

WOMEN, WORK, AND GENDER
IN THE CARIBBEAN:
Recent Research

Riva Berleant-Schiller
University of Connecticut

- SISTER JAMAICA: A STUDY OF WOMEN, WORK, AND HOUSEHOLDS IN KINGSTON, JAMAICA.* By A. Lynn Bolles. (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1996. Pp. 129. \$32.50 cloth.)
- WOMEN OF BELIZE: GENDER AND CHANGE IN CENTRAL AMERICA.* By Irma McClaurin. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996. Pp. 218. \$50.00 cloth, \$16.95 paper.)
- PUERTO RICAN WOMEN AND WORK.* Edited by Altagracia Ortiz. (Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press, 1996. Pp. 249. \$59.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)
- PHYLLIS SHAND ALLFREY, A CARIBBEAN LIFE.* By Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996. Pp. 335. \$50.00 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)
- WOMEN, LABOUR, AND POLITICS IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO.* By Rhoda E. Reddock. (London: Zed, 1994. Pp. 346. \$60.00 cloth, \$25.00 paper.)
- DAUGHTERS OF CALIBAN: CARIBBEAN WOMEN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.* By Consuelo López Springfield. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997. Pp. 316. \$35.00 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)

One important insight that Caribbeanist scholars ought vigorously to expose is the centrality of the Caribbean region in significant global processes over the last five hundred years. One can, for example, argue convincingly that the commodity production systems throughout the circum-Caribbean initiated global modernization and industrialization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Plantation tobacco production and timber exploitation exemplify the replacement of indigenous use values by European commodity values. The large sugar plantations of the Caribbean were early capital enterprises. The slave labor regime of the plantations prefigured industrial control of a rising proletariat in Europe.

The Caribbean was more than a point of origin for modern production. In the eighteenth century, it was a world economic center, and

today it is an important locus of globalization as foreign manufacturing is planted there, just as colonies and sugar agriculture once were. Modern relations of dependency began to take shape in the region more than three centuries ago, as the Caribbean became a major market for North American products and manufacturers. Haiti, for example, had become a significant importer of U.S. goods by 1793, at the onset of its revolution, and remains so today.¹

Thus the Caribbean may be considered one of the first modern places: early in colonization, commodity resource exploitation, modern production, capitalized enterprises, regimentation of a large labor force, labor migration, economic dependence, offshore manufacturing and finance, and globalization. It is unsurprising therefore that as a significant location supporting the origin and expansion of modern capitalism, the Caribbean should exhibit today the worst consequences of that early and ongoing role in the global economy. Rates of unemployment and under-employment are high, wages are low, and segregation of the labor force by sex and color continues. High migration and emigration rates have prevailed since emancipation. Economic necessity as well as cultural values urge workers to global economic cores, to other global peripheries within the region, and from rural to urban locations.

For ordinary Caribbean workers, in slavery or after emancipation, survival could never be taken for granted in the economic slot assigned to them. The social patterns that developed among them answer the exigencies of life under global capitalism. Kinship and gender, mating and marriage, migration and emigration, the organization of households and families all favor the survival of persons and households. The cruel paradox is that while these arrangements secure familial survival, they simultaneously maintain a labor force for continued exploitation.

The marriage, family, and household systems of the Caribbean have long intrigued researchers because of the variety they encompass and their differences from the family and domestic systems of foreign researchers. It is pleasing to think that our disciplines grow more sophisticated as they mature, and perhaps they really do. The early researchers investigating Caribbean family and marriage systems, from the 1940s into the 1960s, were obsessed by the departure of these systems from the middle-class norms of Western industrialized countries. Sociologists and welfare workers attributed many of the economic and societal problems of Caribbean rural and urban workers to what they perceived as deviant domestic organization.² This organization was described repeatedly. It fea-

1. Paul Farmer, *AIDS and Accusation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 161, 183.

2. Two examples from a large literature are Fernando Henriques, *Family and Colour in Jamaica* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1953, 1968); and T. S. Simey, *Welfare and Planning in the West Indies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946).

tured a high rate of births outside of legal marriage (“illegitimacy”), many to mothers in their teens; men and women living together without legal marriage; single parenthood, with women managing a household and children without a husband-father; and extra-household networks of support and help. These features, especially the first three, increasingly bespeak the industrialized world—another instance of the Caribbean leading in the process of becoming modern.

