That there are a growing number of people from Nevis and St. Kitts willing to pay the high cost of imported frozen and fresh meat is attested to in the Government Digest of Statistics for 1969, which indicates a distinct increase in frozen meat consumption for the state. (See Table 6, below).

Livestock production at the Government estates of Maddens and Indian Castle, was initially established to provide for a local and export market. On the basis of stock inventories taken by the Department of Agriculture, however, livestock production does not

warrant justification as an important agricultural endeavor. This is verified by the figures in Table 7 which reveal the decline in export of animals chiefly for food. Perhaps large-scale livestock production might also be re-activated by the government.

TABLE 6

Frozen Meat Consumption
for St. Kitts and Nevis

Year	Quantity Lbs. 000	Value \$000 E.C.
1964	105	47
1965	109	54
1966	115	69
1967	109	70
1968	139	83

Gov't Digest of Statistics for 1969.

TABLE 7

Export of Animals from St. Kitts-Nevis
Chiefly for food

Year	Quantity Number	Value \$000 E.C.
1964	1000	43
1965	1558	73
1966	1000	76
1967	852	59
1968	221	29

Gov't Digest of Statistics for 1969.

The introduction of large-scale livestock production and the re-emergence of cotton employ only a negligible percentage of Nevis' 12,000 population. (Actual figures for persons employed in these agricultural pursuits are not available.)

Government ministers have suggested that it is imperative that Nevis develop a viable economy emanating from agricultural diversification and the establishment of ancillary industries. However, recent endeavors to promote agricultural schemes seem doomed to failure.

Cades Bay Co-operative

For example, the Agriculture Department on Nevis attempted to establish a co-operative development at Cades Bay, which is an agricultural station in St. Thomas Lowland parish. The object was the rental of five to ten acre plots to Nevisian farmers, for purposes of producing market provisions and high quality cattle and sheep. On paper this venture seemed feasible, but in practice appeared unlikely to succeed. The reasons for this were not overwhelming. One of the two organizers of the project was transferred to St. Kitts, with no suitable replacement to continue his work; the other man continued to be overburdened, not only with chronic ill health, but with additional agricultural matters. The secretary-treasurer of the Farmers Co-op, the man in charge of all the bureaucratic details,

recently emigrated to pursue the priesthood. The remaining members of the Co-operative have either emigrated or are planning to, in the hopes of obtaining more lucrative employment outside Nevis.

Thus, government transferrals, low wages, and emigration ultimately prevent the materialization of feasible agricultural experiments.

Market Produce

Although cash crops have met their demise, there is no evidence to conclude, that the island is completely non-productive. Most production on Nevis, however, is confined to the cultivation of market garden produce and ground provisions designed mainly for the home market. Former agricultural activity focused primarily on cash crop production of cane and cotton for export to the metropolitan countries. Present agricultural production caters to an internal market based on food crops.

The actual production of food crops has experienced setbacks due to a number of factors. The major factor was the profound effect of the 1970 sinking of the "Christena", the ferry which operated daily between St. Kitts and Nevis. As one Rawlins' turnhand recounted, "the better part of the people die out in the disaster.

"We used to turnhand in St. Kitts but no turnhandling now".*

Most of those who previously sold their produce to turnhands in Nevis to sell in St. Kitts, no longer do so, since few market people will travel by ferry to St. Kitts. Also, the production of market fruits and vegetables in St. Kitts has recently increased to the point where some of this produce is being sold in the Charlestown market in Nevis. Reportedly related to this is the underselling on the part of the government agricultural depot, of market produce⁷ grown on government estates. Finally, the chronic water shortage on Nevis serves to aggravate the market situation.

Because Nevisians seldom vary the variety of fruits and vegetables grown on the island, the Charlestown market overflows with yams, potato vines, pumpkin, bananas, and breadfruit. In the mid 1960s, the U.S. Virgin Islands imported these starchy foodstuffs to feed their huge alien population. With their nationalization of jobs, however, and the subsequent deportation of many of these workers,

* A turnhand is a man or woman who buys produce from the actual growers, but who does not grow the produce. The turnhand either sells in the market, or privately to another market vendor. Normally, a turnhand operates as the intermediary between Nevis and St. Kitts. On the other hand, a higgler is a grower who travels directly with the produce to sell in Nevis or St. Kitts. The point here, however, is that everyone knows what everyone else is doing. For, in a marginal economy like that of Nevis, the market complex creates both employment and some small income for everyone. For further discussion of this point, see M. Katzin 1959, 1960; S. Mintz 1958, and S. Mintz and D. Hall 1960.

the need for substantial quantities of cheap, starchy foodstuffs ceased. It has been four years since Nevis exported these crops. Yet the Agricultural Department offers no guiding alternatives. Because the Nevisian farmer receives neither financial nor technical assistance, he is reluctant to experiment on his own, especially since crop failure is not subsidized.

These many setbacks tend to limit the scale of the internal market on Nevis, but do not prevent people from growing food crops, as we will see for Rawlins. More people are producing in Rawlins, but on a smaller scale.

Since the May 1971 State election, with the Labor Party again in power, the Ministry of Agriculture now includes both a new minister and permanent secretary, the latter a former Nevisian. Both of these men realize the deterioration of large-scale agricultural activity on Nevis and express their desire to rectify that situation. (Further administrative changes now require all agricultural officers to submit written reports on those agricultural affairs under their jurisdiction.)

Tourism

The alternative to agriculture that is being promoted within the last decade is tourism. Contrary to the speculations of H. Zinder and associates (1969), however, tourism is on the wane in the West Indies. Especially the case for the last three years,

this decline is due to a number of factors. Competition with European sun spots that advertise substantially lower rates than their Caribbean counterparts, attract potential tourists to Europe. Air travel to Europe is cheaper than to the Caribbean; prices in most West Indian hotels are exorbitant compared to their equivalents in Europe.

Another deterrent to the tourist trade in the Caribbean is the economic recession in the United States and Canada. Tourists are cancelling their "holiday to the Sun" for lack of funds.

Also the violence which has erupted in Caribbean vacation paradises has stifled some enthusiasts who perceived the West Indies as a "vacation from violence".

Other factors such as low-key advertising, poor air facilities, and infrastructural underdevelopment have all combined to leave Nevis with two tourist havens temporarily closed, four others in dire financial stress, one barely breaking even, and one moderately successful. This last one, incidentally, was the only large tourist venture owned and operated by a Nevisian. At their peak, these tourist lodgings may have employed a total of 200 people, with perhaps an additional 35 employed in associated businesses such as car rentals and taxi services.

Related to tourism and accruing a few more dollars to the economy is the growing alien population of Americans, Canadians, and British. The actual construction of the homes of these winter residents and retirees employs approximately 20 people over a period of six to twelve months. The cost per home varies, from a minimum of \$40,000 to, in the case of one Caribbean hideaway, \$200,000. The average staff operating in these opulent homes is about two people per home, culminating in the total employment of over 200 Nevisians. Although the competition for these jobs is fierce, there is an unwritten law which prevents the hiring of any person not living in that particular parish where the house or hotel is situated.

Not all Nevisians are distressed over the decline in tourism.

As one Nevisian farmer states:

Tourism is good for the chauffeur. But tourism get some people to bum the white people to see what they could get off them. Some people say tourism bad because they don't get no money. Some people come and expect to be carry by tourists. We need some industry, not tourists'.

Alternative Employment Opportunities

The only other viable employment prospects are with the government as civil servants, teachers, or medical staff. The government remains the largest single employer on Nevis. But, as there are a greater number of applicants than jobs, qualified Nevisians remain unemployed on the island, or leave for employment

off the island. Even those who are hired as teachers or clerks often perceive their jobs as only temporary, as a means of obtaining the necessary funds for emigration. A young Nevisian clerk recounts that "there is no money or future on Nevis. I'll stay until I can earn enough to leave".

Although the construction trade offers some employment opportunities, these jobs are characteristically menial and low paying. (For government non-establishment worker's wage rates see Appendix II). Although the minimum wage is \$0.45 per hour, many labourers receive only \$0.30 an hour. A Nevisian house builder who heads his own construction firm defends his refusal of a raise in wages to one of his more permanent employees:

That's all he's worth--he thinks he in the Virgin Islands. There are many waiting for his job. He won't find other work on Nevis. I give him work and he sees a pay day.

Thus, like most Third World countries, the high unemployment on Nevis (the figures for which are either unknown or unavailable) is used to advantage by private employers.

Light Industry

During the past decade, a small number of light industries have been established on Nevis. The owners of these companies are either wealthy Americans or upwardly mobile Nevisian businessmen and politicians. "Caribee Clothes", owned and operated by

an American woman, employs sixteen women to cut and sew relatively expensive garments for export to specialty shops in Puerto Rico, U.S. Virgin Islands, and the United States. An average dress is sold at between \$30 and \$60 U.S. or \$60 to \$120 B.W.I. Most of the profit accrues to the American owner. Apprentice sewers and stitchers earn \$14 B.W.I. per week, working from 8 A.M. to 5 P.M. five days a week. Experienced workers are paid by the piece, with some earning \$60 B.W.I. a week. In order to earn this comparatively high wage, however, piece work must be brought home. Thus some sewers are actually working 15 hours a day.

The "Nevis Ju-C Bottling Plant" is a partly Nevisian owned endeavor which employs approximately 15 people. The other owner is an Antiguan who provides the formula, bottles and machinery for the plant, which produces 30 dozen bottles of soft drinks a day. Wages are in accordance with the standard government laborer's wage.

"The West Indies Development Company" is owned by an American and is managed by an American and a Nevisian. The company operates a schooner for lobster fishing and a cold storage factory for storing the lobster, fish, and local beef for export. No more than 15 Nevisians are employed by this company.

"Associated Building Supplies" makes concrete blocks and other such products for the island. Owned by Nevilians and operated by a white man from Saba, the plant employs less than 10 Nevilians.

All private enterprises which settle in Nevis are offered tax concessions for a period up to ten years. Thus, these enterprises accrue few financial rewards for the economy of Nevis, and fewer employment opportunities for the people of the island.

Emigration

With employment opportunities bleak, and wages low, Nevilians continue to emigrate. Although actual emigration figures for the island are unavailable, Frucht compiled figures for the village of Rawlins a decade ago, which in comparison with my figures reveal that emigration is increasing. (See Chapter 3)

It is a commonplace that those Nevilians who do find employment elsewhere, send portions of their pay home. A decade ago, Frucht describes Nevis as "a society dependent upon remittances (1966:189)". He postulates, however, that the island's remittance economy is in jeopardy due to immigration legislation and the nationalization of jobs in prospective countries of employment.

Since Frucht's study, the Commonwealth Immigration Act has been ratified in Britain, which includes qualifications regarding

the level of skill, or assurance of employment for prospective immigrants. Inflation and unemployment have also increased in Britain, as well as the social and economic discrimination which Black and Colored immigrants suffer.

In Aruba, a West Indian island where a number of Nevisians had found highly remunerative employment, jobs have been nationalized due to the automation of their oil refineries. This drastically reduced employment. The nationalization of jobs in the U.S. Virgin Islands (another important terminus for immigration) has also resulted in restrictions on West Indian immigrants including Nevisians.

The government Digest of Statistics for 1969 indicates that there has been a decline in migration to the U.S. Virgin Islands and Britain. This slump, however, has been met by an increase in emigrants to the United States and Canada. This situation for Nevis is similar to that of other West Indian islands dependent on emigration for the important remittances sent home. According to Lowenthal,

in the 1950s the tide of emigration turned toward Europe... the late 1960s witnessed a renewed flow into the U.S. and Canada.

With major outlets in West Europe closed, West Indians have turned again to Canada which has absorbed thousands of islanders and to the United States. American resident visas for Jamaicans alone rose from 5000 in 1966 to 17,000 in 1968; and 3000 Jamaicans a year emigrate to Canada. (1972:218)

The actual number of Nevilians that emigrate to Canada, the United States and Britain respectively, are either unknown or unavailable since they are incorporated into statistics for the State as a whole.

Nevilians, like other West Indian emigrants, may be obtaining employment, not necessarily the type they would take at home; but at wages often far greater than that which could be earned at home. Drawbacks in the metropolitan countries, such as racism, high living expenses, poor living conditions, little job protection, and wages below par, do not deter the emigrant where high unemployment and low wages at home leave little alternatives for him. Perennial but menial employment opportunities may be expected to continue for the migrants whose labor is perpetually exploited by the metropolitan companies.

This is illustrated in a Canadian Press article that appeared in the July 19 edition of the "Barbados Advocate". It stated that West Indians were being brought into Canada to pick fruit in the Niagara Valley, work which Canadians refused to do for such low wages. The implications of this situation for Nevis are: Nevis will continue to maintain itself on remittances until such time as the government is financially able to offer a viable program for economic development such as one centred around the implementation of labor-intensive agricultural and ancillary industries that

would provide, in the words of a Nevisian dignitary "a sense of pride in pulling this country up by its bootstraps".

Remittances

The actual amount of money that emigrants are sending to family and friends in Nevis cannot be calculated, for many reasons. Large amounts of money are sent directly through the mails, sometimes by registered mail, but often through ordinary first-class post. Frequently, remittances are sent home by way of friends and relatives on vacation. Also, some Nevisians send money to their accounts in St. Kitts, Montserrat, or Antigua. The reason for remitting money to banks in the latter two islands is to prevent the St. Kitts government from realizing their true income for tax purposes.

The managers of Barclays Bank Nevis and the Nevis Co-operative Bank stated that Nevisians tended to send remittances to bank accounts in either of these two banks. Both bank managers were able to compile the amount of remittances sent to the banks in the last three years. Figures from these two banks, plus postal money orders, revealed that in 1970 at least \$3,274,582 B.W.I. was sent to Nevis. In 1969, \$2,485,658 was remitted and in 1968 just over \$2,000,000 was sent. (The bank managers also stated that the figures for 1968 to 1970 were derived from monies remitted to savings accounts and not

checking accounts, and thus did not include monies received by Nevisian businessmen in transaction with their foreign counterparts.)

Although these figures indicate a significant increase from Frucht's figure of \$500,000 B.W.I., derived from postal and money orders ten years ago, it must be recognized that at that time no banks existed in Nevis. Consequently, as one bank manager noted, more remittances were sent to banks in St. Kitts.

