

Migration in Comparative Perspective

Caribbean Communities in Britain and France

**Margaret Byron
and
Stéphanie Condon**



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Migration in Comparative Perspective

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To Sipho, Emma, and Kate

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Background and Acknowledgments

Margaret and Stephanie met in Oxford in 1992. Margaret had just completed her study of the history and dynamics of migration from the Leeward Islands to Britain and Stephanie was working on a comparative study of Caribbean migrants' access to housing in France and Britain, and had travelled to Oxford to discuss her research with Ceri Peach. Prior to this, Stephanie had carried out research into the history of French Caribbean migration to the metropole with Philip Ogden from 1988 to 1991. Ensuing exchanges between Margaret and Stephanie revealed the great number of similarities between the two labour migrations and they decided to work on a comparative project. Support from the Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques (Ined), Kings College London, and the French Embassy-British Council "Alliance" funding enabled them to produce a first comparative study in 1995, presented to the IBG conference and then published in 1996. Subsequently, they regularly discussed the various aspects of the migration process, new trends, and new data sources, and their respective publications were nourished by this regular cross-national theoretical framework. In 2000, they decided to work together on a book. The intention was to bring together the various pieces of these two parallel histories, comparing the different sources of data as systematically as possible. The book proposal was accepted by Routledge in 2002.

This was to be a major challenge; for two academics, separated by the Channel, to endeavour to make their hectic professional and family timetables coincide in order to find space to plan their writing, think about their specific contributions, discuss how to overcome the non-comparability of some data sources, and debate their interpretations of data. Over the following months and years, there were times when this was achieved, but others when the obstacles became too great or unforeseen events disrupted the process. Yet, we remained determined that the book should materialise for ourselves and also for all those who supported us along the way, particularly the people who gave of their time to tell us their part in these her/histories.

To name these numerous people is impossible. Yet as we complete this book, their support remains invaluable. In the production of the manuscript,

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1 Introduction

LABOUR MIGRATIONS, FAMILY HISTORIES, CARIBBEAN FUTURES

Caribbean Contributions to Understanding Migrations Past and Future

In an age when a fair proportion of the world's population is living in a city or region other than its birthplace, 'being a migrant' may seem quite a mundane experience. Yet the phenomenon of migration continues to occupy a prime position on the research agendas of most academic institutions across the globe. Political concerns ranging from the 'cost,' for receiving nations, of migration from poorer states, issues relating to national security, and fear of social instability arising from the arrival of large numbers of people perceived as 'culturally different,' have generated increasing funding for research into themes such as 'integration,' 'social cohesion,' and 'transnationality'¹. Within this context of policy-driven research, academic questions continue to renew and refine theory². New themes have emerged recently linked to the fields of sociolinguistics, gender studies, and sexuality research. At the same time, considerable energy is devoted to the study of concepts; among these, *assimilation* (Alba and Nee, 1997; Nagel, 2002; Brettell, 2003), *ethnicity* (Waters, 1999; Fenton, 2003; Song, 2003), and *community* (Alleyne, 2002). This all makes for an ever-expanding theoretical context at the same time as the number of case studies of migration around the world increases. Whilst most current research holds 'new migrations' in the spotlight, describing movements and their impacts in China, the Indian subcontinent, the Gulf states, Africa, the former Soviet states, and so on, a section of research maintains a historical focus on the migration process (N. Green, 1997; Hareven, 2002; Watkins-Owens, 1996). Between these two poles of research, life history approaches and longitudinal data analyses provide a contemporary historical view of migration over recent decades (Bruno, 2006; McDowell, 2003; Brettell, 2003).

This historical perspective on migration is essential for a number of reasons. First, many features of 'new' migrations uncovered by researchers are

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presented as 'new' phenomena. The form taken by actions may change over time, but many aspects of the migration process have endured throughout history. For instance, communication has been facilitated by Internet links; but the messages carried convey the same desires to reassure, invitations, advice, anxieties, words of caution as did the written letters that travelled between New York and Southern Italy one century ago.

Second, a longitudinal perspective through the examination of life histories or the analysis of changes and continuities across generations locates life experiences at particular times within historical and geographical contexts. Third, as Nancy Green emphasises, historians tend to point to historical parallels between migrations in the past and contemporary migrations in a way that sociologists or political scientists may not since they focus on present details rather than on the wider picture (Green, 2002). Thus the study of Caribbean migration to Europe, in an age of increasing diversification and globalisation of movements, may not be considered by many to be a priority research object. One of the principal aims of this book, therefore, is to demonstrate the heuristic value of a detailed examination of two parallel migration flows that were generated by a particular combination of political, cultural, and socioeconomic circumstances and how the outcomes for the migrant generation and for those of their European-born descendants differed. Bringing together various strands of the 'Caribbean experience' in France and Britain over the previous half-century, we aim to explore interactions between state policies and individual histories. The book offers a portrait of characteristics of residence, employment, family, and household dynamics that reflect these interactions. In so doing, we have given prominence to contemporary studies throughout the period, studies that were particularly enlightening on the Caribbean experience at the time and how the populations were viewed.

Post-1945 'Labour' Migrations: European Destinations, Colonial Sources

Comparative studies to date have highlighted similarity of experiences: migration within a (post)colonial relationship to the core state, expectations of being accepted as overseas citizens, urban settlement, and initial confinement of workers to particular sections of the labour market (Freeman, 1979; Brock, 1986; Levine, 1987; Peach, 1991; Cross and Entzinger, 1988; Milia, 2002). The particular importance of the colonial relationship and its enduring nature is advanced in discussions of coloniality (Grosfoguel, 2003). Some movements from the Caribbean took place outside such a relationship however. For former British colonies, there was also the often preferred destination choice of the United States; but American legislation preventing entry meant that Britain became a primary destination during the 1950s and 1960s. In contrast, the French Caribbean migration project,

for reasons we will explain in Chapter 2, has been directed exclusively to metropolitan France.

Despite, and because of these colonial links, the migrations studied here should be considered within the wider context of post–World War II labour migrations. This can be supported, both from the point of view of the metropolitan centres and their low-skilled labour needs; and from that of the migrants, coming from societies with shrinking employment opportunities following sugar production plant closures, lack of economic diversification and growing populations, ambitions to secure stable and better paid jobs and accumulate some capital. As part of this movement of required labour to Western Europe, Caribbean migrants in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s encountered other migrants with various types of colonial links to the state—Irish, Indian, Cypriot, Chinese—as well as migrants who were part of other types of labour migration flows (Italian, Polish). Meanwhile migrants from Guadeloupe and Martinique arriving in urban France crossed paths with rural provincial migrants, Algerian colonials, Portuguese clandestine emigrants, and Italians linked to pre–World War II migration streams. The specificity of the status of Caribbeans in each of the labour markets we are studying here is particularly visible in comparison to that of these migrant flows, and their respective economic and sociopolitical positions were to take quite different trajectories.

The Caribbean in Europe

The migrations compared here are two of the three broad movements from the Caribbean to Europe. The third, directed towards the Netherlands, bears many similarities to the flows to Britain and France. A first comparison of these three (post)colonial migratory contexts two decades ago, written as the introduction to the book edited by Colin Brock, invited an in-depth comparison of this large-scale transatlantic movement (Brock, 1986). The settlement of these populations in the three states shared many characteristics, in terms of pre-migration legacies (Peach, 1991; Van Niekerk, 2004), in labour market positions (Freeman, 1979; Hennessy, 1986; Peach, 1991; Van Niekerk, 2000), residence (Van Amersfoort, 1987). The books edited a little later, by Levine (1987) and by Cross and Entzinger (1988), gave further support to the comparability of these migrations. Caribbean migration specialists met at regular intervals during the 1990s in an attempt to set up a systematic comparison of the movements to Europe. The initiative unfortunately encountered several obstacles and the comparative perspective was summarised in editions of collected papers (Chamberlain, 1998; Caribbean Studies, 2004) or in later publications by individual authors largely inspired by these academic exchanges (Grosfoguel, 2003; Foner, 2005). In parallel, the American quantitative sociologist Model set up comparative analyses with European colleagues using employment data and statistics of marital behaviour (references in Chapters 5 and 6). As our first comparative study

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of the context of return migration to the Caribbean from Britain and France demonstrated (Byron and Condon, 1996), a considerable investment is necessary to pursue such systematic cross-national comparisons and this certainly proved to be the case in the present enterprise. It is hoped that this comparison can be extended to one incorporating the Dutch case, in an intergenerational approach to employment, family, and housing outcomes and to transnational/transatlantic experience.

People born in the Caribbean and their descendants now form an integral part of the urban populations of Britain and of France. The group spans three or four generations, from the retired to schoolchildren. Families now include people with no links to the Caribbean, as migrants or their descendants have chosen partners from European or other backgrounds. The younger generations often locate themselves in a wider geographical context than did their parents. Rather than viewing their lives as caught between the two poles—the Caribbean islands and Britain or France—for many, their existence embraces a range of places, from Europe to the Americas or Africa, as places to visit, aspired to as places in which to live, or as the hub of musical and other cultural production to which they are attracted. Whilst the notion of a transatlantic identity and the links between African and Caribbean origin populations in North America and in Europe has been much alluded to (Gilroy, 1993; see Chivallon, 2004), it would be interesting to explore what specific European experience is developing, particularly in relation to movement between the capitals and other major cities. In this respect, Colin Brock's expression 'The Caribbean in Europe' is evocative of the location of people of Caribbean origin today in Europe as much as British or French towns and cities.

A number of themes have cut across or shaped our analyses of the various life contexts of Caribbeans in Britain and France: ethnicity, identity, racism; gender; generation and life course. In the subsequent part of this introductory chapter, we will discuss how these themes help to frame our understanding of occupational, housing, and family outcomes for migrants and their descendants in the two national contexts. We will then turn to a discussion of the motivations behind this comparative study, the insights it brought to each migration history, the obstacles that had to be overcome.

ETHNICITY, IDENTITY, COMMUNITY

Caribbean Identities, Caribbean Communities

Defining a community necessitates objects through which to understand its meanings, its underlying motivations and needs. Community institutions were long used as a means to study the dynamics and boundaries of immigrant or 'ethnic' communities. In her review of such studies, Brettell concluded that 'community or community relations implies a set of institutions

or organisations within which context social interaction can occur or with which group membership can be identified' (Brettell, 1981, p. 12). Such institutions would include the Church, shown to be a fundamental organ in the development of Italian immigrant communities in the United States (Gans, 1962) and indeed of Caribbean migrant communities in Britain (Hill, 1971; Chivallon, 2001). Others would include clubs, commercial establishments, and numerous services for the group, for example, travel agencies and national-language newspapers. Whilst some contended that the size of the group would determine the number of institutions created (Lee, 1977), others argued that the 'needs' of the group would be more important. These needs might be material, in a receiving society that has not catered for immigrants' problems of adaptation to the urban environment. In addition, cultural or psychological factors were held to explain the establishment of institutions such as churches, newspapers, and clubs—a means of reassuring migrants and giving them a chance to re-establish their identity rather than necessarily constituting a mark of cultural loyalty (Rolle, 1980). Locality-based communities are also important in the perpetuation of migration streams (Gabaccia, 1984; Yans-McLaughlin, 1977; Boyd, 1988).

For such institutions and associations to be set up, a group of leaders must emerge with the energy, time, and motivation to create them. There is a complex interplay of regional, political, economic, and cultural interests in the emergence of 'community leaders'. These sometimes act as divisive agents when they are perceived to be purely seeking their own betterment (Jansen, 1969; Cinel, 1981). Even when institutions are not numerous or not concentrated at the local scale, a more diffuse web of associations may underlie a strong identification with the place of origin, to which migrants return annually or more often; for example, the Portuguese in France (Brettell, 1981). Clearly geographical distance is an important factor in maintaining links through visits and circulation.

The debate on such issues evolved in two principal directions subsequently. First, with the emergence of the 'second generation' and preoccupations surrounding their full integration into the societies in which their parents had settled and the psychological and social impact of living with two sets of attachments (Watson 1977), ethnic community institutions would no longer be serving only a migrant population but young people who had been brought up and schooled outside their parents' country of origin. Needs then might be of a quite different nature and the mode of participation of the descendants in such institutions very distinct to that of their parents' generation. The second direction taken by debates was that supporting the idea of transnationality; community institutions, ethnic business, and political mobilisation have increasingly been analysed within this framework.

Caribbean migrant institutions and community structures on either side of the Atlantic have been relatively little studied. Academic interest focused rather on the experience of racism and discrimination than on possible Caribbean 'ethnic communities.' Much of the local mobilisation of family

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and island connections to re-create the 'home country' atmosphere or to provide support for compatriots was not studied within a wider framework of ethnic community organisation. In France, French Caribbean migrant institutions have received little attention from academics working in the field of immigration. However, David Beriss, an anthropologist researching into the theme of French identity, devoted his doctoral thesis to comparing the different types of organisation: political, cultural, and religious (1992). Focusing on case studies to analyse these three realms of Caribbean identity expression, he examined the forms of identification amongst leaders, activists, and other organisation members with 'Caribbean-ness' or 'Frenchness.' As posited in the North American literature cited above, although the creation of such institutions has been in response to material, psychological, and cultural needs, such as relating to problems of adaptation, experience of racial discrimination, and support in maintaining contact with family in the islands, conflicting interests have acted as a dividing force.

From the early period of the labour migration, during which community organisation was polarised between those associations linked to the Bumidom and the virulent activity of militant political and student organisations condemning French emigration policy (considering it to constitute deportation, forced exile; AGEF, 1979; Constant, 1987; Anselin, 1979), the various types of activism or clubs broadened in interest. Then the mid-1970s saw the first important sociopolitical mobilisation around issues focusing on the right to live and work in the Caribbean (Giraud and Marie, 1987). The 1980s saw a flourishing of the number of associations, under the umbrella of the state agency responsible to assisting integration of the populations from the overseas territories (the A.N.T.³, which distributed government funding to these associations). Many of these associations were short-lived due to internal conflict or competition for resources. Partly for this reason, they had little influence in mobilising Caribbean migrants and their descendants to organise themselves as an electoral force. It has been observed that many migrants continue to see their local elected representatives in the islands as those most likely to defend their rights (Célestine and Wuhl, 2005). Nonetheless, these neighbourhood associations, often taking on other issues relating to non-Caribbean populations, notably those concerning young people, have become a strong base for a revived and much broader struggle (Beriss, 2004; Daniel, 2005). For, in the late 1990s, there came a new dynamic generated by new leaders of mobilisations around issues ranging from the commemoration of the ending of slavery, the fight against racial discrimination, and the right of migrants from the Caribbean and Reunion Island and their descendants to benefit from reduced-price travel to go back to visit relatives (Célestine and Wuhl, 2005; Karam, 2005; Marie, 2002; Beriss, 2004). As Constant has stressed, these various forms of political mobilisation are less a sign of a rejection of the French republican ideal than an 'ethnic' form of demand for recognition as equal citizens with equal rights (Constant, 2000). The different forms of mobilisation have

intensified (Giraud, 2004), as have divisions within ‘the French Caribbean community’⁴. At the same time, events and gatherings of a more cultural nature are increasingly popular within the population of French Caribbean descent in metropolitan France—to which many of its members refer to as ‘la communauté antillaise’—such as the annual Carnival in Paris at the beginning of July.

In the British context, localised Caribbean religious activity (Hill, 1971; Gerloff, 1992; Toulis, 1997; Chivallon, 2001) has been a particularly important arena in which Caribbean people have negotiated their representation and integration in Britain. Over the decades the forms of this activity have varied as some Caribbean people became more integrated into mainstream Christian denominations while others associated firmly with the Pentecostal churches that became a feature of religious practice during the early postwar years. More recently, some Caribbean pentecostals share church membership with the large numbers of new immigrants from West Africa who attend the Pentecostal churches in significant numbers. Church therefore has been central to Caribbean identity in Britain but has simultaneously hosted key interaction with other ethnicities, which has over time led to a broadening of the base of identification.

In the postwar era, Caribbean migrant associations often focused on island of origin or local group of islands as opposed to a Caribbean-wide association (Abernaty, 2003). They have been, over time, critical fora in which migrant identities and strategies have been constructed and altered. However, black political activity was established in Britain by the 1920s mainly organised by a combination of Caribbean and African students in response to the racial prejudice they encountered upon entering and settling in Britain (Goulbourne, 1991; Ramdin, 1987). Roles and the nature of associations have changed over time in response to Caribbean interactions within British society and changing expectations and demands of British-raised generations (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1992), and also in connection with the complex transnational network that has been built up over time. Generational shifts affect interests and identification, impacting noticeably on the construction and reconstruction of ethnic/group identity (Reynolds, 2006). As Hylton’s (1999) work on African Caribbean community organisations has demonstrated, such organisations often arise in response to exclusion from access to key resources in society such as education and employment. Their activity generates change and can build a very positive sense of group and individual identity for members.

The famous Nottinghill Carnival in London, now the largest street festival in Europe, signifies the struggle that Caribbean people engaged in to establish a degree of control over space in the colonial ‘motherland’ in the face of violent racism during the late 1950s. The ‘cultural’ is simultaneously ‘political’ (Jackson, 1988). Carnival is an event that has considerable political significance for the Caribbean community in Britain while simultaneously engaging the wider society, indeed the global society as consumers of an

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'ethnic festival.' 'Carnival' has become a major signifier of the interaction between Britain and its colonial immigrants, a contested space that today emphatically reflects multicultural Britain. Through migration many Caribbeans became, albeit often reluctantly, part of self-conscious communities as they never had been in the Caribbean itself. There, beyond their immediate locality, people had looked to their colonial power for identification. In the British Caribbean, following independence from the 'Motherland' most of the territories, island and mainland societies alike, had an insular approach to identification. They associated with their home territory and, beyond that, they leapfrogged the surrounding region crossing the Atlantic to Britain or looked north to America for further identification. Despite the federal goal of their leaders, Caribbean people did not constitute a united front. Indeed there was far more mutual suspicion than respect and goodwill between islanders and race was a major source of division within the island societies. Sutton and Makiesky-Brown (1975) argued that in both the migrations to the United States and to Britain, black people from the Caribbean developed a wider ethnic and racial consciousness that had not unified them previously. Importantly, identity is not a 'fixed' phenomenon. Peach (1984) employs the concepts of scale and context in search of an explanation of shifting Caribbean identity in Britain: from being a villager in the island of origin, to an islander when meeting other islanders, to a West Indian or Caribbean person to an audience in Britain. British- or French-born descendants of Caribbean migrants may identify as Caribbean, Antillean, British, French, or any other permutation that is appropriate to them in a specific context (Daniel, 2005). For example, island-based organisations may work against a wider pan-Caribbean mobilisation. Yet they may be important actors in activating Caribbean identification beyond specific island attachments, as in response to natural catastrophes such as devastation caused by Hurricane Hugo in Guadeloupe in 1989 or after the destruction of the capital of Montserrat by the eruption of the Soufriere Hills Volcano in 1995.

The question of the existence or nonexistence of Caribbean communities in the migration context has generated a great deal of debate. This has extended through discussion on the symbols, meaning, and content of Caribbean identity, the notion of a deterritorialised transatlantic black identity (Gilroy, 1993), to a wider discussion of the existence of a Caribbean diaspora (Goulbourne, 2002, 2004; Chivallon, 2004). The use of the term 'diaspora' in the context of Caribbean migration invokes different significations, from the transplantation of victims of oppression to the transporting of attributes, practices, and cultural models; thus both negative and positive constructions of diaspora. There are conflicting viewpoints on the usage of the term, from the idea of the construction of diaspora as a form of resistance to that of its nonexistence, its impossibility because of the alienation of the Caribbean people through slavery and colonisation (Glissant, 1981). As Chivallon observes, 'It is not by chance that we are confronted by such diverging theses. These simply reflect a diversity

already existing in the social world they are attempting to theorise—that is the existence of a community bound together by a singular historical experience, but which can never be reduced to a ‘central,’ collective project supposedly the federating element in community construction’⁵ (Chivalon, 2004, p. 160).

The expression ‘community’ in the present study, and particularly in its title, is not used in a non-reflexive way. We have been sensitive to the well-founded critique of Alleyne (2002), entreating academics to think more about what they intend when using the term and also of the possible consequences in terms of naturalising ethnic boundaries. In no way do we think of the ‘Caribbean communities’ we have studied here as bounded, containers of like people with fixed cultural attributes; but we have focused on shared experiences through the migration process, through individual and family trajectories, and in the types of attachment to the Caribbean. Our work in the field over the last twenty years, including a constant observation of how Caribbean migrants and their descendants talk of themselves and of their co-islanders (or ‘compatriots’ as some refer to other Caribbeans in the French context) as well as of how public discourse refers to these and other migrant or minoritised groups in the two national contexts, has given us a sensitivity to when, where, and by whom the term ‘community’ is used. In this book, we have reconstructed parts of this ‘common history,’ a migration history, in order to demonstrate the common experiences in employment, housing, and transatlantic links. But, at the same time, we have shown the diversity within the ‘Caribbean experience’ of migration to Europe, which may certainly be reflected in different forms of belonging and attachments. Individuals link in with various communities in different ways at different moments during their everyday lives and also during their life course. Social factors and gender relations often intervene. Affiliation to a Caribbean identity may be a prominent dynamic in the way that many people live out their lives, at the same time as building multiple affiliations, through the workplace or leisure activities, in the neighbourhood.

The notion of ethnic communities of course calls for a close examination of what is meant by ethnicity and how communities are built on such a basis. According to Fenton, ‘Ethnicity refers to the *social construction* of descent and culture, the social mobilisation of descent and culture, and the meanings and implications of classification systems built around them. People or peoples do not just possess cultures or share ancestry; they elaborate these into an idea of a community founded upon these attributes’ (Fenton, 2003, p. 3). It is in this sense that communities can be invented and imagined (Anderson, 1983), selecting certain attributes to define boundaries around a group supposed to share descent and culture. Although Fenton suggests that talk of imaginings, constructions, and inventions may have gone too far and poses that there are real blocs of population who correspond roughly to the commonly-used labels, in cases

of sociopolitical mobilisation, a certain degree of (re)construction is necessary, accompanied by imaginings shared at least by some of the group. Such imaginings are not only on the part of the group in question, but of those outside who willingly accept or construct fixed categories and seek to explain behaviour by ethnic identity. It is to the issues of assigned ethnicity and racism that we will now turn briefly.

Assigned Ethnicity, Racism, and Discrimination

Debate on identity issues in the context of immigration to Europe and North America has long been entwined with the analysis of the concept of ethnicity—ethnicity summarised by the drawing of borders around groups (Barthe, cited by Fenton, 2003), this drawing being carried out either by members of group themselves or by outsiders. This schematic representation does oversimplify a process that often involves interaction of social dynamics within the group and outside and this interaction evolves over time. However, ethnicity is not simply a matter of sustaining boundaries between groups but also of sustaining inequalities of power and access to social resources (Rex, 1986; Fenton, 2003). A number of social processes grouped together under the term ‘racism’ are enacted in a multiplicity of social relationships and life contexts; at school, in the workplace, in the neighbourhood, in contacts within hospitals and other social institutions. It is feelings of exclusion and of affront to dignity in such contexts and situations, or an accumulation of demeaning experiences, that may prompt collective response on a ‘community’ or ‘ethnic’ basis.

British and French societies have been, over recent years, in the spotlight for analysis of such processes. The study of ethnicity and racism in Britain has a longer history as it was associated very early with mobilisation—particularly from outside migrant groups—on the issue of housing discrimination (Rex and Moore, 1967). At the same time, the reception of these ‘newcomers’ was examined by Sheila Patterson (1963) and Ruth Glass (1960). Antagonisms, public and private abuse and other forms of disregard were shown to be part of the everyday experience of Caribbean and other Commonwealth immigrants. As the most numerous group in the 1950s and 1960s, Caribbean migrants were the focus of much debate in the political realm and in other spheres of public space. Stereotypes of cultural traits and social behaviour—usually negatively opposed to ‘British culture’—were incorporated into a process of ethnic assignation and indeed the racialisation of policy. The consequence of this was either overt or tacit rejection, and often acts of violence (Miles, 1984, Solomos, 1993, Small and Solomos, 2006).

The differentiation of the Caribbean group was maintained through the decades, during the long-term settlement of Caribbean migrants in Britain and expansion of the British-born descendant population. The ethnic ‘label’ has been mobilised in different ways: as a political lobby influencing access

to resources (Goulbourne 1991); by academics and social activists seeking to reveal the scope and consequences of racial discrimination; by employers and actors in the housing market acting as gatekeepers to limit mobility within these sectors.

In France, there was no similar overt rejection. This is not only related to the different immigration and decolonisation⁶ context, but also a different philosophy of integrating peoples into the French nation (Favell, 1998). Foreign migrants were intended as temporary workers—thus a different group outside the nation—whereas Caribbean migrants were people who were part of a national whole, akin to internal migrants (Lapeyronnie, 1993; Hargreaves, 1995). This was the national philosophy, which may not have been approved however at the individual level. Anselin describes racist attitudes in the workplace and in other contexts (1979), but there was no racial violence at the collective level as in riots in London.⁷ In everyday social relations, there have been more parallels with the British case. It is in the context of employment that most expression of racial discrimination has been discussed (Anselin, 1979; Lucas, 1983). Other studies have pointed to an impact of racism, the awareness of being designated as an ethnic group through unfavourable treatment (Cognet, 1999; Galap, 1984; Giraud, 2002; Marie, 2002; Capdevielle et al., 2005). More specifically, research into access to public housing revealed that the Caribbean group is identified informally as such in the practice of social mixing policies (Lévy, 1984; Condon, 1995; Rey, 2006). Absence of data allowing the differentiation of descendants of Caribbean migrants from other French nationals has meant that discriminatory processes within the education system and in employment—evident from accounts of individual experience—cannot be examined (Galap, 1993; Giraud, 1993). It is smaller-scale studies (César, 2004; Condon, 1995; Capdevielle et al., 2005; Rey, 2006), for the present, that contribute to a building of awareness of this specific type of discrimination experienced by the French Caribbean population in the metropole.⁸

This is a social context largely contributing to ‘community dynamics’ over the last decade or so. Whilst we do not focus on these dynamics per se, nor how these have been shaped by processes of ethnicisation or minoritisation of Caribbean migrants and their descendants within the French and British nations, we hope that our historical perspective on the commonalities and diversity in experiences—including those produced by gender and generational relations—will provide a useful background to studies on identity and ethnicity issues.