Several factors began to alter the view that these patterns were somehow deviant and ought to be changed. One was the expansion of cultural ecology as a methodology in anthropology in the 1960s. Cultural ecologists ask of any observable and longstanding social phenomenon, “Is it somehow adaptive in the entire complex of human group, economy, belief systems, social environment, and physical and biotic environments?” That question clearly needed to be asked of the Caribbean marriage and household complex. A second factor was the deepening and overdue consciousness of the influences of colonialism and global capitalism on all the peoples whom anthropologists study. That awareness had begun to pervade anthropology by the 1970s.

A third factor was the rise of feminist thought and the consequent emphasis on gender organization and gender ideology. Caribbeanist research had already disclosed the centrality and effectiveness of women in the household. But before the 1970s, it had rarely proposed feminine roles or the sexual division of labor as important research topics, let alone gender as a fundamental principle in social organization. Anthropologists who antedated the rise of feminist research probed the morphology and temporal cycles of domestic groups and forms of mating, aiming for ultimate regional synthesis and explanation of variations within the region. They did excellent empirical work within the framework of the structural-functional anthropology of the time, but the potential of that framework for illuminating anything further about the Caribbean was soon exhausted.³

The innovations of feminist thought and gender analysis—combined with recognition of economic, political, and ecological processes and contexts, both global and local—reinvigorated Caribbeanist research. It was poised to produce new insights into family and kinship, women’s work and roles, gender, women’s history, and Caribbean history and social organization in general. Researchers began to recognize the Caribbean as a locus for innovative research and for exploring and developing theory.

3. The literature is too large to cite, but two classics are Edith Clarke, *My Mother Who Fathered Me* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1957); and Raymond T. Smith, *The Negro Family in British Guiana* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956). For a discussion of theory, see Christine Barrow, “Anthropology, the Family, and Women in the Caribbean,” in *Gender in Caribbean Development*, edited by Patricia Mohammed and Catherine Shepherd (Trinidad and Tobago: Women and Development Studies Project, University of the West Indies, 1988), 156–69.

At the same time, an active and swelling cadre of Caribbean women scholars turned their efforts to research on women and gender in their own territory. One early effort was the Women in the Caribbean Project, a research effort undertaken in the formerly British Caribbean and organized at the University of the West Indies from 1979 to 1982. The research team included women and men from several disciplines and led the first project that seriously attempted to uncover women's worlds and women's realities in the Caribbean.⁴

A collection edited by Janet Momsen, *Women and Change in the Caribbean: A Pan-Caribbean Perspective* (1993), signaled most of the directions that research on Caribbean women has been taking in the 1990s.⁵ Some major themes of the 1990s are women as paid (or more accurately, underpaid) workers outside the home; women in the globalization of industry; women's organizations and associations; women and politics; migration; gender and the domestic sphere; and Caribbean women and gender theory. The six books reviewed here carry on the investigation of women in the globalized workforce and add historical dimensions to the study of women as paid workers and Caribbean women's movements. Some new explorations include the lives of individual women, women's bodies and health, and women and popular culture. Historians and anthropologists no longer have the field to themselves: literary and cultural studies have entered the mainstream of Caribbeanist research.

Altagracia Ortiz's *Puerto Rican Women and Work: Bridges in Transnational Labor* is an ideal collection of essays. It is coherent, and the essays are so well interrelated that in almost every one, readers will find themselves leafing back to a previous essay to compare, confirm, and make individual syntheses. In a helpful manner, nearly every contributor states clearly at or near the beginning the topic and goal of her essay, yet without imposing an unnatural conformity. From one point of view, one might argue that the contributors think too much alike: why not disagreement and provocative debate? From another, consistency and coherence give readers a firm, clear location in the maze of controversy on gender and feminist topics, even if it is a location they may disagree with. Because the collection centers on my own location, I found the book satisfying in the contributors' methodologies and interpretations, although I came away feeling that I had been too comfortably confirmed and insufficiently challenged. On the whole, however, I recommend *Puerto Rican Women and Work* as an introduction to Puerto Rican women's studies, a compendium of information about working women on the island and on the mainland

4. See Olive Senior, *Working Miracles: Women's Lives in the English-Speaking Caribbean* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991). Senior includes a summary of the project, an excellent synthesis of its findings, and a useful bibliography.