Although these figures may appear high in proportion to the population of Nevis, it must be noted that in many instances remittances constituted the main income source for some Nevisians. Not all Nevisians with whom I spoke were surprised at these remittance figures, as the recollections of a prominent Nevisian politician revealed. A peasant woman entered the Nevis Co-op Bank and remained after closing hours. The politician, who worked in the bank, thought that she wanted either a favor or a ride home, but she said that she just wanted to change her money (from B.W.I. to E.C.).* Expecting to change just a few notes, the politician agreed to her wish. The peasant woman unwrapped a bundle and presented \$5,000.

In another instance, an electrician who was installing electricity poles, was preparing to dig in a spot when a man instructed

* E.C. is the abbreviation for Eastern Caribbean currency.

him to stop. After the electrician explained his purpose, the man asked for a few minutes grace whereupon he proceeded to dig up his cache.

Material Changes in Life Style

Within the last decade the rising amount of remittances received by many Nevisians has initiated a quantitative and qualitative change in the number of material goods being imported into some Nevisian homes and businesses. Over this period there has been a substantial increase in the acquisition of automobiles; in the erection of cement or partially cement homes; in the addition to, or renovation of existing homes; and in the subscribers to electricity, water and telephone.

As Table 8 indicates, the number of households which have either built new homes or added to existing ones, has doubled in both cases. Table 9 reveals that the number of new vehicles registered on Nevis since 1964 has risen from 281 to 447. This does not include those registered before that date, nor the many new vehicles designed for Nevis which have been registered in St. Kitts.

TABLE 8

Housing and Home Improvement on Nevis

1963 - 1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>Work done</u>	<u>Number of Households</u>
1963	addition	16
	erection	16
1964	addition	16
	erection	13
1965	addition	13
	erection	7
1966	addition	15
	erection	7
1967	no figures	
1968	addition	18
	erection	27
1969	addition	28
	erection	24
1970	addition	31
	erection	38

Source: Dept. of Health, Nevis.

TABLE 9

New Vehicles Registered

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of new vehicles registered on Nevis</u>
1964	281
1965	322
1966	345
1967	344
1968	370
1969	402
1970	447

Source: Charlestown Police Dept.

Discussions with grocery and hardware store managers indicate that within the last decade, there has been an increase in the consumption of foodstuffs such as milk, margarine, poultry, frozen meat, cheese, alcohol and cigarettes; as well as in the purchase of commodities such as radios, refrigerators, and stoves.

Thus one may speculate that there has been a rise in the standard of living for some Nevisians; this is not to say as Frucht suggested, that there may be an increased petit bourgeois style of life on the island. It can only allude to the classic situation where some people consider their material lot improved, and where others attest to a

worsening of material conditions.

TABLE 10

Land Litigation in Nevis,
From January, 1961 to August, 1971

<u>Year</u>	<u>Nature of Litigation</u>
1961	right to the land purchased.
1962	none.
1963	none.
1964	none.
1965	money owing on chattel house.
1966	1) money not paid for land; 2) money owing for land; 3) money owing for land.
1967	wrongfully holding tenancy of premises.
1968	litigation concerning sale of land.
1969	declaration that plaintiffs entitled to freehold property and premises.
1970	1) loss of contract for purchase and sale of lot of land; 2) money owing on chattel house.
1971	1) order to partition lands between family members; 2) money owing on purchase of house; 3) money owing on purchase of land.

Source: Court Records for Nevis.

Land Litigation

In Nevis, land may be obtained through rental, purchase or inheritance. There are two ways in which the land may be inherited.

- (1) A will may designate the heir(s) to a specific piece of land; or
- (2) the entire family may jointly inherit the land. This latter type is referred to as family land and all have equal rights to it. Any conflict of interests over utilization of family land may, if unresolved, lead to court action.

Frucht suggested that with a slowdown in emigration, land would be increasingly used as a commodity rather than as a means of production. Together with the return of emigrants and an increase in land-buyers and speculators, there would be a greater incidence of litigation over rights to, and ownership of, land. Thus an increase in land litigation may be expected to coincide with a decrease in emigration.

Table 10 indicates that there is little court action over land. These findings may be expected if emigration has increased over the last decade. This would suggest then, that the ownership of family land remains unchallenged, if family members continue to migrate.

Political Change on Nevis

There have been four significant political changes on Nevis (see Ayearst 1960, Hall 1971, Kelsick 1960, and O'Boughlin 1968).

In 1866 the island was made a Crown Colony. In 1871, Nevis was integrated with neighboring islands to form the Leeward Islands Federation. In 1882 the Presidency of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla came into being. The Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla was inaugurated in 1967. At this time also, the Local Government Act was ratified in order that the peoples of Nevis and Anguilla be given more autonomy in the implementation of social and economic programs for their respective islands.

In 1970 Anguilla seceded from the three-island State to be governed directly by the British Government as a Crown Colony. Although this act of British interference strained relationships with other independent West Indian states, there are those in Nevis who endeavor to follow the same course taken by Anguilla.

Basseterre, St. Kitts houses the present eleven seat State Legislature, with St. Kitts allowed 8 representatives, Nevis 2, and Anguilla formerly 1. Various Nevisian independence actions have been initiated in the past, for purposes of presenting a viable alternative to the St. Kitts regime. These have failed to garner enough financial or civic support to secede from St. Kitts.

Although the St. Kitts Labor Party swept to victory on its own island, it failed to retain the one seat it contested on Nevis. Moreover, this seat was won by the Nevis Reformation Party, another

movement with secessionist intentions. The other Nevisian seat was retained by a perennial favorite, a member of the St. Kitts opposition People's Action Movement.

The other important secessionist party to form in Nevis was the United National Movement, established in 1960. By 1967, the leader of the U.N.M. had accepted a cabinet position offered by the Labor Party to offset the inroads that P.A.M. had made in Nevis.

The Nevis Local Council elections that occurred in December 1971 recorded a victory for the N.R.P. with a majority win of five of the seven seats. The remainder were won by an Independent and a Labor supporter. A surprise in these elections was the defeat of the recently elected State representative who also held the post of chairman of the Nevis Local Council. Although this particular politician was popular, Nevisians complained that he was "leaning too close to Labor". Nevisians also claimed that they did not want a Kittitian party, be it the ruling Labor Party or P.A.M., to represent their interests. "We need a Nevis man for Nevis" was the way one man explained the situation.

It is unlikely that the N.R.P. will procure the power to steer Nevis into the secessionist waters of Anguilla. Criticisms labelled at the party by Nevisians are: lack of proper leadership; friction within the party hierarchy; and uncertainty over the articulation of

relations with St. Kitts. Moreover, once the excitement of elections ceases, so too does the interest in the Party. Also, if past actions are any indication, the St. Kitts Labor Party will probably co-opt the N.R.P. representative by offering him a cabinet position.

In the final analysis, secessionist intentions will fail predicts one Nevisian farmer:

Trouble is, Nevisians don't hold together like Anguillans. Anguillans, like one they all say; but not the Nevisians. Nevisians don't link together. Anguillans whatever one say-all!

The support for the St. Kitts Labor Party has waned on Nevis due to some factors outside the financial capabilities of an under-developed economy that continues to be exploited from colonial times to the present. As a Nevisian taxi-driver argued to his anti-Labor passenger:

Nevisians must work hard for the future of Nevis, and mustn't blame all Nevisian problems on the Government. Some people expect things too fast and don't expect to work for them. When things bad in the U.S. or Britain, they bad here, and Labor can't help that.

As sources of conflict remain, however, political animosity between the two islands will continue. Unemployment, low wages, agricultural decline, infrastructural deterioration (in the roads and water supply), and rise in cost of living acerbate the Nevisians to accuse the St. Kitts government of withholding funds

for progress. That the St. Kitts government has neither the finances nor the resources to rectify these sources of discontent on either Nevis or St. Kitts is obvious. Its mono-crop sugar cane economy dominated by world sugar markets, can neither predict profits from sugar cane, the sum total of which is grown on private plantations, nor alleviate the cited problems persistent in both of the island societies. For the plantation system of St. Kitts "generates serious resource misallocation in the plantation economy, with resulting high social costs to the societies concerned" (Beckford 1972a:182).

Social Services on Nevis

A hospital, permanently staffed by nurses, nurses' aides, and orderlies, serves the island. There are also a number of health centres with qualified nurses to handle minor medical problems. Since only one doctor resides on the island, his services are severely pressed; rotating weekly visits from doctors in St. Kitts attempt to alleviate the severe physician shortage. Optometrists and dentists are available in St. Kitts.

Educational facilities are beginning to improve for Nevisians, although the overcrowded schools, shortage of equipment and teaching personnel aggravate the learning situation. There is one secondary school on the island, and primary schools in each parish. Thus,

there are facilities for all pupils between 5 and 14 years of age; and free secondary education for pupils who "can benefit from it".

In 1969, the St. Kitts government established a teacher training college for the purpose of instructing the present and future teachers of the two islands. In 1971, a technical college was opened to students from the State.

The British system of education is adhered to as students in their final forms prepare for examinations of the ordinary and advanced level G.O.E., as well as the Royal Society of Arts exams. Although executed in the Caribbean, the exams are set in London. The Minister of Education hopes in the future, however, to adopt an educational scheme specific to the needs and historical background of West Indian students.

Clubs and Societies

There are three prominent clubs which function on Nevis: The Lions Club, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and The Oddfellows. There are also two friendly societies (explained below): The Black and White, and The Heart and Hand.

Recently formed in May 1971, The Lions Club is a branch of Lions International. Its membership fees range from \$100 B.W.I. upward a year, and its members constitute the upper echelon of Nevisian society, that is the older and wealthier Nevisian men.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce, in existence for over a decade, is composed of much younger Nevisian men and women, that is between the ages of 18 to 40, and from the middle and upper income families. Its once exclusive membership, including no women, is changed. Today it is a community service club purporting to also be a training ground for island leaders.

The Oddfellows, a branch of The International Order of Odd-fellows, is over 20 years old. Although it professes to embrace all income brackets, its members are mainly from the middle to upper income group, and are the much older male members of the community. The female contingent to this club is the The Household of Ruth. Both "offer each other protection and world brotherhood". Unlike the other clubs, their attendance at meetings is large because a fine is imposed on absent members.

Thus these clubs serve as an indication of status within the community. More important is that none of these clubs are West Indian in origin, but rather affiliates of governing chapters in the metropolitan countries, particularly the United States. By remitting monies to the metropolitan clubs for such requisite items as dues, insignia, and other paraphernalia, the club members in the neo-colonies are instilled with a sense of superiority over their countrymen.

The friendly societies, on the other hand, ultimately derive their leadership from counterparts in other West Indian Islands. The head of the Heart and Hand society is from St. Kitts. The friendly societies on Nevis are the oldest clubs on the island. Their membership is derived from the lower income brackets, and they are men and women of middle and old age. The main function of friendly societies is to attend funerals of members; the Black and White attire themselves in those colors and the Heart and Hand wear all white at funerals. The club dues are approximately \$1.00 a month, or "what you can give". Meetings occur every three months, for purposes of recording the dues in the "dues book". Most join a friendly society when ill, and the money for dues is used to help the member when sick, and to insure that the member has a proper burial. A fine is imposed on any member who does not attend a funeral of another member.

Religious Affiliation

There are many churches and sects on the island. While most Nevisians are formally baptised in a church, it seems that many from the lower income segment hold membership in a sect rather than in a church. This statement is of course subject to verification, and perhaps could focus as a problem for future study, that is whether income and social position affect religious affiliation. Gary Schwartz (n.d.)

in an unpublished paper presents data to reveal that in Charlestown, the local elites and successful farmers belong to established churches.

The established churches on the island are the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Methodist. The sects include the Pilgrim Holiness, Pilgrim Brethren, Seventh Day Adventist, and Jehovah's Witnesses. There are also a number of pentecostal groups such as the Church of God, and the Bethel Church of God. All of the sects and established churches are ultimately administered by their counterparts in the United States or Britain. The pentecostal groups, however, can be considered independent of the metropolitan countries, as their origins derive mainly from other West Indian islands.

Summary

This chapter has presented a description of the physical and cultural geography of Nevis as well as a discussion of the socio-economic position of this former plantation society.

The economy of Nevis is now dependent on remittances. This dependency is hardly unique in the Caribbean (see for instance J. Crane 1971, and Manners 1965). For the Nevisian cash crop grower, there is no longer a market for sugar cane and cotton meets dismal returns, unless the new agricultural scheme for its re-introduction proves favorable. Nevis is not, however, non-productive. Rather, her production is concentrated in market garden fruits and vegetables designed for an internal market.

Since employment opportunities are negligible, the Nevisian has little alternative but to emigrate. Emigration serves as a population valve by regulating the high unemployment on the island. As emigration robs Nevis of the most economically productive segment of its population, it presents grave implications for future socio-economic development programs for the island. Because the government is presently unable to offer the monetary rewards of the metropolitan countries, development schemes like the Cades Bay Co-operative are doomed to failure.

Although remittances serve to provide the Nevisian with the necessary cash to maintain a particular life style, they also serve to perpetuate a perennial metropolitan-satellite relationship with Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. Nevisian resources in the form of cheap labor continue to be exploited by the metropolitan country. This exploitation exists within the religious and social sectors of Nevisian society as well, where the middle class Nevisian pays allegiance to church and club headquarters in the metropolitan countries.

RESEVOIR

STONEY
HILL

RAWLINS

HARD TIMES
ESTATE

OLD MANOR
ESTATE

GOLDEN
ROCK
ESTATE

TO MARKET
SHOP

ZETLANDS

KEY

SCALE 1 INCH = 100 YARDS

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ = FOOTPATH

===== = CEMENT ROAD (AND

PARTIALLY CEMENT)

● = HOUSEHOLDS SURVEYED

□ = RUM SHOP

CHAPTER III

THE GEOGRAPHY AND POPULATION OF RAWLINS VILLAGE

A : Physical Geography

The village of Rawlins is located in the parish of St. George Gingerland. Situated on the south-east side of Mt. Nevis, Rawlins is located between the 1200 feet and 1000 feet level of the mountain.

Due to the high altitude, Rawlins receives a total annual rainfall of between 60 and 80 inches. The soils surrounding Rawlins are lithosol containing the brown-yellow earths which are quite productive (Gordon Merrill 1958).

The village of Rawlins may be divided into two separate settlements, that of Rawlins and Hard Times. Rawlins is the settlement situated just above the 1000 feet level of the mountain which Frucht studied in 1962 and I re-studied. Hard Times is the recent settlement which is situated in the former cane fields of Hard Times Estate below the 900 feet level of the mountain, (see Map 3).