GENDER, GENERATION, AND THE LIFE COURSE

A broad distinction between the life courses of women and men has generally been traced in Europe and many other parts of the world. This distinction has been based primarily upon the relationship each group has maintained

with the labour market. In Western Europe in the late nineteenth century, for example, those women having some experience of paid employment—usually socially situated within the urban or rural working classes—their participation has tended to be secondary to the bringing up of children (L. Tilly and Scott, 1978). During the twentieth century, economic and social changes profoundly modified this relationship with regard to work roles at different stages of the life course, for both women and men. Social class, skill levels, and geographical location have strongly influenced labour market participation of women in terms of type of employment, number of hours worked, and availability of jobs that can be carried out in the home (McDowell and Massey, 1984).

The pattern once used to describe the ‘life cycle’ in Europe and North America—birth, marriage, reproduction (and bringing up of offspring), and death—gradually came to be recognised as more complex, particularly as household dynamics and marriage, or partnership, histories generally became less linear and as, with increasing life expectancy, the length of time spent in older life extended. The term ‘life course’ was seen to be more appropriate (Warnes, 1992). Timing of key demographic events throughout the life course has varied over time, as cohort studies have shown (Hareven, 1982, 2000). With increased institutionalisation of life stages (education system, legal ages for marriage, retirement, etc.) timing of events is more age related. Individual histories are influenced by both family and societal events, sometimes generating turning points in individual histories that open new horizons or, on the contrary, limit opportunities (Hareven, 2000, Chapters 6 and 8); for example: military service for men, war service, and migration of parents for women. For men and women, the demographic aspects of the life course can differ in many ways: age upon first union or when a first child is born, periods living alone or as a single parent, and so on.

Hareven (1982) and Westwood (1984) brought to the fore the critical importance of the life course approach to socioeconomic studies. Yet in the study of migration in general and of Caribbean migration in particular, it is rare to find this key factor the focus of debate. The issue of stage in the life course, ‘youth,’ child-bearing age groups, pre-retirement and retired groups, and their interaction with the migration process remain under-examined. Migrant experience in the spheres of production (work) and consumption (housing, health, etc.) has been sorely neglected in the literature. Here, the ‘life course factor’ is included systematically in our analyses of migration outcomes in the labour and housing markets and also in shaping the very migration process.

Articulating Gender and Generation, A Necessary Perspective on Migration

Gender is an increasingly evident theme in migration studies (Hondageu-Sotelo, 1994; Kofman, 1999). Such studies in Caribbean migration literature remain few and have tended to focus on the theme of work and the division of labour within the domestic and public spheres (Foner, 1979;

Phizaclea, 1983; Byron, 1998; Condon, 2004). Our ambition here is to integrate the gender relations perspective into all levels of our analysis and discussion of this Caribbean migration: policy, employment, housing and residential strategies, family relations, power relations, return migration, and the popular, related theme of transnationalism. We will avoid tackling gender as a separate theme by systematically integrating it throughout our examination of migration. Gender relations are seen here as integral to the Caribbean migration process.

Gender would appear to be an implicit dimension in studies of the migration experience as women migrants often are discussed in studies of family migration. Yet these women are generally referred to through their relationships with 'the migrant'—the male migrant—assumed to be the principal actor in migratory movements. Until the 1980s, women are usually visible in the migration literature as wives, mothers, or daughters (Morokwasic, 1984; Lean Lim, 1993). More recently, a growing number of studies have brought to light the role of women in migration and, in particular, women who migrate alone. Thus women have been shown to be decision makers surrounding their own migration and that of others in many regions of the world. The sudden focus on women migrants in academic literature would tend to reflect the growing numbers of women who migrate, the diversification of areas of emigration, and the development of new feminised migration streams (Castles and Miller, 1998; Phizaclea, 1998; Zlotnik, 1993) rather than the long-awaited recognition of the necessity to fully integrate gender relations into migration theory.

Whilst an increasing number of monographic studies or global perspectives focus on gender in particular, or in relation to other sets of social relations, often still in edited works or readers gender is given a token status as a chapter near the end of the volume. Thus works such as those by Phizaclea (1998), Kofman et al. (2000), Anthias and Lazardis (2002), and Pessar and Mahler (2003) show, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, we must still make arguments for a gender approach to migration.

The gender/migration nexus, as it advances towards becoming fully integrated into migration theory⁹, has generated expanding literatures in several fields or disciplines (Donato et al., 2006; Sharpe, 2001). Whilst many gendered approaches we draw on are located in the sociology of migration (Boyd, 1989; Morokwasic, 1984; Phizaclea, 1983, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Hersent and Zaidman, 2003; Ho, 2006), many aspects of our thinking have been shaped by the work of feminist geographers writing since the 1980s (Massey, 1994; McDowell, 1999; Rose, 1993; Hanson and Pratt, 1995; Pratt, 2004), some working more specifically on migration (Chant, 1992; Walter, 1991; Kofman et al., 2000). This is not to forget the feminist historians whose work has been so enlightening (Tilly and Scott, 1978; Perrot, 1978, 1991; Green, 2002; Downs, 2004, 2006). In parallel to this growing body of theory at our disposal are those writings that examine articulations between gender and race in the context of migration and in

relation to the minoritisation of certain groups (Carby, 1992; Mirza, 1997; Reynolds, 1997; Hill Collins, 1998; Phoenix, 1993).

Another significant and expanding literature, to which we aim to contribute, is that exploring gender relations in the Caribbean and in Caribbean migration contexts. A number of academics have been working over the last two decades to build a deeper understanding of both the specific place of women in the region and the impact of gender relations of women's daily lives (Besson, 1993; Dagenais, 1993; Ellis, 1986; Foner, 1986, 2005; Gautier, 1993; Momsen, 1993a, 1999; Senior, 1991). Gender relations will be a vital thread woven throughout this book. The gender component of immigration policy will be analysed as will the economic role of women in the metropolises and the impact of this role on relations within the couple and the wider family, the position of women and men in the extended family, in access to housing, and gendered attitudes towards return. Building on our previous research and its focus on the actor/ress, within the political and socioeconomic contexts of migration, we study constraints imposed upon and opportunities offered to women as well as to men, drawing attention to the importance of marital and family status on migration, economic role of women, women's and men's positions within the family, and attitudes to return.

Gender and Life Course: Gender Relations in the Lives of Caribbean Women and Men in Europe

In her chapter on 'women, work and the life course in the rural Caribbean,' Janet Momsen opens with the statement: 'The life courses of rural women in the English-speaking Caribbean differ significantly from those experienced elsewhere in other parts of the world' (Momsen, 1993b, p. 122). Largely, the affirmation is based on observations of the majority life course patterns in Europe, South America, and Asia. The Caribbean women of the generations who emigrated to Britain and France worked from an early age and at the same time as raising families. Age—and therefore stage in the life course—is an all-important factor in understanding and explaining a person's present circumstances and future possibilities. However, it is often left aside in studies on housing, employment, discrimination, and collective identities. The life course approach has also proven particularly useful when examining how structural developments in the host economy have impacted upon migrant communities (Hareven, 1982; Westwood 1984). Considering age and generation thus enables us to focus on the history of migration through collective experience.

Age characteristics of individuals intervene in many ways in migration studies, although age, or life course stage, is not always analysed directly. Broad categories—sometimes referred to as generations—such as 'the young,' 'teenage mothers,' 'grandparents,' 'retirees,' and 'the aged' are often used, focusing attention on life stages yet not always defining age limits on groups. Between what could be considered as the two ends of an age spectrum, much

research describes individuals with apparently ‘average age characteristics’ who migrate, negotiate housing and labour markets, raise children, and so on. Use of age-specific data from censuses or other surveys is more rare and confined to statistical approaches to migration. However, the gulf between statistical and sociological or social geographical approaches to migration is being bridged by collaborative research and multi-methodologies (Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson, 1998) as part of a wider movement within population geography (Findlay and Graham, 1991), demography (Knodel, 1997; Bozon, 2006), and other related disciplines. Age is evidently an important characteristic defining first whether people migrate as adults or as dependant offspring. Subsequently, in relationship with other ‘characteristics’—gender, school qualifications, monetary savings, family and social networks, and so on—age is always a key factor in understanding social position.

A life course approach opens up different perspectives on the migration process and migration history. As we remarked above, the term life ‘course’ is increasingly preferred to that of life ‘cycle’. In a similar way, migration cycle, consisting in emigration, immigration, and return, is increasingly surpassed by more complex migratory movements, notably circulation. Complex multiple loyalties render the compartmentalised nature of the elements of the ‘migration cycle’ model inadequate to explain contemporary Caribbean migration (Byron and Condon, 1996; Goulbourne, 2002; Potter et al., 2005). Hence, whilst for many individuals first migration coincides with entry into adulthood, for others it may occur after the birth of a first child or, in other cases, after the migrant’s children have left the parental home and perhaps themselves migrated. Whether migration occurs at the beginning of adult life, in maturity, or around retirement has different implications for the individual and for society.

COMPARATIVE LEARNINGS

Caribbean Communities in Britain and France

Over recent years, comparative literature on migration to Western Europe has served to highlight fundamental mechanisms in the migration process (Booth, 1994; Bovenkerk et al., 1991; Castles, 2000; Castles and Kosack, 1973; Castles and Miller, 1993; Freeman, 1979; Van Amersfoort and Peninx, 1998). Central themes have included the concession that labour and related migration has become a permanent feature of European and, indeed, global capitalist systems; the controversial issue of immigration controls and state policies more generally; racial tension, racism, and discrimination, which have featured in European migrant destinations; labour relations and the allocation and distribution of limited resources.

Meanwhile, a few studies of Caribbean migration have indicated demographic, socioeconomic, or political points of similarity or divergence between

migrant flows and settlements in major metropolitan destinations (Brock 1986; Foner, 1979; Levine, 1987; Cross and Entzinger, 1988; Peach, 1991; Pessar, 1988). However, with the exception of Foner's 1979 study of Jamaicans in New York and London, most of these have consisted of the juxtaposition of case studies and truly systematic comparisons are rare. From the late 1980s, exchanges within academic networks pointed towards the relevance of comparing migration from the various Caribbean territories to different locations and a number of studies were conducted (Byron and Condon, 1996; Model, 1997; Model and Fisher, 2002; Model, Fisher, and Silberman, 1999; Richmond, 1987). Systematic comparisons have been limited however. In a recent text, demonstrating that 'place matters,' Nancy Foner advocates further cross-national comparisons in contexts other than Britain/United States—including bringing French Caribbean migration into the debate (Foner, 2005, p. 155).

The Caribbean migrations to Britain and France present ideal comparative cases as, despite very similar historical origins, at times their characteristics differ significantly as a result of the contexts in which they have occurred (Byron and Condon, 1996). The socioeconomic processes that constitute the migrant experience and affect migration outcomes are the product of the countries of immigration and are also dependent upon the nature of the political relationship between these metropolises and their former Caribbean colonies. Britain and France present contrasting cases in terms of their policies towards decolonisation. Hence the citizenship status and associated rights of movement that were bestowed on the colonial subjects in the Caribbean have differed significantly. This has affected both the shape and continuity of the migration process and the integration of the ex-colonies into the socioeconomic fabric of Britain and France. Our aim in comparing these migrations is to arrive at a form of general explanation that remains, as Bovenkerk et al. (1991) have argued, sensitive to the historical specificity of each national context. Cross and Entzinger, in their presentation of the usefulness of comparing Caribbean migration to Britain and Netherlands, argue that the study 'contains the essential ingredients for comparative sociology. These are a framework of similarity within which differences can be identified in ways conducive to untangling the complex web of causality' (1988, p. 2). The comparison of the British and French contexts likewise contains these essential ingredients.

The choice of places, societal systems, or geographical phenomena to be compared is based, first, upon the identification of social or spatial units sharing similar political histories, economic systems, and social and demographic characteristics. Second, the observation of one or more striking contrasts between these apparently similar units leads us to seek explanation of these differences. Thus the choice of these two centralised Western European nation states, former colonial powers, with similar population sizes and patterns of postwar migration, yet displaying a number of important differences, for example in relation to family policy and women's employment

(Hantrais, 1989; Daune-Richard, 1998; Gregory, 2000), remains particularly relevant. Similarly, the Caribbean region, which exhibits a range of living standards of and offers its citizens varying access to socioeconomic opportunities, invites comparison of postcolonial contexts (for example, Murch, 1971; Charbit, 1987).

When migration is the object of research, the comparative act is multiplied at several levels. Immigrant groups are compared; the migrant group studied is compared with the general population (or with the non-immigrant population); migrants are compared with the population in their place of origin; new migrants are compared with longer-established immigrants (N. Green, 2002). Principal motivations for various comparisons have been, particularly in the early stages of immigration history, the measurement of differential integration of immigrant groups (Barton, 1975) or, in more recent times, the identification of groups subjected to discrimination or how state policies manage the emergence of 'ethnic' or 'racial' boundaries (Lapeyronnie, 1993; Favell, 1998; Bleich, 2003; Garbaye, 2005; Sala Pala, 2005). Comparison also has the function of giving new insights to the workings of one's own society, through a mirror approach (Neveu, 1993).

Of course, certain conditions are necessary for comparative research to take place. It is often a question of opportunity. Two or more researchers working on similar populations in different contexts may be available and disposed to working together in a comparative perspective over a length of time. Preferably, one at least is familiar with both contexts to be compared and who thus can pinpoint objects in one context that do not have an equivalent in the other, and translate social meanings between the two contexts (cf. Barbier and Letablier, 2005). Such was the case here. The authors met in Oxford after several years of researching into Caribbean migration to Britain (M. Byron) and to France (S. Condon) and, during their subsequent exchanges, were struck by the number of parallels between the two migrations, despite very different political contexts. M. Byron, who migrated to Britain from Nevis to take up further education, has since acquired a solid knowledge of several Caribbean societies and of migrant experiences in Britain, based on a long-standing ethnographic observation. S. Condon, who migrated from Britain to France whilst writing up her thesis (devoted to the history of Italian immigration to Lyon), has focused on the topic of migration, especially on migration from Guadeloupe and Martinique to France, during the two decades of her residence in the Paris region.

Comparing Through Mixed Methodologies and Research Traditions

In our research on Caribbean migration to date, the role of human agency (Giddens, 1984; Sarre, 1986) has been central. Conceptualising the migrant as agent has facilitated the assessment of migration outcomes. In-depth qualitative work with Caribbean communities in Britain, France, and the Caribbean has yielded information on goals and attitudes to the process held by

migrants and non-migrants, changing perspectives on spheres of origin and destination and the mechanisms whereby these discrete spheres are merged. Our research has located the goals and movements of migrants firmly within their socioeconomic and political environment via the analysis of statistical databases on migration, housing, employment, social welfare, and immigration policy within the European and Caribbean contexts. Critical to the analyses is an historical perspective, tracing changes over the period studied and from one generation to another. Stage in the life course will also be central to several analyses. The databases used, censuses from the 1960s to the present as well as household, housing, and labour force surveys, provide age-specific data. Our qualitative work included biographical interviews with individuals from all age groups and principal life events were dated.

The authors' training as human geographers during the mid-1980s included the notion of 'mixed methods,' combining qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis. For population geographers, such combined methodologies have since been accepted as a standard research procedure. In a migration research project such as ours, which aims to bring together the history of flows, to understand employment patterns and residence, and to examine family and household dynamics, the combination of statistical analysis and in-depth interviews over a number of years involves the inevitable mixing of methods. Yet much of this mixing of methods reflects contacts with other disciplines and other academic traditions. Such 'talking across disciplines,' as Brettell and Hollifield put it, has both revealed the complexities of the migration process and also assisted our understanding of many of these complexities (Brettell and Hollifield, 2000). According to the matrix of principal research questions and methodologies in each discipline, proposed by these authors, our own work would feed on approaches in anthropology, history, and sociology (Brettell and Hollifield, 2000, p. 3). Interestingly, (human) geography is absent from this matrix, although this is precisely a discipline that has shown itself to be very open to interdisciplinary approaches, turning to other disciplines for theoretical explanations of 'geographical' objects as well as for ways of innovating research tools and methodologies (Findlay and Graham, 1991; White and Jackson, 1995). Population geography, a (sub)discipline in which we locate our work, has enjoyed a very lively debate over recent years encouraged by such interdisciplinary encounters (e.g., White, 1995). Finally, researchers in the field of international comparison have highlighted the importance of mixed methodologies as a way of capturing more effectively the complexity of the phenomena being studied (Marry, 2003; Lallemand and Spurk, 2003; Hantrais, 2005).

Data Challenges to Systematic Comparison

As the reader progresses through the text, it will become evident that the desire to draw up parallel sets of data for the period studied met with frequent obstacles. A primary one relates to census categories and classifications

(Kieffer et al., 2002) and notably to 'ethnic' or 'racial' statistics, which have evolved substantially in Britain since the 1960s (Simpson, 2004) but to a lesser extent in France (Simon, 1997), where the main statistical distinction was between foreigners and French nationals. Statistical data relating to the Caribbean migrant populations in each country were not published in the same format from one decade to the next, categories used covered different population groups and, in particular, the metropolitan-born descendants of French Caribbean migrants are not distinguished from the rest of French nationals (as is the case for French descendants of foreign immigrants; Simon, 1997). Nevertheless, census data was collected at similar times and so it has been possible to trace a portrait of the experiences of the population over a period of fifty years. Another type of obstacle has been the difference in the literatures in each country; notably, the limited volume of housing research in France in contrast to the abundance in Britain. Finally, although they were not collected within a comparative project, the gathering of migrant biographies by the authors from the late 1980s has produced two parallel data sets that help blend together the interpretations of statistical and other archival data.

CHAPTERS OF CARIBBEAN MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

Comparing Two Contexts of Migration and Immigration

In the postwar era, the British and French Caribbean territories presented similar colonial economies featuring the juxtaposition of plantation and peasant agriculture. Underemployment and economic uncertainty contributed to a heavy dependence on migration, which served as strategy of both survival and socioeconomic improvement within the home environment.

Existing literature on the post-emancipation migration continuum from the British Caribbean territories (Thomas-Hope, 1993, 1995) examines their heavy reliance on the emigration of labour. Our study will focus on the point in this migration history at which Britain became the major destination for British Caribbean migrants and the finite period over which this migration took place. The organised migration flow from the mid-1950s to France expanded on more 'spontaneous' movements over the previous half-century to other parts of the Caribbean and Latin America including French Guyana and Panama (Domenach and Picouet, 1992, Newton, 1984). This new flow, taking place within the contexts both of 'post-colonisation' and of labour immigration to Europe, had deep consequences for the individuals and societies concerned. The specificity of the French case, that is, mass migration from the islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique to France, invites comparison with the concurrent emigration from neighbouring islands to Britain.

These parallel migrations will be set in the context of immigration in Britain and France, drawing brief comparisons with contemporary movements of other ex-colonials and foreign migrants. Caribbean migration to Britain

and France fitted into a continuum of migration population movements into these destinations. Both countries have long histories of immigration and the Caribbean migrants were part of a much wider immigration process of the postwar era (Anselin, 1979; Constant, 1987; Granotier, 1970; Holmes, 1988; Kershaw and Pearsall, 2000).

The colonial relationship had major implications for the political status of Caribbean people and consequently for the citizenship of the migrants. We will relate the changing political links between Britain and France and their colonies in the postwar period to changing legislation on immigration in these European states. The nationality and citizenship status of residents of the British and French colonies altered accordingly and their trajectories veered apart in the 1960s. This is reflected in the movement of Caribbean people between the Caribbean and Europe. In subsequent chapters, we discuss how citizenship status defined access within the spheres of employment and housing.

Our systematic comparison of the development of legislation relating to nationality and immigration in Britain and France, from 1948 until the present, will extend Freeman's (1979) work. We will fill the hiatus regarding the impact that this legislation has had on migration outcomes across gender and generation divides in both European contexts.

Comparing Britain and France: Realms of Production and Consumption

Migrants in the Labour Market

In this section, we examine the contribution of Caribbean labour to the production process in Britain and France and the levels of migrant integration in the two contexts. Critically, given our methodology, which aims to integrate quantitative data with in-depth interview data, we compare migrant experiences of participation in the labour forces of Britain and France and analyse the extent to which these contexts enabled/frustrated/alterd their ambitions. As can be gleaned from the analysis, employment trajectories and outcomes have been influenced significantly by gender relations, as well as by other structural factors at various levels such as immigration policies, state economic strategies, and family networks. The role of education is not overlooked; nor is that of discrimination. Interview material complements secondary sources by illuminating our understanding of access to labour markets, work strategies, and the meaning of paid employment to women and men.

Housing and Residence

Most analyses of the housing characteristics of the Caribbean population in Britain have been detached from analysis of the migration process. Work has tended to focus on issues of discrimination in public housing allocation to which migrants and their descendants have been subjected and on

revealing the generally poor quality of dwellings and habitat. Individuals and families are seen as passive recipients of 'housing' and rarely as actors with residential preferences, navigating through obstacles in the housing market in search of adequate or desirable dwellings for the short or long term. Findings from this necessary work on social inequalities and racism need to be situated within migration histories and the relationships people maintain with the Caribbean and other places.

Here, we will be extending our previous work, which analysed migrant residential strategies during the first years following migration to the two metropolises and the issue of access and housing conditions of Caribbean public-sector tenants, or began to examine housing as an investment for return to the Caribbean, as part of a strategy stretching between the two locations. Detailed census data will highlight the link between employment and housing on an aggregate level. The comparison will set housing characteristics of Caribbean populations within the contrasting housing market contexts and reveal strikingly similar outcomes. Interview data will be shown to be crucial to the understanding of (a) how individuals, couples, and families made residential choices within the constraints of the housing market, (b) the importance of housing as a commodity, as part of a lifestyle, and (c) the role of housing in return migration strategies.

Family and Household in a Migration Context: Continuity and Change

In addition to the key issue of stage in the life course, we give consideration to the role of generations in the migration experience and how these have altered over the duration of the migration. The two contexts provide some useful contrasts for this discussion. British immigration policy effectively restricted migrant generations to the two cohorts of adults and children who arrived in Britain in the postwar period. Later cohorts are British-born descendants of this migrant generation. Therefore, it is a relatively new phenomenon (two decades old) to have multi-generational, extended Caribbean families within Britain. Meanwhile in France, the decision to incorporate the Caribbean colonies as 'Departments d'outre mer' permitted a continuous rejuvenation of the original migrant cohorts enabling the movement of both younger and older family members to provide support with child care, for example, which contrasted with the situation in Britain. This is reflected in the household, the family size and structure, and the support systems that developed within families and communities. These similarities and differences in migration and family development will also be a major focus in our discussion of labour market participation and housing outcomes, return migration and the transnational community.

The family is at the core of the chain migration process. In terms of migration, the family is a resource. This corresponds to a broader view in family sociology, the idea of family being a resource, a supportive network.

Yet friction, conflict, enduring splits between family members, or isolation of one member of a family are possible (Bonvalet et al., 1990). Such conflict may of course be the cause of migration in some cases.

The ‘specificity’ of the Caribbean family has been the object of much research over the last half-century, as we will discuss at length during the chapter. Observation of ‘Caribbean family structures’ in Britain and other metropolises has been set in the context of the Caribbean. Our approach will involve examining the role of the family in Caribbean migration and the impact of migration on household structures in the metropolises. Particular types of family organisation within this transatlantic context will be discussed. Finally, families increasingly include members with mixed origins. This growing aspect of Caribbean communities is important. It adds significantly to the discussion of recent developments in social networks, transnational connections, and attachment to place.

Migration Outcomes, Transnational Communities in a Globalised Context: A Comparative Perspective

In this section, we focus explicitly on the migration process and discuss a range of potential outcomes for these mature, established migrant communities. We critically re-examine the popular concept of ‘transnational community’ (Sutton and Chaney, 1987; Basch et al., 1994) in these two contexts, debating its applicability. This concept proposes that the socioeconomic and political networks of migrants effectively transcend geographic and cultural boundaries of places of origin and of destination. We are particularly concerned with the expanding ‘social fields’ (Manners, 1965) of Caribbean migrants and the resulting decline in the relevance of the circular migration model, which relies on the importance of single origin/destination. Britain and France present geographically close yet politically and culturally different spaces in which to examine these concepts.

Our work to date on return migration from the metropolises to Caribbean islands will be included here and discussed within this framework. The variety of types of attachment to place in the Caribbean, in Europe, and beyond will be examined. One avenue of exploration is that of new migration destinations. The developing political and economic links between Caricom nations and the wider Caribbean, including the Central American nations and the Association of Caribbean States (ACS), widens the range of options open to young people. The facility of movement within European states means that offspring of Caribbean migrants can move between France and Britain, for example. Another form of movement is that of descendants of French and British Caribbean migrants wishing to ‘return’ to the Caribbean birthplaces of their parents (Condon, 2005; Potter and Phillips, 2006; Conway and Potter, 2007).

We view this book as a valuable opportunity to compare these two parallel migrations from the Caribbean to European destinations. The pertinence

of the comparative approach to understanding international migration is acknowledged yet few such studies have been published. The Caribbean communities in Britain and France are a colonial legacy in what is today an increasingly globalised, social, and economic context. We argue that different state policies on immigration and integration of postwar migrants have contributed to varying migration outcomes. Migration remains a major element of globalisation and it is hoped that a sensitive, actor-centred, comparative analysis of migration will provide useful information for academics and policy makers in fields that affect the lives of all migrants.

