Globalised Identities

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Introduction

Mary Chamberlain

International migration strikes at the heart of nationhood and the nation-state, questioning the civic virtue of loyalty, the political certainty of citizenship, the patriotic basis of identity and the geographic security of the border. International migrants are by definition global people whose horizons and allegiances, education and enterprise, family and friendship are both portable and elastic. What, finally, unsettles about international migration is that it internationalizes the nation-state and globalizes identity. Fluidity, not fixity, characterizes the migrant, contemporary nomads and cultural gypsies. And few, if any, people are more global and more migratory than those from the Caribbean. For them, the nation is 'unbound' (Basch *et al.* 1994) and the city, 'boundless' (Chamoiseau 1997).

The idea of globalization is not, of course, new – neither is migration. Both lie at the centre of modernity, were indeed midwives to its birth. But thinking about them is relatively recent. It is as if the post-modern world has permitted them to 'come out', to declare an existence which hitherto dared not speak its name, although in various linguistic guises it has dominated the post Second World War debate. That war, embroiling every continent, left its legacy in the geopolitics of the Cold War which carved up most of the world into incompatible ideological spheres while the remaindered globe formed itself into spheres of non-alignment, a position fully endorsed by (at least) the United States. 'Your cause', as Henry Kissinger (in an address in Zambia during his 1976 tour of black African states) argued:

> is too compatible with our principles for you to need to pursue it by tactics of confrontation with the United States; our self-respect is too strong to let ourselves be pressured either directly or by outside powers.
>
> (Kissinger 1976)

Newly emerging states had to make political choices upon which all aspects of national and economic survival depended and to position their autonomy not merely within a regional perspective, but a global one. Within this new global order, trade emerged not as a precursor to territorial and imperial expansion, or as an economic lubricant but as a display of ideological finery, to sell and

enterprise became the human face of global defence (Vernon 1971). Aid, too, became part of the international political armoury, and the language spoken, in politics or economics, was that of globalization, the global world system, the global economy. The actors were the free-range multinational corporations of the capitalized world, or their battery-farmed counterparts in the Communist world, the state and defence departments, the security and trade departments. The United Nations, a product of the time, was designed to secure and maintain global peace and ensure that a global concept of human rights and basic principles prevailed in all its signatory states.

Such globalization thinly disguised what many saw as neo-colonialism, witnessing that the new world order emerged not only out of the ashes of the Second World War, but also from those of the old empires, who, for the most part, were ideologically, if not strategically, allied to America. And America, along with the Soviet Union and later China, became the new post-war empires who needed the raw materials, trade and strategic support of the new colonies as much as the those new 'colonies' needed the 'empires'. With strategic weapons, strategic capital, global politics, the world had shrunk to a 'global village', aided by the revolution in communications, travel and the media. The media, the new cultural empire, promised to unite the world in the image of itself as much as it threatened to destroy global diversity.

Notwithstanding the revolution in the quieter aspects of globalization, telecommunications, international air travel, satellite TV (in themselves spin-offs from the wider political endeavour), the globalization of world politics and the world economy was, paradoxically, a last attempt by the old nation-states of the old world order to preserve and maintain their autonomies. The threat of communism or of capitalism was not just a threat to world peace, but to the specific order of each nation-state. However disingenuous the rhetoric of NATO or the Warsaw Pact, couched as it was in terms of a moral order, it was the fear of being conquered, militarily, politically and ideologically which drove those alliances, the fear of losing sovereignty and nationhood.

Ironically, in the global post-modern, post-colonial world the political boundaries of nation-states appear increasingly archaic. The much-remarked and publicized focus on ethnicity, on the small and large separatist movements, in both Western and Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia, the emphasis on multiculturalism and redefinitions of ethno-cultural identities in Europe, North America, and Australia have challenged, sometimes brutally, notions of homogeneity which lay, often mythologically, at the core of the old nation-states. Conversely, the debate on federation, whether in Europe or the Caribbean, emphasizes the communality and common cause, within regions hitherto defined by sovereign states, a communality which paradoxically permits and encourages greater diversity. Within a wider geopolitical context, it is possible for ever smaller constituencies to be viable, or to permit the movement of peoples within a vast region contained only by a common passport.

and seventeenth centuries (Hobbes' allegorical 'state of nature') that the global, political world as we know it emerged. It was precisely the movement of peoples, from the old world to the new, that vast early modern migration that forged our modern world of empires and nation-states. But ideas of allegiance and loyalties, of patrimony and patrilocality, of kith and kin, of commanding membership or protection, dues due and dues given die hard. Global and local migration destablized the early modern social order (as much as it does the post-modern one), but the predominant response then was to settle the unsettlers, through disguise and division. Undesirable migrants became vagrants, the desirable became citizens.