For purposes of determining changes in household composition and production in Rawlins today with that of Frucht's work nearly a decade ago, only the settlement of Rawlins is to be focused upon.

As Hard Times came into existence only just recently, and much after Frucht's study, it is to be considered a separate village, unless otherwise indicated.

B : Cultural Geography

The majority of the 28 inhabited houses in Rawlins are located along a gravel road which stretches over 350 yards. Four foot paths, each about 100 feet long emanate from this main road; along each are situated two or three houses. The mode of transportation along these roads is by donkey or foot. Only one resident owns and operates a vehicle, for purposes of taxiing residents to and from Charlestown.

The village of Rawlins extends over thirty acres of land, the more elevated overgrown with fruit trees, or uncultivable due to extensive rocky soils. There are two small shops, known as rum shops. One is a franchise of a larger operation in Charlestown. The other is owned by a former resident who moved down the hill to Market Shop and manages another rum shop there. Each of these shops sells canned goods, salt fish, potatoes, sweets, and liquor.

Water

Water for Rawlins and most of Nevis is drawn from the reservoir further up the mountain and north of Rawlins. The source of the reservoir's funds is two springs from the Windward side of the

mountain. The water from the reservoir fills three small government cement tanks in Rawlins, each of which are situated to the side of the main Rawlins road. Most of the residents trek to the government tanks for water; six of the village households can afford a private government pipe running into their yards or houses.

Electricity

Electricity reached Rawlins in December 1971. Only one home, however, has been "hooked up". For the remainder of homes, monthly rental, or remoteness from the transformers, are the deterrents. In the past, kerosene served to lighten up the homes of Rawlins, and for many will probably continue to do so.

The village complex of Rawlins and Hard Times is but one of three settlement units located within a mile of each other. To the south-west of Rawlins is Zetlands, and to the north-east is Stoney Hill.

C : The Population of Rawlins

From my survey, the population of Rawlins in 1971 was 133, consisting of 60 males and 73 females, centred in 28 households. In 1962, the population was 171, with 85 males and 86 females, in 41 households.

TABLE 11a

Population of Rawlins

Male and Female

<u>Age</u>	<u>1962</u> No.	<u>1971</u> No.	<u>1962</u> %	<u>1971</u> %
0-4	23	17	13.5	12.8
5-14	52	43	30.4	32.3
15-24	29	28	17.0	21.1
25-44	22	8	12.9	6.0
45-64	37	25	21.6	18.8
65-	8	12	4.7	9.0

Male

<u>Age</u>	<u>1962</u> No.	<u>1971</u> No.	<u>1962</u> %	<u>1971</u> %
0-4	10	12	11.8	20.0
5-14	29	16	34.1	26.7
15-24	10	13	11.8	21.7
25-44	10	4	11.8	6.7
45-64	22	8	25.9	13.3
65-	4	7	4.7	11.7

Female

<u>Age</u>	<u>1962</u> No.	<u>1971</u> No.	<u>1962</u> %	<u>1971</u> %
0-4	13	5	15.1	6.8
5-14	23	27	26.7	37.0
15-24	19	15	22.1	20.5
25-44	12	4	14.0	5.5
45-64	15	17	17.4	23.3
65-	4	5	4.7	6.8

TABLE 11b

Population of Rawlins

<u>Sex</u>	<u>1962</u>		<u>1971</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Male	85	49.7	60	45.1
Female	86	50.3	73	54.9
Total	171	100.0	133	100.0

Excess of Females over Males

<u>Age</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1971</u>
0-4	3	-7
5-14	-6	11
15-24	9	2
25-44	2	0
45-64	-7	9
65-	0	-2
Total	1	13

Sex Ratio

<u>Age</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1971</u>
0-4	.7692	2.4
5-14	1.2609	.5926
15-24	.5263	.8667
25-44	.8333	0
45-64	1.4667	.4706
65-	0	1.4

The decline in population can be attributed to: death from natural causes, and the Christena disaster; residents moving down from the mountain "into the light", i.e. to other parts of Nevis, such as Market Shop or Charlestown (only 2 residents from 1 household moved to Hard Times); permanent and recurrent migration from the island. The village itself no longer extends as far up the mountain as it did a decade ago. A resident explains why:

Nobody going up in the mountain; all keep down here. Only some old people up there now. These young people done build below and won't go up in mountain because it just plain big. All move down to better road and doctor and water; no doctor go up there because the road so bad and no water up there.

As Table 11a indicates, the number of men and women between the ages of 25 and 44 drops from 22/171 in 1962 to 8/133 in 1971. Important too are the number of women who now emigrate; the number of women living in Rawlins (in this age bracket) drops from 12/86 in 1962 to 4/73 in 1971. This indicates that women are either accompanying or joining their mates abroad, or are leaving independent of a mate.

The number of men between the ages of 15 and 24 who are living in Rawlins increases from 10/85 to 13/60. This may be due to a decline in male emigration in this age bracket, which could be affected by a number of factors. The strict immigration laws in

both Britain and the U.S., Virgin Islands may be a deterrent. The higher unemployment rates in Canada and the United States may also be a factor. Or, and more likely, the Rawlins youth may be remaining longer on the island to earn more money to cover increased travel and living expenses both on Nevis and in the metropolitan countries of intended emigration. (Although remittances may provide much of the travel costs, some monetary contribution from the prospective emigrant is expected.)

In the 45-64 age bracket, the number of men drops sharply from 22/85 in 1962 to 8/60 in 1971. This decrease is the result of a greater number of deaths amongst these men, and migration.

Another change in the population structure of Rawlins is the increase in the percentage of elderly Rawlins residents. For 1962, 8/171 of the population is 65 or over; in 1971 this rises to 12/133. Better medical facilities and improved diets can be considered as factors for this increase.

Finally, the sex-ratio imbalance increases over the decade. In 1962, the ratio is 85 males to 86 females, or nearly 1:1. In 1971, the ratio is 60 males to 73 females, or 1:1.22. This change is due to greater longevity amongst women, and emigration.

TABLE 12a

Rate of Emigration from Rawlins off Nevis

	<u>53-62</u>	<u>62-71</u>
Total Population	218	193
Total emigration	47	60
% of Population emigrated	21.6	31.1
Total number of households	41	28
% of households with emigrants	46.3	75.0

TABLE 12b

Emigration from Rawlins off Nevis 1962-1971, by sex

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Population in 1971	133	60	73
Emigration since 1962	60	30	30
Total population	193	90	103
Emigration as % of total pop.	31.1%	33.3%	29.1%

TABLE 12c

Emigration from Rawlins 1962-71

Recurrent		Permanent		Other Parts of Nevis (permanent, no recurrent)	
<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
25	20	5	10	4	9
Ratio: 5:4		1:2		1:2.25	

What is of significance here is a situation where Rawlins residents, especially women are living longer, and the suggestion that this is the case for Nevis itself. If this is so, then within the next decade, the island's population can expect to rise significantly, especially as life expectancy increases. In what way the island and the government adapts to a population increase from an economically unproductive age group remains to be seen. This has further repercussions when it is realized that the most economically productive age group, that is those between the ages of 25 and 44, continue to leave and remain off the island. That leaves an actual labor force of comparatively small proportions.

As Table 12 a indicates, the rate of emigration from Rawlins has increased from 21.6% to 31.1%, or from 47/218 to 60/193. Within the last decade, (as 12 c shows), more men than women emigrate on a recurrent basis. More women than men, however, permanently migrate to other parts of Nevis or off the island. This is due to women marrying outside of Rawlins and establishing residence in the husband's village, or country. Moreover, as Otterbein notes (1965:69), when there is an excess of women over men in a marriageable age bracket, women may leave their home village in search of work, or migrate. For our purposes, however, it is the recurrent migration figures of 25 males to 20 females in which we are most interested, since this is the only type of migration which

Gonzalez considers essential for the formation of consanguineal households.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN RAWLINS

A : Economic History of Rawlins: a synopsis

The village of Rawlins was established after Emancipation quite probably by freed slaves who either bought or rented plots on the periphery of a sugar estate, above the level where cane was cultivated. That Rawlins was founded by manumitted slaves would seem feasible due to the number of families bearing the title "Free-man". Also, all the immediate post-emancipation settlements were situated on lands unsuitable for cane production, either on the upper mountain slopes just below the forests, or on the boundaries of dry lowlands. Thus Rawlins would fall into that former category. The one-time slave villages were older than Rawlins, and were founded either within the peripheries of the estate or on the boundary of two or more contiguous estates.

The economy of Rawlins had centred around the production of sugar cane and cotton, mainly on the nearby estates of Hard Times, Old Manor, Zetlands, and Golden Rock. In 1969, however, the government stopped purchasing sugar cane; and cotton, according to a former cultivator, "it die five years ago".

The former cane and cotton growers of Rawlins discuss the dire economic straits that envelop the community and the island today, while at the same time, presenting their picture of the past.

1. Mr. M. formerly planted cane and now plants yams on his $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of land behind his housespot. "It's two years since no work for a penny", explains Mr. M., since that is when the government stopped buying cane. Planting and selling yams no longer pays, because after Mr. M. gives earnings to the truck driver (to cart the yams to the Charlestown market) and the turnhand (to sell in the market), there is little left to cover his time and labor.

On his housespot of $\frac{1}{4}$ acre, Mr. M. grows household provisions such as cabbage, tomatoes, onions, and spices and herbs. At least 8 or 9 hours daily is spent working on the land, alone, as he can no longer find help. Most of what he plants he either eats or sells.

Mr. M. used to rent land from Old Manor Estate to plant cotton. The rent per year was based on the quality of the land, plus the number of acres. The number of acres which could be rented were based on the number of family members who could work the land, plus additional help. Thus, "if you got help, can run with 2 acres of cotton, but if just me and my wife, just 1 acre

of cotton". The rent for a 1 acre plot was \$8 a year for poorer land and \$10 a year for better quality land. During the "good years", especially between 1958 and 1960, the land could yield Mr. M. between 800 and 1,000 pounds of cotton, which earned \$0.10 a pound.

In 1961, Mr. M. stopped planting cotton since it was too unprofitable for the amount of labor and time that went into its production. He noted the decline in price since World War I when the amount paid was \$0.36 a pound. During this war period, the West Indies supplied Britain with part of its need for sugar and cotton. To facilitate the boom, a cotton ginnery and shed were built in Charlestown.

Since 1943, Mr. M. had also planted sugar cane at Stoney Hill, on the land of Mr. B. whose grandmother had raised them both. If the cane returns were profitable, Mr. M. gave Mr. B. "\$1 for my \$2". Thus if Mr. M. received \$400 in one crop year, he would pay \$100 to the truck driver who picked up, and transported the cane to the barge; then he would pay Mr. B. \$100 and himself \$200.

In the past, reminisced Mr. M.:

we had grinding machinery to reap, now
everything gone right down, now nothing to drag

cane from Nevis to St. Kitts; nothing here for poor people to do. There was time when all cotton used to go to England but now whole of Nevis is pure bush. Everything gone to nothing. We can't grow cotton because no market for it. We's the planter, cultivate the land and when we done, don't get nothing.

2. Another Rawlins farmer, Mr. L., grew cane on his family land of 1 acre in Zetlands Estate until 1968. He also grew cane on Hamilton's Estate (which is government owned), on a $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre plot which he rented for \$3 an acre. He gave up the land because "it didn't pay".

Mr. L. used to plant cotton at McFarlanes Estate (privately owned) on a share basis, where "you got 2 pounds and they (the owners) got 1 pound." This continued from the 1940s into the 1950s, until it proved unprofitable.

3. Mr. F. planted cane from 1936 until 1968. But now "just go up hill for grass, because so dry. Cut all cane down now." He once grew 20 tons of cane, and hired over 20 people to cut the cane and load it into the truck. Wages paid to cutters were \$3 for a 7-hour day. Mr. F. received \$7 per ton of cane; thus earned \$140 a year, plus the government bonus. The truck "always take half" of the profits, however, and the hired men "most of the rest", leaving little cash for Mr. F. himself.

Thus for the people of Rawlins, and Nevis:

what was keeping up this country now turning down is cotton and cane. You work at a thing, children and all, and whatever to come you soon get it, but up to now, not one penny. No bonus nothing, no money they give. They shut down the work. Only land to run around and support life and make family. Otherwise God dead with you.

B : Present Economic Relations of Rawlins

Agriculture

Although Rawlins was once in the heart of the cane growing region, cash no longer accrues from that crop. In fact the reverse seems the case, according to one Rawlins farmer who comments that "cane still grow, but haven't cut no cane. Must find money to pay cane." In other words, the Rawlins farmer must still pay the tax for the land where the cane continues to ratoon, although the crop reaps no monetary rewards. To clear the land involves the kind of labor that this particular farmer, and many like him, can no longer afford.

Because cash crops have met their demise in this area, there is little for the farmer to do except plant ground provisions and market garden produce for sale in the Charlestown and Gingerland markets. A decade ago, the economy of Rawlins centred more on sugar cane production for an external market. The present economy focuses on food crops for an internal market.

To grow market produce, particularly vegetables, involves both time and water; the Rawlins farmer has plenty of the former, but little of the latter. As he is unable to regulate the necessary amount of water for his crop, the farmer often finds himself idle.

From Monday to Monday only sit down doing nothing. Get up Monday, turn to land and see what you can work when rainfall. When no rain only working is sitting down doing nothing at all.

Another Rawlins farmer agrees with this plight:

All whole country in Nevis shut right down.
- No work in Nevis for man to do. When rain come you make have with something to do.

In spite of the apparent drawbacks in the production of market provisions, the Rawlins growers state that although they receive "no wage" from these vegetables, they "don't get no food out of cotton or cane."

Market garden production is not to be confused with ground provision cultivation. Market garden produce includes vegetables such as cabbage, lettuce, tomatoes, cucumbers, onions, as well as herbs such as thyme, rosemary, basil, and parsley. Ground provisions include tuberous crops such as cassava, yams and pumpkin. The more time and energy consuming of the two is market garden cultivation as it requires constant weeding and watering (if available).