2 Contextualising Migrant Flows

Socioeconomic, Political, and Legal Backgrounds of Two Colonial Migrations

INTRODUCTION

In the postwar era, the British and French Caribbean colonies presented similar economic conditions featuring the juxtaposition of plantation and peasant agriculture. In many of the islands, sugar production was in severe decline, the legacy of more than two centuries of overcultivation of limited land areas and competition from new, larger, sugar producers. Some Caribbean plantations had been subdivided and sold off to the state or to those ex- or part-time plantation labourers who sought land for subsistence or market farming. The decline of the sugar industry, which had come to symbolise economic prosperity in the British and French Caribbean colonies, spawned economic uncertainty, which was intensified by the global economic depression of the 1930s. This poor economic outlook coincided with a demographic crisis in most of the Caribbean islands where ‘overpopulation’ was the result of the colonial emphasis on producing a labour force for the sugar industry. At the level of the household, the family, the community, and the colony, labour migration was incorporated into complex survival systems. As strategies for the socioeconomic advancement of households, labour emigration vied with the education of household members. Unlike migration for education, however, labour migration yielded tangible rewards relatively quickly.

Existing literature on the post-emancipation migration continuum from the British and French Caribbean territories (Thomas-Hope, 1978, 1993, 1995; Richardson, 1983; Domenach and Picouet, 1992; Newton, 1984; Marshall, 1987) details the evolution of a labour migration dependency within Caribbean societies. Our study will focus on the point in this migration history at which Britain and France became the major destinations for Caribbean migrants and the period over which this migration has taken place. The organised migration flow from the mid-1950s to France expanded on the more ‘spontaneous’ movements that had occurred over the previous half-century to other parts of the Caribbean and Latin America including French Guyana and Panama (Domenach and Picouet 1992; Newton, 1984), as well as to France itself. This new

flow, taking place within the newly post-colonial era in the Caribbean and the postwar labour shortages and immigration in Western Europe, had deep consequences for the individuals and societies concerned. The mass migration from the French islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique to France invites comparison with the concurrent emigration from neighbouring British islands to Britain.

The colonial relationship established the political status of Caribbean people and, by extension, determined the citizenship of the Caribbean migrants to Europe. The political links between Britain and France and their Caribbean colonies in the postwar period were elements of wider colonial ties held by the European powers with countries across the globe. As these international relationships altered, legislation on immigration to Britain and France also changed. The nationality and citizenship status of residents of the British and French Caribbean colonies were determined by British and French policy on their colonial empires and on postwar labour needs at home. Differences in ideologies of citizenship and the nation in Britain and France led to their policy agendas on immigration from the Caribbean colonies veering apart in the 1950s and 1960s. This profoundly affected the movement of Caribbean people between the Caribbean and Europe. In subsequent chapters, we discuss how citizenship status defined access to resources, particularly within the spheres of employment and housing. These parallel migrations from the Caribbean are set within the wider process of postwar immigration to fill labour shortages in Britain and France, revealing immigrants' differential levels of inclusion in the socioeconomic environment.

THE BRITISH AND FRENCH CARIBBEAN IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Decline of the Sugar Industry

The economic context that Caribbean migrants to Europe left during the 1950s and 1960s had many of its roots in the nineteenth century when new pressures were imposed on the increasingly fragile sugar industry of the post-emancipation British and French West Indies (Williams, 1970; Blérald, 1986; Harrison, 2000). The colonial economies were undermined by competition from regional sugar producers in the islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic as well as, on a much larger scale, in Brazil. New market entrants such as Cuba, as well as recently established plantations of Fiji, Java, and Mauritius (Butel, 2002) were producing sugar of a superior quality and at a lower price than the older plantations of the Caribbean colonies. Furthermore, in the case of the British colonies, Britain's 1846 decision in favour of free trade meant the equalisation of duties on sugar imported from all sources and a significant

reduction in guaranteed income for the Caribbean producers (Williams, 1970; Parry and Sherlock, 1957). Now they had to compete with more efficient producers of cane sugar and the beet sugar producers as well. From this time on, in those islands that were less suited environmentally to sugar production, such as Nevis and Montserrat, the sugar industries gradually approached bankruptcy, while throughout the region, wages in the sugar industry dropped significantly (Hart, 1988).

France's influence in the world cane sugar market was damaged by the loss of Haitian production in the early nineteenth century. The cane sugar producers of the remaining French Caribbean colonies fought tenaciously to retain their preferential access to the French market by demanding the imposition of taxes on foreign cane sugar and also on beet sugar. The French state obliged first between 1814 and 1822 by imposing taxes on foreign cane sugar and later, in 1837, by taxing beet sugar producers (Blérald, 1986). In addition to the appearance on European sugar markets of beet sugar producers, generating further competition, financial and environmental crises towards the end of the century exacerbated the fragility of the industry (Buffon, 1994). Meanwhile, the rapid transformation of production methods following the end of slavery led to abrupt changes at every level, from capital circulation to labour relations. The use of chemical fertilisers, the mechanisation of certain agricultural tasks, and the industrialisation of refining in factory units revolutionised the industry, which no longer was centred on the individual plantation site. Recruitment of contract labourers from India, Africa, and the Far East to replace slave labour kept wages to a subsistence minimum and generated political tension and conflict (Madhavi, 1998; Walton, 1993; Buffon, 1994). Over time, this modernisation of the plantation activities and concentration of the refining process in the metropolitan states (Blérald, 1986) meant that the capacity of the sugar industry to employ the Caribbean population declined, even as the population increased. An increase in poverty, underemployment, and unemployment ensued (Moyne, 1945). Migration became an important survival strategy for the increasingly redundant Caribbean labour force (Carnegie, 1987; Richardson, 1983; Thomas-Hope, 1993).

By the end of the Second World War, the Caribbean economies had experienced the global depression of the 1930s followed by the isolation of the war years. Their sugar industries continued to experience competition from the larger and more efficient Spanish-speaking Caribbean islands and Brazilian plantations and also from the European and Australian sugar beet producers. Many of the islands were relatively small, which meant that expansion of their cultivated areas was not an option. In addition, the land was, in many cases, exhausted after centuries of sugar cultivation. The change of ownership of many of the plantations, from independent landowners into the hands of the large, British sugar-refining firm of Tate and Lyle in the mid-1930s, signalled the start of transnational

corporation activity in the British Caribbean sugar industry (Harrison, 2000). Consolidation of holdings into much larger, modern, centrally processed operations followed. A product of this industrial restructuring was a reduction in job numbers. While there were increased demands on labourers remaining in the sugar industry, unsurprisingly, wages did not rise (Hart, 1988).

Survival Beyond the Plantation

Prior to emancipation, slaves were permitted to cultivate small provision grounds around their accommodation. This was largely for subsistence but the sale of produce at weekend markets was also allowed. When emancipation freed these slaves, most continued their small-farming activities to some extent as peasant freemen or a 'proto-peasantry' (Mintz, 1974, p. 152; Besson, 1987). In addition to this limited, small-farming activity, those slaves who succeeded in escaping from the plantations, particularly in the larger Caribbean islands and on the mainland of central and south America, where there was adequate space and the terrain was amenable to such ventures, established themselves as cultivators in marginal and inaccessible areas. The 'maroons' generally existed in isolation from the institution of slavery and the plantation system. The peasantry expanded exponentially following emancipation (Marshall, 1985; Chivallon, 2002) as ex-slaves sought land both as symbol of their liberty and as the means to material freedom from their plantation existence.

Peasant farmers accessed land from three main sources: the Crown lands, sharecropping a section of a planter's estate, and, eventually, via land settlement schemes. First there was state-owned or 'Crown' land in the British colonies, which was not controlled by the planters and therefore was sought after by the recently freed, ex-slave populations. In some cases, ex-slaves squatted on Crown land while others who had accumulated some capital attempted to purchase land (Momsen, 1987). Their occupation of Crown land was vigorously opposed by the planter class due to the associated loss of their plantation labour force. A landless proletariat was desired by the planters in their quest for a cheap and available labour force (Besson, 1987). In general, the state acted in the interests of the plantocracy, taxing small producers and ensuring that land prices were above a level that the vast majority of former slaves could afford (Momsen, 1987). Mainly in response to this hardline attitude, in Jamaica, nonconformist missionaries bought land and sold small lots to people who wanted to settle in free villages around the church and village school (Besson, 1984).

Second, sharecropping, a compromise solution, was developed. For up to a century, the planter class opposed the sale of land to the former slaves. After years of unprofitable cane sugar cultivation, some indebted planters resorted to sharecropping. Through this process, they reduced

labour costs by allowing their labour force to occupy and farm parts of the plantation land in return for one-third of the produce. Sharecropping was particularly common in the islands of Nevis, St Lucia, Martinique, and Tobago (Momsen, 1987; Chivallon, 2002).

Finally, after 1897 land settlement schemes were introduced in the British Caribbean islands (Momsen, 1987). This was seen by the colonial state as a solution simultaneously to those cases of plantations that were deemed really unprofitable and to the widespread demand for cultivable land by the ex-slave population. Selected plantations were subdivided and sold, in some cases to ex-slaves. In Martinique, land settlement took place in the uplands (*mornes*) of the island. Groups of freed slaves organised themselves to claim land, former plantation properties that had been subdivided and eventually sold off, and gradually built hamlets and villages from groups of plots. Thus some sectors were totally occupied by freed slaves by 1880 (Chivallon, 2002).

Land has been a salient factor at all stages of the migration continuum for Caribbean people. As the main form of capital in these agriculture-dominated economies, it was the source of finance for the labour migration of many individuals, through the sale of its produce or the use of land as collateral for obtaining loans to finance the travel (Byron, 2007). At a later stage in the migration, land was also the means through which many migrants invested their savings in the home country. In the island of Nevis, such investments ranged from securing a house lot, sometimes first for the family home and later for the migrant him or herself, to investing in entire small estates as the European owners sold out after succumbing to a declining sugar industry. Such land was later subdivided and sold off at a considerable profit.

In the migration to Britain, land featured at key stages of the process. As a prelude to actual return, many migrants purchased house lots and built modern homes in the Caribbean. These houses are often only occupied periodically, as migrants enjoy their transnational status and alternate between homes in the Caribbean and urban Britain. A similar process has emerged in the French islands, largely facilitated by subsidised return trips for some French Caribbean workers in the metropole. As years passed, continual subdivision of land has presented problems for inheritance. However, a safety valve often emerged. In reducing the number of family members claiming inherited land, emigration provided a solution to continual reduction in plot size. Sometimes sojourns abroad would be prolonged, return plans abandoned, and properties left undivided after one or two generations would be divided up amongst relatives who had maintained contact with their family in the village (Chivallon, 2002).

Unemployment, Underemployment, and Occupational Multiplicity

The seasonal nature of sugar plantation employment is a defining characteristic of this work. Estimates of employment in the Caribbean during

the pre- and postwar period included the clause ‘out of crop unemployment’ (Hart 1988, p. 64). This figure included those who had paid work during cultivation and/or sugar harvest but were left without plantation employment during the slack periods. The term ‘occupational multiplicity’ ‘wherein the modal adult is systematically engaged in a number of gainful activities, which for him (*sic*) form an integrated economic complex’ (Comitas, 1973, p. 157), is particularly useful when analysing the adjustment to the insecure employment situation faced by Caribbean labourers in a post-emancipation context. This was essential insurance against the seasonality of employment in the plantation sector, the limited access to land and markets and unreliable weather conditions that formed the context of their peasant farming activities. When not employed by the sugar plantation regime, men and women labourers engaged in small-farming activity—producing food and livestock for domestic consumption and local markets—and in a variety of other activities ranging from artisanal trades and vending a variety of merchandise to fishing (Daguenais and Poirier, 1985; Frucht, 1967). Frucht (p. 295) aptly described the Caribbean population in his case study as ‘neither peasant nor proletariat,’ noting the range of income generation activities in which the population were obliged to engage.

Despite this variety of activity, incomes were rarely adequate and many workers were less than fully employed. Underemployment was a common condition for much of the workforce in all of the Caribbean territories. Not surprisingly, Royal Commissions of enquiry in 1898 and in 1938 both reported on the poor employment situation in the British West Indian territories (Moyné, 1945). Moreover, the latter enquiry explicitly recommended emigration as one solution to the crisis of the 1930s and prior to the global economic depression of the 1930s, emigration was a major element of household economic strategy.

For several decades, Caribbean people had turned to migration in their search for higher and more regular incomes. Initially, during the post-emancipation decades, much of the labour migration was to destinations where sugar production was again to occupy the migrants, including movement from smaller British island colonies to Guadeloupe (Fallope, 1994). Mainly the destinations were the more prosperous, higher-wage sugar economies of new British or U.S. investment such as Trinidad and Guyana from 1838 onwards (Richardson, 1983) and later, the Dominican Republic and Cuba (Thomas-Hope, 1993, 1995; Hall, 1971). Infrastructure projects such as the Panama Canal (Jos, 2004; Newton, 1984) and the railway construction and banana plantations of Costa Rica (Harpelle, 2001; Koch, 1977) also attracted hundreds of migrants from the island colonies. Following the 1930s, with many of the regional destinations closed to migrants from the islands, British Caribbean migrants looked to the Eastern Seaboard of the United States and Canada and many were absorbed by the agricultural industry there. Much of this migration was of a seasonal nature, although

some managed to stay on a long-term basis. However, the movement to the United States was severely curtailed by the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, which limited Caribbean immigration to 100 per colony per year (Pastor, 1987). What is indisputable here is that within the Caribbean context, migration fitted into a dynamic range of activities pursued by people in the lower socioeconomic categories in their quest for economic survival and, ultimately, progress.

MIGRATION WITHIN A COLONIAL RELATIONSHIP: CARIBBEAN MOVEMENT INTO EUROPE

While labour migration was well established as a strategy of socioeconomic improvement for people throughout the Caribbean, the postwar migration from the region to Europe was unusual in that it broke with a much more regional migration trend. Prior to the Second World War, the destinations for labour migrants had been within the circum-Caribbean and North America, so moving to Europe introduced a much greater distance dimension and, by extension, expense and time into the migration. Migrants were far more likely to spend longer in these destinations than had been the case in earlier migrations, as they moved within a particular geopolitical field shared between source and destination, the result of the colonial process.

Extending the Boundaries of Citizenship

The years 1946 and 1948 were pivotal to the relationship between the Caribbean colonies and the metropolitan nations of Britain and France. At these points, the Caribbean peoples were incorporated into the metropolitan nations as citizens who had rights of entry and could settle and work there without a time limit on their stay. The legislation of 1946 and 1948 (see Tables 2.1a and 2.1b) represented the extension of the national borders of France and Britain out into their colonial hinterlands. Such moves would, it was felt, increase solidarity and thus the security and influence of the larger nation in the case of France, the Empire (and later 'Commonwealth') in the British case. The transformation of the status of the French Caribbean colonies, along with those of French Guyana and the Indian Ocean island of Reunion, into *départements d'outre-mer* in 1946 elevated the population from the status of French colonial subjects to citizens of the larger French state. Movement between these territories and the mainland crossed no international border. Meanwhile, the British Nationality Act of 1948 conferred unrestricted entry and the right to live and work in Britain on all citizens of the UK and colonies and citizens of the Commonwealth.

The 1948 British Nationality Act was not in itself aimed at creating access to the metropole for the population of the colonies. The Act came about as

Table 2.1a Major Acts Passed by the British Parliament on Immigration

<i>Immigration Act</i>	<i>Year</i>
Aliens Act: Britain's first attempt to control immigration, defined undesirables and was in effect intended to limit the immigration of Jewish people to the UK.	1905
British Nationality Act: Created a single citizenship category called Citizen of the UK and Colonies, granting a statutory right of entry to the UK to all citizens of the UK and its colonies.	1948
Commonwealth Immigrant's Act: This act Aimed to end large- scale labour immigration by restricting immigration from former and current colonies of Britain. These populations lost their right of entry and had to have evidence of pre arranged employment or specifically needed skills to gain entry via a voucher system.	1962
Commonwealth Immigrants Act: This Arose in response to the influx of East African Asian people fleeing the Africanisation policies of East African states. Entry now restricted to those with a parent or grandparent born or naturalised in the UK.	1968
Immigration Act: Introduced concept of 'patriality.' Under this ruling only those with a close family connection to the UK could enter and reside there.	1971
British Nationality Act: Replaced the 1948 Act. Three citizenship categories were created: British citizenship, British Dependent territories citizenship, and British Overseas citizenship. British citizenship is only acquired via descent by those whose parent is a British citizen or is settled in the UK.	1981
Nationality, immigration and Asylum Act: Focused on immigration and asylum provisions relevant to the large flows which that occurred during the 1990s but also consolidated British nationality law, making new provision for naturalisation as a British citizen.	2002

a result of the decision by Canada in 1946 to produce her own passports and declare her own citizenship (Dummett and Nicol, 1990). Canada's decision ended the 'common status of British subjecthood' (Dummett and Nicol, 1990, p. 124) possessed by all British subjects be they in Britain, the Dominions, the Colonies, or British Protectorates. Canadians were now primarily citizens of Canada. The British Nationality Act made provisions for the rest of the dominions to do likewise while maintaining a nominal commonality through subjecthood. Those people in dependent territories, which included the colonies and protectorates, were effectively dependent on Britain for their citizenship. From 1948, the population of the United

Table 2.1b Key Legislative Decisions Since 1945 Affecting the Status and Reception of Caribbean Migrants in France, Alongside Key Events in Legal Context of Immigration

<i>Date</i>	<i>Legislative decision</i>
1946	Former colonies of Guadeloupe, French Guyana, Martinique, and Réunion become overseas departments
1948	Creation of the Office National d'Immigration, responsible for overseeing foreign immigration
1963	Beginning of activity of the BUMIDOM, state agency responsible for organising the emigration and placement of migrant trainees and workers.
1974	Official halting of foreign labour immigration
1981	Dissolution of the BUMIDOM
1982	Creation of the ANT, responsible for assisting mobility to France for vocational training or higher education, advising persons people from the overseas departments and territories seeking work and contact with other social agencies, giving financial support to non-profit-making local organisations.
2003	Setting up of the 'passeport mobilité,' training grants and funding for travel to metropolitan France for Dom- born students

Kingdom and Colonies shared citizenship and, by extension, could reside and work anywhere within this realm. The postwar labour migration from the Caribbean to Britain was largely the coincidence of the experience of the British economic environment by Caribbean ex-service personnel in Britain, their awareness of their rights as British subjects and, after the 1948 Act, citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies, to reside and work in Britain and the 1952 U.S. Walter-McCarren Immigration Act, which curtailed their access to the U.S. labour market (Glass, 1960). From the British Caribbean colonies, migrant labour flows were consequently deflected from the United States to Britain in the 1950s.

In deciding to departmentalise its island colonies of the Caribbean and Reunion in the Indian Ocean in 1946, France achieved several objectives. Labour shortages in France were reduced via the organised admission of French acculturated, colonial citizens while simultaneously diminishing the population and unemployment pressure—and consequently, so the government hoped, the risk of political uprising—in the islands (Freeman, 1987; Anselin, 1995; Condon and Ogden, 1991a, 1991b). Critically this satisfied the assimilation agenda that underlay most French policy on national boundaries, the nation state, and citizenship (Aldrich and Connell, 1992; Miles, 1990; Bovenkerk, Miles, and Verbunt, 1991; Favell, 1998). Departmentalisation also contributed to ensuring the numerical increase of the

national population, a major preoccupation of the French state since the late nineteenth century (Zeldin, 1977; Le Bras, 1990). In addition to repressive measures against contraception, voluntary abortion, and alcoholism, and financial incentives to increase family size (Nizard, 1974; Ogden and Huss, 1982), the official inclusion of former colonial populations in the Caribbean, Indian Ocean, and Pacific, as well as that of Algeria, extended the boundaries of the French state beyond the mainland. Hence resulted the battle led by De Gaulle in the 1950s to maintain Algeria as French, leading to the tragedy of the civil war. In such a context of colonial struggles for independence, not only in Africa but also in the Caribbean (in particular, Cuba), visits made by the French president to the DOM and TOM¹ were part of a strong assimilation policy aiming to maintain and reinforce the political and sentimental attachment of the populations to the French nation. This policy was exemplified in public speeches such as that made by De Gaulle during a visit to Martinique in 1964, which contained the phrase: ‘Goodness me! How French you people are. Today’s event could not be more French. . . . Taking Martinique as it is, I find that in feeling, taste and instinct, everything here is French.’²

A vital instrument in the assimilation process was the construction of social models. Aspirations began to be shaped via the high value placed on non-manual trades, from the late nineteenth century (Fallope, 1994; Helenon, 2005). Built into the model for upward social mobility was the ambition to migrate to the towns (Jolivet, 1985). The expansion of public employment, seen by some contemporary commentators as unwarranted and too extensive, established new models for social advancement. The push towards education, for those families who could make the sacrifice, accelerated during the first half of the twentieth century (Giraud, 1992). Qualification at *baccalauréat* level was necessary for Caribbean migrants to enter French universities. Other options available to those seeking a place in administration or other non-manual work were recruitments of colonial staff to positions overseas. Following training at the Colonial school, several levels of employment existed, from office help to local administrators (Helenon, 1997, 2005). By the 1950s, expansion of recruitment into other sectors of public employment—customs and excise, immigration service, police force, particularly of men from Martinique—set the scene for the organised migration (Condon and Ogden, 1991a). As French citizens, migrants from the Antilles qualified to be considered for such civil service positions.

Prior to 1940, migration to Britain and France from the Caribbean colonies had generally been restricted to the landed classes and colonial administrators, most of whom were despatched from Europe to work for the colonial governments, and members of the small local elite who tended to travel for education and/or further experience of the ‘Motherland’ (Fryer, 1984; Ramdin, 1987). The major exception to this trend was the movement of men and women to Britain during the First and

Second World Wars to serve in the armed forces or to occupy positions in the ammunition factories (Richmond, 1954; Fryer, 1984; Ramdin, 1987). French Antillean military staff were also posted to the colonies in Africa and South-East Asia.

While the Caribbean working classes had long integrated labour migration into their economic strategies, Britain as a destination was not seriously contemplated by many, other than seamen and ex-servicemen. The latter were constantly harassed by immigration officials, who treated these colonial subjects much as they did the ‘Aliens,’ whom the Aliens Act of 1905 and the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act of 1914 (see Table 2.1a) were designed to exclude (Dummett and Nicol, 1990). However, from 1952, following the introduction of the McCarren-Walter Act their British citizenship, acquired through the 1948 British Nationality Act, made Britain seem a less distant prospect (Rose, 1969; Dummett and Nicol, 1990).

The legislation passed by France and Britain in 1946 and 1948, respectively, was to create very similar statuses for Caribbean people formerly under French and British colonial rule. However, as we discuss below, the apparent parallels in nature and the timing of this legislation belie the distinctly different discourses on immigration that had developed over time within these two European contexts (Miles, 1990; Bovenkerk, Miles, and Verbunt, 1991). The organisation of migration to France and Britain and the integration of the migrants into the labour markets of these two nations reflect these contradictions.

An historical context to migration outcomes is particularly important to this comparative study. Although both European nations were experiencing labour shortages for the postwar development enterprise, there emerged quite different discourses on the ‘desirability’ of migrants from the Caribbean colonies as a solution to labour scarcity (Freeman, 1979; Miles, 1990; Bovenkerk, Miles, and Verbunt, 1991). The consequences for their Caribbean colonial populations of these legal changes in status were very different. Attitudes towards the Caribbean populations once they presented themselves within Europe came out of ideologies of inclusion and exclusion based on a conception of what should constitute the nation (Freeman, 1979; Miles, 1991; Hollifield, 1992, 2000; Favell, 1998; Nägel, 2004).

Postwar Britain and France: Reception of the New Caribbean Migrants

The now famous arrival in Britain from Jamaica of the *Empire Windrush* in 1948 (Lambeth Borough Council, 1988) included among its passengers several ex-members of the armed forces. While the few hundred men and women who had served in the British armed forces and related occupations were a small proportion of the subsequent, nearly 300,000 migrants from the Caribbean to Britain, they constituted the critical pioneer group

Table 2.2a Caribbean-Born Population Recorded in England and Wales, Census 1951–2001

<i>Census Year</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Total</i>
1951	6,290	9,011	15,301
1961	75,992	95,804	171,796
1971	151,825	152,245	304,070
1981	150,755	144,424	295,179
1991	139,010	125,581	264,591
2001	137,637	115,539	253,176

Sources: OPCS Census of Great Britain 1951–1991, Country of Birth Tables; ONS, Census 2001, Ethnicity and Country of Birth Tables.

Table 2.2b Caribbean-Born Population in France, 1954–1999

<i>Census Year</i>	Born in Guadeloupe or Martinique		
	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Total</i>
1954	*	*	15, 620
1962	16,000	22,000	37, 591 **
1968	28,556	32,604	61, 160
1975	57,185	58,280	115, 465
1982	93,256	89,472	182, 728
1990	109,132	102,418	211, 550
1999	108,607	102,533	211, 140

Source: Insee, publications of census results from the populations born in the DOM-TOM: 1970, 1978, 1985, 1993 (Marie, 1993) and, for the 1999 figure, Marie and Rallu (2004) and specific analysis by S. Condon.

* No breakdown by gender available.

** Figure generally published for the total population in 1962, based on the total count, whereas the estimates by gender use the sample survey.

in what was largely a migration via social network contacts (Byron, 1994). Spouses and other close relatives of the servicemen were soon to follow them in search of work in Britain. By 1951, there were 9,456 males and 6,732 females born in the British Caribbean and living in Britain (OPCS Census of Great Britain, nationality and birthplaces tables, 1953)³.

Following the end of hostilities in World War II, the presence in Britain of colonial ex-servicemen, particularly those from the West Indies, did not go unnoticed by the authorities in Britain. A working party was created in 1948 to explore the possibility of employing surplus labour from the

colonial territories in the Caribbean, as part of a more general solution to the continuing shortage of labour within British industries (LAB26/226, p. 1). National service removed a large proportion of men from the labour force, and the resulting labour scarcity promoted upward mobility for those remaining workers. There were, consequently, shortages in the lower levels of the labour market. Meanwhile, increasing suburbanisation led to significant desertion of the inner cities and consequently the labour shortages were more marked in these locations.

The Working Party was also very aware of the extreme levels of unemployment and consequent poverty in the British West Indies, the unlikely prospect of the development of secondary industries in the Caribbean territories, and noted that emigration is regarded as the main solution locally (LAB 26/226, p. 2). However, Britain was not to be recommended as a major destination for these labour migrants and a series of obstacles to their successful socioeconomic integration was raised. First was the unpopular nature of the work due to low wages and unattractive working conditions. Yet this description is made in the context of expectations within Britain of work conditions, which the prospective Caribbean migrants had not experienced. While this excuse was posed for rejecting migrants from the colonies, it appears to have been a major reason for employing European volunteer workers (EVWs) and Irish migrants during the same postwar period. Moreover, Caribbean labour migrants had a history of enduring unpleasant, indeed treacherous work conditions, in exchange for wage rates that they could never earn at home (Newton, 1984).