Thus it was that the Old (and New) Poor Law in Britain and her Empire, including America, stamped hard on vagrants. Locality and fixity conferred rights as well as responsibilities, on the Poor Law Guardians as much as the supplicants. Vagrancy and migration were antithetical notions and yet the two emerged side by side, conferring legitimacy and illegitimacy. Vagrants became migrants through labour, through productivity and migrants became vagrants through non-productivity, through poverty. Migrants became citizens, through ownership, through holding a stake in the land driven by possession and labour. Vagrants had no such claim to citizenship. Indeed, it was this concept of citizenship – this Lockean principle based on the pivot of possession and labour – which dominated the debate on membership and citizenship. Citizenship defined not only what you were, but who you were.

The struggle for universal franchise in nineteenth-century Britain was fought precisely around the nature and power of ownership, of property or labour. It was property not labour which was considered the necessary and sufficient claim to citizenship. Property implied fixity, a stake in the land, and the principles at least of local taxation in Britain still rely on notions of fixity, locality as well as property occupation, even though such principles have been partially abandoned in the issue of franchise. In the United States, the first nation-state created out of migration in the modern era, ownership of property defined who had claims to early citizenship – not the native Americans who roamed the land, nor African slaves who laboured on it. Both became, in principle and in practice, vagrants. Their claims to citizenship continue to resonate.

It was not just America which turned the base chaos of migration into the gold of citizenship. Europe's empires, too, tamed the threat of vagrancy into that of permanence and homogeneity. Those who conquered and settled established outposts of Europe elsewhere, little Britains, little Frances, across the seas, claiming the colonies as property by dint of their labour. Yet from the early days of these Empires, there was a hierarchy, the Plimsol line of which was race. Enforced migration, of Africans, and later Asians, did not qualify in the grand enterprise of citizenship or conquest. Their migration was simply the relocation of labour, functional vagrancy devoid of the grandeur of pioneer or enterprise. They were, simply, the spoils of Empire.

its prototypes. It was the go-getters who went and got, but it was a one-way movement, an assumption of dominance, a movement of visionaries to America, of missionaries (trading in goods and politics as much as souls) to empire. In much the same way, the contemporary debate on globalization has focused on the international go-getters, the economic and political trend setters, who convert the world and prepare it for international citizenship. Even the critics of globalization begin from a similar premise, that conversion means subversion and submersion of indigeneous custom and practice, that globalization sounds the death knell of cultural diversity at best, self-determination at worst.

The prosecution and defence in the trial of globalization have dazzled its international jury, while the real subversives have been steadily and stealthily undermining its basic assumptions, its old-world premise of *realpolitik*. Moving and manoeuvring, ducking and weaving in the narratives and debates on globalization are, and have been, actual or potential international migrants, slipping through the one-way traffic of globalization by the cultural backroads, absorbing and transforming the global agenda into that of their own, at the same time transforming the cultures and societies into which they enter, momentarily or for ever. A form, as Vertovec observes, of 'globalization from below' (Vertovec 1997).

From the start, the Caribbean emerged as a counter-narrative to the modern narrative of nomad capital which accompanied colonization, and preceded the growth of empire and the formation of nation-states. Even before the Europeans arrived, native Indians had established settlements and trade routes within the islands of the Caribbean and to and from the mainlands of North, Central and South America. Another site, another world, is never far from view within the Caribbean. By definition, islands look out as well as are looked in at, a point well taken by the Europeans who later came to dominate the region, as much as by the African slaves imported to labour there (Equiano 1814). There was always a world beyond, as well as a world left behind. For all the diversity which eventually emerged in the histories and cultures of those islands, there was a commonality in the potential of the far horizon. From the start, the Caribbean was global, linking as it did Europe and the Americas, Africa and Asia. It was diasporic, both the resting place and the launch pad for migrants. Preceding by at least a hundred years any notion of citizenship, of the vision or mission which came, and continues, to dominate debate on globalization, the particular experience of the Caribbean was deemed irrelevant to either grand global cause, and continues to defy the scholarly narratives which attempt to describe the social and cultural formations of the region (Trouillaut 1992; Benítez-Rojo 1996).