TABLE 13

Cumulative Distribution of Households Cultivating
Ground Provisions by Size of Plot

	1962		1971	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
Less than 1/4 acre	6	6:41	11	11:28
Less than 1/2 acre	11	11:41	16	16:28
Less than 1 acre	16	16:41	19	19:28
Less than 2 acres	22	22:41	22	22:28
Less than 3 acres	25	25:41	24	24:28
Total H.H. in village, <u>No.</u>	41		28	

As indicated in Table 13, 25/41 households cultivated ground provisions; 9 of those were engaged in large-scale production. In 1971, 24/28 households cultivated ground provisions; 5 were involved in large-scale production. In 1962, 16 of 25 growers cultivated less than 1 acre; but in 1971, 19 of 24 growers cultivated less than 1 acre.

From these figures we may conclude that most Rawlins households cultivate some ground provisions. Although there are 2 households which cultivate over 2 acres each, (a decrease of 1 household within the last decade), there are more households cultivating on a smaller scale. Moreover, ground provision cultivation today is restricted to plots of land away from (rather than on or near) the house spot. This is because ground provisions, which require little care, are planted in former cane fields.

The main reason then, for the drop in large-scale cultivation of ground provisions is their unprofitability. As explained previously, Nevis no longer exports these provisions to the U.S. Virgin Islands. Another factor is the dwindling market in St. Kitts that declined after the Christena disaster. Finally, the increase in remittances means that the household is no longer dependent on uncertain crop markets.

TABLE 14

Households cultivating market provisions

	1962		1971	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
Less than 1 acre	6	6:41	18	18:28
Greater than 1 acre	3	3:41	2	2:28
Total cultivating	9	9:41	20	20:28
Total H.H. in village	41		28	

In 1962, only 9 of the 41 households in Rawlins grew market garden vegetables; 3 of them cultivated over 1 acre of land. In 1971, 20 of the 28 households grew market produce; 2 of these cultivated over 1 acre of land. From this can be derived another important change in household production.

More Rawlins households are growing market garden produce today, and most of these are cultivating on very small plots. This change can also be explained in terms of depressed cash crop markets and increased remittances.

Whereas a decade ago, market garden consumption was mainly confined to the more affluent Nevilians who could afford their high cost, this does not seem the norm today. The reason why more Rawlins households have the time to expend on market garden production for home use is due to their receipt of remittances, and the demise of sugar cane.

Market garden produce today tends to be grown on the house-spot, that is on the land where the house is situated. Ground provisions, on the other hand, tend to be grown on rented land away from the house. One reason for this is the intense care required in market garden production compared to the uninvolved nature of ground provision cultivation. Another reason is likely due to the market produce being more for "home use". Most of the market growers that I spoke with explained that "we eat and what we have left we sell".

In 1962 Frucht observed that ground provisions served as an insurance crop when cash crops drop or fail:

It appears, however, that the household rarely gives up its small plot of provisions grown on the housespot or mountain land in the traditional manner (1966:130).

Because market vegetables are now grown on the housespot, rather than ground provisions, it seems that market produce has succeeded ground provisions as the insurance crop.

Thus, rather than engage in the large-scale production of both ground provisions and market produce, most Rawlins households are confining themselves to the cultivation of small plots of market vegetables and ground provisions grown on less than 1 acre. This change in the scale of household cultivation has been explained in terms of these three factors, each of which are summarized below:

- (1) increasing reliance on receipt of remittances; (2) unavailability of hired labor due to rise in costs and large-scale emigration;
- (3) net input of labor surpasses output.

(1) Increasing Reliance on Receipt of Remittances

TABLE 15

Households Receiving Remittances

	1962		1971	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Total H.H. in village	41	100.0	28	100.0
H.H. with migrants	22	53.7	21	75.0
H.H. receiving remittances	17	41.5	20	71.4
H.H. receiving less than \$100 yr.	4	9.8	8	28.6
H.H. receiving between \$100-\$300 yr.	9	22.0	7	25.0
H.H. receiving more than \$300 yr.	4	9.8	5	17.9
Total Amount of Remittances	\$5,185.00		\$6,555.00	
Average Amount of Remittances per year per household	\$ 305.00		\$ 327.75	

An important distinction to be made here that Frucht failed to note in 1962 is that his figures focus only upon those households

receiving remittances. Thus, his high figure of \$305 as an average amount of remittances received per year per household, applies only to those households actually receiving remittances. These 17 households, however, constitute only 41.5% of the total 41 households in Rawlins. The majority of households did not receive remittances in 1962.

That situation is no longer the case. From a total of 28 households, 20 or 71.4% receive remittances. The average amount of remittances received annually in those households has increased to \$327.75.

Another important distinction must be made in explaining these remittance figures. Like most Nevilians, Rawlins residents are reticent to discuss income figures, particularly the yearly amount of remittances received. In other words, these cited figures are probably much lower than the amounts actually received by the households.

(2) Unavailability of Hired Labor

These figures in Table 16 indicate that Rawlins residents are no longer hiring as much outside help as they did a decade ago. Whereas, for 1962, 14 of the 41 households hire outside help, for 1971 only 6/28 hire help. Moreover, it is now the norm for the house-

hold to utilize only its own labor, with no hired help. Thus for 1962, 12 make use of household labor only; for 1971 this rate soars to 20. Finally, the number of people who no longer cultivate decreases from 15 in 1962 to 2 in 1971. This further proves that more households are cultivating small plots of market garden and ground provisions.)

TABLE 16

Kind of Labor

<u>Kind</u>	1962		1971	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
Total households in village	41		28	
Household Labour only	12	12:41	20	20:28
H.H. and Hired Labor	14	14:41	5	5:28
Hired Labor only	0	0	1	1:28
No H.H. production and no use of labor of any kind	15	15:41	2	2:28

The decrease in the use of hired labor is probably the result of emigration from Rawlins, the high cost of wages, and the shift from large-scale production to small-scale.

A Rawlins farmer declares that now he "don't find men to work. They all leave the island or become apprentices; no one wants to work the land." A complaint from another farmer is that the help "want money but they don't means to work".

The means for measuring the amount of work and the wage that a laborer receives is determined by the number of tasks performed. There are two types of tasks. The work task is 50 rods long and the farmer owns a 10 foot rod to measure the distance. The hired man is paid \$2.50 for this task, which consists of hoeing and forking the land. On good land, the task may take only 1 1/4 hrs to complete; on rocky land it may require up to 4 hours.

The time task is the amount of work done in 4 hours, that is from 7 to 11 A.M., usually about 45 rods. The laborer is paid from \$2.50 to \$3 plus breakfast of sugar-water and a \$0.05. bread.

TABLE 17

The Changing Task

	<u>1962</u>	<u>1971</u>
Number of rods	40 to 45	40 to 45
Wages for men	\$1.25 to \$1.50	\$2.50 to \$3.00
Breakfast of sugar-water and	\$0.01 bread	\$0.05 bread

A woman's wage is standard. She is paid \$1.00 plus breakfast, for weeding the land, and works from 7 to 11 A.M.

Although the wages for men have risen to the point where one farmer exclaims that "it's extortionic", women's wages have remained static for a decade. It seems as Frucht suggested, that

as more remittances enter the household, fewer women sell their labor. Moreover, as M.G. Smith notes (1956:295-312), this departure from selling their labor for purposes of weeding the land is more a declaration of female freedom and, I suggest an indication of increase in status. There are no women in Rawlins who weed land for a wage, although they weed their own land. Thus, any increase in female wages would probably fail to attract many women into that form of labor.

When mono-crop cultivation was lucrative, entire family households took part in its planting and harvesting. Traditionally, the hoeing and forking of the land were undertaken by the men; planting and weeding were done by the women. Harvesting was the work of men, women, and children.

This specific sexual division of labor no longer exists. Planting and weeding are duties done by all in the household, regardless of sex. The division of labor today is more determined by availability of labor than by sex or age. For Rawlins, where so many of its people between the ages of 25 to 44 are off the island, farming appears to be the work of the very young, the old, and often, the women.

TABLE 18

Household Income and Household Cultivation

House	Yearly Remittances (Estimated)	Family Size	Amount of Land Cultivated	Amount of Time on Land	Amount of Wages
	\$		<u>Acres</u>	<u>hrs.</u>	\$
1	2,400	4	1/16	1/2 if rain	
2	2,400	2	none		
3	1,200	3	1/8	1 1/2 if rain	400/yr.
4	1,200	5	1/16	if rain	
5	250	4	1 3/4	3	100/mo.
6	240	5	1/2	6	
7	150	29	1 3/4	6	175/yr.
8	100	4	1/4	6	
9	100	2	1/4	1 (Some welfare money as mate is crippled)	
10	60	8	1/8	1/2 if rain	80/mo.
11	60	7	3 1/4	8	
12	50	2	2 3/4	8 - 10	
13	25	2	1/2	6	
14	0	7		6	

(3) Net input of labor surpasses output

Like his counterparts throughout the world, the Rawlins farmer knows the value of his labor. If the amount of time and energy expended in the cultivation of his land reaps an adequate or better crop, including either enough to feed him or pay for his sustenance, then his labor is worthwhile. If, on the other hand, his labor input surpasses that which is produced, then he is receiving less than his labor is worth. Moreover, I propose that if a Rawlins resident is in receipt of remittances, and/or wages from other work, then the amount of time and energy expended on his land is ^{INVERSELY} proportional to the amount of remittances and/or wages received by the household.

Table 18 demonstrates that those households which receive a substantial amount in remittances yearly, do minimal cultivation on the land. Also, as the amount in remittances received diminishes, the amount of work put into the land increases, except where wage work constitutes the main source of family income, as in the case of households 5 and 10. Household 7 with 29 members, is one single family unit of the mother, father, their children, and unmarried children's children. This family receives proportionally little in the form of remittances, and able family members cultivate the land, or (in the case of 3 members) obtain wage work.

Farming is no easy task, and market garden cultivation which requires intensive care is no exception. The four households in Rawlins that do cultivate market produce and ground provisions on a large-scale spend from "sunrise to sunset" on the land. These four households receive no substantial support from remittances, which is in line with the proposition that outside income affects the amount of labor expended on household land. The amount of time and energy spent on the land reaps few rewards, but if there is no other income source, "what else to do". The Rawlins farmer realizes that in a marginal economy like that of Nevis, there are few alternatives aside from earning a living through farming.

Mr. L. is the most renowned of the Rawlins farmers; visiting agriculturalists often inspect his outstanding variety of vegetables. Until 1968, Mr. L. grew sugar cane; since then he has devoted his time and his land to harvesting some of the finest garden produce on Nevis. On the 1/4 acre in Zetlands, which his wife inherited, Mr. L. grows tomatoes, cabbage, cauliflour, chard, vanivist (peas), cucumber, corn, maize, beans, carrots, egg plant, paw-paw, christophene, green and red peppers, and three different types of lettuce (which in itself is unusual for Nevis).

Mr. L. works the land from "sunrise to sunset", that is from 6 A.M. until 6 or 7 P.M. during 6 1/2 days of the week; part of

Sunday is devoted to leisure. Because his wife has a bad hip, she is unable to help him in the fields. When there is an abundance of rain and "the land is plentiful", Mr. L. hires a young boy to help pick the crops. The boy is paid \$2 for 4 hours of work, but "sometimes he gone and you don't see him". In the past, Mr. L. hired up to 4 men to help him plant and pick, at \$2.50 a task. Today, due to emigration, and apprentice labor, Mr. L. "don't find men to work".

In order that it would be easier for him to water the land, Mr. L. constructed a dirt reservoir. It is approximately 12 feet by 4 feet by 4 feet, held fast by large rocks around the top. From the reservoir, Mr. L. carries the water in a wheelbarrow to the many rows of vegetables. When there are periods of drought, however, the water in the reservoir sinks into the parched earth. For this reason, Mr. L. has begun to cement the reservoir, although its completion is hindered by the high cost of cement. The corner, just finished, required three bags of cement at \$3.50 a bag. His brother, who owns a truck, takes the cement up to Rawlins; then Mr. L. loads the bags onto his donkey and leads the animal up to the land.

Mr. L. must also buy manure which costs \$14 a truckload, (and which originates from the sheep in Bath Village in Charlestown,

St. Paul parish). For pest and insect control, he buys 'Sevin' and borrows a spray can from an American. When that isn't available, Mr. L. uses "the local", that is, he mixes 'Sevin' in a pan with water, takes a palm leaf and dips it in the pan, and then brushes the plant.

Mr. L.'s wife sells the fruits and vegetables of their land in the Charlestown market on Tuesday and Saturday mornings. Depending on the quality and quantity of her goods and others in the Market, she may earn an average of \$30 a week.

There is little doubt that Mr. L. is one of the hardest working and most innovative farmers on Nevis. But at 59, he is one of the few hard core farmers left in Rawlins. Both he and his wife believe that young Nevisians no longer wish to work the land. "They all want the fine things like new cars to drive around, but won't work the land. They spend a dollar before they make one." Although the time and energy expended on the land does not reap actual monetary rewards, it does give Mr. and Mrs. L. "food in the belly and work when there is none".

Wage Labor

The alternative to farming for the Rawlins resident is wage labor, if obtainable. The types of jobs available can be divided into three categories, depending on the degree of skill and wage.

The first category is the monthly salaried position and it offers the most pay and permanence. Civil servants and teachers comprise this category. The only household in Rawlins receiving a monthly salary is that of the government water foreman. Although he has been employed in that position for the last 17 years, he is still hired on a monthly basis, and consequently enjoys no job security. His duties require him to work seven days a week, and his wage is \$100 a month. Only once in his period of employment has he received a raise in salary; it was presented in the lump sum of \$360, four years ago.

The second category is the weekly salaried position. This includes shop clerks; foremen on government estates; and technically skilled laborers such as electricians, telephone engineers, and mechanics. In Rawlins, weekly wages are earned by a shop clerk in one household, and an electrician and telephone engineer in another household.

The third category is the job offering daily or task wages. This encompasses government employed agricultural and public works laborers, as well as "apprentice" workers for stone masons and carpenters. Domestic servants and tourist resort laborers also fall into this category, although wages vary considerably, since foreign employers tend to be more "generous" than their

Nevisian counterparts. There are nine households which undertake some type of labor in this category. These positions are, for the most part temporary, designed to employ the individual on an occasional basis only. Five of the nine households in this category can be considered to be employed on a part-time basis; the other four "work when it come".

TABLE 19

Households Engaged in Wage Labor

<u>Form of Labor</u>	<u>No. of H.H.</u>	
	<u>1962</u>	<u>1971</u>
Monthly	1	1
Weekly	4	2
Daily (mainly part-time)	13	9
TOTAL	18	12
Percentage of total households in the community	18:41 or 45.9%	12:28 or 42.9%

Within the last decade, only minimal change has taken place in the number of households engaged in wage labor. This is hardly surprising since persons who acquire skills soon emigrate to more lucrative employment prospects. This is confirmed by the figures in Table 19 which reveal that most wage work is of an unskilled kind, that is, it is paid on a daily basis. In actual fact,

the job is unreliable as a viable means of family support since it constitutes occasional rather than regular labor.