Second, the lack of state control over this labour is raised several times as justification for rejecting it. The committee concluded that the Caribbean workers would most likely leave to seek alternative employment as, being British and thus not subject to the control imposed on foreign labour, they could not be coerced into remaining. Within this context, they are compared unfavourably with the EVWs, who were subject to stringent labour controls and risked deportation for noncompliance with employment or residential allocation. Importantly, no mention is made of the Irish immigrants who would have had 'identical freedoms' in Britain.

It was feared that upon leaving this 'unattractive employment,' the colonial migrants would take advantage of benefits available to them from the National Assistance Board (NAB): 'The lowest subsistence level available to colonial workers would be very much higher than anything to which colonial workers have ever been accustomed in the West Indies' (LAB 26/226, p. 4). The logic applied in the case of wages for employment is reversed when the theme of benefits is raised. In reality, having migrated over 5,000 miles to find work, usually in order to support family in the Caribbean among other objectives, benefits were unlikely to appeal to migrants in the presence of better-paid employment. As Peach (1968) demonstrated, employment availability was the central driver of this immigration until prospects of exclusionary legislation prompted a rush to enter Britain that defied the earlier logic of the labour migration.

Third, the issue of 'race' is raised explicitly as grounds for objection to the recommendation of immigration of Caribbean labour. While the report prefaces this section with the statement: 'In this country coloured persons do not suffer from any formal disabilities or disqualifications' (LAB 26/226, p. 4), the official view, the reality was very different. The report proceeds to predict the inevitable rejection, by employers and workers alike, of 'coloured' workers in factories where 'this *class* of labour has not previously been employed.' This was largely hypothetical as the latter quotation proves. Also, as this committee represented the state, a blatant acceptance and indeed perpetuation of racism in British society and a refusal to confront this and grasp this opportunity for change, does indicate a racist ideology at the level of government.

Yet, in addition to locating prejudice against the colonial migrants firmly within the public—ranging from landlords to trade union members—as opposed to the state, the committee also consistently partly blames the colonial immigrants for this situation. In this report, the migrants are represented as incapable of assimilation, as unsuitable for the employment available, and as 'a special social problem.'

Finally, lack of accommodation was seen by both the Committee and the Ministry of Labour and National Service as a major argument against employing colonial labour. The Ministry noted acute problems in procuring lodgings for coloured workers and warned that the National Service hostels corporation had noted 'the presence in any hostel of coloured workers in appreciable numbers invariably leads to trouble and actually recommended a rule against more than three coloured workers being resident in any hostel (LAB 26/226). The collusion between the Ministry of Labour and the Hostels Association in this regard, supposedly to enable the smooth running of the government hostels scheme and thus ensuring the necessary labour forces for industry, served to institutionalise racism. At no point in this document is the noted 'public' anti-immigrant sentiment challenged. It is accepted and, if anything, all efforts are made to mollify the racists. Several authors, among them Freeman (1979) and Dummett and Nicoll (1990, p. 172), note the varied and confused racial attitudes in postwar Britain. They emphasise the critical role that the state could have played at this time to ensure racially equal practices in resolving this problem. Sadly, this was not to happen and, despite eloquent and logical protests by some opposition politicians (Peach, 1968; Freeman 1979; Spencer, 1997), the British state remained committed to policies that culminated in the explicitly racist Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962.

Although the general conclusions of the 1949 Working Party were against colonial labour migration to Britain and particularly immigration of male colonial workers, there was less antipathy to the recruitment of female colonial workers as hospital domestics and, potentially, as private household domestic workers. The possibility existed for future employment of colonial migrants in the hotels and catering industry, the textile

industry, and institutional domestic service as labour shortages remained there. However, at the point of reporting, the Working Party was in a position to recommend only that a scheme for employing West Indian women as hospital domestic workers, with accommodation provided, should be allowed to proceed. This would initially employ only thirty-three women but was felt to be a start in 'the breaking down of prejudice against the organised importation of coloured workers for employment in this country' (LAB26/226 WP report, p. 6). As Webster notes, these migrant women 'were not constructed as economic dependants of men, nor were they associated with motherhood, family or domesticity' (1997, p. 39). This entirely automated conception of the female colonial migrant worker contrasts with the open hostility to the male colonial migrant, the obsession with assimilation, and the fear of "miscegenation" which foregrounded the figures of black men' (Webster, 1997, p. 39).

The British reception of colonial migrants from the Caribbean contrasted markedly with the explicit selection by France of the colonies in this region as targets for labour recruitment (Anselin, 1979; Constant, 1987; Condon and Ogden, 1991). For, the ex-colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique had virtually the same status as any other French *département* and so movement from the islands to the mainland could be considered as internal mobility. A working group within the French Plan (Commissariat Général du Plan, 1954, 1959) had, since 1954, been considering solutions to the various and often critical problems facing the island societies (and thereby the French government): fast-increasing population, insalubrious housing conditions, tropical diseases, inadequate sanitation and health care facilities, declining employment in the sugar industry and lack of alternative sectors, mounting political awareness within some sections of the population. The working group saw the risk of the island populations being caught up in the fever of claims for independence, as in neighbouring islands and also in the French territory of Algeria. It thus appeared urgent to improve simultaneously employment outlets, education, and the living environment for the Caribbean islanders. Whilst investing in the infrastructure in the islands, emigration was seen as the principal solution to overpopulation and underemployment. First, the removal of a sizeable proportion of the younger generations, both single adults and young families, would immediately reduce the rate of population increase; and the encouragement of the migration of young women of child-bearing age was intended to remove future mothers permanently from the islands (Condon, 2004). Second, employment prospects were offered to both men and women who were to be 'educated to emigrate' (cf. Crane, 1971). The long policy of assimilation, whose foundations were education and the quest for social advancement, was crucial to the functioning of the migration encouragement system (Sainte-Rose, 1983). The aspiration to work in the public services, now well-established, could be called upon to entice Martinicans and Guadeloupeans to leave their island homes and take up employment in France.

The French state presented the organised migration as ‘a contribution to the solution to overpopulation in the Caribbean’. It was agreed then that at least 6,500 people—or 1,600 households—should emigrate from both Caribbean islands each year, these people being of all ages and both sexes (CGP, 1959, pp. 407–8). The Commission for the *Départements d’Outre Mer* (DOM; France’s overseas departments), which laid out the recommendations for the organisation of the migration, also stressed the necessity of family migration, partly to avoid an imbalance in the age and sex structure in the islands and partly to encourage the permanent settlement of Caribbean (and Reuniones) emigrants in France. Thus explicit in the emigration policy was the idea of its permanency.

A central element in economic and political planning in relation to the overseas départements came in 1962, with the setting up of the state agency Bumidom (*Bureau pour les migrations intéressant les départements d’outre-mer*), which, from 1963, was responsible for the rapid acceleration of out-migration (Table 2.2b). French state policy equally encouraged emigration of women and men of working age, with gender specificities with regard to employment. In the Bumidom reports⁴, migrant enumerations distinguish family members migrating through the family reunification process (all ages and sexes combined) from individuals migrating as ‘workers’. This category was divided into two—men and women—further evidence that women were by no means seen purely as dependants as in many immigration policies.

Over and above the labour requirements in the new and expanding French public services, the Bumidom administrators’ reports were quite revealing about the representations of Caribbean people as workers; and particularly in the case of women. Young women of eighteen or nineteen were sent to work in psychiatric hospitals in provincial France or as maids to wealthy Parisian homes. With respect to the latter type of work placement, Bumidom officials reported that employers were generally satisfied with their Caribbean domestics, finding them more docile and amenable than their Spanish colleagues (Bumidom, 1968). At the same time, there was clearly little anticipation of the physical adjustment necessary to the climate in France: Bumidom officials appeared surprised to learn that Caribbean men sent on building training courses in central or eastern France found living and working conditions too difficult. Concerns relating both to the risk of political activism amongst the migrants and to a possible negative reaction of the local population led to a dispersal policy being implemented from early on. Caribbean men were those affected by this, being regionally dispersed amongst military service bases and industrial training centers (Condon and Ogden, 1991a). This strategy had much in common with ‘fears’ expressed by housing officials in Britain when accommodating Caribbean workers in hostels (LAB *op. cit.*). A further justification was found for this highly orchestrated, low-cost, demographically balanced migration. It was a means to ‘avoid the drawbacks of an anarchical emigration movement, such

as has developed from neighbouring Caribbean territories' (CGP, 1959, p. 409), clearly alluding to the experience of the British state.

From the first official announcement of government plans to organise emigration from the islands, disapproval was expressed within the opposition in parliament. However, unlike the British case, no sizeable opposition to Caribbean immigration arose, either inside or outside parliament. Even the warnings by a lone demographer of the 'serious consequences' of 'unrestrained immigration of blacks' (Delerm, 1967, pp. 1–5) did not gather support. Other opinions on the right wing in favour of a constructive policy of economic development of the overseas departments, including migration from Martinique and Guadeloupe to French Guyana (Denais, 1965), which would remove the necessity of 'emigration of blacks to France' (de Baleine, 1979, p. 125), apparently did not gather support. Thus the state discourse of 'national solidarity' towards the 'compatriots from overseas' prevailed as dominant and consensual. Structured opposition was on the left wing, represented in parliament by the Antillean politician and intellectual, Aimé Césaire, advancing arguments against organised migration. Alongside this group was the pro-independence movement, which condemned the legacy of slavery that had led to this new 'emigration-deportation.' These movements did not form a united front (Edmond-Smith, 1973) and limitation of the activities of pro-independence groups in the islands meant that only the autonomists had a voice. Césaire totally rejected the assumption that emigration was the only solution to the 'Caribbean problem' and deplored the official propaganda that instilled 'into the head of each Caribbean person that he or she will find salvation only in expatriation' (*Journal Officiel*, 1965, p. 3775). Despite these various voices attacking the policy, the organised migration went ahead and generated an increasing movement toward the metropole. Emigration from the islands was considered so urgent and necessary that the state mobilised every effort to ensure that it was seen as a movement desired by those concerned and an important contribution to the French economy and the expansion of public services.

POSTWAR IMMIGRATION IN BRITAIN AND FRANCE: THE WIDER CONTEXT

Following World War II, state priorities in Western Europe shifted from border security and an associated suspicion of foreigners, to their post-war national labour shortages. This recognition that their depleted labour forces could not fulfill the needs of their expanding economies and post-war reconstruction agendas led to an active search for immigrant labour. The use of foreign labour thus became accepted policy across Western Europe (Castles and Kosack, 1973; Cohen, 1987). However, the strategies that each state applied and the ideologies that governed the foreign labour policies of these countries reflected the historical specificity of

each nation state (Miles, 1990; Bovenkerk, Miles, and Verbunt, 1991; Freeman, 1998).

Major Sources of Immigrant Labour in Postwar Britain and France

Caribbean migration to Britain and France was part of a continuum of immigration, largely generated by war-induced labour shortages although both countries had prewar histories of receiving labour migrants, particularly from European sources (Holmes, 1988; Noiriel 1988). Britain initially relied on labour released by the events of World War II. At the cessation of the war, around 20,000 German prisoners of war, many of whom were in fact central Europeans who had been forced to join the Nazi forces, sought to remain in Britain. These men were given leave to remain on condition that they worked in the agricultural sector (Kershaw and Pearsall, 2000). By 1950, more than 160,000 Poles were in Britain, most of whom had fought with the British in Europe during World War II. The majority of these men had opted not to return to a Soviet-dominated Poland after the war and they were permitted by the British government to settle and to bring their wives and other dependants to join them (Holmes, 1988; Zubrzycki, 1956). Britain also actively recruited Eastern Europeans from camps for people displaced in the war under the European Volunteer Worker scheme (Tannahill, 1958; Kay and Miles, 1992; McDowell, 2005). More than 80,000 people were recruited from the camps (Holmes 1988). Meanwhile thousands of Italian immigrants were recruited from the south of Italy and later chain migration increased this population in Britain (King, 1977; Holmes, 1988; Colpi, 1991).

The other major source of immigration to Britain from the European regional context was Ireland. This was a migration tradition that long preceded World War II and indeed one that was established by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Act of Union in 1800 created a major political and legislative link between the two countries (Jackson, 1963). Economic forces that engendered these migration flows included the increase in capitalist agriculture displacing small peasant farmers and tenant farmers, the relative underdevelopment of industrialisation within Ireland, and the demand for semi- and unskilled labour in Britain. Labour market demands in Britain ranged from seasonal harvesting work in the agricultural sector to service and industrial work in major urban centers (Jackson, 1963). This nineteenth-century migration intensified as a result of the potato blight-induced famine of 1845, and by 1861 the Irish-born population of England, Wales and Scotland had more than doubled from that of 1841 to more than 800,000 (Holmes, 1988; Halsey and Webb, 2000).

This mutual dependency was never free of complications. Ireland's desire for political independence was at odds with the country's inability to employ a large proportion of its economically active population. While the migration from Ireland has been larger than any other labour migration

into Britain, the British state has shown less inclination to intervene and regulate this flow than it has for any other group (Solomos, 1987, 1993; Paul, 1997). On the contrary, the 1922 formation of the Irish Republic was met by Britain with an extension of the right to settle and work in Britain to Irish citizens. Further to this, despite Ireland leaving the Commonwealth in 1949, the right given to Irish citizens in the British Nationality Act of 1948 to enter work and settle in the United Kingdom remained in place (Evans, 1983; Solomos, 1987, 1993; Dummett and Nicol, 1990). The potential loss of labour and political power in the case of Ireland led Britain into a conciliatory stance throughout.

The British state's positive attitude to employing European immigrants to solve its labour shortages contrasted markedly with the reservations, indeed hostility, expressed by politicians, the media, and the public towards similar migrants from Britain's colonies. Given the extent of the immigration from European sources, it is instructive that relatively little was written about this labour source when compared with the literature generated by the considerably smaller flows of labour migrants from British colonies and the New Commonwealth (Solomos, 1993; Paul, 1997; Spencer, 1997; Hansen, 2002). The parliamentary debates that began even before the first major arrival of migrants from the Caribbean have been analysed in some detail (Joshi and Carter, 1984; Carter, Harris, and Joshi, 1987; Dummett and Nicol, 1990; Solomos, 1993; Paul, 1997; Layton Henry, 1992). These focused initially on how to prevent the immigration commencing and later, when it had occurred despite their efforts, on containing and preventing further immigration from this source. Although the first counter-Commonwealth immigration legislation was introduced by the Conservative government, some Labour members of Parliament were vociferous in their condemnation of the 1962 Act. During the 1950s and 1960s both of the two major political parties in Britain indulged in what was a racialisation of the migrant labour issue and legislation was explicitly directed at excluding black and Asian Commonwealth immigrants (Joshi and Carter, 1984; Carter, Harris, and Joshi, 1987; Paul, 1997).

France's experience of labour recruitment from outside its metropolitan boundaries dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century. International agreements were signed with countries that had provided migrant workers, many of whom had settled permanently during the second half of the nineteenth century. Agreements were signed with Italy in 1904 and 1906, renewed in 1919, with Belgium in 1906, with Poland in 1919, and with Czechoslovakia in 1920. The institutionalised relationship between receiving and sending states and French employers reflected converging interests (Weil, 2004). In 1924, the *Société Générale d'Immigration* was set up, a private agency responsible for organising recruitment, particularly from Poland and Italy, directing labour largely to coal mines and heavy industry in northern and eastern France (Noiriel, 1984). The procedure included medical selection, vocational selection for particular economic sectors, transport of

workers, and their distribution according to the companies' needs. European sources were given precedence over colonial labour that had been used during the First World War (North African, Chinese, and Indochinese) (Prost, 1966). Foreign workers benefited from equal pay (in accordance with union demands) and there were the beginnings of laws concerning work, accidents, and working hours. The organisation was highly structured, with workers being sent to the geographical areas and the employment sectors where they were most needed.

Despite the tightly organised system, loopholes emerged and parallel, unrecruited immigration expanded. From 1919, Algerians no longer needed a permit to travel to metropolitan France. The same went for Moroccans. In response to increasing unemployment and statements alluding to the poor quality of the labour, immigration from Algeria and Morocco was made illegal in 1924 yet it continued (Massard-Guilbaud, 1995). Generally, immigration continued during the economic crisis of the 1930s (Blanc-Chaléard, 2000; Noiriel, 1984; Ponty, 1988). In addition, political refugees chose France by the thousands, coming from Russia, Armenia, Georgia, Eastern Europe, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. There were increased controls on access to certain employment sectors and also repatriation procedures that were applied, particularly in the cases of Poles (Ponty, 1988), yet the right to asylum was upheld and access to French nationality was increasingly facilitated: the 1927 law reducing the minimum length of residence from ten to three years led to a sharp rise in naturalisations (Bonnet, 1976). There were thus many contradictions during the interwar period and pre-1939 policy was unclear, apparently accepting several logics and aiming to respect political principles, demographic needs, and the requirements of industry and agriculture.

From 1945, a revised immigration policy based on republican values was drawn up, proclaiming France to be a country welcoming to immigrants with no selection based on origins (Weil, *op.cit.*, pp. 80–81). The immigration of workers from neighbouring countries was to be encouraged, nevertheless corresponding to a selection according to 'ethnic' criteria (Weil, *op.cit.*, pp. 57–72). Criteria for immigration were established by personalities such as Alfred Sauvy, Robert Debré, and, in particular, Georges Mauco. The objectives of demographers and economists did not coincide, as economists at the *Commissariat du Plan* argued for increase in economic production, a labour force that could adapt easily to variations in the labour market, that is to say, flexibility, and the migration of temporary and especially lone or single people. However, in the immediate postwar context of population losses and decreasing fertility, the option of longterm settlement, supported by demographers, was accepted. A consequence of the negotiation between the various factions was the lengthening of the minimum residence requirement to apply for French nationality from three to five years (Weil, *op. cit.*, p. 426); but the objective remained to encourage the settlement of migrants from neighbouring European countries and their integration to the French nation.

Families and young adults of child-bearing age were to be welcomed, men and women over 45–50 considered undesirable immigrants. A new agency was set up, the *Office National d'Immigration* (ONI), responsible for the whole immigration process from recruitment to assimilation (including access to naturalisation) or repatriation. Quotas were established by occupational category. On 1st January 1945, there were 1.4 million foreigners on French soil compared to 3 million prior to 1940. By 1974, when immigration was officially halted, there were 3.5 million foreigners in France of whom 750,000 were Portuguese, slightly fewer were Algerian, 500,000 Spanish, 400,000 Italian, and 260,000 Moroccan.

The French state thus had several decades experience of institutionalised immigration and of the setting up of objectives and principles. The organisation of migration from the three-island *départments d'outre-mer*—Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Réunion—in many ways reflected this experience. The aims of the migration were to satisfy the internal management of the French population, whether located on the mainland or overseas, and the economic expansion of the nation. On the one hand, the islands were seen as highly overpopulated, resulting in an explosive political and social context. On the other, labour needs in the expanding public services could be satisfied neither by internal rural emigration nor, given the legislation stating that only French nationals could work in the sector, by foreign immigrants.

Unwelcome Citizens in Britain, Invisible Citizens in France

As Miles (1990) argues, the colonial migrants were in an ‘anomalous’ position due to their exemption from immigration controls at this time. In Britain, on the one hand they had far greater rights to fill labour vacancies than any of the other immigrant contenders but, on the other, they were considered by policy makers least acceptable due to their racial origins (Paul, 1997; Solomos, 1993; Joshi and Carter, 1984; Carter, Harris, and Joshi, 1987).

The 171,796 Caribbean-born population who were living in Britain by 1961 (see Table 2.2a) were referred to as ‘coloured’ along with a growing population from India and Pakistan and increasingly identified and indeed problematised as ‘the immigrants.’ ‘Within popular and political discourse, an immigrant is, by definition, a “coloured” or a “black” person’ (Miles, 1990, p. 527; see also Solomos, 2003; Dummett and Nicol, 1990). This ‘othering’ of populations, which had by the 1948 Act been incorporated as integral elements of the British population, had close parallels with the association of the term ‘immigrant’ with ‘Jew’ during the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century (Miles, 1990; Solomos, 1993). When defining the boundaries of the nation state and associated access to citizenship and resource distribution that would ensue from that, a focus for exclusion could readily be invented by demonising a particular immigrant group. This occurred despite the desire of the British state to retain its imperial status within the global sphere, evident in the British Nationality Act of 1948.

Despite the presence in Britain of ex-servicemen and women from British colonies who were culturally and linguistically closer to British society than most Europeans, the British state looked in preference to European volunteer workers to fill their labour needs (Paul, 1997). Between 1948 and 1962, despite labour shortages, very significant immigration from Ireland, and the recruitment of labour from displaced-persons camps in postwar Europe by the British state, there emerged an increasingly vigorous debate at the political level and in the media on the desirability of immigration from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan (Solomos, 1993; Joshi and Carter, 1984; Paul, 1997; Specer, 1997). The racism integral to these debates was thrown into perspective when Irish immigration was excluded from the restrictions imposed in the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act. These arguments were echoed throughout parliaments led by both Conservative and Labour governments and racism was never far away when colonial labour was discussed (Solomos, 1993; Miles and Solomos, 1987; Joshi and Carter, 1984; Miles, 1991; Layton-Henry, 1994; Spencer, 1997). On a spectrum of immigrant worker desirability, Irish immigrants and European volunteer workers were preferred to black and Asian colonial immigrants. The 'good human stock' that was considered a prerequisite for immigration (Royal Commission on Population, 1949) did not include black or Asian people (regardless of their nationality and colonial acculturation). Rather, the examples of Flemish and French Protestant refugees, substantial numbers of whom at various times in history had settled in Britain, were held up as groups that fulfilled these conditions.

Looking at the issue of the reception of Caribbean migrants from this perspective, the French and British cases stand clearly at opposite ends of the spectrum. Given the French national philosophy relating to citizenship, individuals who are granted French nationality are treated as members of a unified whole, their rights and access to all society's benefits being equal to those of all other citizens, their duties likewise on the same level. The acceptability of migrating citizens from Martinique and Guadeloupe as a worthy contribution to the metropolitan workforce thus never could be questioned. Political debate on Caribbean migration into France thus was totally separate from that on foreign immigration. As has been noted elsewhere, the national literatures reflect the local norms relating to citizenship and belonging (Favell, 1988). Thus this distinction between foreign migrant workers and Caribbean migrants has remained a principle in French academic writings on immigration policy and on integration.

In general, the movement from the Caribbean and other overseas departments has been invisible in the history of labour migration to France (Noiriell, 1988; Mincez, 1973; Tapinos, 1975; Schnapper, 1991⁵). A small number of academics, often echoing the concerns of militant groups denouncing state policy and the Bumidom's activities as the "new era of the slave trade" (AGEG, 1979), sought to bring this organised labour migration to the notice of colleagues and the media (Anselin, 1979; Taboada-Leonetti, 1972). In

parallel, Jean Galap initiated work on the psychological sufferings of Caribbean migrants in metropolitan France (1976, 1978). The daily experience of many migrants revealed the contradictions of their social status: having left the islands in the belief that they were heading for the ‘motherland,’ convinced of their full rights as French citizens, as their stay prolonged, an insidious process made them aware that their rights were questioned by some metropolitan compatriots. Galap’s work revealed how in some cases, racist remarks and attitudes led to mental illness and anomy. Several other contemporary studies and student dissertations dealt with identity issues in the light of the racism experienced by many Caribbean migrants (Cirba, 1977; Beauvue-Fougeyrollas, 1979; Darius, 1986; Migerel, 1987); these concerns also were expressed in contributions to the monthly magazine, *Alizès*, produced by the Caribbean mission in Paris. A broader discussion of the discrimination experienced by migrants from the Caribbean and from Reunion Island was launched by a working group established in 1982, resulting in a full report to the government—which unfortunately remained unpublished—detailing the lack of social mobility, discrimination in employment and in housing, and accounts of racism in daily life (Lucas, 1983). The first widely accessible academic publication relating the history of the labour migration and the obstacles to collective organisation appeared in a French migration studies journal in 1987, with the articles by Fred Constant and by Michel Giraud and Claude-Valentin Marie⁶. However, the population largely remained invisible to the academic community in France.

Although they thus were not legally ‘immigrants’—this signifying foreign nationality—they played a specific economic role within overall labour and economic policy. These migrants were destined to fill the sectors of unqualified labour in the public services that foreign migrants could not enter. However, such was the priority to displace/relocate as many inhabitants of the islands as possible that many men were placed in industrial jobs and found themselves working alongside foreign immigrants, for example in vehicle manufacture (Granotier, 1976). As we will see in the next chapter, the state agency, the BUMIDOM, was responsible for this aspect of the organised recruitment.

From the French state’s point of view, the migration from the Caribbean was an internal movement. Moreover, an emphasis on ‘national solidarity’ was placed from the beginning in parliamentary speeches and official documents (Condon and Ogden, 1991a). The invisibility of Caribbean migrants was to be maintained through the day-to-day management of the arrival and placement. New arrivals were distributed initially among training centres and places of employment to avoid local concentration. However, as we will discuss in the next two chapters, recruitment into the public sector and also chain migration and family dynamics led to geographical concentration in the major cities, and notably in the capital region. Whilst Caribbean migrants and households were largely invisible in the political sphere in relation to other groups, namely those from North Africa, they attained

a certain visibility through their geographical and occupational concentration. For example, stereotypes of the Caribbean hospital domestic (male or female), the Caribbean ancillary nurse (a woman), and the Caribbean postal worker (male) became ubiquitous and, as we will discuss in the next chapter, were to have an impact on the social mobility of the group as a whole.