Caribbean culture itself is global, a mélange of European, and native Indian, African and Asian. Elements of each, old and new, have forged, and continue to forge, a unique syncretic cultural form (Harney 1996; Benítez-Rojo 1996) which continues to adapt, incorporate and transform the local with the global. Where once the global and the local interchanged with fresh arrivals from Africa or

from satellite TV, or in the hand-luggage of family visiting – or returning – from sojourns elsewhere. For one of the features of Caribbean migration is not only its historical longevity, but its impermanence, what Conway (1988) calls its circularity, and the informal contacts maintained with 'home' by generations of migrants.

The economic and political importance of these features are now readily acknowledged by Caribbean governments in the recognition of foreign exchange earnings sent through remittances and through the spending power of both returnees and the visits home of its citizens, in provisions made for returnees (Chamberlain and Goulbourne, forthcoming) and in, for instance, the consultations made by the Barbadian Commission for Constitutional Reform with Barbadians abroad. Less recognized, perhaps, is how the experience of migration itself developed, paradoxically, a consciousness of the Caribbean, and an awareness of its unique placement and position (Craig 1992), translated at times into direct political action, within the Caribbean (Richardson 1985; Hassankhan 1995) and equally, without; some examples of which Robin Cohen usefully summarizes in this volume. The culture of the Caribbean continues its globalizing mission in the person of its migrants, its transnationals (Basch *et al.* 1994), who traffic freely in and through the culture of the Caribbean, as they have done for five hundred years or so, absorbing what they encounter as much as being absorbed by it, changing and being changed, indigenizing the new as well as the old.

Yet this two-way traffic in migration, and its history, has been relatively neglected in the scholarly literature on Caribbean migration. The grand narratives of migration which accompanied modernity assumed an historic permanence and purpose in migration. These grand narratives, the heroic narrative of America, the homogenizing narrative of empire shaped the nation-state and captured the modern imagination, elaborate unifying metaphors which inverted and subsumed the destabilizing diasporic heart of migration, and which centred, settled and domesticated the nomadic essence of capital and labour which gave rise to it. It is these narratives which have shaped modern and contemporary thinking about citizenship, nationhood, race and migration.

The mythologies of citizenship and mobility, of heroism, exploitation and conquest which glorified and justified European migrations have been deemed irrelevant to the migrations from Africa and India and, more recently, from other locations in what has been significantly called the 'Third World'. Refugees have replaced vagrants, a designation (like vagrancy) of non-status, disqualifying the bearer, but on a global scale, from any claim to citizenship and nationhood and, in its further qualifier of 'economic' refugee, from any hope of labour. Migration and modernity was a one-way traffic, of Europeans to empire, of Africans and Asians within it. Caribbean migration was never viewed as a narrative of statehood or citizenship or loyalty, most particularly and most recently when the destination was not some other colony, but the mother country or the metropole itself. It was viewed as an altogether more iconoclastic movement, unprincipled, untrustworthy and potentially disruptive. The contemporary debate

I suppose, post-modern societies, has its origins in this colonial, 'modern' past and as such has a long, if often submerged, history (Goulbourne 1991: 87–125; Harris 1993).

The concept of citizenship enabled issues of loyalty, identity and membership to be foregrounded. But it did so in a particular way. It converted migration – in everyway its antonym – to a rational, non-random, irrevocable act of choice. Migrants were *im*migrants. In the United States – the first modern nation grounded in and forged out of migration – the 'melting pot' would cook (almost) everyone alike to a unique American identity, through the promise of economic and social advancement, ensuring in the process their unfailing loyalty. It excluded, significantly, those whose route in was other than by migration. Yet scholarly studies of migration contributed to its vindication; economics explained causation, sociology explained settlement, politics explained citizenship.

This assumption of rationality travelled well and accorded easily with explanations for the migrations into Europe which followed in the wake of the Second World War. The post-war reconstruction of Europe was a rational, planned response not only to the devastation of industry and homes caused by the war, but to the post-war enterprise of constructing a new domestic order, far removed from the class-torn clutter and international anarchy which had characterized the early half of the twentieth century. In Europe the Common Market would rationalize trade and diplomacy, the burgeoning welfare states would rationalize inequality, as much as contemporary design in the home would rationalize the antimacassars in favour of easy-clean Formica chairs. And into this post-war world entered the first phase of Caribbean migrants, coinciding with the labour shortage which Britain's reconstruction programme had created (Peach 1968), while elsewhere in Europe other migrants from the East and South similarly entered into the labour market.