5. Janet H. Momsen, *Women and Change in the Caribbean: A Pan-Caribbean Perspective* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

in the twentieth century, and a convincing introduction to a materialist and systemic point of view on exploited workers. That is, nearly every contributor shows, explicitly or implicitly, that subalterns—the poor, the marginalized, the unemployed, the exploited, and in these cases subordinated women—occupy their place in society as a consequence of economy and structure rather than of inherent individual or group characteristics.

For example, Alice Colón-Warren writes in “The Impact of Job Losses in the Middle Atlantic Region, 1970–1980,” “economic benefits are distributed on the basis of class allocation, which among workers is mediated by their relations to the labor market and other forms of economic activity. In the United States these are intersected by sexual, racial, ethnic, and other social and political segmentations, including the subordinate status of work in the domestic sphere and the hierarchical sexual division of labor” (p. 111). Colón-Warren demonstrates statistically the relationship of Puerto Rican women’s unemployment in the mid-Atlantic region to labor-market dynamics; changing structure and location of industry; de-skilling; job segregation; and sex, race, ethnic, and class discrimination. She thus sinks “lack of work ethic” or any other psychologizing and essentializing canards.

Coauthors Rosa Torruellas, Rina Benmayor, and Ana Juarbe use a different procedure to make the same point in “Negotiating Gender, Work, and Welfare: *Familia* as Productive Labor among Puerto Rican Women in New York City.” Their qualitative research among a group of Puerto Rican mothers on welfare found no inherent qualities in family composition or individuals that lead women into welfare. These women have chosen to exercise the rights of motherhood, domestic work, and kinship obligation into which they were socialized. They do what middle classes in Puerto Rico and the United States define as appropriate women’s work and do it in preference to discriminatory and exploitative factory work or domestic labor in the houses of others. They view the welfare benefits they receive as proper, if insufficient, compensation for the productive feminine work they do. In my own classrooms, I am fussy about language that refers to “working women” and “nonworking women.” I point out that almost all women work, although not all women work for pay outside the home. These Puerto Rican women assert that fact in their decisions and behavior.

Several of the essays in *Puerto Rican Women and Work* illustrate a cruel paradox of the gender and labor systems in which employed women everywhere are fixed, even if the essayists do not elaborate or make it explicit. The gender system becomes part of the survival strategy that is acted out on the office or factory floor. That is, clerical workers dress and groom themselves to impress their male supervisors, or factory and office become the sites of celebrating gendered holidays and life events, such as Mother’s Day or engagements. These behaviors reinforce the gender sys-

tem. This contradiction is illustrated in other books to be reviewed here. It was exquisitely exposed a decade ago in Sally Westwood's *All Day, Every Day*, a study of women factory workers in northern England whose very forms of resistance on the shop floor reinforced the gender system.⁶

Lynn Bolles's *Sister Jamaica: A Study of Women, Work, and Households in Kingston, Jamaica* deals with Jamaican urban working-class women in 1977–1978, when international capitalism and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) undermined Prime Minister Michael Manley's government and its social democratic goals. Bolles's excellent driving idea is to show how the lives and households of Jamaican blue-collar women were affected by the interaction of IMF policies, invited foreign industries with no genuine investment in or commitment to Jamaica, the use of women as cheap labor, and the gender system. She comments at the outset, "The locus of primary impact of socioeconomic change is always the household" (p. xiii). Besides linking the Jamaican household to policies and practices of the global economy, she also intends to show that "the women studied here exemplify how international capital profits from . . . female labor on the global assembly line" (p. 98).

Sister Jamaica continues a long Caribbeanist tradition of research exposing women's centrality in household and family. It innovates by situating the household in a context of governmental policy and global capitalism. I do not think, however, that the book adequately accomplishes so large a task. As a frankly synchronic study, it cannot show or even conjecture about how household composition or the incidence of different forms of matings have altered from what they were before the intensified underdevelopment promoted by the IMF. What the study does show is adaptation. Bolles's work therefore supplies an important instance of how the range of Caribbean family, mating, and household forms combines with gender and kinship in a supple system that lets Caribbean women and their dependents meet economic challenges presented to them in new ways. But the book is too short to fulfill its stated goals and too long for what it actually accomplishes.