French colonial history in the islands certainly plays a part in the reception of Caribbean men and women in the metropole (Brock, 1986). However, within the wider context of colonial migration, the issue of Caribbean migrants was largely overshadowed by the growing hostility at the time towards labour migrants from the former North African colony of Algeria. Algeria's rejection of France in favour of independent statehood and the bitter conflict that accompanied this rendered the Caribbean presence even more neutral and invisible in the face of increasing antipathy towards those of Algerian origin in France. The political and social turmoil during the years following 1962, with the 'repatriation' of 1 million *pieds noirs* and the continued immigration of Algerians⁷, far overshadowed the arrival of Caribbean people.

Consequences of the overall invisibility have been that issues relating to problems at work or in other life contexts have gone largely unnoticed. And the lack of a tradition of community-based lobbying in France has meant that it has been difficult to form a 'Caribbean' voice. The plethora of Caribbean associations that sprung up from the 1980s, usually neighbourhood based, combining cultural activities and local social action, inscribed the 'Caribbean community' on a local level. Attempts to widen the scope, including making the young Caribbeans aware of their potential power as a political voice by encouraging them to enrol on the electoral register, were often countered by divisions within the Caribbean population in France (Giraud and Marie, 1987). However, over recent years, political mobilisation on a national level has become more apparent and Caribbean migrants and their descendants are amongst those demanding to be heard; notably on the issue of discrimination (Karam, 2004). As Caribbean activists tend to predominate within this mobilisation, the issues brought to the fore tend to be referred to as those of the 'Antillais'; the Reunionese thus find themselves often identified with this group.

CONCLUSIONS: ACCIDENT OF HISTORY VERSUS PLANNED INTEGRAL LABOUR SOURCE

The movements from the Caribbean colonies to Britain and France were comparable in several defining ways. The socioeconomic and demographic contexts of the sending colonies were clearly very similar. Both France and Britain had colonial projects that settled and then repopulated the Caribbean territories with the ultimate objective being the enrichment of the metropolises. Not surprisingly, when sugar production in these territories

ceased to be profitable, the resulting surplus labour force became a problem. Both powers were loath to recommend significant investment in secondary industrial development in these territories, the threat to their own industries and markets being their concern. By World War II, emigration as an economic survival strategy had been established in the British Caribbean colonies for a century. To a lesser extent this had also developed in the French Caribbean.

In both the French and British Caribbean, close political relationships with the colonial powers remained and the colonial populations contributed personnel to the armed forces in Europe. It was the coincidence of these demobbed servicemen and women in labour-scarce, postwar Britain, with the right to live and work in Britain that they gained in the British Nationality Act of 1948, that provided the catalyst for the postwar migration. This accidental outcome contrasts with the deliberate strategy devised in France to solve public sector labour shortages in France with surplus labour from the underdeveloped, overseas departments. Meanwhile, the significantly depleted labour forces of the two European nations resulted in them both adopting, along with other countries of northwestern Europe, policies to encourage labour immigration following the Second World War.

Postwar Caribbean migration to Britain and France is a microcosm of the receiving states' efforts to meet demands of interest groups nationally while also heeding geopolitical obligations. The latter, in the case of Caribbean migrants, were the complex colonial relationships through which, in these cases, the colonial populations acquired right of entry to Britain and France. State decision making was heavily influenced by organised interests in both public and private sectors of their economies. Critical to the manner and the extent in which these factors influenced state policy was the pervasive effect of the dominant ideology of the nation held by the state. Ideas of what constituted the nation, state ideologies of inclusion and exclusion, of what people should represent the nation, and to whom citizenship should be granted, have profoundly affected policy on population movements from the Caribbean to Britain. It was also in this sphere that significant differences are evident between the two European nations in their relationship with their Caribbean colonies. Consequently, there developed considerable divergence in the migrations from the French and British Caribbean.

The French state explicitly incorporated the Caribbean colonies into its vision of the nation in the postwar period. The solution to perceived problems in the colonies would be part of the solution to labour shortages in France. Following the war, the borders of the French state were extended to include the Caribbean colonies. The ideology of assimilation into the French nation that pervaded French policy making facilitated the incorporation of these colonial societies who had been acculturated as French people over a period of more than 300 years. The approach was paternalistic and exploitative of their labour power, but at no time were the Caribbean migrants

perceived by the state as 'other than French' and their right to share in the resources of the French nation were not disputed.

The British case was much more contradictory. Labour needs were undoubtedly a priority following the war, evidenced by the recruitment of workers from a range of European sources. Meanwhile, geopolitically Britain was anxious to retain its influence within its Dominions and colonies and felt threatened at the prospect of independence that was being sought by some of these territories. The consequent 1948 British Nationality Act sought to reconfirm Britain's influence as the Empire declined. However this Act was to precipitate an example of what Freeman called the 'largely unintended after-effect of colonialism' (Freeman, 1995, p. 889): a significant migration of colonial subjects, now made citizens of the UK and colonies, to Britain. The reaction of the British authorities to this development contrasted fundamentally with the French approach to migration from the colonial Caribbean. While acknowledging that there were severe labour shortages in certain labour market sectors, British state officials presented Caribbean colonial citizens as unsuitable for the task and saw their 'right' to come Britain as not serving the needs of the labour market. Set in a context of the acceptance in Britain at this time of foreign labour from a range of European sources, this official hostility to the entry of colonial citizens pre-saged the prominence of 'race' as a feature of subsequent immigration policy making in Britain. British officials' insistence on separating the conditions of large-scale unemployment and deprivation in the Caribbean colonies from the labour shortages in the British economy contrasted entirely with the French approach in which a complementary solution was implemented.

Control over colonial space and the populations therein was a major objective of both British and French governments. Yet, notable differences are evident in the way in which control was perceived and exercised. Where movement between colonies and metropole was concerned, the British sought to control the non-white colonial populations by restricting their migration to Britain and eventually pursued a strategy of exclusion, via legislation, of the colonial immigrant. In contrast, the French saw labour migration to the metropole as an essential element of their strategy to control the sociopolitical context in the DOM while reducing labour shortage in the metropole. For the French state, control was to be achieved by extending their frontier to incorporate all territories, and particularly the old colonial populations of the Caribbean and Reunion. Within this broad unit, population movement would be unrestricted.

Opposition and discouragement characterised the British government stance on colonial immigration in the postwar period. Any encouragement came from local governments in the colonial territories who, often despite objections from central government, collaborated with interests in the public and private sector of British industry to fill labour shortages with immigrants from the colonies. While these contacts were instrumental in shaping migrant distribution within certain sectors of the economy, it is arguable

that the lack of a plan to channel migrants into specific economic spaces led to Caribbean migrants in Britain filling a wider range of job types than was the case with the recruited migration to France. This is examined in more detail in Chapter 3.

The conflicting interests of central state policy, the labour shortages of British industry, the policies of the colonial administrations, and, not least, the migrants as agents led to a complex migration process. While there was some organised access to jobs, at least early in this movement, the national shortage of accommodation in Britain in the postwar era was felt particularly acutely by the new immigrants. With no accommodation provided by the employers and the resolve to discourage this immigration by the state, the early housing experiences of Caribbean migrants to Britain were of exploitation by private slum landlords, as we discuss in Chapter 4. The early experience of Caribbean migrants to France varied from the hostels provided for labour recruits, to the private-sector, low-quality housing acquired by non-recruited migrants. The latter had much in common with the general experience of Caribbean migrants to Britain.

As we discuss employment and housing trajectories and outcomes for migrants and their descendants in the following chapters, it is useful to reconsider how the state and popular perception of the colonial populations would have influenced the realisation of citizenship rights, key among them the related allocation of national resources.

3 Working Lives Across Generations

INTRODUCTION

As we discussed in Chapter 2, Caribbean societies had developed a well-established culture of labour migration dating back to the nineteenth century. Security of income was the overriding purpose of the migrations and, in general, the movements to Britain and France were no exception. In embarking on this journey across the Atlantic, the migrant in his or her late twenties or early thirties, who had spent years struggling to subsist on small farming, very poorly remunerated domestic service, or the income from various trades, sought regular, higher wages. Meanwhile, the larger, migrant cohort of nineteen- to twenty-four-year-olds sought a labour market that would enable them to break the cycle of often unpaid work on the family farm, low-paid work on plantations or sugar factories, or years of apprentice status in a variety of artisan trades. Few women were employed beyond domestic labour or agricultural tasks outside the home, an extension of their unpaid roles within their own domestic spheres. In a context where little or no opportunity for formal training existed, this reflected the sharp gender division of unskilled labour. A minority of those who joined this migration were aspiring young, educated members of the middle classes who wished to gain further professional experience as teachers or administrators. While for all these categories of migrants the move was an exciting venture into the legendary 'Motherland' ('*mère patrie*' for the French Caribbeans), the common goal of a better job to improve their living conditions was paramount.

The migration was catalysed, and the subsequent socioeconomic positions of the migrants were largely defined, by the labour recruitment strategies of state institutions and some industries in these two nations. In this chapter, we examine and compare these two movements of labour starting with the role of labour recruitment and then discussing the migrant positions within each labour market. These migrations took place within the context of the large postwar labour migration into North Western Europe from a range of sources and, where relevant, comparisons are drawn with labour market positions of other migrants.

Gender continues to be a critical variable influencing migration outcomes in the postwar period and beyond (Chant, 1992; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Kofman et al., 2000; Morokvasic, 1984; Phizacklea, 1983). Indeed, given the gender inequality that defined much previous migration from the Caribbean, the migrations to Europe proved particularly liberating for Caribbean women as it was the first time in the post-emancipation era that men and women had relatively equal access to the labour migration process. This led to a greater level of financial independence for women (Foner, 1975; Momsen, 1992; Thomas-Hope 1993; Senior, 1991). Gender relations are a fundamental consideration when examining migrant positions in the labour force, both within the Caribbean group and when comparing this group to the wider workforce (Phizacklea, 1983; Stone, 1983; Condon and Ogden, 1991b; Kofman et al., 2000).

The themes of life course and generation are also central to this comparative examination of Caribbean migration to Europe. The movement of the migrant cohort into the British and French labour markets and their negotiation of the significant economic restructuring of these economies since the 1970s leads eventually to their retirement. Retirement and ageing has not been a major consideration for researcher on Caribbean migrants, and indeed ethnic minorities more generally, until relatively recently. For decades, the focus has been on the working lives of those young, active entrants to the postwar labour market. In the case of Caribbean migrants, as they matured within these labour markets they became synonymous with certain public-sector tasks such as nursing and public-sector transport in Britain and work in the post office and public hospitals in France. Those migrants who were above the average age of this cohort usually worked for a shorter time towards certain specific material goals, usually linked to improving their living conditions in the Caribbean. Most of this subgroup returned to the Caribbean, to lives significantly enhanced by the small pensions they had earned while working abroad.

Of that Caribbean-born, young, immigrant cohort of the 1950s and 1960s, those who remain in Europe have now retired or are rapidly approaching retirement. We discuss the status of the Caribbean pensioner in Europe. This life stage is both inevitable and yet full of contradictions for the labour migrant. As this generation retires, our attention shifts to their metropolitan-born descendants who have entered labour markets that differ significantly from those within which their parents had negotiated a working life.

FROM MILITARY OCCUPATIONS TO THE WIDER ECONOMY: CONTRASTING PERSPECTIVES ON LABOUR RECRUITMENT FROM THE CARIBBEAN

The Role of the Armed Forces in Future Labour Recruitment

Enrolment in the armies during the Second World War gave many Caribbean men their first contact with a working environment in Britain. Many

men remained on British soil working on the military bases while others were employed in munitions factories. When the war ended, men had the choice of staying on or returning to the Caribbean (Stockdale, 1945; Richmond, 1954; Fryer, 1984; Ramdin 1987). The now famous arrival in Britain from Jamaica of the Empire Windrush in 1948 (Lambeth Borough Council, 1988; M. Phillips and Phillips, 1998) included among its passengers several ex-members of the armed forces.

Men from Guadeloupe and Martinique had served under the French flag during the First World War and many survivors did not return to the Caribbean when the war ended, finding work in factories or small businesses. They formed part of the Caribbean population living in metropolitan France during the 1920s and 1930s, alongside those of middle-class origin (mainly men), particularly from the French Caribbean administrative centre of Martinique, who had moved to Parisian or other major universities to follow training in law, administration, or teaching. Other fellow islanders in the French capital became part of the Parisian entertainment world, musicians bringing 'exotic' rhythms to high society or avant-garde clubs (Meunier, 2005).

France during the Second World War presented a very different context to Britain, as mainland France and the colonies were caught between the forces of occupation and resistance. Some men left to fight with the Free French Forces and remained in the military after 1945. Martinican and Guadeloupean men were also recruited to serve alongside their compatriots in defence of the French colonies in Indochina and Africa. An important step in linking military service to emigration and settlement in mainland France came in 1960, when military conscription became institutionalised as a major form of recruitment of migrants in the French Caribbean and Reunion Island. The measure was proposed as part of a joint governmental effort for 'military conscription and maintenance of law and order', after the outbreak of social unrest in Fort-de-France in December 1959 (*Journal Officiel*, 1960, p. 3269). From that year, around half of the annual number of conscripts in the islands was to carry out military service in metropolitan France (Condon and Ogden, 1991a). Military conscription to France was requested by some Caribbean parliamentarians as an 'opportunity for young Caribbean-born French men to receive technical training and make contact with the metropolitan population' (*Journal Officiel*, 1960, p. 3272). In 1967, for example, 321 of the 1,800 men sent to training schemes or placed directly in employment by the state agency, the BUMIDOM, were men demobilised in France following military service there (BUMIDOM, 1968). Claude's migration experience is an apt example of how young men saw the opportunity to migrate through the army: 'There weren't enough opportunities for jobs or training in Martinique, so rather than content myself with poor career prospects . . . At that time, job opportunities were offered to young men through the army, with training and qualifications at the end of our military service and the chance to take our driving licence. So that's the route I chose . . . I needed to leave'.

Thus in contrast to Britain, the French state embraced military conscription in the Caribbean as a solution to labour shortages in the metropole, explicitly recommending that the conscripts should be encouraged to remain in France as workers when their period of national service ended. The eligibility of the French Caribbean workers was never in doubt, albeit to fill a restricted segment of the metropolitan labour market.

Following these military connections, which had initiated postwar migration from the Caribbean beyond the elite classes, came the decision by elements of the British and French public and private sectors to recruit civilian labour from the islands. As will become clear, the recruitment organised by French administrations and industry was part of a broader and specific plan. In contrast, the British state was wary of regarding the colonies in the Caribbean as a source of migrant labour. When this proposal was raised by sections of industry and the local colonial administrations, it was met in Britain by hesitancy and at times hostility.

Attitudes to the Caribbean as a Potential and Useful Labour Source

Whilst the French state saw the population of the colonies as part of the wider French population and incorporated them in postwar long-term economic and demographic plans, the military recruitment to Britain of Caribbean labour was seen as a short-term, remedial measure. The state's reaction to the migrants' determination to remain beyond the war and work in Britain was particularly contradictory given the implications of the 1948 British Nationality Act. The desire, evident in this Act, to keep Britain accessible to the white settlers of the Dominions, apparently did not extend to the black colonial citizens (Dummett and Nicol, 1990). A major difference between the attitudes of the state in Britain and France towards Caribbean labour was evident in their responses to the military recruits once their contracts came to an end. The parliamentary debates in Britain voiced negative views towards migrants from this source, emphasising the 'likely public hostility' to black workers and the problems with 'assimilation' of this group (Kershaw and Pearsall, 2000; Paul, 1997).

In 1948, a working party was set up by the UK government to investigate the possibilities of employing in the UK 'surplus manpower of certain colonial territories' (LAB 26/226, Report of the Working Party, p. 1). While the problem of unemployment in certain West Indian territories was recognised, it was generally concluded that no organised immigration of male colonial workers should be recommended. The reasons expressed included: a shortage of accommodation; West Indians being unsuited to the work available; the existing workforce and unions being unprepared to work with coloured immigrants; and the fact that, due to their citizenship status, the West Indians could not be sent back home if they failed to stay in the employment and the locations to which they were allocated.

As recorded in Chapter 2, there was less hostility to the employment of West Indian women and labour shortages were noted in the textile industry, hotels, catering, and domestic work. However, while the large number of vacancies for nursing staff was mentioned, it was stressed that, given the shortage of nurses in the colonies, the 500 colonial women being trained as nurses in Britain would return as soon as their training was completed. Meanwhile, this same 1948 report also noted that there was difficulty locating women in the colonies with adequate education and health standards for nursing in Britain and recommended against any attempt to place colonial women in this field. It is clear from the outcomes we will discuss shortly that neither of these opinions reflected the ambitions of Caribbean women, be they at that time in Britain or in the islands; for Caribbean nurses were to play a very significant role in the British health service over subsequent decades.

Meanwhile, labour from Martinique and Guadeloupe (and Reunion Island in the Indian Ocean) was included within the French scheme of economic recovery and growth. Just as Italian migrants were expected at that time to take up jobs in the French construction and heavy industries, as they had done during the interwar period, migrants from the overseas departments were to be directed to public service jobs. The 'overpopulated' islands constituted a pool of low-skilled, French-educated, and adaptable labour that could be channelled into specific sectors; women and men followed distinct channels. As will be discussed below, an elaborate policy was drawn up to achieve this end.

Recruitment Schemes into Industry and the Service Sector

During the mid-1950s, recruitment of labour began in the Caribbean island of Barbados (Brooks, 1975; Glass, 1960; Ramdin, 1987). In a rare, detailed account of recruitment of Caribbean migrants to Britain in the postwar period, Brooks (1975) highlighted the important role of the colonial government in Barbados in sponsoring emigration from the island due to its high population growth and growing levels of unemployment. This 'safety valve' approach (Marshall, 1987) involved the colonial state encouraging emigration to reduce the pressure of 'overpopulation' and unemployment. Officials from Barbados went to Britain in 1955, noted employment prospects, and contacted several large employers, mainly within the public sector, amongst which were London Transport and the National Health Service. Subsequently, the Barbados Migrants' Liaison Service was set up in London to seek out further employment possibilities, liaise with employers, and monitor and assist with the welfare of Barbadian migrants in Britain. After initial visits to the Caribbean by senior recruitment officers from these public service industries, the task of selecting appropriate employees, preparing them for life in Britain, and loaning the cost of transport to Britain was delegated to the Barbados labour department (Brookes, 1975). London Transport continued to recruit labour in the Caribbean until 1970. In addition to London Transport,

officials from the British Transport Commission, the British hotels and restaurant association, and the National Health Service visited Barbados with a view to recruiting labour. Some recruitment also occurred subsequently in Trinidad and Jamaica (Ramdin, 1987).

There were conflicting messages from elements of the British state towards the recruitment of Caribbean labour. On the one hand, the British government was at best ambivalent and at worst openly hostile to migration of British citizens from the colonies in the postwar period, as we discussed in Chapter 2. Meanwhile the colonial state, exemplified by the Barbados government, recognised the desperate economic conditions in the islands and approached a range of employers in Britain with the aim of finding employment for thousands of Barbadians.

Like some elements of the British state, French governments recognised the potential for underemployed colonial workers to curb labour shortages in mainland France. In addition to easing the demographic pressures in the islands and thus reducing the risk of sociopolitical unrest, it was believed that 'in providing a necessary labour supply for France, immigration from the Caribbean and Reunion could reduce the introduction of foreign workers and allow currency savings' (Commissariat Général du Plan, 1959, pp. 408–9). Recruitment of labour in the islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique was initially organised directly by public-sector services such as the post office, customs and excise, and the health service or by manufacturing industries such as Michelin or Renault (Condon and Ogden, 1991a). Prior to 1962, recruitment was relatively ad hoc, organised by and subject to the needs of specific services or industries. The post office and customs and excise recruited staff via exams organised in the islands. Public hospitals also recruited labour directly in the islands, via recruitment parties sent from France. Condon and Ogden (1991b) note that the hospitals mainly recruited people to auxiliary positions. Concentration in these jobs led to protests by those who had, at recruitment, been promised the opportunity to qualify as nurses. In addition to the state hospital auxiliary employment, the domestic service sector offered numerous opportunities to Caribbean women during this period. Individual employers in Paris, Marseille, Bordeaux, and other cities sent advertisements for domestic posts (Ega, 1978).

As a force for emigration to France this period of recruitment preceding the Bumidom era was not insignificant. Almost 40,000 migrants from the Caribbean departments, of whom 40 percent were women, were resident in metropolitan France by the 1962 census (Condon and Ogden, 1991). While recruitment was a critical factor in generating this migration flow, the importance of chain migration once 'pioneer migrants' had established themselves in France is undisputed. With their citizenship spanning transatlantic space and a state that was positively inclined towards such migration, it is unsurprising that many in the French Caribbean chose to join relatives and friends seeking a higher income and job stability on the 'mainland.'

The period between 1955 and 1962 is one of considerable convergence in the patterns of Caribbean labour migration to Britain and France. In

particular, there were significant parallels in the recruitment of labour from the Caribbean. In both cases, the public sector sent recruitment agents to the Caribbean territories. Both European countries experienced shortages of labour in these industries as the local labour force sought and obtained better paid jobs in the private sector (Peach, 1968, 1991; Condon and Ogden, 1991). However, until 1962, neither state had made formal policy decisions on the issue of recruitment of labour from outside to supplement the metropolitan workforce. The ambivalence and contradictions in British policy towards migration of citizens from the Caribbean colonies contrasted with the French state's explicit aim of combining the reduction of unemployment in the Caribbean with solving labour shortage in metropolitan France.

From 1962, state policy towards Caribbean migration in the two European nations veered apart. In that year, Britain instituted the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, which effectively removed the 'right to live and work in Britain' for potential Caribbean labour migrants. By coincidence, the French chose 1962–1963 to set up the BUMIDOM, the agency through which the institutional framework of organised migration was co-ordinated. The main channels of emigration were through training and direct placement, a third being family reunification. The BUMIDOM directed Caribbean men towards the industrial sectors of metallurgy and construction and women to the domestic service sector and hospitals in private or semipublic sector (Anselin, 1979; Condon and Ogden, 1991b). The public service administrations continued to recruit their staff directly through entrance exams, as they had done in the 1950s. The two axes of the organised labour recruitment, in the private and public sectors, thus functioned in parallel. Since permanent or at least long-term settlement was implicit in the emigration policy, these workers thus were to be integrated selectively into the metropolitan French labour force.

CARIBBEAN MIGRANTS IN THE LABOUR MARKETS FROM THE 1950s TO THE 1970s: GENDERED ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT

Geographical Location of Employment

The recruitment period had a major impact on the industrial distribution of migrant workers from the Caribbean within the British and French labour forces. Concentration of Caribbean migrants in the public services, public transport, hospitals, manufacturing industry, and, to a lesser extent, the catering and hospitality industry or domestic service was catalysed by the initial recruitment of migrants in the islands and fuelled by subsequent migration by members of these migrants' social networks. Established migrants often acted as conduits into particular employment for newly arrived relatives and friends. Thus the recruitment channels had a significant impact on residential distribution too (Peach, 1968; Anselin, 1979). In London and Paris, major

hubs of the service sector, a high proportion of Caribbean people were to be found working in the transport sector, the health services, the catering and hospitality sectors, and the manufacturing sector. Those who settled in the industrial regions of the Midlands and North of England or the Normandy ports were more likely to be employed in manufacturing industry.

Within urban Britain, migrants were also subject to the labour demands of specific places. So, whereas Caribbean men were under-represented in the non-manual job level as a whole, in London 20 percent of men were found to be in non-manual jobs compared to only 4 percent in the manufacturing heartland of the West Midlands (Brown, 1984, p. 205). Meanwhile in Leicester, where manufacturing industry was built around heavy engineering, textiles, shoes, and hosiery, with some lighter food industries also present (Lomas and Monck, 1975), migrant work experience reflected this industrial structure. Most Caribbean men were employed as skilled and semiskilled workers in the engineering sector, while women were mainly concentrated in semi- and unskilled positions in hosiery and food-processing firms (Byron, 1994). Caribbean women also made a significant contribution as nursing staff at various levels of the public health sector.

Migrant workers were heavily represented in the British automobile industry; for example, the presence of the Morris factory and later the British Motor Corporation (BMC) factory in Cowley, Oxford, was the main reason for the small Caribbean population that developed in that city from the 1960s. Automobile factories in Langley, Dagenham, Coventry, and Birmingham similarly acted as magnets to their surrounding regions for migrant men and their families. Caribbean women, recruited as trainee nurses, were dispersed over a wide range of locations across Britain, finding work in hospitals in cities as far apart as Ashford in Kent and Lincoln and Hull in the North of England. Although many later migrated internally in Britain to major concentrations of Caribbean migrants, nursing remained a mechanism for dispersal of the Caribbean presence in Britain.

Whilst hospital staff and nursing trainees were also geographically dispersed in France, the great expansion of the service sector in the Paris region led to the concentration there of Caribbean migrants. The development of postal and telecommunication systems and of the regional public transport network led to young people with few qualifications both from the rural areas of central, western, and southern France and from the Caribbean being employed in Paris and its environs as trainees; for many, the stay was prolonged (Cognet, 1999). Demand for labour in vehicle manufacture, particularly in Lyon and the western Paris region, led to the settlement of Caribbean men in those regions after training in new state-run AFPA (Association de Formation Professionnelle des Adultes/Adult Vocational Training) centres. From the early days, dock employment and the presence of a range of industries in the ports of arrival at Le Havre (north), Bordeaux (west), and Marseille (south) led to considerable populations of Caribbean origin in the cities and their surrounding regions (Condon and Ogden, 1991b).

A notable feature in the first destination of migrants arriving under the auspices of the Bumidom is the geographical dispersal of the men. One reason for this was the location of army barracks, in which the national service contingents spent their first year in metropolitan France. After demobilisation, for those who did not return to the islands, a six-month industrial training period was offered at Fontenay-le-Comte, in western France. During this period, they could learn to drive a vehicle, a useful skill in the subsequent job search. They would then go onto a further training course through the AFPA or straight into employment. For those men who went directly into training courses on arriving in France, they were distributed amongst numerous centres around the country. Amongst the first Bumidom arrivals in 1962/1963, thirty-nine men are known to have received training in twenty-four different centres throughout France (Condon and Ogden, 1991a, p. 515). In fact, in 1967, the BUMIDOM annual report explained that 'in order to render the adaptation of the AFPA migrant trainees to life and work in France as easy as possible, it has been agreed tacitly with the AFPA that no more than five workers from Réunion or the Caribbean will be allowed on each course' (BUMIDOM, 1968, p. 49). The state appeared to anticipate that large groupings of migrants might protest or rebel against the system. In addition, warnings against allowing concentrations 'such as those developing in Britain' (Delerm, 1967) may have influenced these decisions.