Why did they come? They came to find work, a rational explanation for a seemingly aberrant event. The equation of migrant with worker has continued to dominate the economic and sociological models of migration (Todaro 1976; Wallerstein 1979; Cohen 1987). But it dovetailed with older narratives of race, gender and dependency. The new migrants were seen to be primarily black and colonial, poor and dependent (Huxley 1964). They had always (and only) been seen as labour and often, in the eyes of the colonial authorities, as trouble as well. Their arrival coincided with the contraction of the British Empire and the attempt to redefine Britain's global role in the new world order. Home and abroad, British society (and similar observations may also be made of those other European imperial states, France and the Netherlands) was busy redefining and reconstructing the material and the symbolic fabric of its nation-state (Schwarz 1996). West Indian migrants were seen as a new permanent addition to British society, into which, rationally, they should assimilate and integrate and thus prove worthy of citizenship. They were, first and foremost, *im*migrants.

Between 1948 and 1973 approximately 550,000 [illegible]

a decade or so after that to Britain. By 1982 there were approximately 266,000 people of Caribbean origin in France and by 1988 approximately 308,000 in the Netherlands (Peach 1991). Economic necessity was assumed to be the engine of migration, and assimilation – homogeneity – both the goal and the yardstick of migrant success. Assimilation was possible for, as one anthropologist confidently asserted, 'The West Indian lacks any distinctive and exclusive social organisation' (Patterson 1964).

The response to colonial migration and, by implication, principles of assimilation was, however, in Britain at least, a populist vilification of the migrant which erupted in 1958 in the violence of riots in Notting Hill, and attempted to be calmed by the Immigration Acts of 1962 and 1965 which effectively closed the door on further immigration and by the 1965 and 1968 Race Relations Acts which sought to outlaw racial discrimination. Within twenty years of the arrival of the post-war colonial migrants, assimilation had been replaced by reactive policies designed to control the potential for racial tension. In particular, the Immigration Acts and the 1965 Race Relations Act enshrined ethnicity and race as a political and judicial principle (Goulbourne forthcoming), while fostering at the social level a proactive programme of tolerance. By 1968 the then Home Secretary Roy (now Lord) Jenkins stated that assimilation was neither possible nor desirable and that, instead, Britain should recognize 'cultural diversity' and encourage 'mutual tolerance'. In new, multiracial Britain, the appropriate response was not to change the migrants, but to understand them and to create a society which was, in the words of the Swann Committee Report of 1985 (which sought to enshrine multiculturalism into the education system), 'socially cohesive and culturally diverse' (Swann 1985).

These policy shifts were paralleled in the academy as scholars moved their attention away from charting migrant settlement profiles (Glass 1961; Peach 1968; Foner 1979) and hypothesizing on the nature and practice of racial prejudice and discrimination (Banton 1967) to its impact, teasing out social, cultural and historical explanations of, for instance, underachievement by, in particular, West Indians (Rex and Tomlinson 1979). Since the late 1980s, as class (which always elided racial and ethnic distinction in a broader schema) has lost its analytic and political force, attention has focused on ethnicity, on its impact on politics, on nationhood, on new cultural – hybrid – formations and finally on the meanings of identity and the nature(s) of subjectivities (Hall 1990; Gilroy 1993; Bhabha 1994, 1996), where it has linked arms with prior feminist concerns around subjectivity and gender (Phizlacea 1983; Hall 1992; hooks 1993). In fifty years the debate on 'immigration' (more or less synonymous with race) has moved from homogeniety to fragmentation, from society to culture, from impact to meaning, from migration to diaspora, from modernity to post-modernity.

On the ground, migration continues and, like all cultural forms, it absorbs new dimensions. The revolution in transport and communications has eased the way