Sister Jamaica consists of eight short chapters totaling 113 pages of text. The fifth chapter, "On the Factory Floor," confirms for Jamaica what the other books under review here show for women workers elsewhere: tenuous security in jobs for the export market, neglect and sexism on the part of their unions, low pay, and the double day. This chapter also shows how the gender system is acted out on the shop floor. As elsewhere, women's efforts toward "humanizing" the workplace with celebrations and familylike relationships (which may be the same as feminizing it) end up reinforcing the gender system. As Bolles points out, "these activities

6. Sallie Westwood, *All Day, Every Day: Factory and Family in the Making of Women's Lives* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

tended to take the hard edge off often unhealthy and unsafe working environments" (p. 57). Given the indifference of their unions and society in general, amelioration may be all these women can do, even though it helps keep systemic exploitation in place.

Rhoda Reddock's *Women, Labour, and Politics in Trinidad and Tobago* focuses mainly on the island of Trinidad, even though the island of Tobago is included in the state of Trinidad and Tobago. The islands paired in Caribbean two-island states, such as Antigua and Barbuda, St. Kitts-Nevis, and Trinidad and Tobago, differ vastly from each other in important respects. Their unions resulted from old colonial associations and independence politics. Antigua, St. Kitts, and Trinidad were all plantation economies, although Trinidad's developed over a century later than the other two. Their unequal partners in independence, Barbuda, Nevis, and Tobago, had far different slave economies and agricultural histories. Unfortunately, these distinctions are now ignored in the research literature. Like most of what is currently written, this book turns out to be based largely on the big-sister island and should therefore be read as a history of working women in Trinidad, not Tobago.

Reddock's thesis is that women's resistance and women's movements are far older in Trinidad than is usually recognized or admitted, and her intention is to expose the hitherto buried history of women workers in Trinidad. I like the way she specifically includes unpaid housewives in the category *working women*. The domestic work of housewives, Reddock frequently points out, subsidizes the reproduction of the labor force. At most times during the twentieth century, Trinidadian women were defined as housewives. Official policies pushed housewifery, and women's labors and economic contributions went unremarked, even when women also worked for wages outside the home.

Reddock begins with Afro-Caribbean women and the sexual division of labor during slavery, then moves into the succeeding period of indentured labor imported from India. She discusses the two groups of women separately when their experiences and histories differed but in general comes down on the side of class superseding ethnicity. As working women, they often shared similar lots whether they were of Indian or African ancestry. The rest of *Women, Labour, and Politics in Trinidad and Tobago* deals with the period from 1898 to 1962. It treats the disparity between colonial ideologies and living realities concerning women and work; sex, race, and class in nationalist politics; women and the labor movement; the women's movement between the wars; working women of World War II and the postwar period; the growth of new women's organizations and a new women's movement from 1939 to 1962; and women in trade unionism and postwar nationalist politics.

Throughout Reddock emphasizes that the participation of women in labor agitations, the labor movement, nationalist politics, and pre-

World War II feminist organizations went unnoticed. As long as women were defined as housewives, these contributions and actual behaviors were as good as invisible. In Trinidad as elsewhere after World War II, women were increasingly defined as nonworkers and assigned to the domestic sphere, where presumably no work takes place.

I found chapters six and nine, "The Early Women's Movement" and "The Post-War Women's Movement," especially interesting. The first recounts the beginning of the Trinidadian women's movement early in the twentieth century with a self-help association for upper-class women. Two extraordinary women subsequently fostered a feminist-oriented movement and extended it to working women. Beatrice Greig turned her efforts to Indian women and infused the movement with socialist principles. Audrey Jeffers founded the Coterie of Social Workers, composed mainly of volunteers, which began by assisting working-class women, mothers, and children through social-welfare work. The group turned to political action, succeeding in electing Jeffers to the city council of Port-of-Spain as a feminist independent in 1936.