Women seem to have been somewhat less dispersed, many being sent to the Nantes centre (west coast) for training in hospital work, to the Dieppe centre (Normandy) for office work training, or, from 1967, to the Crouy-sur-Ourcq 'pre-training and adaptation centre' for women destined for domestic service (northeast of Paris) and often subsequently placed in Paris where most demand for domestic service labour was located. Generally, as will be evident from the maps presented in Chapter 4, attempts at maintaining dispersal failed as many migrants, hoping for assistance in finding secure employment in the public sector and housing, joined relatives in the Paris region.

Labour Market Positions of the Migrant Generation

In this section, we discuss the socioeconomic positions of the migrant generation as they entered and established themselves in the labour markets of Britain and France. We consider the role played by education in shaping entry onto the labour market. While the labour demands of these postwar European economies were of paramount importance in determining the employment paths of the migrants, microeconomic forces operated simultaneously and influenced work trajectories. Alongside the demands of British and French industries were cultural norms; dominant among these were gender roles and expectations, migration goals, commitments to an expanding network of family members, and the individual's life course, all of which influenced the statistical picture¹ presented here.

The Migrant Generation in Britain

The earliest comparisons of the positions of ethnic minorities in the British labour force with those of the majority, white population were undertaken by the Political and Economic Planning (PEP) and the Policy Studies Institute (PSI); (Daniel, 1968; Smith, 1976; Brown, 1984). These studies indicated that Caribbean workers were disproportionately concentrated in certain sectors of British industry over the first three decades of postwar immigration and settlement. Gender was also a differentiating factor. We examine their labour market positions in comparison with the 'white' population in these survey samples, since this, albeit undifferentiated, category represents the 'established,' majority, population with which the Caribbean labour migrants came into contact in the postwar period.

Of all ethnic groups in Britain identified in the PSI surveys (Brown, 1984; Smith, 1976; Daniel, 1968), Caribbean men and women had the smallest proportion in the professional/employer category. In the late 1970s, the Runnymede trust found that Caribbean migrants were the group most likely to be directly involved in production and related activities such as packing and there was significant under-representation of black workers at the supervisory and management levels (Runnymede Trust and Radical Statistics Race Group, 1980). Within night shift work, a sector that was increasingly unpopular with the white working class, black people's presence was also disproportionately high (Smith, 1976; Brown, 1984; Duffield, 1988; Fevre, 1984). This supported Peach's (1968) assertion that immigrants from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan became a 'replacement labour force,' filling sectors that were being shunned by the white working class due to the unattractive nature of the work.

At a broad industry-sector scale, there are some relative similarities in the labour market positions of the Caribbean and white groups. In the 1970s, Caribbean workers were concentrated in manufacturing industry, particularly shipbuilding and vehicle manufacture, construction, transport, and communication and professional/scientific services (Smith, 1976). Broken down by gender, this would leave most men in heavy manufacturing/engineering, construction, and transport while Caribbean women were heavily concentrated in the public services, particularly the health sector. From a broad, sectoral perspective, Caribbean men had very similar representation in the manufacturing and service sectors to white men. However the former were disproportionately concentrated in the vehicle and shipbuilding industries and the 'other manufacturing' sub-sector. In the service sector, Caribbean men were over-represented in the transport and communication industry, 10 percent compared with 7 percent of the general population (*ibid*, 1976), largely as a result of the initial recruitment drives by London Transport and British Rail.

By the early 1980s, most Caribbean men in Britain remained employed in the shrinking, manufacturing sector or the transport and distribution elements of the service sector. Within these sectors they had gained skills essential to their

work on the manufacturing shop floor or in the transport sector: 48 percent of the Caribbean men interviewed in the PSI surveys were skilled manual workers or foremen compared to 26 percent semiskilled and 9 percent unskilled (Brown, 1984, Tables 91, 92). However, many found further promotion difficult to attain and, although socioeconomic classifications changed over time, indicating the increasing complexity of the labour market, concentration in particular economic sectors and in the lower socioeconomic groupings was as characteristic of the late 1970s as it was during the early years of the migration (Runnymede Trust and Radical Statistics Race Group, 1980). Socioeconomic mobility for men within this generation was limited and few joined the ranks of professionals and employers (Heath and Ridge, 1983; Robinson, 1990).

At a very general level in the industrial structure, Caribbean women were also located in similar positions to the white, female labour force by the 1980s. However, the former were significantly more likely to be employed in the professional and scientific sub-sector, overwhelmingly in the nursing profession. The organised recruitment during the 1950s and 1960s of Caribbean women to work in the understaffed nursing and social care sectors in Britain explains their concentration in this sub-sector. Employment in the NHS led to the classification of 53 percent of employed Caribbean women as non-manual workers (Brown, 1984, Tables 91 and 92). The 'non-manual' title is potentially misleading as, in addition to highly skilled nursing staff, this category included many women who were employed as ancillary workers in the National Health Service (NHS). More than 70,000 black workers, most of them women, worked in this sector at the start of the 1980s (Ramdin, 1987, p. 317). As we will show below through case studies, despite obstacles, there was potential for promotion and through nursing many Caribbean women attained upward socioeconomic mobility.

The manufacturing industry was also a significant source of employment for Caribbean women. Twenty percent of Caribbean women surveyed by the PSI (Brown, 1984) were in manufacturing jobs. Unlike Caribbean men, who were as a group concentrated in skilled manual work positions, 59 percent and 48 percent in 1974 and 1982 respectively (PSI Surveys—Smith 1976; Brown, 1984), women rarely held skilled manual work positions. Only 8 percent and 4 percent of Caribbean women were in these categories in 1974 and 1982, respectively (PSI Surveys—Smith 1976, Tables A26 and B35; Brown, 1984, Tables 91 and 92) For women, a glass ceiling existed within manual employment. In addition, despite being twice as likely as white women to be full-time workers (Stone, 1983) Caribbean women had no greater success at attaining skilled positions in the manual sector.

The category of employer varied across ethnic groups in the labour force and gender was also active here. Caribbean and white men were distributed in very similar proportions between nationalised industries or state corporations and private firms with a greater proportion of all Caribbean men being employed by local authorities. Meanwhile, far greater proportions of all women were in local authority jobs, in the case of Caribbean women

particularly in the health authority, with few employed by nationalised industries or state corporations. Caribbean women were almost equally distributed between local authority employers and private firms while more than 60 percent of white women were employed by private firms.

The demands of employers were clearly determinant in the location of Caribbean migrants within the labour force. However we must not overlook the role of educational levels of migrants in explaining their labour market positions. In Britain, the PEP/PSI surveys of Britain's black population in 1974 and 1982 (Smith, 1976; Brown, 1984) provided valuable data on length of time spent in full-time education and the qualifications held by Caribbean migrants. Of the Caribbean people interviewed in 1974, more than 50 percent of Caribbean men and women had no full-time education beyond the age of fifteen while 30 percent had completed their formal education at sixteen years or above (D. J. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 208, Table B24). While some degree of literacy and numeracy were achieved during the years of schooling, few of the migrants obtained academic qualifications. Only 7 percent of the men and 5 percent of the women in the Caribbean sample had qualifications at 'O' level² equivalent and above while a further 4 percent of men and 3 percent of women had achieved some success at the lower CSE (Certificate of Secondary Education) or matriculation level. A greater proportion had attained vocational qualifications: 20 percent of men and 21 percent of women had some achievements in this broad category. Very clear gender divisions are evident when the nature of the vocational skills is examined. The men's qualifications consisted of apprenticeships, City and Guilds certificates, or manual job training while women's qualifications were almost entirely located within the typist, secretarial, or nursing category. By the time of this survey, many of these vocational skills would have been acquired in Britain, on the job or at colleges and skill centres.

While the Caribbean group present in 1974 were quite similar to the white majority population in terms of age at completing full-time education (almost identical proportions of both groups had left school by the age of fifteen), a significantly greater proportion of the white population had completed courses leading to higher academic qualifications and twice as many had attained vocational qualifications (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 207). It is useful to note here that the most highly qualified in the sending societies did not usually join labour migrations such as this, instead remaining 'non-migrants' as their qualifications assured them of senior positions at home (Byron, 1994). So the population from which the sample was taken was less than fully representative of the educational-level spectrum in the Caribbean. Nonetheless, interviews with Caribbean migrants have revealed that even those with higher vocational qualifications and greater experience often encountered obstacles to obtaining employment positions commensurate with their skills. Many compromised and took jobs where they were offered even when this involved deskilling. As we observe later in this chapter, some migrants took recruitment opportunities as a means to an end, subsequently training and

accessing higher positions in alternative sectors. Others progressed as far as possible within the sectors to which they were confined.

The PSI survey of 1982 (Brown, 1984) subdivided the populations into age cohorts. This permitted a comparison of older migrants, those over forty-four, for most of whom financial constraints enforced immediate entry to the labour force two decades or more earlier, with those younger migrants, twenty-five to forty-four. The latter came as teenagers to relatives in Britain, had few immediate obligations to relatives in the Caribbean, and could rely on relatives for support while they trained. The qualifications of the latter group reflected their greater uptake of training opportunities within Britain. Three-quarters of the older group had finished full-time education by the age of sixteen or below with 8 percent of Caribbean men and 11 percent of women having an academic qualification, the large majority of these being 'O' level and below. Nine percent of Caribbean men and 11 percent of Caribbean women had a vocational qualification, men mainly holding apprenticeships while most women held professional (mainly nursing) or clerical qualifications. People in the younger group are more highly qualified in both academic and vocational spheres. Twenty-nine percent of men and well over one-third of women had academic qualifications while 22 percent of men and 29 percent of women held vocational qualifications (Brown, 1984, p. 146). For these younger, later arrivals, attendance at training courses was possible, provided, as we will illustrate below, that a supportive kinship network was present. Since sufficient income was necessary to support students with little finance, in concrete terms, then, such help from a supportive network would include, for example, childcare to enable single mothers to carry out paid work or the working-out of couples' schedules in order to reconcile domestic duties and working hours. These family solidarities would be of increasing importance since, from the 1980s, the younger age groups included a sizeable proportion of people of Caribbean origin who were born, or had spent a significant element of their childhood, in Britain.

Whilst education level certainly influences job opportunities in the early years after entering the labour market, further training offers the possibility of occupational mobility and promotion. The extent to which migrants were able to access such training in Britain will be discussed shortly. First, we will examine the labour market positions and schooling levels of migrants in the French context.

The Migrant or 'BUMIDOM' Generation in FRANCE

In France, the combined impact of public service recruitment and of the organised mass migration of low-skilled workers was highly apparent by the 1968 census. Recruitment of Caribbean migrants with no formal qualifications was essentially to unskilled posts. Their expectations of upward mobility through in-house training in the public services and factories were very selectively realised. Like the migrants from the region to Britain, they were located almost entirely in urban settings and their occupational distribution reflected this.

Caribbean men were most likely to have jobs as blue-collar employees, as low-skilled white-collar employees, in the army and the police force, or as lower-level professionals (Table 3.1). In all these socioeconomic categories, they were relatively over-represented compared to the total economically active population in France (INSEE, 1970a, 1970b). As might be expected, given not only the absence of capital for most migrants and the occupational aspirations encouraged by French assimilation policy (see Chapter 2), they were noticeably under-represented amongst the employers and shopkeepers. Interestingly, and unlike their counterparts in Britain at this time, Caribbean men in France were, as a group, as well represented within the professional and higher executive group as the total population. These men, often settled in metropolitan France since the 1950s or before the Second World War, worked largely within the liberal professions or in the artistic or literary fields.

Meanwhile, Caribbean women were highly concentrated in the service personnel category. Their representation within the socioeconomic group was three times higher than for all working women in mainland France (38 percent as against 13 percent). They were also more frequently classed within the white-collar employee category and were as likely as the general population to be intermediate professionals, but less likely to be blue-collar workers in the manufacturing sector than metropolitan French women (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Socioeconomic Classification of Economically Active French Caribbean Migrants Compared with the Total Active Population at the 1968 Census (Percentages)

	<i>Caribbean Migrants</i>		<i>Total Active Population</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Farmers	0.0	0.0	11.5	13.1
Farm workers	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.9
Employers, shopkeepers	2.0	1.0	9.6	9.6
Professionals, higher executives	6.9	2.5	6.1	2.6
Intermediate professionals, middle executives	10.1	11.7	9.0	11.5
White-collar employees	19.8	29.3	8.9	25.8
Blue-collar employees	43.2	16.4	46.0	22.0
Service personnel	5.0	37.6	1.8	13.0
Army, police	12.2	0.0	2.5	0.0
Other	0.8	1.5	0.6	1.5

Sources: INSEE, Recensement de 1968, Population née dans un département ou territoire d'outre-mer et résidant en métropole, Tableau D-1-7, Paris, INSEE (1970a); INSEE, Recensement de 1968, France entière, Paris, INSEE (1970b, pp. 76, 78).

Whilst seeking to understand the concentration of Caribbean workers in low- or unskilled occupations, it is worthwhile to examine the levels of school education received within the group as a whole as it indicates their level of preparation for the labour markets in Europe. Over two-thirds of French Caribbean men and women aged fifteen years or more and resident in metropolitan France in 1968 had left school before the age of twelve to thirteen and less than half of these had obtained their primary education certificate. Approximately one in ten of both women and men had obtained a certificate at the level of the *brevet* (taken around the age of fifteen to sixteen years). Less than 5 percent had taken and passed the *baccalauréat* exam; however, one in eight was still completing school education and some were in further education. This distribution is in fact not dissimilar to that within the whole population of France at that time. Those with only primary education were concentrated in the 'employé' (low-skilled white-collar worker) and blue-collar worker categories (INSEE, 1970b, p. 39). The French Caribbean population, with its mix of predominantly low-skilled but also small elite group, reflected the French active population as a whole. However, instead of being concentrated in agricultural work where much of the low-skilled French labour force was concentrated, these migrants were recruited into the urban service sector, a transfer of the less educated labour force that was to become more general in France in the 1970s and 1980s as the rural exodus continued (Merlin, 1971; Mendras, 1992). In comparison to the levels amongst Caribbean migrants in Britain in 1974, there is generally a lower level of schooling. However, we must remember that the group in Britain, an earlier migration, included more child migrants who had finished their education; in the French case, as we have seen, a considerable number of French Caribbean-born aged fifteen or over were classified as being still at school or in further education.

Given the general low level of schooling, the grouping of the migrants in the lower part of the socioeconomic classification is not surprising at this early stage. Upward social mobility of this generation would depend on work experience gained or on training and acquisition of formal qualifications. However, by the beginning of the 1980s, the gap between the total French socioeconomic distribution and that for the Caribbean migrants had widened and little change in the socioeconomic status of the latter group was apparent. Since the Caribbean group included both longer-established and recent migrants and since the latter had benefited from longer schooling, thanks to state intervention in the islands, this suggests that promotion and training opportunities had been fewer for the Caribbeans (Lucas, 1983). Thus the proportion of metropolitan French workers in the intermediate professional category is almost twice that for Caribbean migrants whereas that of professionals and managers is well over twice the percentage (Condon and Ogden, 1991b, p. 447), the proportion for the Caribbean population having decreased since the

1960s. Then whilst the proportion of workers in each population, be they women or men, was very close, French Caribbean men were nearly three times more numerous in the white-collar employee category than their metropolitan counterparts (36 percent against 13 percent) and French Caribbean women almost three times more numerous as metropolitan-born women within the public service employee category (41 percent against 14 percent) (Condon and Ogden, 1991b, p. 447).

Clearly, as the following example shows, obtaining work as in public service employment was aspired to as it brought with it a stable position and various associated benefits. Francine, who had migrated to France in 1966 in search of 'broader horizons' than in the hotel waitress's job for which she had been trained in Martinique, made several applications to public administrations after her arrival in Paris. 'I accepted the first offer that came; I didn't mind as long as I got a fixed job'. It was thus that she started working as a hospital domestic in eastern Paris.

Table 3.2 Distribution of Actively Employed Caribbean Women and Men in France by Economic Sector, 1968 Census (Percentages)

<i>Economic Sector</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
Building trades	-	7.8
Metal trades	0.6	8.8
Electricity, radioelectricity	-	4.4
Textile work	2.3	-
Unspecified unskilled workers or labourers	5.0	10.2
Road transport drivers	-	4.4
Technicians	-	3.3
Teaching staff, literary professions	5.6	2.3
Office employees	24.2	8.4
Health or social services personnel	27.6	5.7
Transport or postal services	19.4	8.7
Army, police, customs	-	13.1
Others	15.3	22.9
Total active population	14116	20940

Source: INSEE (1970a, Table D-1-6, selected categories).

In addition to concentration at the lower levels of the socioeconomic scale, French Caribbean migrants remained grouped in a small number of sectors (see Table 3.2). This has particularly been the case for women, clearly demonstrating the gendered structure of the labour market and the roles assigned to women. As in other contexts, 'caring, cooking and cleaning' (Petras, 1989) have defined the employment profiles of low-skilled Caribbean women in France. Their access to the public sector through state recruitment strategy had, by 1968, already distinguished them from foreign migrant women.³ Caribbean migrant women were mainly employed in the public health sector and in public administration office jobs whilst foreign migrant women were more concentrated in the private service sector or in unskilled manufacturing work (Condon and Ogden, 1991b).

The 1982 population was a combination of migrants from the 1950s and 1960s still remaining in metropolitan France and of migrants who had arrived during the 1970s. The latter had benefited on average from a greater number of years at school. Nonetheless, the job openings offered to them initially were in the lower levels of the public services or private tertiary activities. Those entering the public sector were confident of the opportunity of internal promotion over subsequent years. Yet for many of those working in public hospitals, for example, the progression was largely from hospital domestic worker to nursing assistant (Lucas, 1983; Pierre-Evrard, 1983). Thus once Francine, who left school in Martinique at the age of fifteen, had acquired a tenured position at a hospital, she followed training and took an exam to become nursing assistant. Although she changed hospitals two years later to be closer to the local authority flat she had been allocated in southeast Paris and also changed departments, she never rose to a higher grade. Strongly devoted to the care work they perform and the support they give to patients, these Caribbean migrants resent being refused the opportunity to acquire the status and income of professional nurses.

During the 1970s, the concentration of Caribbean workers in the tertiary sector and movement out of industrial employment amplified. Nine out of ten working women and almost three-quarters of men were in tertiary employment in 1982 (see Table 3.3). This was a much higher concentration than within the total French active population, which was just under 60 percent (Condon and Ogden, 1991b). This concentration is partly accounted for by the large numbers of Caribbean workers in the various state sectors. By 1982, employment in these sectors (nationalised industries, civil and public services, local authorities) was very high, and particularly so for Caribbean women. Hidden behind these overall distributions for women and men at the 1982 census are the lower rates of access to the state sectors in the late 1970s. Whilst the overall proportion of Caribbean-born migrants working in these sectors in 1982 was 48 percent, for those having arrived between the 1975 and 1982 censuses, the proportion was only 39 percent.

Table 3.3 Economically Active French Caribbean Migrants, by Type of Employer or Activity, 1982

Selected Categories*	Women		Men	
	French Caribbean	All French	French Caribbean	All French
Employers	0.2	1.5	0.8	4.8
Salaried workers				
– private sector	38.9	45.1	47.3	54.4
– public services	59.1	29.4	43.5	20.8

* Excludes some small categories, for example, the clergy, those of independent means, apprentices, and non-salaried family workers, and therefore columns do not total 100 percent. Furthermore, workers in the nationalised industry sector were differentiated in the specific published tables for Caribbean workers but not in the publication of results for the general population.

Source: INSEE (1985, Table 15, p. 101); partly adapted from Condon and Ogden (1991b, p. 446); Guillot (1984, pp. 103–4).

The high concentration of women within the state sectors in France and Britain reflects the way they were directed into the caring and cleaning industries. The impact of wide-scale direct recruitment of French Caribbean workers into the state employment is very clear, particularly so for men, as approximately 52 percent of those in France were located in these sectors in 1982 as compared to 32 percent of Caribbean men in Britain at that time. The difference between the distributions for women in each context is slightly less: 53 percent of actively employed Caribbean women in Britain were working in state sectors as compared to 61 percent of those in France (Brown, 1984, p. 204; Condon and Ogden, 1991b, p. 446).

Tracing the training and work histories of migrants, we can discern the way in which opportunities were taken up, the way encouragements or barriers were placed by employers or supervisors, or how expectations and disappointments were reconciled. It is interesting to observe the similarity of the economic role and employment characteristics of Caribbean migrants in these two contexts, in sectors at the heart of the public services, on the one hand, often in direct contact with the public in hospitals, railway stations, and on buses; and, on the other hand, working on production lines of vehicle and other metal goods. However, a notable difference between these French and British postwar employment contexts was the greater proportion of Caribbean immigrants in Britain who were employed within the private sector that, from the 1970s onwards, was to face increasing mechanisation and rationalisation (Cross and Johnson, 1988; Lewis, 1993). Meanwhile, privatisation was to affect British public-sector employment increasingly from the 1980s. In France, the majority of low-skilled men

were employed in the public services or nationalised industry (rail or air transport, postal distribution or telecommunications, Renault or Citroën vehicle manufacture), sectors remaining unaffected by privatisation until the 1990s. Thus most who have not returned to the Caribbean have continued their careers in these sectors, whilst their counterparts in Britain have more often had to face unemployment or seek work in other sectors, sometimes necessitating retraining.

Together with their status as black colonial immigrants, gender played a major part in determining the Caribbean migrant's position, both laterally and vertically within the employment structure. Interviews with Caribbean men and women about their work experience over this period revealed much about these distributions. The visibility of the Caribbean labour force was amplified by an enduring association with specific work roles.

Gender, Training Experience, and Occupational Mobility

Mobility within the socioeconomic structure of Britain and France was linked to opportunities for skills training. Critically though, from the perspective of the state and other postwar employers, access to training was to serve the interests of industry. Migrant opportunities for training were essentially limited to skills required by the sectors that were experiencing labour shortages. While there were cases of migrants avoiding such trajectories, these were relatively rare. Across Western Europe in the postwar decades, the proportion of immigrants receiving formal vocational training was minimal and while some workers improved their positions within the workplace it was usually from unskilled to semi-skilled worker (Castles and Kosack, 1985). From the perspective of workers who came with the express intention of staying for a limited time to earn enough to improve their conditions in their home country, training was not a priority. In the cases of Britain and France, these starting points are further complicated by the 'special cases of colonial migrants' and the way in which their migration was perceived by the colonial power and consequently presented to the migrants themselves. Gendering of both employment and training opportunities is very evident.

Few Caribbean migrants entering the labour markets of Britain and France had prior experience of the employment they were to enter. In Britain while many workers were trained on the job, there were specific training centres to which some migrants gained access. The Training Act of 1964 led to the establishment of a central training council that oversaw the government skill training centres attended by some migrants. These centres were funded by levies among employers belonging to the industrial training scheme (Castles and Kosack, 1985). As employers had to be members of the scheme and it was up to them to recommend their workers to the training centres, the ultimate decision on training thus was made by the employer. During interviews with Caribbean migrants in Britain, the training centres

were occasionally referred to, usually by men. It became clear during this research on Caribbean workers in Britain that information on training and the importance of skills was not systematically made available to migrants and many were unaware of such opportunities. In cases where relevant information was obtained, only a limited number of migrants could adapt their work and domestic commitments to include the training courses. In contrast to the uncertainty associated with employment training for Caribbean migrants to Britain, a key component of the French policy of organised migration from the Caribbean was the promise of vocational training and upward social mobility. Thus all individuals planning to travel under the scheme were aware of the training programmes.

Training Opportunities in Britain

Britain's ambivalence to the process of Caribbean migration often explained the absence of a proactive approach to accommodating the needs of these labour migrants and their families. This, in turn, meant that their potential contribution to the British economy, even in the sectors to which they were undoubtedly restricted, was muted. From interviews with Caribbean labour migrants in Britain, several factors emerged as determining the likelihood of a migrant receiving employment training and, consequently, attaining socioeconomic mobility. Industrial sector and employer type, length of time with a single employer, age and status within the migrant kinship network, and the migrant's prior work experience and education were all relevant. As men and women were in different sectors of the labour force, they encountered the opportunities and obstacles that were prevalent within their respective work spaces.

First, the sector and employer encountered by the migrant could determine the likelihood of him or her receiving training. For all migrants who were recruited by the public transport services or the health service, some formal training was received, ranging from two-day to three-week introductory courses from London Transport or British Rail to the two- or three-year training courses leading to qualified nurse status undertaken by nursing recruits. As the vast majority of nursing recruits were women, this resulted in more Caribbean women having formal vocational and professional qualifications than did men.

Women who undertook training for the nursing profession were trained to two levels of qualification, those of State Enrolled Nurse (SEN) and State Registered Nurse (SRN). The SEN arrived at a career ceiling relatively early and was relatively junior in the ward hierarchy. The SEN category was dispensed with in the new grading scheme of the 1990s and former SENs had the opportunity to convert to the level of registered nurse via training courses. At recruitment, many nurse recruits inadvertently selected the SEN qualification. When asked at their interviews if they wanted to complete their training in two or three years, most young migrants, anxious to qualify

and earn a salary that would also enable them to remit money to relatives in the Caribbean, chose the former. The labour needs of the health sector benefited from and, arguably, exploited the short-term perspectives and ambitions of most young migrants. While Ramdin (1987), Harris (1987), and Fevre (1984) all argued that this was inevitable, given the disposable status of colonial labour in the development of British capitalism, discussions with Caribbean nurses from this cohort of migrants revealed a much more complex picture of restriction and opportunity within the public health sector.