historical precedents (Richardson 1983; Chamberlain 1997). More particularly, the pattern of continuing contact with those 'back home' has not only been a central feature of Caribbean migration, but has provided it with its particular and peculiar global flavour, permitting Caribbean retentions in the new creole cultures of the migrant destinations, as much as transmitting and transporting new elements back home. Regular visits, return and re-migration, bi-furcated migration, circular migration have all become part of the lexicon of Caribbean migration, while telecommunications and increasingly the Internet have eased the way for more regular and innovative forms of contact and renewal. Indeed, as Nancy Foner shows, the ease and relative cheapness of travel from North America to the Caribbean has obviated the need for permanent return. There is no longer a need to renounce natality in favour of the 'new' country, to prove to be worthy of 'citizenship' by denying the migratory route. Similar features can also be observed increasingly in other Caribbean destinations. In Britain, while return is now a significant and remarkable feature of the Caribbean migrant communities (the Jamaican and Barbadian communites have declined by 17 per cent between 1981 and 1991, much of it the result of return migration to the Caribbean), continuing contact has reduced the need to return permanently for some, and for others has enabled contact to be retained with children and grandchildren left behind in Britain. Communication has eased the pain and reduced the loss involved in both migration and its return. Both grandmothers and grandchildren cross the ocean frequently and, in the process, not only strengthen family ties but also Caribbean contacts and culture (Chamberlain and Goulbourne forthcoming; Plaza 1997). It is possible to be both Trinidadian and American, Jamaican and British, to be an African-American or to be black British, to be a transnational, the bearer of a global identity. It is possible also to imagine further migrations, to perceive of a national allegiance as a temporary expedient, a pit-stop in a wider migratory endeavour for historically any one destination was but part of a continuum of actual and potential migrant destinations. Caribbean culture engages necessarily with migration and with a migratory imagination. 'I have no nation now,' Derek Walcott (born in St Lucia, cultured in Trinidad, living in America, laureled by the world) wrote, 'but the imagination' (Walcott 1977).

Yet on the ground, migrant lives are also quite prosaic, concerned with the daily round of work, home and family, as well as developing and adapting older cultural patterns and social formations, creating a new syncretic Caribbean culture abroad. Perhaps it is precisely in the mundane that the process of what Craig (1992) calls the 'indigenization' of those diasporic Caribbean communities can be observed, for it is within the family, and the workplace, that the points of similarity and difference, conformity and conflict are negotiated and resolved, where family values and cultural practices are transmitted, contested and transformed, and where identities evolve. One pertinent feature of those families is precisely their international dimension, which extends even beyond the two-way 'transnational' family to incorporate family members beyond the Caribbean, in

And one of the most salient features of Caribbean identities involves, as Stuart Hall (1996: 4) reminds us, 'not the so-called return to roots but a coming-to-terms-with our "routes".'

Such routes involve those passed as well as those to be passed, both metaphorically and literally. To be black and British, African American, Dutch-Javanese-Surinamese, Martiniquian, pays homage to such routes; the terminology alone qualifies any apparent resolution or fixity in identity and incorporates not only history, but its future. But at a more domestic level, so does aunty in America, the cousin in Canada, the brother or sister or grandparent in the Caribbean, the great-grandparent who went to Panama or Cuba, or cut cane in Florida, or came from Venezuela, or commuted between Grenada and Trinidad, family members and relationships whose memories are played out in the conversation over the kitchen table, through the telephone in the hall, the letters on the doormat, or through family friendships formed in the village back home, or on the passage over, and retained in the host country, through the migrant networks, through jug-jug at Christmas, salt fish and ackies, mawby, ginger beer and Red Stripe, through weddings, funerals, christenings and graduations, family albums and tailor-made dresses, the Notting Hill Carnival, the meeting turn, Saturday Schools, the various Caribbean Island Associations, and Yellow Man or Gabby in concert. Indeed, the strength and importance of the family and of family support at both ends of the migration endeavour make migration a family enterprise which, as Plaza reveals, is being given a modern face-lift as small but international family businesses update the old remittances.

For those born in Europe, or North America, the sense of the Caribbean within remains strong, 'When I go *back* to the West Indies' one young black British woman remarked:

> even my accent changes . . . people ask me . . . like in Jamaica, they'll ask me if I'm from East Kingston. In Barbados, they'll ask me if I'm from a certain part of Barbados . . . *you can just be at home in all of these things. I'm not confused about my identity . . . I'm equally at home anywhere.*
>
> (quoted in Chamberlain 1997: 126 emphasis added)

This sense contributes significantly to the indigenization of Caribbean communities – what Kasinitz (1992) calls the 'creolization' of Caribbean communities abroad. But more than the sense of the Caribbean is the sense of the world which the Caribbean gives, an essentially global perspective and global identity. Such identities remain not merely relational, but mobile, unfixed. 'I'm who wants me' one young British-born Barbadian man remarked. 'If the Chinese want me, I'll be Chinese' (quoted in Chamberlain 1997: 120). If modernity was concerned with fixing and locating, post-modernity scrambles such certainties. International migration not only flaunts the old, modern certainties of the borders of the nation-state and challenges concepts of citizenship by insisting on their contingency; it celebrates that uncertainty, that contingency, precisely (in the case of the Caribbean) by being Jamaican and American, Trinidadian and Canadian,