Land Tenure

Although opportunities for wage work are minimal, there is always the land to fall back on. With the receipt of larger remittances, there are households that try to buy more land.

As stated previously, there are two ways in which land may be owned, either by way of inheritance or purchase. Inherited land can be of two types. One type is that in which a will has been drawn up, for purposes of specifying what portion of land will be given to which family members. The other type is land inherited jointly by the heirs of the owner. This latter type is known as "family"land. Since one of the heirs usually lives on the land while the others work the same land, quarrels and sometimes land litigation result. One Rawlins household is engaged in a land battle that is being contested in the Court.

The other way in which land may be owned, through purchase, is referred to as buy land. It is more prestigious than inherited land. It is becoming increasingly more difficult, however, to purchase land, since prices have soared due to the number of sales to foreign buyers and land speculators.

TABLE 20
Housespot Tenure

	1962		1971	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
Bought	6	6:41	3	3:28
Inherited	20	20:41	14	14:28
Rented	10	10:41	9	9:28
Other Arrangement	5	5:41	2	2:28
Total	41		28	

Few changes in housespot tenure have occurred in Rawlins within the last decade. The number of purchased housespots has declined, from 6/41 in 1962 to 3/28 in 1971. This change can be attributed to the high cost of land, and the availability of former sugar cane fields for housespot rental. In other words, the only inexpensive land available to Nevisians on which to construct a home, is the government estate plots that are rented out.

The number of inherited housespots has changed from 20/41 in 1962 to 14/28 in 1971. This is primarily the result of the death of the occupant(s) and migration from Rawlins.

TABLE 21

Households with Parcels of Land, besides Housespot

	1962		1971	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
Total Number	31	31:41	21	21:28
H.H. with rented Parcels	21	21:41	8	8:28
H.H. with owned Parcels	20	20:41	15	15:28
H.H. Inherited	9	9:20	13	13:15
H.H. Bought	8	8:20	1	1:15
H.H. Inherited & Bought	<u>3</u>	3:20	<u>1</u>	1:15
Total H.H.	41		28	

Table 21 indicates two significant changes in land tenure in Rawlins. First, the number of rented parcels of land decreases from 21/41 in 1962 to 8/28 in 1972. This can be explained in terms of the demise of sugar cane cultivation on Nevis and in the Rawlins area. Formerly, farmers rented plots of land to plant cane, but when St. Kitts stopped purchasing cane from Nevis, there was no reason for the farmers to continue renting the land.

The second change is the decline in buy land, that is the land purchased by Rawlins residents. Whereas in 1962, 8/20 own land which has been purchased, in 1971, only 1/15 owns buy land. This is because much of the buy land quoted for 1962 was actually purchased just before and after World War II. Within the last decade, most of those owners have passed away, and their descendants have inherited the land. Hence there is the increase in inherited land, from 9/41 in 1962 to 13/28 in 1971.

The actual decline in the purchase of land within the last decade, can be attributed to the exorbitant land prices now the norm on Nevis. Thirty years ago, when most Rawlins residents purchased land, one acre of cultivable land could be bought for a maximum of \$150. Today, one acre of land sells for a minimum of \$2,000 depending on its location, its view, and its proximity to the beach.

One Rawlins resident, a former farmer, earned an exceptional profit on a recent land sale to an American. In 1939, Mr. N. purchased one acre of land in Fountain, Windward parish for the price of \$130. He bought the land from an American who had acquired through purchase, a substantial portion of land in the 1920s. When another American recently inquired about buying land, a mutual friend introduced the American to Mr. N. Within days, Mr. N. sold this piece of land to the American for \$5,000 U.S. of nearly \$10,000 B.W.I. Thus, within the span of thirty years, Mr. N. noted the value of his land rise from \$139 to \$10,000. Within this context it is no wonder that the Rawlins resident is not as likely as were his parents, to buy land. Whether the buyer is local or not, the price of land remains exorbitant.

To conclude, the primary function of the land as a means of production can change under the control of speculators and

buyers from the metropolitan countries. Although the land continues to be exploited by these metropolitan interests, its primary function changes from producing cash crops to producing cash.

When land becomes more valuable as a commodity rather than as a cash crop producer, the exploitative relationship between the metropolitan owner and the neo-colony remains the same. What changes is the role of the farmer. Within the context of the present remittance economy of Nevis, his function is that of producing food crops for a small but constant internal market. Cash, available in the form of remittances, may not provide the excessive amounts paid by outside interests for land, but does provide for essential foodstuffs. The immediate benefits from remittances, however, do not negate the two-fold exploitation of the Nevisian, for both his labor in the metropolitan country and the land in his own neo-colony.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL RELATIONS IN RAWLINS

A : Household Structure

Nevisian dependency on emigration for requisite remittances has created important changes in the nature of the household .

For the Black Carib of Livingston Guatemala , Nancie Gonzalez writes that

the households in all their varieties may be best understood in terms of the interrelationships arising between adult men and women, which in themselves seem to be dependent on the economic situation... Throughout life the household type of the Black Carib will be directly related to the amount and source of cash income they can command - through labour if they are males and through males if they are females (1969:83).

From this situation emerges a particular household type, the consanguineal household, which "alleviates or compensates for the disruptive effects of ongoing changes in the economic system (op.cit.:9)."

The consanguineal household serves as an acceptable alternative to the affinal one, until such time as the male achieves economic security either through economically viable employment at home, or through savings acquired from migrant labor abroad.

TABLE 22

Household Type in Rawlins

<u>Type</u>	1962*		1971**		1971***	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Ratio</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Ratio</u>
Consanguineal H.H. (comprised of one or more women plus children)	9	9:41	10	10:28	14	14:28
Affinal H.H.	16	16:41	13	13:28	9	9:28
Single male H.H.	12	12:41	4	4:28	4	4:28
Miscellaneous	4	4:41	1	1:28	1	1:28
Total Households	41		28		28	

* Data from field notes of Richard Frucht, based on census carried out in November 1962.

** Data based on census carried out in July 1971.

*** Data based on material collected in early September 1971.

Gonzalez stresses that the consanguineal household is neither stable nor self-sustaining.

Rather it is always found as one of a series of forms, all of which are unstable and may readily change from one to another (ibid:138).

This point is illustrated in Table 22. In the period between November of 1962 and July of 1971, there appears to be an increase of only one consanguineal household. Yet from July of 1971 to September of 1971, there is an increase of 4 consanguineal households. This serves to demonstrate the dynamic nature of the household type. In other words, the household type may switch from affinal to

consanguineal at any time, if the economic security of the man becomes uncertain. Thus over the period of a decade, a household with recurrent migrants may often switch from affinal to consanguineal when the migrant(s) return and leave. At the time of my stay, at least 4 of the affinal households were in such economic straits that the men were preparing to emigrate again, with the result that these households were to change from affinal in July to consanguineal by September. During my survey, two male household heads left for the Virgin Islands, one for St. Maarten, and one for Antigua. At the present time then, the number of consanguineal households in Rawlins increased to 14/28; the affinal decreased to 9: 28.

The other important change in household type in Rawlins is the decrease in the number of single male households, which is due to migration and death and will be explained more fully on page 108.

Another important change in the structure of the household is the increase in women as head of the household. The household head is "that person whom the community as well as the household members regard as the head of the domestic group (M.G. Smith 1962b: 15)". According to M.G. Smith:

domestic units based on cohabitation may have female heads if the male partner is ill, incapacitated, or otherwise dependent socially and economically on women (op.cit.:16).

Among West Indian "folk" or lower class, the rule is that the males head domestic groups based on their cohabitation, while females head units based solely on consanguine kinship (ibid:20).

Because the incidence of consanguineal households has increased in Rawlins, the number of female headed households would be expected to increase.

Whereas in 1962, the ratio of male to female heads was nearly 3 to 1, in 1971 the ratio has equalized to 1 to 1. This change is the result of a number of factors.

TABLE 23

Head of Household

1962		1971	
<u>Sex</u>	<u>No. of H.H. heads</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>No. of H.H. heads</u>
M	30	M	14
F	11	F	14
Ratio of approx. 3:1		Ratio of 1:1	

One of the factors in the rise of female-headed households is the higher mortality rate amongst men within the last decade. At least 3 males (2 of them single) and one female household head died on the Christena disaster. Five female heads succeeded

their mates who passed away. Three of these male household heads; however, were involved in recurrent migration; consequently these households changed from affinal to consanguineal each time the male head migrated. At the time of Frucht's survey, 2 of these 3 men were off the island; thus these households were considered consanguineal and female-headed.

The figures on recurrent migration from Rawlins indicate that more men than women leave on this basis. Some of these men are heads of established households, while others have fathered children and leave with the intention of eventually returning and establishing a household, once enough savings are earned.

On the other hand, none of the women involved in recurrent migration headed households. Many of these women were young mothers, however, who left their children in the care of the children's maternal grandmother.

It must be stressed that within the last decade, the household type does not shift in only one direction. Affinal households change to consanguineal when the male head leaves the island. Similarly, consanguineal households revert to affinal when husbands return from jobs off the island. Because a household was consanguineal a decade ago does not necessarily mean that it has remained so.

For example, Mr. and Mrs. B. were married in 1957. Within the year, Mr. B. migrated to England. He worked as a laborer and returned to Rawlins in the mid 1960s. Since then he worked as a carpenter, painter, or anything that "pays me what I'm worth". Most of his spare time was spent helping his wife and children grow foods crops. Mr. B. planned to leave the island as soon as enough cash could be earned for passage to "St. Maarten or the Virgin Islands".

The majority of household heads in Rawlins are between the ages of 45 and 65. While there are more women than men within this age bracket (see Table 11a, p. 67), there are more men over the age of 65. Two of these men are physically disabled or senile and their younger wives now assume responsibility for earning the family income.

Further changes in the specific composition of the household are evident in Table 24. The number of 2 Alternate Generations, that is households composed of grandmother and/or grandfather and their grandchildren, has increased from 5/41 in 1962, to 8/28 in 1971. The incidence of 3 Adjacent Generations, that is mother and/or father, their children, and their children's children has decreased from 12/41 to 4/28.

TABLE 22
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION IN RAWLINS

	1962 # households	1971 # households	1962 % households	1971 % households	1962 # members	1971 # members	1962 ave. size household	1971 ave. size household
SINGLE GENERATION	13	8	31.7	28.6	16	11	1.23	1.38
Single Person	11	5	26.8	17.9	12	5	1.09	1.00
Male	11	4	26.8	14.3	12	4	1.09	1.00
Female	0	1	0.0	3.6	0	1	0.00	1.00
Mating Couple	2	3	4.8	10.7	4	6	2.00	2.00
2 ADJACENT GENERATIONS	7	7	17.0	25.0	41	47	5.85	6.71
Nuclear Family	5	6	12.1	21.4	34	42	6.80	7.00
Denuded	2	1	4.8	3.6	7	5	3.50	5.00
Mother & Child	2	1	4.8	3.6	7	5	3.50	5.00
Father & Child	0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0.00	0.00
3 ADJACENT GENERATIONS	12	4	29.2	14.3	82	46	6.83	11.50*
Mo, Fa, & Ch & Groh	7	2	17.0	7.1	55	36	7.85	18.00*
Mo, Ch & Groh	5	2	12.1	7.1	27	10	5.40	5.00
Fa, Ch & Groh	0	0	00.0	0.0	0	0	0.00	0.00
2 ALTERNATE GENERATIONS	5	8	12.1	28.6	14	24	2.80	3.00
GrMo, GrFa & Groh	2	2	4.8	7.1	6	7	3.00	3.50
GrMo & Groh	2	6	4.8	21.4	5	17	2.50	2.83
GrFa & Groh	1	0	2.4	00.0	3	0	3.00	0.00
MISCELLANEOUS	4	1	9.7	3.6	18	5	4.50	5.00
TOTAL	41	28	99.7	100.1	171	133	4.17	4.75

*This figure must be discounted, as it is the result of one family of 29 persons.

These two changes are again related to emigration. Young daughters, as they mature, give birth to illegitimate children.

The daughters eventually emigrate from Nevis but leave the children with their parents. In other words the children are cared for by their maternal grandparent(s). To illustrate this situation, four households are cited below.

Mrs. H., whose husband died recently, tends for her invalid sister and her 9 year old granddaughter. She has seven children working in either England or United States, all of whom send remittances. One of these children, the mother of the granddaughter, is single and works as a nurse in Brooklyn, New York. Prior to her departure five years ago, both she and her child resided in Rawlins with the mother, Mrs. H. and the now deceased father, Mr. H.

Mrs. X., whose husband also died recently, lives with her 21 year old granddaughter and 20 year old grandson. Over the last decade, her four children have emigrated to England and to St. Croix in the U.S. Virgin Islands. Their children, who remain with Mrs. X are helped by remittances sent by the parents. Some of the remittance money is being saved to purchase emigration tickets for Mrs. X's grandchildren.

Mrs. C., whose husband is deceased, cares for four of the seven children of her divorced daughter. The three other children

live with the daughter who works as a domestic in St. Thomas, in the U.S. Virgin Islands. A decade ago, Mrs. C. was the head of a household consisting of her daughter and her daughter's children. Subsequent marriage and divorce prompted her daughter to emigrate to St. Croix, leaving the four youngest children with Mrs. C.

Mr. and Mrs. J. share their home with their two granddaughters, aged 7 and 8. The mother of the 8 year old granddaughter is married and lives with her husband and four children in St. Thomas. Because she bore this child by another man, the mother left the daughter with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. The mother of the 7 year old granddaughter is single and resides in Tortola with her other daughter; prior to her emigration a few years ago, she and her children lived with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. J.

Another change in household composition is the decrease in the incidence of single men living alone in Rawlins. The number of Single Generation male households has declined from 11/41 in 1962 to 4/28 in 1971.

Sugar cane production used to employ these men. Its demise left few alternatives to the men but to migrate or grow market produce. Those who had neither the resources nor the inclination to migrate remained in Rawlins to grow food crops and "work on the roads". Since that time, some of these men have died.