After World War II, the professionalization of social work and the formation of a governmental Social Welfare Department encroached on the activities of the Coterie. It had bolstered the condition and status of Afro-Caribbean women in Trinidad, but new postwar needs spurred the development of new postwar women's organizations. Working-class as well as middle-class women organized in the 1940s and 1950s. They engaged in black nationalist activity and were poised for roles in the nationalist politics that emerged in the 1950s.

The three books discussed so far examine women in Puerto Rico, Trinidad, and Jamaica. Reddock emphasizes working women's history during the twentieth century, including women's involvement in labor movements, in women's associations, and politics. She aims to show that women had long participated in resistance and women's causes, even when they did not carry women's rights or feminist labels. Ortiz examines twentieth-century Puerto Rican women and their work at home and in the mainland United States. Bolles's subject is urban Jamaican working women during a two-year period of change. All three works treat the common subject of women and labor, and all emphasize working-class women, even though Reddock includes the welfare and political activities and organizations of women of the middle strata. All consider women as a social group caught in subordinating gender arrangements.

The other three books under review depart from this pattern, which is not to say that they ignore gendered subordination. Like Bolles, Irma McClaurin explores changes that affect women's lives, this time in Belize. In *Women of Belize: Gender and Change in Central America*, analysis on the individual level supersedes the institutional. Using life histories, she exposes the ways in which particular women have worked toward change

in their own lives. McClaurin shows how membership in women's groups encourages women to make changes. Her research therefore differs also from Reddock's work on associations, which shows the broadening scope of the Trinidadian women's movement and its increasingly feminist and political program.

McClaurin argues that women develop through their personal struggles a broader sense of gendered and structural inequities in their society. The three life histories with commentary make up three of her nine chapters and almost half of the text. These accounts are interspersed with chapters discussing how girls are molded into sex roles, how women are subordinated in modern Belize, and how women achieve autonomy through their membership in voluntary women's organizations. The three life histories of a Creole, a Garifuna, and an East Indian woman are shaped to show that each woman's development toward autonomy follows from her activities in a woman's group.

But the question remains as to what propels women into these organizations. Chapter seven discusses this question and the scholarly literature devoted to it. One factor is the historical and cultural tradition of volunteer women's groups in the Caribbean. These associations have long embraced church and social welfare tasks, as Reddock shows for Trinidad. Nationalist politics also propelled women into political parties and group activity. Other women's groups offer instruction and support for women struggling to fulfill all their responsibilities in the hardship of everyday life. McClaurin is not naive about systemic inequity, but she is convinced that changes in the thinking and behavior of individuals can effect changes in structure. I should like to have seen a more emphatic demonstration of this conviction in *Women of Belize*.

Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert's biography of Phyllis Shand Allfrey, when read in conjunction with McClaurin's life histories, pushes readers to ask whether Allfrey's dedicated life brought about change. The question is especially germane because altering structures was Allfrey's goal, and neither she nor her biographer believe that transformed personal lives necessarily bring about systemic change. *Phyllis Shand Allfrey, a Caribbean Life* moves away from the working-class lives that McClaurin and Bolles deal with and into the life of a privileged woman who is no less Caribbean because she is of European parentage or because her family was part of the British colonial regime in the island of Dominica (one of the tiny Leeward group of the Lesser Antilles).

It has not been fashionable since the 1950s to write positively about privileged colonials in the Caribbean. That trend surely represented a reaction against the kind of Eurocentric Caribbean history that treated the Caribbean merely as an outlier or an appendage of European states. Allfrey devoted most of her life and energy to activism for political and social justice in Dominica and to pan-Caribbean causes. She put her heart

into the West Indies Federation and its politics, and her heart was broken as the Federation failed. Paravisini-Gebert exquisitely conveys the pain and profound disillusionment that the failure of federation inflicted on so many of its ardent participants.

Allfrey exhausted her energies in opposition politics and journalism on her home island of Dominica. It is at once saddening and hardening to understand that her dedicated life did not change structures, even though she made real contributions to political justice in Dominica. Paravisini-Gebert's biography is a wonderful achievement, sensitive to its subject's virtues and shortcomings and able to handle all dimensions of this complex woman's life with competence and grace. If the ins and outs of small-island politics do not intrigue you, read the biography for Allfrey's place in Caribbean literature. She wrote and published many poems and short stories, and her novel *The Orchid House* is one of the finest Caribbean narratives. It clearly influenced and probably served as the model for Jean Rhys's better-known *Wide Sargasso Sea*.