This anthology brings together a multidisciplinary approach to Caribbean migration from historians, anthropologists, sociologists and geographers. It takes a comparative perspective on the migration experiences of Caribbeans not only within the Caribbean, but to North America and to the European metropoles of Britain, France and the Netherlands. It shifts the focus away from the causes of migration, towards the nature and meaning of the migration experience, a shift which has radical implications for those concerned with the consequences of migration and its future. It investigates migration as a continuing historical event which has been informed by, and continues to inform, a vibrant culture of transnational and circular migration, in the 'home' and in the 'host' countries.

Thus Robin Cohen's contribution intervenes in the burgeoning debate on 'diaspora'. He reminds us of the historical uniqueness of the Caribbean both as a region and as a diaspora, and how its unique culture of hybridity has continued to retain aesthetic, political and intellectual links between Africa and New World Africans, and between Caribbean peoples both at home and abroad. More tellingly, Caribbean peoples in the diaspora itself – whether in Europe or North America – have contributed to a transformation of those societies much as their presence in those societies has in turn transformed the Caribbean and contributed to a sense not only of West Indian-ness but within that of a specific cultural consciousness.

Grosfoguel offers an overview of Caribbean communities in Paris, Amsterdam, London and New York. He reminds us that the social, economic and political conditions not only at the time and place of leaving but also at the time and place of arrival have profound implications for the success of labour incorporation. The varying experiences of Caribbean migrants in their respective metropoles need to be seen comparatively before any understanding can be reached; attention must be focused on the peculiarity of local conditions as well as on the profile of the migrants themselves. This perspective is developed further by Foner in her detailed comparison between Jamaicans in London and New York, and Haitians in New York and Miami. She adds the further variable of race relations and time (the 'period effect') to those identified by Grosfoguel and warns against assuming homogeniety in migrant experience, not only across but also within the same country.

But comparisons, as Foner shows, perhaps work most fruitfully when comparing similar or same groups in different locations, where the receiving environment will produce very different experiences. This theme is taken up by Olwig in her study of Nevisians in the US Virgin Island of St John and in Leeds in the United Kingdom. Interviews, she argues, reveal valuable data on migration, in this case on two very different expectations and experiences of Nevisian migrants. But, equally important, is the way in which this experience is related and represented and the process by which it is seen to fit within the life stories and life cycles of the migrants themselves. Interviews, therefore, need to be interpreted at a range of levels if the nuances of migrant experience, which includes the continuing interplay between the local and the global, are to be

The emphasis on labour as the principal propeller of migration has necessarily led to a male bias in migration studies. Men, it is assumed, are the pioneer migrants, sending later for their wives and children. This bias reflects as much the epistemological roots of scholarly disciplines as historical precedent. As my own study of Barbadian migrants revealed (Chamberlain 1997), women as well as men migrated, and have done so historically. It is only recently that scholars have begun to look at gender for insights into migration, and within that to focus on the particular experiences of women. But, as Leydesdorff argues, the continuing focus on men, at least in the Netherlands, and men as a particular kind of problem, has dominated the data and obscured the issues which women have encountered as migrants. In order to find out about the daily lives of women as migrants, it is necessary to turn to a life-story approach. This, however, is not without its pitfalls. Picking up on some of the themes raised by Olwig, she alerts us to the difficulties of representation, and the dangers of misrepresentation.

The experience of women as migrants, their capacity to adapt and change, and their role in the transmission of culture are themes developed by Lutz and Kopijn. Using life-story interviews across two generations of Surinamese women, Lutz explores the mental and emotional context of migration. For her, life stories can illuminate the links between subjectivity and material life. She highlights how 'social capital' has been transmitted and transformed across generations and across the oceans, arguing that it is this which enables successful adaptation for successive generations, as well as a continuing sense of Caribbean identity. Kopijn also uses a life-story approach but in this case to explore the double migration of Javanese-Surinamese migrants, and to look at ways in which a Javanese ethnicity was constructed in Surinam and reconstructed in Holland. Migration, she argues, does not stop at the moment of relocation, but continues in its adjustments across generations. In this, women as 'cultural entrepreneurs' play a pivotal role within their families.