✓ The number of Single Generation mating couples has risen from 2/41 in 1962 to 3/28 in 1971. This is probably the result of the emigration of the couple's children, the establishment of a household elsewhere on or off the island, and longer life expectancy. The three couples in this category are elderly, and all have children who have either emigrated from Nevis or who live "further down the hill".

Within the 2 Adjacent Generation households, the number of nuclear families has increased from 5/41 in 1962 to 6/28 in 1971. This is probably due to returning emigrants who saved enough to invest in a home and perhaps a trade on Nevis. If their economic security becomes threatened, however, they may again emigrate. This is illustrated in the following experience of the S. and K. households.

Both Mr. and Mrs. S. worked in Curacao for ten years. They returned home to Rawlins in 1962, and built a house on Mrs. S.'s family land. Mrs. S. bore two children; Mr. S. eventually left to look for employment in the Virgin Islands. He returned in 1965 and bought a Volkswagon bus for purposes of employing himself as a taxi driver. He wrecked the van in an accident, but purchased another car, and continued to work as a taxi driver. As his savings went down, he decided to emigrate and in September he left for St. Maarten.

Another couple, Mr. and Mrs. K. emigrated to England.

A soft drink factory hired Mrs. K. and a beer factory across the street hired her husband. Since their children remained with Mrs. K.'s mother, and were constantly "misbehaving", the couple eventually returned to Rawlins. With the money that had been saved, Mr. and Mrs. K. and their children were able to live in a new home, while Mr. K. pursued his part-time job as a painter. Because he is not earning as much as he hoped, Mr. K. plans to again emigrate.

The most common form of household composition in Rawlins today is the nuclear family, and the household consisting of the maternal grandmother and her grandchildren. A decade ago, the single male household was the most common. As I have explained, these men, many of whom were former cane cutters, either remained in Rawlins to grow food crops, or migrated. Those who remained were older men, and some of them have since died. The next most common household a decade ago consisted of the mother, father, children, and grandchildren.

The increase in consanguineality in Rawlins is exemplified in the present situation where the other most common household form is the grandmother and her grandchild. Moreover, this would tend to challenge M.G. Smith's (1962b:218) contention that collateral kin are as important as the maternal grandmother.

The changes in both household type and composition are understood in terms of economic and demographic factors. The economic factors include the shift from cash crop production of sugar cane to food crop production. Since the food crop production is small-scale and is geared to an internal market, it does not require the amount of labor necessary in large-scale production geared to an external market. For the Rawlins resident, the major alternative to growing food crops is migration.

Over the last decade, the majority of those who leave Rawlins are termed recurrent migrants. That is, they travel back and forth from the island during their productive years, with the intention of permanently remaining in Rawlins once they have enough savings. Their periodic absences can create a definite household type, the consanguineal household. Because a large number of women migrate, however, the consanguineal household remains, but the core tends to change from the mother and her child, to the maternal grandmother and child.

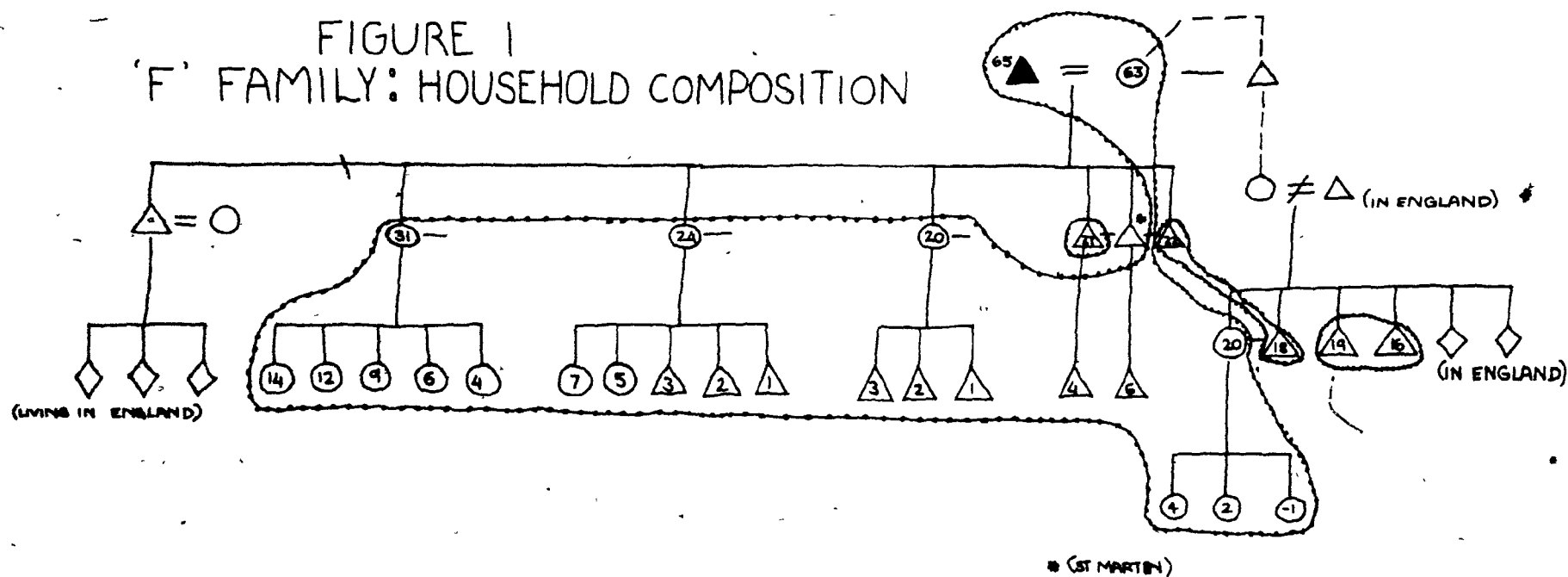
Another demographic factor which gives rise to consanguineal households is the higher mortality rate amongst the men in Rawlins. (This higher male mortality rate is not confined to Rawlins, but to the Western hemisphere in general (Otterbein 1965:69).) The incidence of consanguineality in Rawlins may not only be the result

of recurrent migrant wage labor (itself a response to Nevisian economy), but it may also be the result of greater longevity amongst women.

Thus, with certain additions, the Gonzalez consanguineality model may be applied to Rawlins. These additions include the recurrent migration of men and women, and a sex-ratio imbalance due to higher male mortality rate and earlier migration. Finally, the core of the consanguineal household for Gonzalez, is the mother and her child, that is the mother-child dyad. This is not always the case for Rawlins, where instead the maternal grandmother and her grandchild more likely form the core. This is due to the number of women involved in recurrent migration. Consequently, when the incidence of female emigration increases, with both the mother and father emigrating, the core of the consanguineal household can expect to change from the mother-child dyad to the grandmother-grandchild "dyad".

There are no real changes in the average size of the households in Rawlins over the last decade. The apparent increase in Table 24 of the 3 Adjacent Generations, specifically those within the category of mother, father, children, and grandchildren, must be discounted as this high figure is the result of one family consisting of 29 members.

FIGURE 1
'F' FAMILY: HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION



KEY

- ≠ DIVORCE
- = INDICATES CONJUGAL UNION
- MATING WITHOUT MARRIAGE
- CHILDREN OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD'S SPOUSE BY FORMER MATE
- △ MALE
- FEMALE
- ◇ SEX UNKNOWN
- ▲ MALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD
- SLEEPING WITHIN SAME HOUSE

INDIVIDUALS WITH NUMBER RESIDE IN HOUSEHOLD AT TIME OF 1971 SURVEY
NUMBER INDICATES AGE OF INDIVIDUAL AT TIME OF SURVEY

REFERENCE
(1962, SMITH, M.G.,
WEST INDIAN FAMILY STRUCTURE)

B : Material Consumption in Rawlins

The 29 member family cited above, constitutes one of the most unique and interesting households in Rawlins. Mr. F. is 65, his wife is 63 and both were born in Rawlins, and married in 1952. Living with them are their unmarried children, and their offspring. Also residing with them are the children and grandchildren of a daughter of a former consensual union by Mrs. F. (The daughter has since divorced, emigrated to England, and re-married). Thus, there are four generations living in one household. Since no extended relatives and no mates of the children reside here, this is not an extended family.

The housespot which accommodates the family is a $2\frac{1}{2}$ acre, partially forested piece of land, that is rented for \$25 a year and is owned by the cousin of Mrs. F.

Five small shacks located within yards of each other sit on the housespot. The largest dwelling is a double 6 yard by 12 yard structure. Supported on stone noggs, the house is constructed of unpainted rotted wood, with a galvanize roof. The house consists of three bedrooms, inside of which are a total of 5 beds. These three rooms sleep 24 people, including all the young children, and their mothers. Attached to the house is a drop shed, where Mrs. F. and her daughters cook for the entire family, either on a coal pot, or on the wood hearth outside.

The other four buildings are much smaller than the main dwelling, and apart from the one room shack where food is stored, they lodge the five "grown" male children.

The F. household makes most of its money through the sale of market fruits and vegetables. Mr. F. rises at 5 A.M. to hoe and plant in the land; the elder sons fork the land and the younger children weed the crops.

For the past 23 years, Mr. F.'s income has been supplemented by wages earned at his job as a butcher. On Friday evening he butchers the livestock of a local entrepreneur and on Saturday morning sells the meat in the Gingerland market. Between 1956 and 1966, Mr. F. also worked on the government road projects, earning \$3 a day. Then "they stop me off, and I don't work from that".

Some household income is received through the wages of the three eldest sons. A. installs telephone lines and gives his father \$1 every Friday. S. works in the electricity department of Public Works, and gives his father \$2 every Friday for cigarettes. The other son is an apprentice mason and earns only \$10 a month, and "he gives when he can".

Mrs. F. sells the fruits and vegetables grown on their land in the Charlestown market on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays.

A minimum of \$15 a week is earned; the transportation costs are \$3 per week; and the rent for the government stall is \$0.04 per week.

A small amount in remittances is received each year from Mrs. F.'s daughter in England. She manages to give at least \$100, as well as presents at Christmas. A son who also emigrated to England is unable to send remittances as he is married with three children. Another son recently emigrated to St. Maarten to work as a laborer, and is unable to send money at this time. Before migration, he apprenticed in the electricity department of the Public Works and gave Mr. F. \$2 a week.

With the exception of those members mentioned, the only other family person to have emigrated is Mr. F. himself. In 1927, he left for Curacao to work in the oil refinery. He returned in 1929, but in 1935 emigrated with a cousin to Santo Domingo, capital of the Dominican Republic, to cut sugar cane. Within the year, he returned alone. Mr. F. claimed that he was paid the same wage for cutting cane as he would have earned on Nevis. His real purpose, however, was "to go there and see the country".

"It cost plenty money" to feed the family of 29 people. For one meal, Mr. F. must purchase 5 pounds of corn meal (feunjil) that costs \$0.22 per pound. Since the family eats corn meal at least twice a day, the total cost is \$2.20. The daily

consumption of fish is 4 pounds, which at \$0.60 per pound costs \$2.40. A quart of sweet oil which sells at \$0.25, and 1/4 pound of grease or butter which costs at least \$0.25 are also consumed daily. There are fruits and vegetables from the land, eggs from the chickens, and some meat from his butcher's job that cost the household little cash. There is also occasional milk from the cow. The minimum daily cost for food, however, is \$5.00. Rarely does the amount of money entering the household surpass or even equalize the cost of living but Mr. F. does not complain for "when you done, you have to be satisfied".

With very little cash available in the form of remittances or wages to purchase anything but essential foodstuffs, the F. household has accumulated few material accouterments. Indeed the only "luxury" item in the house is a small transistor radio, purchased a year ago. The harsh life that the F. family lead is similar to that of other households receiving little or no remittances, and is a definite contrast to that of the wealthier Rawlins residents, who receive substantial remittance support.

Mr. H., whose husband is recently deceased, lives with her crippled sister and granddaughter in one of the most materially complete homes in Rawlins. Solely dependent on the remittances sent by her seven children, Mrs. H. probably receives a minimum

of \$2,400 per year. . "The children write every month even if they can't send money". As Mrs. H. cares for her sister, she is unable to work any of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of family land. Although she is the only resident in Rawlins who is able to afford a maid on a permanent basis, Mrs. H. is seldom able to establish the necessary rapport for maintaining hired help longer than a few months. Material conditions in the H. household have improved significantly within the last decade.

The house itself displays two new additions, increasing the total number of rooms to seven, excluding the separate building for cooking and eating. Recently painted, the house is constructed of wood, with galvanized roofing. The older portion of the house is supported on stone nogs, while the newer additions are on cement slabs. There are four bedrooms, each with double beds. In the recently painted sitting room rests a \$1,200 piano, the gift of one of the daughters. There is a bathroom with indoor plumbing located to the side of the bedrooms.

The material opulence of Mrs. H.'s home reflects her increased receipt of remittances. Within the last decade, Mrs. H. has reached a standard of living that many Rawlins residents only dream about; she is also one of the few elite that can claim: "I am content with my lot".

There are three other households that receive over \$1,200 annually in remittances and their material way of life reflects this prosperity. Although their life style is considerably improved over the last decade, that does not necessarily indicate their approval for present living conditions in Rawlins or Nevis today. This is especially the case for those former emigrants who may have experienced material comforts unobtainable on Nevis.

For ten years, Mr. and Mrs. S. worked in Curacao. Mr. S. had been employed by Shell Oil Company and had earned over \$3,000 U.S. annually; Mrs. S. had worked as a domestic servant. Although they were discriminated against, as evinced in the local cries of "go home Englis", Mr. and Mrs. S. contend that they were not deterred, and instead reminisce favorably on their life there.

In Curacao we was in heaven, not in hell.
We were used to living a certain style in Curacao
and so now it is getting hard for us. We don't
like to be without.

Those who really are "without" are the households that receive no remittances or wages. Mrs. A. is a widow in such a predicament. Her sole form of support is "the vegetable I just plant up", as well as some food from her daughter next door. With the help of friends of her late husband, she moved down

from her mountain housespot to a rented one in Hard Times, to be beside her daughter. Mrs. A. is never certain whether she will have the necessary money "to get by". "When people come look for food, I sell vegetables and get a little money. Sometimes the price up and sometimes down."

The home of Mrs. A. reflects her financial uncertainties. Supported on stone nogs, the house is a small one-room structure, constructed of rotting wood, and galvanized roofing. The room, which is the bedroom for Mrs. A. and her daughter's two young children, consists of a single bed, a chair, and a small radio. Within the last decade, living conditions have not improved for Mrs. A. "Here on Nevils things come to me worse and worse; things so dear and no money to buy."