*Miriam*⁴ came to Britain in 1959 to join her siblings who had migrated previously to the East Midlands and Yorkshire. She quickly got a job winding wool in a factory in the Midlands but found this was not fulfilling her desire to 'study something' and moved to Yorkshire where her first job was a machinist in a tailoring factory. She didn't like the job and 'left before they fired me'. Trainee nursing posts at a local hospital were advertised that evening in the local newspaper and her application was successful. She started her training in 1961 and was a qualified SEN by 1964. Miriam subsequently did her Children's Nurse training and other courses before taking up a position in a neighbouring city. Here she followed courses in English and Maths at night school in preparation for conversion courses to SRN status. However, pregnancy and motherhood imposed a change of plan. Although she returned to nursing three months after childbirth, as a single mother she was no longer able to study at nights. In the 1970s, she moved back to the Midlands to be closer to family there. She worked mainly on night shifts as charge nurse on the ward. While night nursing enabled her to earn more and to spend more whole days with her daughter, she sought the experience that day shifts would give her and was given one day per week on the wards. When the British nursing grading changed in the 1980s, all charge nurses were upgraded to junior staff nurses. While this was the lowest nurse grade in the new order, for the SEN charge nurses, achieving staff nurse status, formerly only SRN territory, was finally a recognition of their services. SENs were encouraged to do conversion courses to gain SRN status and she was doing the pre-conversion course when she had to take early retirement due to illness. Miriam really enjoyed her nursing career and took advantage of any opportunity for further training. While the SEN position has been criticised by several authors as an inferior and exploited category (Ramdin, 1987; Harris, 1987), this example showed that it was also a route into a formal nursing career for those with few academic qualifications who nonetheless had the ability and determination to complete a rigorous training course.

Many Caribbean immigrants did undertake and complete State Registered Nurse training. They usually had a minimum of school leaving certificates in three to five subjects. Some of these nurses have attained senior positions within the nursing hierarchy, often in specialist fields. The case of *Bernice*⁵ is an example of a young migrant in the 1950s who had a successful career as an SRN: 'My father was in Birmingham and I came to him in

1957. I was 17 years at that time. I was learning typing and book keeping and I worked as a shop assistant. I was not allowed to continue those studies in England but I did get on a nursing course’ She continued,

‘Nursing took me all over this country. I worked in Birmingham, York, London, back in Birmingham.’ Bernice later migrated to nurse in Canada for a change of environment and to be close to her siblings who had migrated there. ‘I met my husband in Canada while he was on holiday from England. He was from the Carribean but had settled in England in the 1950s. I came to live with him in England and continued my nursing profession.’ At the time of the last UK interview with Bernice, she had attained the position of Nursing Sister at the specialist renal treatment unit at a city hospital in England and had just decided to retire early and return to a ‘quiet life’ in the Caribbean following the death of her husband. In fact, her retirement was short lived as once her skills were discovered she was offered the job of senior nurse at a new renal treatment unit in a regional hospital. She enjoyed this challenge and commuted between the islands for five years. Bernice achieved a significant status in her profession and experienced a high level of job satisfaction: ‘I am a professional. I can make decisions about where I work, when I retire, where I live and travel to.’

While many of these women held hopes of training for different careers, most found themselves directed into nursing by employment advisors at the labour exchanges. For those who applied for work independently, nursing was one of the few sectors to which their application for work drew a response. It was a secure, job that was respected within the Caribbean community and the wider society. Some Caribbean women rose to the top of this profession rising to positions of Ward Sister and Matron and the more recent classification of ward managers.

Some migrants, often those who were relatively well educated before leaving the Caribbean, did achieve some success in their search for further training. Embarking on training courses was also linked to the initial ambitions of the migrants and the education they had attained prior to leaving the Caribbean. There was therefore a considerable difference between someone who sought better remuneration and the ability to save through a short period of employment in Britain and someone who saw that employment as a route to their eventual goal of social mobility in the Caribbean via a period of work and study in Britain. Research among returnees in the Caribbean revealed that migrants who had undertaken training courses in Britain were also most likely to follow successful employment trajectories upon their return to the Caribbean (Byron, 1999, 2000). The following case⁶ studies illustrate this.

Roger was recruited by London Transport (LT) to work as a bus conductor in 1963. He later trained to be a driver. A teacher in the Caribbean, he saw the LT position as a way into Britain. After settling in London, he left the job to study electronics at a government training scheme. On graduation, he obtained a skilled supervisor’s position at an electronic engineering

firm in London. While in this job, he took courses at night school in business administration and accounting. In the mid-1990s, he was the proprietor of a construction and real estate business in his home island in the Caribbean.

Jeffrey was recruited on a British Rail (BR) scheme and spent a year working in Yorkshire. He left BR for a job at GEC, which promised a complete training in electronics. He was sent to their headquarters in the Midlands where he was trained, in service, as an installation engineer for telephone exchanges. He then moved to their Birmingham base where he worked until his return to the Caribbean in 1981. *Jeffrey* now runs his own electronics and telecommunications business in the Caribbean.

While in a minority, as is evident from the PEP/PSI surveys, the employment/training trajectories to the supervisor/ management level provide valuable insight on the coincidence of migrant agency with the wider economic context. The migrant actively pursued his or her goals, at times knowingly manipulating the wider economic structure in the process. While as a cohort the postwar migrants were used to solve labour shortages in the European economies, these individuals clearly viewed and used the opportunity to migrate through the recruitment system as a means to certain, defined ends. The cases also demonstrate the critical role that skill acquisition could play in longer-term migration outcomes, creating greater freedom to decide if and when to embark on a return movement, for example. These cases were somewhat exceptional in that the occupational positions attained were relatively high, unlike the general trend for male Caribbean migrants during that period. More common were those men and women who, while frustrated when pursuing their planned career paths and forced into the narrow range of occupational categories to which black, Commonwealth migrant workers gained access, excelled within this circumscribed context as is illustrated in the following case.

*Lance*⁷ came to England in the late 1950s determined to pursue an apprenticeship with a firm of electricians but was refused this opportunity wherever he applied. He did, however, get a job on the railways immediately after his arrival in Britain. After a year, he moved to work with the local bus company as a driver. He graduated to the company's regional office, driving day trips out of the city and later to driving for the National Express coach service. He formally retired from his job as supervisor of one of the two private bus companies in his East Midlands city a few years ago but has regularly been invited back to train new driver recruits for the company. *Lance*'s disappointment at being refused entry to the electrical trade was, over time, tempered by his success in the transportation industry, the final accolade being the invitation to return as a driver instructor. 'In the end you had to make the best of the situation' Goals were adapted to the conditions they met in Britain, agency evident but reshaped by existing structures.

The length of time spent in uninterrupted service to a firm had some effect on the level of training and status attained by migrant workers. In the private sector, particularly the manufacturing industry, training arrangements were

far less explicit and most tasks were learnt 'on the job.' Men were more likely to acquire skills and status on the shop floor through long periods of service, being unaffected by interruptions such as maternity leave as many women were. Many Caribbean men had spent periods of more than twenty-five years, working with particular firms during which time some had been trained on site or had attended courses at government skill training centres. The following two cases attained all their training informally on the factory shop floor.

Vincent, a young apprentice mason in the Caribbean when he left for Britain in 1959, recently accepted early retirement thus ending his working life course. Like many Caribbean men in the British Midlands, he held a semi-skilled position in a metal engineering firm where he had worked for forty years. Vincent had seriously considered taking up one of the government skill training schemes that he discovered were available to young workers like himself in the late 1960s. He discussed this with his boss, who was not supportive of him attending⁸ the scheme but did subsequently accord him a pay increase to the level of a semiskilled worker. As the increase in his wages enabled him more comfortably to meet his obligations to a young family in England and ageing parents in the Caribbean, he 'shelved' his plans to do a course. In the process, he was to forgo the independence, security, and bargaining power that a skill qualification would have provided, particularly in the event of large-scale future redundancy in this sector of the economy. When asked about the option of obtaining the equivalent qualifications at night school, Vincent stressed that this would not have been possible as his wife worked a 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. shift in a hosiery factory while he minded their two young children.

Benjamin spent thirty-four years in Britain working as an assembly worker at Ford motor vehicle assembly plants at Langley and Dagenham. He was twenty-one years old when he commenced work with the firm soon after arriving in Britain in 1961. He first lived in Reading, commuting to Ford's Langley plant, and later, after moving to London, transferred to Ford's Dagenham plant. He had accumulated his skills in vehicle assembly while on the job. His thirty-four years with the company was rewarded with a significant early retirement settlement in 1995 as Ford downsized its workforce. The payment and the timing of Ford's restructuring coincided with his plan to return with his family to settle in the Caribbean as a small farmer.

His wife came to Britain in the late 1960s to do SRN training. She took maternity leave twice but returned to the profession shortly afterwards in both cases. She returned to the Caribbean with her husband and was working there as a nurse when interviewed in 1996.

The employment trajectories of these men were interrupted when their employers reduced staff numbers. They both benefited from their long terms of employment in the form of generous compensation deals. Critical here was the point in their careers at which redundancy occurred. Both men had completed mortgages on their houses in Britain and saw the end of the job

as an opportunity to realise other goals; the former to assist his children with minor repairs to their homes and to spend long sojourns in the Caribbean in his newly built second home there while the latter relocated with his family to the Caribbean.

Unlike men, Caribbean migrant women were less likely to have continuous periods in one job in the semiskilled and unskilled work categories. This broad grouping covers a range of employment types, examples of which range from jobs in the manufacturing sector, train cleaners, and bus conductors to hospital auxiliary workers. Over the life course, many women withdrew from the labour force periodically during their reproductive years, thus interrupting their employment trajectory. At these job levels and prior to statutory maternity leave, maternity breaks often meant a break in their work trajectory. Compared to the male careers discussed above, Caribbean women tended to have more fragmented work trajectories as they juggled work time with family time on a diurnal and life course basis. So, despite often returning to a full-time work schedule after maternity leave (Stone, 1983), as women they were often bypassed when opportunities arose for in-house training for supervisory positions.

For most Caribbean women, withdrawal from the labour market for a long period was not an option. They were committed to remitting significant sums of money to families remaining in the Caribbean (Byron, 1994, 1998; Philpott, 1968) while facing growing household expenses in Britain. Most women needed and, indeed, wanted, to remain in employment (Byron, 1998). In the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, despite having young families, few Caribbean women conformed to the wider postwar British norm, in which the vast majority of women withdrew from the labour force at motherhood. While the servantless, imposed domesticity of postwar Britain was less easily accepted by some middle-class women, the role of housewife was the norm among working-class mothers of young children throughout Britain (Webster, 1998; Bourke, 1994; Oakley, 1985). Their presence in the labour force in fact supported the withdrawal of many white British women from the labour force into the domestic realm. In addition, their employment in less popular sectors of the job market filled gaps created when white British women showed a distinct preference for jobs in the retail and clerical sectors of the economy (Webster, 1997).

Changing jobs relatively frequently rendered Caribbean women philosophical in their approach to industrial restructuring. In general, they adapted more quickly to the mass redundancies in the British manufacturing sector since the late 1970s than their male counterparts did. This factor combined with low-paid service sector jobs being more targeted at women in the labour market and requiring greater adaptation, psychologically and in terms of vocational training, on the part of men.

The following two employment trajectories of Caribbean women, one in London and one in Leicester, illustrate the interrupted work trajectories of many in this category and the strategies they used to fit their employment in the public sphere with domestic demands on their time.

Linda⁹ found a job as a train cleaner for British Rail when she came to join her husband in London in the early 1960s. She worked the 'evening shift,' 6 p.m. to 10 p.m., for two years as she had young children and this allowed her husband to get home from his day job and take over childcare before she left for work. She decided to leave this job and do childminding at home following the birth of her second child. Once her youngest child was at school, Linda returned to work in the public sphere in 1970. She found a job as a salad maker for a fast-food outlet and worked the 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. shift for two years. In 1973, when her youngest child was seven, Linda moved to a job in the health service where she served as a hospital orderly for ten years doing two shifts per day. She would start at 7 a.m. and work until 12 noon. Her second shift started at 4 p.m. and lasted until 7 p.m. This enabled her to fit in a few hours of housework and collect the children from school in between her shifts. Linda remained in this job for ten years until 1983 when she found a job as a machine operator in a coffee factory near her home. She worked there until she returned to the Caribbean with her husband in 1990.

Carmen¹⁰ came to Britain in 1967 to her new husband in the East Midlands. Soon after, she started a job as a nursing auxiliary. She left this post to have a child a year later. After one year at home with the baby, she started work in a hosiery factory while the child was at nursery half day. Her husband collected him on his way home from his job. Three years later she had a second child and spent another year at home with the children. Then she found a job in a hosiery firm on the 'evening' 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. shift. Her husband took care of the children while she was at work. There was plenty of work in hosiery in those days and she changed firms three times to work closer to home. In 1976, when both children were at school she moved to a 9.30 a.m. to 3 p.m. shift at yet another hosiery firm. She was happy here and they extended her hours to 7 a.m. to 4 p.m. in 1980 when the children were older. She remained working as a semiskilled finisher at this firm until she was made redundant in 2001 when the firm shut down. After a short period of unemployment, which she quite enjoyed but later got bored by, she found a job in a local home for disabled young people and worked there until her retirement in 2004.

In addition to the impact of education, gender, and race on a migrant's socioeconomic prospects, *age and time of arrival* emerged as important factors. A migrant's age on arrival in Britain combined with their position and role in their social and kinship networks to influence their chances of training and consequent socioeconomic mobility. Those labour migrants who joined older relatives, parents or older siblings, at a relatively young age (normally as teenagers), were much more likely to have taken training courses as they had older relatives to support them financially through their training period. Migrants from this category were often found to be in higher-skilled employment that was less vulnerable to redundancy and gave them more options when the restructuring of the late 1970s and 1980s severely curtailed employment prospects. The following case shows this.

Alfred¹¹ was born in the Caribbean and, at the age of fourteen, joined his parents in Oxford in the mid-1960s. His mother, who had no opportunity to attend school beyond the age of thirteen, was determined that her children would use the educational opportunities available in Britain. Alfred's training in engineering at college led him to employment as a tool maker at the Rover vehicle factory. His father, who came to Britain in the 1950s, had been employed there for several years as a semiskilled worker by the time some of his children joined himself and his wife in Oxford in the 1960s. At the time of this interview in the early 1990s, there had recently been mass redundancies as the Rover firm reduced its workforce. His father, along with hundreds of others in his generation, was an early casualty of this process and spent his remaining preretirement years as a cleaner at a nearby retail park. Alfred, however, along with a team of skilled tool fitters was transferred by Rover to another plant in a neighbouring city.

The cases analysed here support the argument of Castles and Kosack (1985) and later Western (1997) that attending training schemes extra to their demanding work schedules imposed significant strains on migrants and required exceptionally high levels of motivation. Both authors also indicated that those most likely to attend courses were young, single, immigrant workers with minimal domestic responsibilities. Shift work, with which immigrants were particularly associated, posed particular problems for those seeking further training. Potentially, working in a shift system could enable the isolation of a few hours on a daily basis for attending classes or private study. It was sometimes feasible for single people to fit courses in after work. However, for many Caribbean workers the shift system was invaluable for different purposes. It permitted couples to alternate their working times in order to care for their children. When a man's full-time day shift ended, he might return home to release his wife from domestic duties to do her 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. shift in a factory or cleaning train carriages or, indeed, her full night shift on the hospital wards. In this arrangement, someone (however exhausted) could always be at home to supervise the children. The title 'Family Time, Industrial Time' given by Hareven (1982) to her study of the migration of labour to the textile mills in New England is also very relevant when examining the lives and coping strategies of Caribbean postwar workers in Britain and France.

Training in France and the Promise of Social Advancement

In the French case, vocational/industrial training was explicitly presented as part of the package offered in this organised migration from the Caribbean. To male migration candidates, it was announced: 'The adult vocational training course offers workers the indisputable opportunity of social advancement' (BUMIDOM, 1964, annexe IV, p. 5). For military service conscripts, rather than returning to the Caribbean after their national service, there was the option of signing on for a six-month training course at

the Fontenay-le-Comte centre in western France (including driving lessons), before going on to a specific AFPA vocational training scheme. Whilst the post office and other administrations and large employers such as Michelin and Renault managed to satisfy most of their labour needs by direct recruitment, the construction industry used the BUMIDOM as an intermediary to recruit low-skilled workers into jobs rejected by the metropolitan-born population and some foreign groups (Condon and Ogden, 1991b).

Thus the majority of those men signing the contract for training in France were sent on six-month training courses in building trades, the remainder being trained for the metallurgy or mechanical industries. BUMIDOM reports note a certain resistance among trainees in the building industry, unhappy with the type of work being offered (bricklaying, ground work) having expressed a preference for training in secondary work trades such as tiling, decorating, electricity, or plumbing. Whilst only 41 percent of men trained in construction stayed on in this type of work, 70 percent of men trained in metallurgy or mechanical trades remained in these sectors. Disappointment and frustration often resulted from being placed on unsuitable training courses leading to requests to the BUMIDOM for a return ticket to the Caribbean (Condon and Ogden, 1991a). However, over time, migrants increasingly used the training channel as a way of obtaining a free passage to metropolitan France with a view to applying for employment in the public services or in another sector. For example, Mr N left Martinique and arrived in metropolitan France in December 1962, at the age of twenty-seven. He was married and his wife was expecting a baby. He was placed on a six-month course in bricklaying in western France. At the end of this course, in June 1963, he went to Paris and was taken on as maintenance staff by the Paris Metro. By 1966, he had progressed to the level of train conductor. His wife had come with their child to join him in 1964 and gained employment with the same company (BUMIDOM archives, Migrant files)¹².

The BUMIDOM archives reveal the limited extent of women's roles in the French metropolitan labour market. For future female migrants, two documents were presented. One aimed to give hope to young women wishing to become nurses: 'The post of hospital ancillary worker is the first stage allowing a young girl in possession of a primary education certificate or a higher level of education, through social advancement and, whilst earning her living in a respectable manner, to progress and qualify as a state registered nurse' (BUMIDOM, 1964, annexe VIa). The other related to domestic employment, explicitly praising its virtues: 'Since the nobility of work is independent of the job undertaken, women intending to migrate to metropolitan France [as domestic employees] should not neglect the opportunity offered to them of improving their living standards and thus being able eventually to attain the career of their choice' (BUMIDOM, 1964, annexe VIb, pp. 3–4). Whilst many young single women were placed directly in domestic posts in Paris, Lyon, or Marseille, from 1966, many were sent first to the 'adaptation and pre-training' centre at Crouy-sur-Ourcq (northeast

of Paris). The aim of this centre was to introduce women to 'metropolitan lifestyle,' to cooking methods, and to using modern domestic appliances, the telephone, and public transport systems.

This paternalistic approach directed the migrant women to the required sectors; however, the expectations raised for a brighter future were frequently disappointed. For example, Ms M had gained her primary school certificate in Guadeloupe. Through an agreement with the island's local authority and a training centre for childcare and teaching assistantship in France, she was sent on a year's course from October 1962. She wanted to work with children as a care assistant. In her file, a letter written by her dated December 1963, two months after she completed her training, shows that she had been sent to a post as carer in home for paralysed children. She found the work upsetting and stated that this was not the job she had been trained for. The next document in her file, dated 1966, reveals that she had found a job in a children's home in Versailles (outskirts of Paris). Another young woman who had travelled over with her to the same course wrote a similar letter of complaint after she had been sent to work in a home for severely mentally handicapped children. She asked for assistance in returning to Guadeloupe. No further documents were found in her file (BUMIDOM archives, Migrant files). While assured of their position as fully French citizens, Caribbean migrants to France often found themselves accepting the more demanding and least attractive public-sector occupations.

The training of young newcomers to the city has to be set in the French context of renewed rural emigration to Paris and main cities after 1945, a movement that concerned women as much as men. It has to be set also within the broader picture of feminisation of the workforce and initiatives to enable women to remain in the labour force during their child bearing years. This was essential if the co-objectives of population growth and maintenance of the workforce were to be achieved (Monnier, 1978). This combination of 'women, work, and family' contrasts with that in Britain, where as described above, immigration of female workers combined with a rise in part-time working to fill the gaps in the labour force occasioned by the increased withdrawal by British women from public into domestic space to care for the young family (Webster, 1997; Hantrais and Letablier, 1996).

Interviews with migrants revealed that training opportunities were often limited to the first few months in France and there was little formal career development offered after the initial period. Both men and women saw entry into public service employment as a first step to promotion. The possibility of taking exams to climb through the hierarchy was widely advertised. However, for most Caribbean migrants starting at the level of 'unskilled' domestic worker, progress ended at nursing assistant or ambulance driver levels. For the latter job, the acquisition of a driving licence, often during military service, was a key advantage. A lack of institutional encouragement to progress beyond the basic level combined with their work demands and domestic realities to make further training unlikely for most migrants, as noted in the British case also.

The following case¹³ shows some attempts at acquiring further qualifications made in the early years of an individual's migration. Outcomes, however, did not always reflect these attempts.

Claude arrived at an army base in the south of France to fulfil his military service obligations in 1966. He had left school at sixteen, after obtaining his brevet. *Claude* took a course in secretarial training at the Air Force base to which he was sent and gained a certificate. He would have liked to stay in the Air Force in an administrative post after completing his national service but learnt that the course he had followed did not prepare him for this and that he would have to begin another two years of training. He abandoned this plan and completed an ordinary military service at another base in the Pyrenees at the end of which he went to Paris to join his second-eldest brother. He found a job with an insurance company unpacking deliveries and filing documents while following evening classes in law. After a year or so, he had progressed to a secretarial job but he had begun to find the work monotonous: '... filling in forms all day. You know, I was single, I wanted a bit more excitement!' Through new friends in Paris, he heard about openings with the national rail company. In 1969, he took an entrance exam and then worked as a train guard on the lines to eastern France and Switzerland. He enjoyed seeing something of France and Europe; 'But then I got married, had kids and I couldn't be away all the time, so I changed transport companies and went to work with the Paris metro'. First, in 1971, he worked as a train driver but the shift work with its constantly changing timetable did not suit him and it did not fit in with the family. He then opted to work in the maintenance yards close to where he now lived. He worked nights, but preferred the regular hours. It was easier to organise around the family (he could fetch the children from school), he worked in a team of men rather than being on his own, plus the hours were better paid. Looking back, he has regrets about not having found an administrative position in the Air Force as he realises that this would have assured him a higher status and probably given him the opportunity to request a transfer to Martinique or travel elsewhere.

Without the details of *Claude's* various attempts to build a career, his trajectory would appear to resemble those of most of the Caribbean migrants who were not directly recruited into the public services but who later settled into jobs in that sector. They would work at first in a private-sector job found locally then, through their social networks, learn how to find work in the public sector. This represented a great step forward and a gain in status, owing to job security, expectations of promotion, associated social benefits (including access to public housing, holiday allowance for return visits to the islands), the possibility of maternity leave, and for many the hope of transfer of their job to the Caribbean.

The following cases¹⁴ exemplify the generation of migrants who left the islands with different levels of education. These brief summaries of their work histories reveal a number of processes: the easy access to low-skilled jobs during that period, the routes that took Caribbean women into the hospital

sector, the arrangements that were made to fit working hours around family commitments, the few opportunities for vocational training, and the security offered by state-sector employment in times of crisis such as childbirth, illness, and marital breakdown.

Renée arrived in eastern Paris in 1964 at the age of twenty-one, worked first as a live-in-domestic for six months, then as a cleaner in private home for a further few months, before starting work as a public hospital domestic in Paris and qualifying as a nursing ancillary three years on. She married and had two children, benefiting from maternity leave for each. Her husband was a maintenance worker for the national telecom company until suffering a severe stroke in 1985. Fortunately, he received an adequate sickness benefit that could cover the presence of a care worker for part of the time *Renée* was out at work at the hospital.

Elise left Martinique in 1965 at the age of twenty-three to take up a position of *au pair*. She arrived in the town of Cassis on the south coast of France and was very disappointed with her working conditions. Her lodgings were in the cellar, she had very little free time, and the employer wanted to be refunded as soon as possible for her payment of the passage to France, leaving only a small sum for remitting to her family in Martinique. After reimbursing her employer, *Elise* gave in her notice and went to Paris to join her sister. She soon found a job working as a cleaner in a private hospital in the northern suburbs (she adds that the other girl taken on that day, a 'French' girl, was sent to work in the office). She accepted the work, even though she had a secretarial diploma, hoping that she would be able to change jobs once her position had become more permanent. However, she stayed working as a cleaner for seven years. She eventually applied to work in a public hospital in central Paris and began work as a hospital ancillary in 1973. After her post had been tenured for three years, she trained to become an ancillary nurse.

Some remained longer in the private sector, or never entered public service employment. In the early days of the migration, those who were not connected to networks of public service employees were isolated from information on how to gain access to the sector. For *Victoire*, this was the case. She arrived in Paris in 1964, to join her fiancé who was a labourer at a printers. She looked locally for jobs, first working as a shop cleaner, then in a metallurgy factory in northern Paris. Meanwhile she had two children and stopped working. The factory owner took her back again, where she gradually acquired more skills. When she was later made redundant by the factory, she found a post as a domestic worker in a private clinic. A closer look at her biography reveals the extent of her vulnerability as a lone mother with no secure employment, a stark contrast with the biographies of several other women interviewed whose more stable positions enabled them to weather difficult life events.

For those with more years of schooling, the equivalent of the secondary school leaving certificate, and a social background that supported their

aspirations, possibilities of further training and promotion were greater. *Ginette* was such a case. She left Martinique in 1962, at the age of twenty-two, with secretarial and shorthand qualifications and some work experience in a printing company. She came to join her cousin who was a live-in maid in central Paris and found a job as a secretary with a publishing house. She took an internal exam and became head of department. However, this generated ill-feeling, jealousy, and racist attitudes and she left to work with an interim agency, preparing for exams in computer processing in the evenings. By then she was married, had two children born in 1970 and 1972, and she needed a more stable employment situation. She had taken a course in book-keeping and the instructor advised her on a good opening and accompanied her to an interview with the national aviation construction company where she was taken on in 1975. Her office was ten minutes away from home, which was a great bonus after 1979 when her husband left her on her own with the children.