Consuelo López Springfield's edited collection, *Daughters of Caliban: Caribbean Women in the Twentieth Century*, covers a great deal of ground as it adds to the succession of edited collections on Caribbean women that have appeared over the last dozen years.⁷ The volume is organized into five sections, three covering the now familiar but still vital topics of work, wage work, political change, and women's movements and associations. Of the other two, one deals with women and health and the other innovatively with women and popular culture.

Some of the contributors build on earlier work and enduring ideas, such as Mary Johnson Osirim in "We Toil All the Livelong Day." This essay brings research on women's labor and economic roles from the Women in the Caribbean Project into the NAFTA-influenced present. Carla Freeman's "Reinventing Higglering across Transnational Zones" shows how Barbadian women employed in information-processing offices continue to combine tasks and roles in the domestic, informal, and formal economies, as Caribbean women have always done. Their work also contributes to the ongoing process of creolization as they combine their local and transnational cultures.

Several contributions, however, exhibit a kind of historical amnesia, as if the writers, unaware of Caribbeanist research before the 1980s, thought they were making new discoveries. Work on kinship and family, informal economy, household organization, household economy, and household headship in this volume ignores a rich field-research literature

7. *Women of the Caribbean*, edited by Patricia Ellis (London: Zed, 1986); Mohammed and Shepherd, *Gender in Caribbean Development*; *Women and The Sexual Division of Labour in the Caribbean*, edited by Keith Hart (Mona, Jamaica: Consortium Graduate School of the Social Sciences, University of the West Indies, 1989); and Momsen, *Women and Change*.

from the past that is now a historical treasure. This body of data can be used for assessing change and perhaps for constructing comparative and generalizing explanations. Neglect of this opportunity to build new research on a foundation of standing achievements leaves *Daughters of Caliban* more lightweight than it might have been, despite some contributions that deal with genuinely new questions.

Because the Caribbean prefigures trends in modernization, it is a good locus for investigating new research questions. The region has been the site of innovative research and the testing of new ideas in many areas, such as the formation of rural peasantries, the history of slavery, plantations and plantation societies, creole linguistics, migration, household and family, and ecstatic religion. It is worth considering whether the region has the same significance for women's studies and gender research.

Caribbeanist researchers have successfully questioned and modified some insights of recent feminist thought. One was the putative prevalence of the public domain as men's sphere and the domestic domain as women's.⁸ Several scholars working in Barbados, Barbuda, Dominica, and Nevis have argued that in the Caribbean, public and private are blurred and overlapping domains. Domestic tasks can earn money, women's economic roles take them outside the household, and tasks related to household maintenance take place in public spaces.⁹ All the books under discussion affirm this understanding, even though such affirmation is not their point.

Taken as a body, these six works appear to show a declining interest in the Caribbean as a site for testing and attempting innovation in gender theory. Yet they show an increasing and commendable interest in situating Caribbean women in extraregional processes and the global economy. These books demonstrate the important point that the Caribbean region is not bounded by the islands and rimlands of the Caribbean Sea. It extends into the North American mainland and farther as women emigrate, return, and in greater numbers find themselves pressed, wherever they are, into jobs in transnational and globalized enterprises.

Women everywhere are relegated to the same structural position in the global economy that Caribbean women occupy. Caribbeanist scholars have garnered a trove of empirical data, both qualitative and quantitative, on women and gender in this modern condition. Comparison, synthesis, and theoretical ferment ought soon to follow.

8. Michelle Rosaldo, "Woman, Culture, and Society: A Theoretical Overview," in *Woman, Culture, and Society*, edited by Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1974).

9. Three contributions to Momsen's edited volume, *Women and Change*, make this point: Christine Barrow's "Small-Farm Production and Gender in Barbados," 181–93; Riva Berleant-Schiller and William Maurer's "Women's Place Is Every Place: Merging Domains and Women's Roles in Barbuda and Dominica," 65–79; and Karen Fog Olwig's "The Migration Experience: Nevisian Women at Home and Abroad," 150–66.