The theme of intergenerational transmission is investigated, but in very different ways, by Oostindie and in my own chapter. Oostindie explores the attitudes of young, contemporary Surinamese and Antilleans towards the history of migration to the Netherlands. He looks at the experiences of those (relatively few) Caribbean migrants who arrived in Holland pre and post the Second World War. Then, the overwhelming Dutch response was of benign curiosity. For the most part these early migrants were regarded as exotic and heroic. By comparison, the later immigration which began in the 1960s is qualitatively different. Numerically it is larger. It is more ethnically diverse. The motivations for migration are equally diverse, as were the beliefs in what Holland offered and migrant attitudes towards and relations with the Caribbean. In many ways, the history of Dutch Caribbean migration is very different from that of the British or French Caribbean, and significantly different from its own early history. Echoing Foner's warning, there is nothing constant in Caribbean migration, there are no natural continuities. By contrast, my own chapter, using life-story interviews across generations, picks up on some of the themes opened by Lutz and explores

argues for the importance of family histories in understanding migration, and shows how those histories, or salient elements of them, are transmitted and transformed across generations and play a powerful role in the formation of identities and the representations of self.

The continuing vitality of the Caribbean in the life and culture of its peoples abroad is one of the central features of Caribbean migrants. While many of the chapters in this book have explored this dimension and drawn attention to the essential elasticity of the Caribbean as a region, whose frontiers as Susan Craig reminds us 'are not geographical, but living ones' (Craig 1992: 218), it is vital to explore why and how this feature has become so central a characteristic of the Caribbean and its migrations. Migration has often been viewed and analysed from the perspective of the metropole, and its assumptions that migration is both permanent and aberrant, based (as argued earlier) on the need to fix the vagrants and their loyalties. Yet, from the perspective of the Caribbean, migration to, from and within the region has been central to its political creation, its economic sustenance and its cultural core. The first Europeans migrated freely within the region, the Americas and Europe, taking and depositing their capital, their labour (and their labourers) and gobbits of culture. After Emancipation, exercizing freedom for the former slaves more often than not assumed the form of migration – either off the plantations, or off the island altogether. Indeed, so great was the potential exodus from Barbados in 1838 that the House of Assembly passed legislation effectively prohibiting it (Beckles 1990: 112; Chamberlain 1997: 20). Notwithstanding that, migration not only from Barbados but from all the islands in the Caribbean, with destinations in North, South and Central America as well as the Caribbean, continued throughout the nineteenth century and was a well-established feature by the twentieth (Roberts 1955; Ebanks *et al.* 1979; Richardson 1985; Kasinitz 1992). It was not only the former slaves who migrated. Some of the Chinese and Indian indentured labourers who were imported into the region after emancipation either returned to India after their indentureship, or migrated on, to South and Central America (Look Lai 1993; Shepherd 1994; Laurence 1994). Any attempt to understand the complexity of Caribbean migration must take into account its long migratory history and begin to explore some of its lesser-known facets. Thus Shepherd explores one aspect of the Caribbean's migration history in her study of Indian migrants to Jamaica. Brought in to help solve the perceived shortage of labour after the former slaves' migration off the plantations, the Indian labourers, on expiry of their indentureship, then absorbed what was an already established culture of migration and themselves migrated, some back to India, some to the cities, and some further afield, to Cuba, to Panama, and to North and South America, despite opposition, and at times prohibition, from the Jamaican government.

A very different aspect of migration is evoked in Johnson's article on Barbadians who migrated to the Putomayo District of the Amazon in 1904–11. Reminding us of the multidirectional flow and multifaceted dimension of Caribbean migration, Johnson explores the fate and experiences of a small group of Barbadians [illegible]

the promise of high wages, free passage, housing and medical expenses, but who found themselves as unwitting accomplices to a highly exploitative labour system where they themselves were the victims of a system of debt peonage. Far from transforming their material circumstances, or escaping the rigid strictures of Barbadian society, these migrants ended their employment contracts often heavily in debt, deeply exploited and morally compromised by their part in the subjugation and virtual enslavement of the native Indians.

Although this may represent one of the lesser-known and least successful components in the history of Caribbean migration, it manifests nevertheless an important dimension of what Thomas-Hope (1992) calls the 'migration tradition'. Returning to the theoretical theme of globalization, she reminds us not only of the centrality of the Caribbean to the global enterprise of modernity, but also how migration has influenced the development of the institutional structures of the Caribbean, and of a culture which supports and encourages the process. In so doing, Caribbean societies, at every level, have been shaped by the continuing interplay between the local and the global, a perspective which was and remains a central dynamic of Caribbean migration culture.