The opulence of Mrs. H. and the poverty of Mrs. A. and Mrs. F. reflect extremes in the material life styles of Rawlins households. The increase in the receipt of remittances, however, enables most households to acquire some material goods, in order to improve both their home and their general living conditions.

TABLE 25

House Structure in Rawlins

<u>House Support</u>	<u>Roof</u>	<u>Paint</u>	<u>Glass Windows</u>	<u>Number of Rooms</u>
Stone : 18	Wood : 11	None : 14	Yes : 10	1-3 : 13
Cement : 1	Galvanize : 12	Some : 7	No : 18	4-5 : 6
Both : 9	Both : 5	Recent: 7		6-7 : 9

TABLE 26

Consumption Preferences in Rawlins

<u>Item</u>	<u>No. of H.H. with one(or more)</u>
Bed	28
Clock	25
Radio	23
Stove (Gas)	5
Stove (Kerosene)	14
Refrigerator (Electric)	1
Refrigerator (Kerosene)	5
Water cistern or tap	6
Indoor Plumbing	4

There is no concrete date available for a decade ago so that a comparison can be made to determine the differences in material accumulation. It would appear, however, that most home improvements have been made within the last five years, and the more expensive material accouterments have also been acquired within that five year period.

TABLE 27

Living Conditions in Rawlins in 1971

<u>Since 1962</u>			<u>H.H. receiving remittances</u>		
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Improved	18	64.3		15	83.3
Same	7	25.0		4	57.1
Worse	3	10.7		1	33.3
Total	28			20	

When considering the living conditions existent in Rawlins a decade ago, with those of today, Table 27 indicates that 64.3% of the households are living in materially improved conditions; 83.3% of those households are receiving remittances. Living conditions can be considered relatively the same for 25% of the households in Rawlins; 57.1% of those households are receiving remittances. Finally, living conditions can be considered worse for 10.7% of the households; one of those households is receiving a small amount in remittances. In conclusion, it seems that for Rawlins the material life style of the household can be interpreted as a reflection of the receipt of remittances.

C : Co-operation and Conflict in Rawlins

As emigration has altered the structure of the household in Rawlins, so too has it inhibited sociality within the community. The receipt of remittances by many families in Rawlins has given rise to the privatization of wealth. Remittance money is used not for productive or social purposes but rather for consumptive purposes. As the economy of Rawlins changes from one based on crops to one based on remittances, it seems that the larger the amount of remittances coming into the household, the greater the amount of material consumption. The result is the protection of things in the household and the subtle or overt mistrust of many who enter the household. Discussed below are three different

households whose material affluence, maintained by remittances, increases the possibility of theft and thereby prevents them from leaving the home unattended.

Mrs. H., cited previously, seldom ventures from her home, since that would leave it "unprotected". Although she has enough money, Mrs. H. is unable to keep domestic help because "they look for too much". Thus the protection of her house and its contents prevents Mrs. H. from attending social functions and religious services.

Mrs. G. receives over \$1,200 in remittances annually, as well as the wages of her grandchildren living with her. Her recently painted home, with glass windows and polished wooden floors, reflects her material standing within the community as do her household appliances and furniture. Although Mrs. G. may be working in the land only yards away from the house, the doors and windows of the home remain locked. Mrs. G. is not an idle woman and continues to grow vegetables and sell them in the Charlestown market. She also takes advantage of her ownership of a refrigerator by selling ice to the neighbors for \$0.05 an ice tray. Mrs. G. seldom receives neighbors in the house, and conversations are usually conducted outside. Either Mrs. G. or one of the grandchildren is at home at all times.

Mr. and Mrs. W. receive over \$1,500 in remittances, and wages annually. Their six-room house is well furnished, and includes a refrigerator that is always locked, and a stove. Friendly with very few people, Mrs. W. leaves the house only when Mr. W. is able to tend it. Seldom do they frequent social or religious events.

Within the decade, the incidence of co-operating work groups in the community has declined. Men no longer assemble to cut the cane and, due to emigration, men are no longer available to form work groups; this leads to the breakdown of viable work relationships within the community. Members of former work groups may assemble at a social function or a rum shop to reminisce about the past, or complain about the present, but, in the words of a former cane cutter, no longer do they "hold together to change life". Although other households were in need there was only one instance of a co-operating work group during my stay in the community; this was the transferral of the house of Mrs. A., an elderly widow, to her daughter's housespot in Hard Times. Other depressed households were unable to organize assistance, without cash.

In conclusion, the recent mistrust between Rawlins residents, and the decline in co-operating work groups is the result of emigration, and a change to a remittance economy. The former eco-

onomy, based on agriculture, necessitated the pooling of human resources, and resulted in a much stronger solidarity within the community. The present remittance economy requires no communal co-operation, since profits are obtained through private rather than group effort. This gives rise to the privatization of wealth manifested in the protection of material goods, creating a mistrust between village residents. This mistrust, especially on the part of the more affluent residents, leads to less social interaction. In other words, the social life of the household is hindered by economic mobility.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The central focus of this thesis has been household production and composition in the village of Rawlins, Nevis. We have been concerned with two major issues, the applicability of the Gonzalez consanguineality model for understanding change in Rawlins; and the degree of agricultural productivity in Nevis generally, and in Rawlins specifically. Data collected by Frucht in 1962 was compared with present data collected between May and September 1971.

Two major findings emerge. First, with certain additions the Gonzalez consanguineality model is useful for interpreting change in household structure in Rawlins. The Gonzalez model attempts to explain the existence of a particular household phenomenon by analyzing those conditions which give rise to its presence and persistence. These conditions are: recurrent migration resulting in an imbalanced sex-ratio of more women than men; and a "neoteric" status.


This thesis reveals that for Rawlins there is recurrent migration of men and women. There is also an imbalanced sex-ratio of women over men, which appears to be more the result of greater longevity amongst women, and earlier male migration. The consanguineal household forms in Rawlins, but the core tends to change from the mother-child dyad, to the maternal grandmother-grandchild "dyad".

Thus, the Gonzalez consanguineality model forms the basis within which an analysis of household structure in Rawlins can be made. By utilizing the Rawlins data, the Gonzalez thesis, with certain additions, becomes a more workable model. It is here suggested that a demographic sex-ratio imbalance of more women than men plus recurrent migration of both men and women in a neo-colonial society, can give rise to the consanguineal household with a core composed of the maternal grandmother and her grandchild.

The other finding is that there is agricultural production specifically in Rawlins, contrary to Frucht's prediction. This production is limited primarily to small-scale foodstuffs geared to an internal market. A decade ago, agricultural activity centred on the large-scale production of cash crops designed for an external market. Production today focuses on small-scale cultivation of fruits and vegetables for the home and internal market.

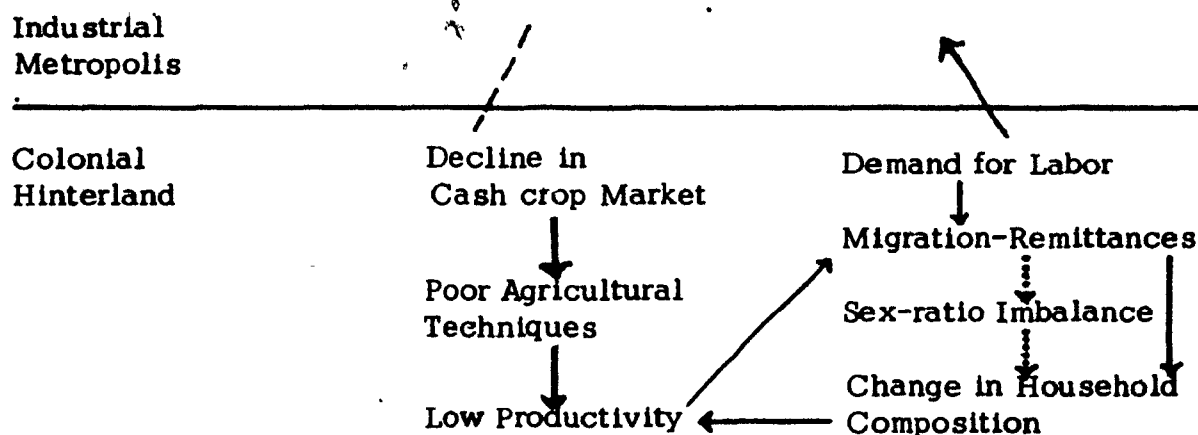
Since the household is receiving more remittances, it can afford to spend less time on the land. From this situation I offer the hypothesis that the amount of labor put into the household land is inversely proportional to the amount of outside income entering the household in the form of wages and remittances.

The present economy of Nevis relies heavily on remuneration from remittances at the apparent expense of large-scale agricultural endeavors. Cash crop production of sugar cane and cotton are, at present, insignificant to the island's economy. Although the number of market garden producers are increasing the actual size of holdings under cultivation are declining. More important, the cultivators are middle-aged or older.

 This thesis illustrates how the dissolution of a cash crop market and the existence of alternative, if distant, markets for wage labor lead to recurrent migration, which in turn effect changes in household composition. These changes in household composition result in the loss of the most productive members, leaving the very young and the old to provide for themselves, where the remittances sent by emigrant relatives is not sufficient. Subsistence cultivation of root crops and market gardening for a small, but constant internal market, provide the supplementary - and in some cases the only - means of existence. Thus, agricultural

production exists, albeit limited by the availability of remittances, and the disabilities of age. The situation perpetuates itself to the extent that overall economic planning is absent, and as the youth enter their productive years, local opportunities are non-existent, and the migration-remittance syndrome continues, (see Figure 2).

FIGURE 2



The conclusions reached in this thesis necessitate a re-evaluation of the future of agriculture on the island. Why are young Nevisians not farming? Hard work, low pay, and low status seem to be the obvious factors. The amount of physical labor put into the land is not worth the low returns. The low returns, including low pay, are usually equated with low status. Some say that the amount of physical labor is associated with slavery, and for this reason they find farming disagreeable.

The government agricultural officers on the island, however, enjoy both high pay and high status. If the benefits of higher wages and status are extended to all involved in agricultural endeavors, perhaps farming rather than migration could attract the youth.

There are other failings with agriculture on Nevis. As this thesis shows, government agricultural schemes fail, often prior to their implementation. Lack of adequate government direction or instruction to the farmer are reasons for their failure.

In short, the present position of agriculture on Nevis is subject for concern, not only for the people of Nevis in particular, but for West Indians in general. As explained previously, Nevis is, for all intents and purposes, a colony of St. Kitts, where the government agricultural department is housed. Since the St. Kitts economy is dependent on sugar cane plantation production, the problems inherent in the declining peasant productivity on Nevis become secondary to those brought on by the declining plantation productivity on St. Kitts. Indeed, this primary concern with plantation agriculture on the part of many West Indian governments is the impediment to improved peasant production. According to George Beckford,

the development of the peasantry in the West Indies is circumscribed by the existence of the plantation system. In spite of considerable changes

in the social, economic and political order, the problems of the peasant development remain inextricably bound up in a framework of institutional relations not far different from that which existed during the slave plantation period (1972b:47).

These institutional relations in the West Indies provide guaranteed markets and prices for cash crop production, including higher wages for the cash crop producer than the market garden cultivator. Market produce must also compete with foodstuffs imported from the metropolitan countries. These import foods, however, enjoy the prestige attached to most material goods from the metropolis.

The competition with cash crops and import foods deter the peasant from producing food crops for the local market.³ Cash crop production also involves fewer agronomic risks.

Long association with large-scale growing of the crop has led to the establishment of research facilities which have enabled the development of suitable varieties even for narrow ecological conditions. Pests and disease problems are also under control. Because of the long traditions of sugarcane growing and research, a body of knowledge is now available which has improved cultivation and management (B. and L. Persaud 1968:359).

Deterrants to agricultural diversification are not only economic. L. Braithwaite writes that

the cultural inheritance... together with the contemporary situation has helped to produce a bias against agriculture. The peasant cultivator never

developed an independent cultural life of his own. His psychology has, to a large extent, been influenced by the rural proletariat, and as so much of small farming has gone into the export crops, the rivalry with the plantation has helped to reinforce this outlook (1968:271).

Braithwaite believes that the absence of a peasant cultural environment results in misunderstandings between agricultural extension officers, embarked on a career in an urban environment, and peasant cultivators, whose problems extension officers are unable to understand. Agricultural development plans seldom include opinions from the small farmer. They are conceived by government officers whose orientations are theoretical, but whose practical understanding of the needs and goals of the small farmer, the peasant, seem to be lacking.

There is a failure in communication because farmers see the extension workers, social workers, and government officers as a whole as having individual goals of their own; and are not convinced that the messages actually communicated are motivated entirely by goodwill and understanding.

Much of the failure of extension work springs from the failure of the worker to understand the economic problems of the small farmer, or to appreciate the limited range of his experience (Braithwaite op.cit.:274).

Another deterrent to the success of agricultural schemes is the class stratification of the society. This engenders a mistrust between the lower class small farmer and the middle or upper class agricultural planner.

Social class differences in West Indian society are so sharp that suspicion is almost inevitable. It is this suspicion symbolized by cultural differences that makes communication of new ideas difficult (ibid).

To summarize, the present trend in agriculture in the larger West Indian islands is "the plantation system of resource organization (Beckford 1968:235)", which involves a concentration in cash crop production. Established institutional relations continue to make provisions for this concentration, in spite of fluctuating world markets. In these larger islands, food crop production must compete not only with cash crops for resource allocation, but also with import foods, preferred for their metropolitan origin.

In the small West Indian island of Nevis, we see that there is no competition with cash crop plantation production. There is competition, however, with the metropolitan centres for the island's labor. Migration is endemic to Nevisian society. This leaves an insufficient supply of labor for large-scale agricultural endeavors.

In conclusion, schemes for agricultural development including agricultural diversification, seem more likely to be unsuccessful in Nevis in particular, and in the West Indies in general. Impediments to their implementation are: lack of communication and understanding between government agricultural personnel and small farmers; lack of technical expertise; lack of guaranteed labor; low wages; rigid

class structure and class mistrust; and lack of resources, including land, capital and machinery.

The success of agricultural development programs is dependent on other social, economic, and political factors. The innovators of development schemes originate from the upper echelons of sharply stratified West Indian society. They control the economic and political power in these island societies. They are dominated, however, by economic and political forces outside the West Indies. The metropolitan countries of Great Britain, United States, and Canada control much of the economic resources in these islands; and dominate, with other western nations, the world market situation (see G. Beckford 1972a; Best 1968; Jalee 1968, 1969; A.G. Frank 1970).*

A reorganization of West Indian society where wealth and power is evenly distributed is necessary. The barriers to class equality must be broken. These transformations are not likely to occur unless old ideas, including a plantation mentality, are discarded in favor of a new ideology that:

- 1) mobilizes national consciousness about what is wrong with the present system of social and economic organization and what can be done to correct the resulting injustices;

* The political influence of the metropolitan powers in the West Indies is well documented in the 1964 defeat of Cheddi Jagan in Guyana through the intervention of American intelligence forces (see Jagan 1966; Reno 1964; and Schlesinger 1965).

2) heightens this consciousness and wins
commitment for making the change;

3) translates the commitment won into
action (Beckford 1972a:230).

APPENDIX 1

Notes on Government Estates - Nevis

Low Ground Estate: Purchased in 1951. Approximately 493 acres of which approximately 248 acres are on lease purchase; the balance in scrub or unimproved pasture.

Hamilton Estate: Approximately 580 acres purchased in 1933. 433 acres approximately on lease purchase and annual rental, the balance in forest and scrub.

Prospect Estate: Purchased in 1940. Approximately 236 acres. 135 acres on annual rental, 16 acres used by the Department for nursery work, the balance in scrub or unimproved pasture.

Hardtimes Estate: Purchased in 1939. Approximately 192 acres of which 135 acres on annual rental and approximately 57 acres in forest.

Fothergills Estate: Purchased in 1955. Approximately 228 acres of which approximately 17 acres on annual rental, 15 acres in departmental use, 196 acres in scrub and unimproved pasture.

New River and The Valley: Purchased in 1938 and 1944 respectively. Approximately 790 acres of which approximately 200 acres on annual rental, 100 acres on improved pasture (communal grazing) the balance in forest and scrub.

Indian Castle: Purchased in 1959. Approximately 470 acres of which approximately 320 acres in improved pasture and 150 acres in scrub. The improved pasture is used for two herds of cattle, a mixed Senepol/Zebu herd of 93 and a pure Zebu herd of 91 originally purchased from Jamaica in 1963, (16 heifers and 2 bulls).

Eden Brown Estate: Purchased in 1956. Approximately 303 acres of which approximately 50 acres on annual rental; the balance in scrub and unimproved pasture.

Dos D'an Estate: Purchased in 1945. Approximately 193 acres are in forest. This estate is high above the Valley and New River and is almost too steep a slope for cultivation.

Maddens Estate: Purchased in 1945. Approximately 1024 acres of which approximately 112 acres are on annual rental, 400 acres in improved and partially improved pasture. The 400 acres are carrying head of Senepol cattle originally purchased from St. Croix.

Potwork Estate: Purchased in 1955. Approximately 179 acres of which approximately 76 acres are used by the Department for vegetable crops, cotton and sugar cane. 103 acres in unimproved pasture and scrub.

Nisbett Estate: Purchased in 1942. 159 acres of which approximately 90 acres are on annual rental and the balance unimproved pasture.

Cades Bay Estate: Purchased in 1939. Approximately 184 acres. Approximately 112 acres arable and the balance in scrub or unimproved. The arable portion was on annual rental to farmers until 1951 when it operated commercially to cotton and sugar cane by Government. Quite recently it has been rented to the Nevis Farmers Co-operative Society for farming to crops and livestock.

Spring Hill Estate: Purchased in 1939. Approximately 97 acres. Area was originally on a rental to farmers but at present approximately 45 acres is under improved pasture and fenced and is carrying a small Senepol herd of cattle. The balance is under scrub.

Information courtesy of Mr. Evan Nisbett, Acting Agricultural Officer, Nevis, May-September 1971.

APPENDIX 2

GOVERNMENT NON-ESTABLISHMENT WORKERS WAGE RATES

<u>Categories</u>	B.W.I. Dollars per Hour		
	1968	1969	1970
Female Labor (including domestic).....	.32	.35	.35
Male Labor .....	.42	.45	.45
Watch man .....	.42	.45	.45
Gangers (Grade B).....	.46	.49	.49
Improvers.....	.46	.49	.49
Gangers (Grade A).....	.49	.52	.52
Plumbers (Grade C).....	.50	.53	.53
Telephone Linesmen (unskilled).....	.50	.53	.53
Painters (Grade C) .....	.51	.54	.54
Chauffeurs.....	.52	.55	.55
Roller Drivers .....	.52	.55	.55
Telephone Linesmen (in training).....	.54	.57	.57
Painters (Grade B) .....	.55	.58	.58
Plumbers (Grade B) .....	.55	.58	.58
Drane Drivers (Grade B).....	.55	.58	.58
Plumbers (Grade A, uncertificated) ....	.58	.61	.61
Painters (Grade A).....	.58	.61	.61
Telephone Linesmen.....	.58	.61	.61
Carpenters (Grade C, uncertificated) ..	.59	.62	.61
Masons (Grade C, uncertificated).....	.59	.62	.62
Plumbers (Grade A, certificated) .....	.71	.74	.74
Carpenters (Grade B, certificated).....	.71	.74	.74
Masons (Grade B, certificated) .....	.71	.74	.74
Foremen Carpenter .....	.99	1.02	1.02
Carpenters (Grade A, certificated).....	.83	.86	.86
Masons (Grade A, certificated) .....	.83	.86	.86
Foreman Mason.....	.99	1.02	1.02

Source: Government Digest of Statistics, Number 5, 1970.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ayearst, Morley

- 1960 The British West Indies: The Search for Self Government. New York, New York University Press.

Beckford, George L.

- 1968 An Appropriate Theoretical Framework for Agricultural Planning. Social and Economic Studies 17:3:233-242.
- 1972a Perisistant Poverty. New York, Oxford University Press.
- 1972b Aspects of the Present Conflict Between the Plantation and the Peasantry in the West Indies Caribbean Quarterly 18:1:47-58.

Best, Lloyd

- 1967 Independent Thought and Caribbean Freedom. New World Quarterly, Cropover 3:4: 13-34.

Braithwaite, L.E.

- 1968 Social and Political Aspects of Rural Development. Social and Economic Studies 17:3:264-275.

Burdon, Katherine J.

- 1920 A Handbook of St. Kitts-Nevis. Prepared for the West India Committee. London, H.M.S.O.

Clarke, Edith

- 1957 My Mother Who Fathered Me. London, Allan and Unwin.

Cumper, George E.

- 1954 A Modern Jamaican Sugar Estate. Social and Economic Studies 3:119-160.
- 1958 The Jamaican Family: Village and Estate. Social Economic Studies 7:76-108.
- 1961 Household and Occupation in Barbados. Social and Economic Studies 10:386-419.

Crane, Julia C.

- 1971 Educated to Emigrate. N.V. Assen, The Netherlands, Van Gorcum and Company.

Davy, John

- 1854 The West Indies Before and Since Slave Emancipation.
- 1971 London, Frank Carr and Company.

Finkel, Herman

- 1962 Report on Agricultural Development in Dominica, St. Kitts, Nevis, and St. Lucia. Jamaica, University of the West Indies, Institute of Social and Economic Research.

Frank, Andre Gunder.

- 1969 Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America. New York, Monthly Review Press.
- 1970 Latin America : Underdevelopment or Revolution. New York, Monthly Review Press.

Frazier, E. Franklin

- 1948 The Negro Family in the United States. New York, Knopf.

Frucht, Richard

- 1966 Community and Context in a Colonial Society. Ph.D Dissertation. Brandeis University.
- 1967 Caribbean Social Type: Neither Peasant nor Proletarian. Social and Economic Studies 16:3: 295-300.

- 1968 Emigration, Remittances and Social Change.
Anthropologica 10:2:193-208.

Gonzalez, Nancie L.

- 1965 The Consanguineal Household and Matrilocality.
American Anthropologist 67:1541-49.
- 1969 Black Carib Household Structure. Seattle,
 University of Washington Press.
- 1970 The Neoteric Society. Comparative Studies in
 Society and History 12:1:1-13.

Gough, Kathleen

- 1952 A Comparison of Incest Prohibitions and Rules of
 Exogamy in Three Matrilineal Groups of the Malabar
 Coast. *International Archives of Ethnography* 46:81-105.
- 1959 Nayers and the Definition of Marriage. *Journal of
 the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain
 and Ireland* 89:23-34.

Goveia, Elsa

- 1965 Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the
 end of the Eighteenth Century. New Haven, Yale
 University Press.

Great Britain

- 1970 Report of the Commission of Inquiry to Examine the
 Anguilla Problem. London, H.M.S.O.

Hall, Douglas

- 1971 Five of the Leewards 1834-1870. Barbados, Carib-
 bean University Press.

Hardy, F. and Rodrigues, G.

- 1947 The Soils of St. Kitts-Nevis. Trinidad, Imperial
 College of Tropical Agriculture.

Henriques, F.

- 1953 Family and Colour in Jamaica. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode.

Herskovits, Melville J.

- 1937 Life in a Haitian Valley. New York, Knopf.
1941 The Myth of the Negro Past. New York, Harper.

Herskovits, Melville J. and Frances S.

- 1947 Trinidad Village. New York, Knopf.

Jagan, Cheddi

- 1954 Forbidden Freedom: the Story of British Guiana. New York, International Publishers.

Jalée, Pierre

- 1968 Pillage of the Third World. New York, Monthly Review Press.
1969 The Third World in World Economy. New York, Monthly Review Press.

Jenkins, Robin

- 1971 Exploitation. London, Paladin.

Josselin de Jong, P.E. de

- 1951 Minangkabau and Negeri Sembilan Socio-Political Structure in Indonesia. The Hague, M. Nijhoff.

Katzin, M.

- 1959 The Jamaican Country Higgler. Social and Economic Studies 8:4:421-440.
1960 The Business of Higgling in Jamaica. Social and Economic Studies 9:3:297-331.

Lowenthal, David

- 1972 West Indian Societies. New York, Oxford University Press.

Manners, Robert

- 1965 Remittances and the Unit of Analysis in Anthropological Research. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 21:179-195.

Mencher, Joan

- 1962 Changing Familial Roles Among South Malabar Nayars. South West Journal of Anthropology 18:3:230-245.

Merrill, G.C.

- 1958 An Historical Geography of St. Kitts-Nevis. Mexico City, Instituto Pan Americano de Geografia e Historia.

Mintz, Sidney

- 1958 Historical Sociology of the Jamaican Church-Founded Free Village System. De West-Indische Gids 38:46-70.

Mintz, Sidney and Davenport, William eds.

- 1961 Caribbean Social Organization. Social and Economic Studies 10:4.

Mintz, Sidney and Hall, Douglas

- 1960 The Origins of the Jamaican Internal Marketing System. New Haven, Yale University Publications in Anthropology Number 57.

Murra, John

- 1960 Discussion to R.T. Smith. Caribbean Studies, Vera Rubin ed. University of Washington Press, pp. 75-79.

O'Loughlin, Carleen

- 1968 **Economic and Political Change in the Leeward and Windward Islands.** New Haven, Yale University Press.

Otterbein, Keith F.

- 1965 **Caribbean Family Organization: A Comparative Analysis.** *American Anthropologist* 67:66-79.
- 1966 **The Andros Islanders: A Study of Family Organization in the Bahamas.** Lawrence, University of Kansas Press.

Padmore, Keith

- 1966 **National Income Statistics for St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla 1953-1964.** Statistical Series Number 2. Jamaica, University of the West Indies, Institute of Social and Economic Research.

Pares, Richard

- 1950 **A West India Fortune.** London, Longmans.

Persaud B. and L.

- 1968 **Impact of Agricultural Diversification in Barbados.** *Social and Economic Studies* 17:3:353-365.

Reno, Philip

- 1964 **The Ordeal of British Guiana.** *Monthly Review* 16:3 and 4.

St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Government of

Digest of Statistics. Numbers 2,3,4,5; 1966-1969. St. Kitts, The Statistical Department in the Ministry of Trade, Development and Tourism.

St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Labour Party

- 1971 **Manifesto of the St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla Labour Party and its Affiliate The United National Movement of Nevis.** Basseterre, St. Kitts.

Schlesinger, Arthur Jr.

- 1965 A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House. Boston, Houghton Mifflin.

Schwartz, Gary

- n.d. Religious Affiliation in a West Indian Town, Charlestown, Nevis. Unpublished.

Shurchliff, Alice W. and Wellemeyer, John F.

- 1967 Economic Development in the Eastern Caribbean, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla. Series 4 Manpower Survey. Jamaica, University of the West Indies, Institute of Social and Economic Research.

Simey, T.S.

- 1946 Welfare and Planning in the West Indies. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Smith, M.G.

- 1962a Kinship and Community in Carriacou. New Haven, Yale University Press.
- 1962b West Indian Family Structure. Seattle, University of Washington Press.

Smith, R.T.

- 1956 The Negro Family in British Guiana. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- 1960 The Family in the Caribbean. Caribbean Studies: A Symposium, Vera Rubin ed., Seattle, University of Washington Press, pp. 67-75.
- 1967 Social Stratification, Cultural Pluralism and Interaction in the West Indies. In Caribbean Integration: Papers on Social, Political and Economic Integration, Sybil Lewis and Thomas G. Mathews, eds. Rio Piedras, University of Puerto Rico, Institute of Caribbean Studies.

Smith, R.T.

- 1971 Culture and Social Structure in the Caribbean:
Some Recent Work on Family and Kinship Studies.
Black Society in the New World, Richard Frucht
ed., New York, Random House, pp. 251-272.

Solien de Gonzalez, Nancie L.

- 1961 Family Organization in Five Types of Migratory
Wage Labor. American Anthropologist 63:1264-80.

West Indies Population Census

- 1960 Census of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla. Unpublished.

Williams, Eric

- 1944 Capitalism and Slavery. New York, Russell and
Russell.

- 1970 From Columbus to Castro: the History of the
Caribbean 1492-1969. London, Andre Deutsch.

Wint, D.H.

- 1965 Economic Development in the Eastern Caribbean,
St-Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla. Series 2 Road Survey.
Jamaica, University of the West Indies, Institute
of Social and Economic Research.

Worsley, P.

- 1964 The Third World. London, Weidenfeld and
Nicolson.

Zinder, H. and Associates Inc.

- 1969 The Future of Tourism in the Eastern Caribbean.
Prepared for the Agency for International
Development.