The final essays in this anthology look in some detail at the settlement profile and survival strategies of Caribbean migrants in Britain, France and Canada. Peach's meticulous analysis of the 1991 UK census indicates that, contrary to popular perceptions of the Caribbean population in Britain becoming increasingly segregated socially and ghettoized demographically, there is a considerable degree of geographic dispersal of the population, and a notable movement of Caribbean people (by descent or birth) out from the main cities of earlier concentration. As a result, he argues, there are far higher levels of social interaction than among, for instance, African-Americans in the United States and a significant degree of ethnic mixing.

The issue of gender in settlement and survival is raised by Byron, Condon and Plaza. Whereas, as Peach observes, there is a high concentration of low-skilled work or unemployment among male Caribbeans in Britain, for women the situation is rather different. As Byron shows, black women in Britain have, and have had, a high rate of participation in the labour force in Britain, reflecting the long history of participation in the formal (and informal) economy by women in the Caribbean. This continuing participation may be seen both as a survival strategy, in the Caribbean and Britain, and as an example of the 'indigenization' of the Caribbean in Britain. In some ways it parallels Lutz's findings with Surinamese women who are able to fit their social practices into those of the Netherlands. Although the meanings and contexts of these practices are different in Surinam and Holland, as they are in St Kitts and Britain, exploitation of their superficial conformity enhances women's successful strategies for survival and helps retain Caribbean cultural practices. At the same time, these women, in Britain, have moved increasingly into the service and professional areas and, unlike their male counterparts, have been less affected by downsizing in the industrial and manufacturing sector. Their continuing contribution to the house-

believe that their lives, while materially more comfortable, are more difficult than those of their mothers in the Caribbean.

The theme of survival strategies is also highlighted by Condon in her study of migrants from Martinique and Guadaloupe to metropolitan France. Indeed, both Byron and Condon challenge the popular belief of women as 'passive' participants in the migration process, a challenge which accords with the evidence of Lutz, Leydesdorff and Kopijn. Condon, however, argues that while the decision to migrate may be based on a long-term strategy for improvement, the employment profile in both the Caribbean and in France is often more haphazard, linked to family experience, social networks and local opportunity. The need to survive, as Condon elegantly points out, leads to strategies based on compromise and coping.

Finally, Plaza's study of Caribbean males in Canada explores the strategies for upward social mobility among university-educated Caribbean-born men. While the particular expression of upward mobility has been shaped by the cultural values of the Caribbean, the strategies adopted by these men have been sharply modified by the opportunities available to them in Canada, and the levels of discrimination experienced. His article thus accords with many of the insights raised by Grosfoguel and Foner, but he adds a further dimension: while many of the men from his sample were forced to lower their aspirations, they compensated by retaining and nurturing family and other links with the Caribbean. This had a double function. It provided a safety cushion, and at the same time a yardstick by which to measure success in Canada. Indeed, perhaps this is a further example of the 'indigenization' of Caribbean peoples abroad, who have always retained links back home as both an insurance policy in the event of 'failure', and as a foil to their own social mobility. Of vital importance in this is the link with family who often helped support the migrant, as the migrant in turn supported the family back home. This now has been given a modern twist as communications and technology has enabled these transnational links to be converted into transnational enterprise. Perhaps this offers one explanation for the continuing links between Caribbean people at home and abroad, the essence of international migration and global lives, of the 'indigenization' or 'creolization' of Caribbean communities in exile (Kasinitz 1992; Sutton and Chaney 1994) and of their globalized identities, and also for the retention of the mythology of reward which may be one of the drivers of migration and one vital component of its vibrant culture.

As these chapters demonstrate, there are as many routes to studying international migration as the trajectories of migration itself. Equally, as these chapters remind us, while migration may be observed and monitored on a macro level, the active agents in the process are the migrants themselves, whose agendas and responses are created and resolved through a complex cultural and psychological process which manifests itself at both an individual and at a social level. The vibrancy of Caribbean cultures abroad, whether in Holland, France, Britain or North

the host societies, a clear indication of the reluctance to, and impossibility of, substituting one for the other, and a powerful reminder of how the Caribbean continues to forge a powerful global identity through and in its peoples.

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