Sometimes, the relationship with the supervisor could be a key factor in aiding or blocking opportunities for promotion. *Liliane* had completed the preparation for the *baccalauréat* in Martinique. However, after failing to pass the exams she took several civil service exams and succeeded in entering the tax administration. She would have preferred to stay in Martinique but, since there were so few posts there, she was sent to France in 1966. She worked for several years at a tax office in the centre of Paris, climbed up a grade, but after a while, she had problems with the racist attitudes of a new boss in 1975 and asked to transfer to a different office. She then found herself in a totally different working environment, with a boss who encouraged her to take training to gain promotion. She became head of department at her office in 1987.

The 1982 report from the working group on the populations from the overseas departments (Lucas, 1983) made clear statements about the limited social mobility experienced by this generation of migrants. Although the system of recruitment into state-sector employment gave job security to the majority of migrants, discriminatory processes were at work within the workplace. Whilst some learnt skills, many faced barriers to promotion as a result of indirect or direct racism (Pierre-Evrard, 1983; Lucas, 1983; Beauvue-Fougeyrollas, 1979). The state agency, the BUMIDOM, observed the changing attitude of the Parisian hospital authority, for example, which was beginning to affect recruitment policy. In 1976, the agency reported that the hospital authority considered that a 'threshold' had been reached: 12 percent of its female personnel were born in the Caribbean or Reunion Island and the administration claimed that some of these women were 'over-sensitive' and 'seemed to work in slow motion' (BUMIDOM, 1976, p. 151).

In France, those who 'made it' to obtaining state-sector employment remained there, even when they felt that they had suffered or were suffering discrimination. They became reconciled to the fact that other material

benefits compensated for the lack of upward mobility. This is why recent challenges to these benefits—summer holiday scheme, reduced-cost flights to the Caribbean—are seen as a real threat to maintenance of links to the islands, these being claimed as rights following sacrifices made during the BUMIDOM era (Karam, 2004). The rationalisation of the public services and the associated subcontracting of specific tasks has caused particular outrage within the Caribbean and Reunionnese sections of the trade unions. Those employed outside the major Caribbean concentrations within public administration, the health sector, and the post office may often have been more isolated from this community-based activity. There are certainly contrasting situations between those who made satisfactory progress in their working lives and those who never managed to further their skills nor benefit from the support of community groups.

The daily demands of the migrants' work and domestic lives excluded for many the improved future that training may have provided. Additionally, for many migrants, although theirs was not an easy existence, the regular and significantly higher income they earned in Britain and France, even without undertaking a training programme, usually compared favourably with their precarious economic circumstances in the Caribbean.

Caribbean Women: A Distinctive Working Group

During the postwar era, Caribbean women had a distinctive sectoral location within British and French industry. Their profile differed from that of Caribbean men and their concentration within the public service sector meant that, as a group, their employment profile was visibly different from the majority, white, female workforce. Caribbean women have also consistently maintained relatively high rates of economic activity (in Britain the highest) compared to women in other ethnic groups (Stone, 1983; Brown, 1984; Bhavani, 1994; Modood, 1997; Condon and Ogden, 1991b) and have retained this noticeable position at all stages of the economically active life course (Stone, 1983; Holdsworth and Dale, 1997; Duncan and Edwards, 1997; Sly, Price, and Risdon, 1997; Marie, 1994). Caribbean women were also the most likely to be employed full-time. Whereas in the general population there was a strong tendency for women to work part-time, particularly when they had children of primary school age and younger, (Department of Employment, 1991; Lindley, Dale, and Dex, 2004), the proportion of Caribbean women in this category has been much lower. In Britain, it is evident from analysis of data spanning the 1990s (Lindley, Dale, and Dex, 2004) that this trend is also a feature of the work trajectories of female descendants of the postwar Caribbean migrant group who now form the majority of the working cohort.

This trend of high economic activity throughout the working life course reflects the migration ideology and strategies that underlay the women's migration. They left the Caribbean with the intention of fully participating

in the labour market. High levels of female-headed households and female economic activity in the Caribbean (Senior 1990; Smith 1996; Dagenais and Poirier, 1985; Gautier, 1994) meant that they experienced local labour conditions and shared with their fellow male migrants the desire for regular, higher wages. They left the Caribbean with obligations to members of their kinship networks, independent of those carried by their male counterparts. Their migration as independent workers with individual responsibilities has defined their employment trajectories in the European context.

Caribbean women's activity in the labour market of metropolitan France must be interpreted in the broader context of feminisation of the workforce and initiatives to enable women to remain in the workforce during the child-bearing and child-raising period of the life course (Marchand and Thélot, 1991). This major initiative by the French state to improve economic production while increasing fertility levels through pro-natalist policies included large investment in childcare, and incentives to have more than one child (Hantrais and Letablier, 1996). Furthermore, part-time jobs were relatively rare during the postwar period (Maruani, 1998; Barrère-Maurisson, 2003). Caribbean women joined an urban workforce made up of a high proportion of newcomers: their arrival in Paris and the other major cities was part of a much broader, rural emigration after 1945, a movement that comprised women as much as it did men (Pourcher, 1964; Ogden and White, 1989). This norm of women combining employment outside the home with domestic commitments contrasts with that in urban Britain at the time and meant that the high economic activity rates of the Caribbean female population in urban France was not anomalous as it tended to be in the British context.

The activity rates of Caribbean women in metropolitan France have nonetheless been somewhat higher than general rates for women there. In 1990, almost three-quarters of Caribbean women were actively in work or seeking work, compared with an average of 61 percent for all women living in metropolitan France in 1990. This has been particularly so for married women. The exceptionally high rate for French Caribbean women reflects the tradition of female work outside the home in the Caribbean, the importance of paid work in the migration project and also the extra impulse given by the state's emigration policy.

Principally for these reasons, in relation to other migrant women, they have kept a high profile in the labour market. In the 1950s, Italian and Spanish women had fairly high rates of activity, even after they had children. From the strategies of later migrants from Portugal, it was evident that the employment profiles of women were very much a part of the family migration strategy as married women with children participated in the labour force no less than single women (Condon, 2000). But in subsequent migratory flows, family strategies in the 1960s and 1970s did not involve work outside the home for women and the activity rates for immigrant women from Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and Turkey were low (Tapinos,

1975, 1992; Thave, 1997; Tribalat, 1996). Their activity rates were comparable with those of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in Britain.

Since the 1990s, immigrant women have become increasingly present in the labour market (Borrel and Boldieu, 2001). For example, the activity rate of women born in Portugal rose from 56 percent to 65 percent between 1982 and 1990 and of women born in Algeria, from 22 percent to 33 percent (Kohler and Thave, 1997, pp. 110–11). As in Britain, the expansion of the service sector has produced a variety of low-skilled jobs that have provided openings both for women who migrated during the 1970s and early 1980s and entered the workforce after having brought up their children and for more recent migrant women, from North and Sub-Saharan Africa, Southeast Asia, and Eastern Europe (Morokvasic, and Rudolfe, 1996; Kofman et al., 2000).

In Britain and France, many Caribbean women returned to the labour market within a few months of childbirth, often working full-time, using the limited childcare sources available for minding their preschool children (Byron, 1994, 1998). *Lena*¹⁵ left five children with her mother in the Caribbean when she migrated to Britain. She migrated to join her husband in Britain but saw her move as one that would enable her to work and support her family in the Caribbean. She found a job a few days after her arrival in Britain and worked full-time from then on. She subsequently had two children in Britain and took maternity leave of just under three months in both cases. She found childminders for them and returned to work. Lena explained that for married women, national insurance contributions were voluntary but by paying hers in full she secured her full maternity payments while on leave. She was allowed three months leave from her job for each birth. She saw herself as bearing the greater responsibility to her mother's household in the Caribbean where five of her children resided and felt unable to depend solely on her husband for support for this extended family. He also had his mother to support in the Caribbean.

While this need and desire to work was well understood within the Caribbean community in Britain, it was often perceived as alien by the majority society. One Caribbean respondent illustrated graphically the gulf in understanding between the two groups when relating a conversation with her 'English' health visitor in the 1960s about childcare facilities that would enable her to get back to work. The health visitor's response was, 'Your husband works, he has bought this house for your family, so why would you go back out to work when you have this baby to care for?' This exchange revealed a gulf between them in experience and understanding. The migrant woman found it impossible to explain that she could not expect her husband to support her parents and siblings at home in the Caribbean, that women needed the income, their own money, to have some independence in the home. Silently she, like many others, resolved to find a way back to work. Whether this meant employing a childminder or alternating shifts with her husband, a way was found. In France, where policy emphasised

keeping women in the labour force, a variety of subsidised childcare options was devised, contrasting with the very limited supply of such facilities in Britain (Norvez, 1990).

In many ways, the labour markets responded to the requirements of these women. Despite the British economy changing from a state of nearly full employment in the 1950s and 1960s to high levels of unemployment since the late 1970s (Owen, 1996), the industrial restructuring that underpins this shift in employment levels has not excluded migrant Caribbean women to the same extent as their male counterparts. Migrant women have been more successful in obtaining re-employment in the burgeoning service sector, albeit often lower paid and less secure than their previous positions (Owen, 1996; Modood et al., 1997; Byron, 1998). Meanwhile in France, while women had higher unemployment rates than men, the sectors in which most Caribbean women were employed after World War II provided a fairly secure, if professionally limiting, employment base. On the one hand the health and care-giving sector proved a source of employment and consequent liberty and independence to Caribbean women. On the other hand, simultaneously they struggled to maintain a presence in their domestic lives given their necessary long hours working outside the home. This also translated into the public view of Caribbean women as visible within a section of the labour force but invisible as home makers, wives, and mothers (Webster, 1998).

FROM THE 1980s TO THE PRESENT: ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING, INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND DECLINE

From the 1980s onwards, clear divisions have emerged in British industry between expanding industries and those displaying consistent signs of decline. Growth in jobs is evident in personal, protective, and professional services. Declining industries include the food and drink industry, textiles, and engineering. Change, including some decline, was also evident in the transport and telecommunications industry (A. Green, 1996). The consequent disappearance of many manufacturing jobs from this sector over the past two decades has removed much of the ethnic minority population from the ranks of the employed in Britain (Brown, 1984; Modood, 1997). The Caribbean group, particularly the male component, along with some other ethnic minority groups, has been concentrated in declining industries and, hence, vulnerable to redundancy.

Although the decline of manufacturing in France commenced some years later than in Britain, the French economy at the end of the 1990s was very different to that of two decades before. As in all industrial states of Western Europe, the French labour market in the late 1970s began to be affected by the wider economic crisis. By the 1990s, an increasing number of factory closures had severely hit the areas—particularly northern France—in

which they were located. The mechanisation of various processes in the vehicle industry led to redundancies in the nationalised sector. However, for most of the generation of Caribbean migrants, concentrated as we have seen in tertiary activities in the state sector, these transformations had little effect. Rather, it was the male foreign immigrants, who had worked largely in the metallurgy, construction, and extractive industries, who were hit by the changes (INSEE, 1994). Foreign immigrant women found openings in the expanding private service sector (Rogerat, 1997; Maruani, 1998). It was later Caribbean migrants arriving in the 1980s who bore the brunt of the decreasing numbers of jobs in the public services (Marie, 1993; Rallu, 1997; Marie and Rallu, 2004).

For this 'contemporary era,' we examine the labour market positions in the 1990s of Caribbean people who arrived in Britain and France from the 1950s to the mid-1970s, to whom we will refer as the 'migrant generation.' Subsequently we look at the employment patterns and unemployment rates of the members of what we will call the 'descendant generation,' a broad category that ranges from those who entered the labour market in the 1980s to young people looking for their first job in the late 1990s.

In Britain, the deregulation and industrial restructuring of the 1980s was mainly experienced by postwar labour migrants as privatisation of elements of their work in the public health sector and job losses in the manufacturing sector. Within the lower-skilled categories, women seemed to adapt to the changes more easily than men. This was largely due to the fact that many of the new service-sector jobs including those in health and social services were similar to their previous employment. The main change was that the new employment was not accompanied by the level of security and pension rights that their previous employment had been. However, the process of changing jobs was familiar and these women accepted, albeit wryly, less security in the twilight of their working life course.

The large majority of the BUMIDOM generation in France were in a more secure position in terms of employment. Most skilled women had found tenured positions in public hospitals, post offices, social work, or other administrations, whilst most men had found similarly stable posts either in the public services or nationalised industry. Caribbean men in France thus were far less exposed to redundancy than were their British counterparts who had worked in private industry. They therefore could plan ahead to retirement from a reasonably comfortable standpoint in the early 1990s. However, the relative lack of social mobility within the group as a whole came to be perceived as a sign of betrayal by the French state, thirty years on from the initial promise of social advancement. Before migrating, public-sector employment had represented a respectable status, access to the middle classes, as it had in the French Caribbean context. Whilst stable employment accompanied by various holiday and other advantages were offered to the majority, a great number found themselves blocked at the bottom rung of the employment ladder, as well

as locked into a set of images—the ‘warm-hearted assistant nurse’ or the ‘friendly postman in his yellow van’. Later, resigned to the lack of promotion, most looked at the good points and highlighted the other aspects of their lives—involvement in neighbourhood associations, their children’s activities, their visits to the Caribbean or elsewhere. Moreover, no longer did the public sector offer the abundant employment opportunities of twenty years earlier and by the late 1990s elements of the French public sector were being privatised. An increasing number of activities were contracted out (canteen services, office cleaning, hospital laundering) in parallel with the privatisation of some state companies (e.g., France Telecom). Migrants in the 1980s and 1990s, both the low-skilled and the more educated, were aware of this limited upward social mobility and changes within the state sector. However, they were not dissuaded from migrating to France, considering the options better than those available in the islands.

The Migrant Generation in Britain

As in previous sections, we examine the occupational and industrial distribution patterns separately for men and women, given the distinctly gendered employment profiles of this population. By the early 1990s, Caribbean men’s employment covered a wider range of industries than had been the case in earlier decades of the group’s presence in the British labour market (see Tables 3.4 and 3.5). Over the 1980s and 1990s, there was a decrease in the proportion of Caribbean men in the skilled manual socioeconomic category and an increase in the proportion in the professional, managerial, and technician groups. This shift reflects the radical economic restructuring that occurred in Britain over these decades (see Figures 3.3 a and 3.3b).¹⁶ However, it is clear that of the migrant generation who remained in employment, most men were still concentrated in manual jobs in the manufacturing sector, particularly the metal manufacturing element, the public transport sector, and to a lesser extent the construction industry (see Table 3.6). All of these sectors were in decline during the 1980s and 1990s (Green, 1996) and the migrant generation of Caribbean workers was particularly vulnerable to this contraction in employment. They had spent their working lives in Britain concentrated in these sectors and, like most men of their age groups in Britain, found the concept of flexibility alien and the process of retraining for a modernised, highly skilled manufacturing sector or an entirely new economic sector very difficult. Although economic restructuring hit this section of the labour force when many Caribbean migrant men were still at pre-retirement ages, most were in the autumn of their working life courses and thus the impact was less devastating than it was for men who were at an earlier stage of the work and life course.

Table 3.4 Socioeconomic Positions of Caribbean Men and Women in Britain at the 1991 Census (Percentages)

<i>Socioeconomic Group</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Professional, managerial, technical	19	34
Skilled non-manual	11	32
Skilled manual	38	7
Semi skilled	21	18
Unskilled	7	8
Other, unspecified	4	1

Source: 1991 Census of Great Britain, Ethnic Group and Country of Birth, Volume 2, Table 10.

Table 3.5 Major Occupation Categories for Men and Women in Caribbean and White Ethnic Groups, 1991 (Percentages)

<i>Occupations</i>	<i>White Men</i>	<i>Caribbean Men</i>	<i>White Women</i>	<i>Caribbean Women</i>
Managers: corporate and services	19	7	12	6
Professions	9	3	8	5
Associate professions	7	7	10	17
Clerical and secretarial	6	7	28	27
Skilled trades	23	25	3	2
Protective services	3	3	—	—
Personal services	2	4	12	16
Sales	4	3	4	3
Industry machine operators/assemblers	14	21	5	6
Other elementary occupations	7	10	7	11

Source: 1991 Census of Great Britain Ethnic Group and Country of Birth, Volume 2, Table 13.

Many Caribbean men who lost jobs in the manufacturing sector shifted into self-employment as skilled tradesmen while others used redundancy payments to make deposits on property and entered the real estate industry. The expanding private services, particularly cleaning and security (protective services), employed others. Interviews with skilled tradesmen revealed their satisfaction with the independence that self-employment brought as is illustrated in the case of this decorator.

*Steven*¹⁷ worked in a semiskilled position at a tyre manufacturing plant in the East Midlands for twenty-three years. He was seven years away

Table 3.6 Distribution by Industry (selected categories) of Men and Women in Caribbean and White Ethnic Groups, 1991 (Percentages)

<i>Industry</i>	<i>White Men</i>	<i>Caribbean Men</i>	<i>White Women</i>	<i>Caribbean Women</i>
Manufacturing (metal goods)	13	16	4	4
Other manufacturing	10	9	8	6
Construction	12	9	0	0
Distribution/catering	17	15	24	13
Transport	9	18	3	5
Banking and finance	11	8	13	13
Other services	18	19	41	54

Source: 1991 Census of Great Britain, Ethnic Group and Country of Birth, Volume 2, Table 14.

from retirement when the firm reorganised working hours and effectively laid off all employees, inviting them to reapply for their jobs under new contracts. Steven felt that the new conditions of employment were going to be so much worse than those of his original contract that he accepted voluntary redundancy. In doing this, he lost several years of contributions to his work pension. While working in the manufacturing firm, Steven had spent his spare time learning painting and decoration, doing jobs for friends and relatives at weekends and during his annual leave. After becoming redundant, he joined forces with another Caribbean man who had established a small painting and decorating business. Two years later, he decided to purchase his own 'white van' and operate by himself. Now, even though within the pensioner age group, he accepts painting jobs for about eight months of the year while spending the winter in the Caribbean. His extra skills meant that redundancy presented opportunities as well as the termination of one employment path.

While redundancy payments enabled some men and women to invest in their own businesses engendering upward socioeconomic mobility, many others experienced downward mobility as they were obliged to seek low-paid work in the deregulated, relatively unskilled service sector as cleaners, porters, or security staff, where they worked in shift systems with negligible job security.

At the start of the 1990s, women of the migrant generation remained in the health services as nurses and nursing assistants, hospital porters and cleaners. The personal services sector now included privatised and outsourced care homes for the elderly or the disabled, a sub-sector that was previously firmly within the jurisdiction of the public health and

social services sector. Within manufacturing, the proportion of Caribbean women in semiskilled manual jobs recorded in the PSI surveys of the early 1980s (Brown, 1984) had declined noticeably by the 1991 census with women having moved into the miscellaneous 'other elementary occupation' category or into personal services. In the latter case, they worked mainly in the expanding care sector discussed above. In this process, most of the postwar migrant cohort lost the long-term contracts and pension status associated with their blue-collar semiskilled manufacturing jobs and entered a much less secure, deregulated service sector during their preretirement years in Britain. From a socioeconomic mobility perspective, this was considered a lateral move, but it was accompanied by a loss of economic security.

The increased deregulation of the British labour market meant that the security of their employment changed radically with increasing proportions of the working population employed on a part-time and casual basis at the minimum wage (Abrams, 2002; Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2002; Toynbee, 2003). While complaining of the lack of security and the minimal contribution to their future pensions made by the new employment regime, many women accepted these inferior working conditions due to family commitments: frequently male partners were experiencing unemployment. Also, Caribbean-origin households often included unemployed young men and women, a growing reality in the restructured British economy (Berthoud, 1999; Heath and Smith, 2003; Pratt, 2006). Apart from the demands of the household economy, few Caribbean-born women relished the prospect of preretirement unemployment after working throughout their child-rearing years and retaining their financial independence (Stone, 1983; Holdsworth and Dale 1997; 1998).

Caribbean Migrants in the French Labour Market from the 1980s

The high concentration of Caribbean male employees in stable jobs in the state sector has meant that there has been little change in their industrial distribution. Furthermore, the presence of sizeable migrant networks enabled the continued recruitment to this sector both of new arrivals from the Caribbean in the late 1970s and early 1980s and of young people who had migrated as children in the late 1950s. In 1990, the postwar migrant generation remained concentrated in manufacturing industry, the transport and postal/telecommunications industries, and the public health and public administration sector (see Table 3.7). Their industrial profile remained distinct from the general population in that they were absent from the agricultural sector and participated to a very limited extent in operating small businesses.

There is some evidence at the aggregate level of limited upward social mobility of Caribbean men in France. Between 1982 and 1990, the professional/managerial and small-business/shopkeeper categories had each

Table 3.7 Distribution of Working Caribbean Migrant Men by Economic Sector, Compared with the Total Active Male Population in France, 1990 (Percentages)

	<i>Caribbean Migrants</i>	<i>Total Active Men</i>
Sectors		
Manufacturing industry	16.3	27.7
Construction	8.7	11.8
Retail	6.8	10.7
Transport	10.5	5.9
Postal & telecommunications.	11.6	2.2
Hotel, catering	2.8	2.9
Business services	6.1	6.6
Personal services	12.7	6.4
Public services	20.2	14.1
Other	4.2	11.7
Total in employment	68,618	12,834,629

Sources: Compiled using data from Marie (1993, Table 23) and Insee (1992, p. 24).

increased by one percentage point while the proportion of working men in the intermediate professionals category had increased by 2.5 percent. Meanwhile the proportion of lower-skilled white-collar workers had decreased by 5 points whilst that of skilled blue-collar industrial workers had increased by 3 percent. There had been a drop of 1.3 percent in the proportion of unskilled workers. The 1990 socioeconomic profile of the male Caribbean migrant working population still contrasted with that of all economically active men, amongst whom there were over twice as many in the professional/managerial category and almost 1.5 times as many in the intermediate professionals group (see Table 3.8). Caribbean men were 2.5 times as often in the lower-skilled 'white collar' category and still more concentrated in the blue-collar worker group.

When the socioeconomic structure of the older male Caribbeans (fifty years and over) is considered, the early, 'elite' contingent of this migration, discussed in Chapter 2, is evident. Compared to younger age groups of Caribbean men, this age group had double the proportion of men in the professional/managerial category and 1.5 times more in the intermediate professionals category (see Table 3.9). By the 1999 census, the retirement of this age group during the 1990s is visible as the number of men in the fifty and over age group in these professional categories has fallen. This presence in the higher socioeconomic categories accounted in

Table 3.8 Socioeconomic Distribution of Caribbean Migrants Compared with the Total Active Population in France, 1990 (Percentages)

	Caribbean Migrants		Total Active Population in France	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Artisanal trades, small business	2.3	0.7	9.0	6.0
Professional, managerial	5.2	2.7	12.7	7.1
Intermediate professional	13.3	13.0	18.7	18.1
Low-skilled white-collar workers	30.6	73.1	11.6	48.6
Industrial workers	48.6	10.5	40.4	14.7
Farmers	0.0	0.0	5.4	4.0

Sources: Compiled using data from Marie (1993, Table 14) and Insee (2001, Tableaux de l'économie française, 1999–2000).

part for the Caribbean group's intermediate position between the total population and foreign immigrant men, the majority of the latter being in the industrial worker category. A further, gendered examination of the distribution of the fifty-plus age group at the 1990 and the 1999 censuses reveals the extent to which earlier and later migrants have taken part in the professionalisation of the population (see Table 3.9). The women who arrived ten years later were less often in manufacturing occupations in the latter part of their working life and a larger proportion of those who worked in the tertiary sector rose to higher-skilled posts. On the contrary, the distribution for men reveals the population of skilled employees and professionals who were more numerous in the earlier migrations than in the flows from the 1960s. Thus a somewhat smaller proportion of men in the subsequent flows rose to higher posts prior to retirement, whilst the proportion in the low-skilled white-collar category increased substantially within this generation; this reflected a lower degree of upward mobility amongst men in the state sector in comparison to women.

While a considerable number of Caribbean men remained in the lower levels of the socioeconomic scale, for those employed in the public services there remained the hope of a job transfer back to the Caribbean. This was the case for *François*¹⁸, who, after completing his military service in 1969, obtained a job in the post office in Paris. He first worked at a sorting office in southern Paris then started working as a postman, the job he was still doing when he was interviewed in 1991. Like many others recruited into the sector in the 1960s, François had wished to receive a transfer back to

Table 3.9 Socioeconomic Distribution of Working Caribbean Migrants in France Aged 50 or Over at the 1990 and 1999 Censuses (Percentages)

	1990		1999	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Shopkeepers/artisans	4.5	1.6	4.0	1.3
Professional/manager	11.5	3.7	9.0	5.2
Intermediate professional.	17.3	14.3	15.9	18.7
Low-skilled white-collar	26.2	68.5	33.9	67.4
Industrial workers	40.4	40.4	37.2	8.3

Source: Compiled using data from Marie, 1993 and direct analysts of 1999 Census database.

Guadeloupe. He had seen some colleagues have their request granted but had given up hope by 1991. In addition, he had come to the terms with the fact that it would not have been the best idea for his daughters to be transferred to a school there in their mid-teens. In 1994, he had the pleasant surprise of finally receiving his transfer. His daughters by then were in further education, in the childcare sector. They remained in France with his wife while he took up his post in Guadeloupe. Six months later, his wife obtained a transfer of her job at a school canteen and joined him. The daughters started work in the Paris area. François had contented himself with having a stable job, even if this meant no promotion. He was able to make regular return visits to Guadeloupe and the working hours of his job left part of the afternoon free to fulfil another aspect of his life: helping to run a football club for young people in the area. Once back in Guadeloupe, he kept up this activity in his home village where his parents and two sisters lived.

For women too, there was little change in employment distribution during the 1980s and 1990s. Their employment remained very highly concentrated in the public services, particularly in hospital work and local administration posts. The distribution of Caribbean migrant women covered a more narrow range of occupations than the total female employed population.

Although there had been some movement into the intermediate professionals category by 1990, French Caribbean women remained extremely concentrated in the low-skilled white-collar worker category (see Table 3.10). This reflects the low level of in-house training opportunities or promotion. Although there was a general trend for women in France to be highly represented in this category (49 percent in 1990), Caribbean women were even more likely to be found in these jobs (73 percent). This compares with 50 percent of economically active women born in Portugal, 33 percent of Southeast Asian migrant women, and 54 percent of women of Sub-Saharan African origin.

Table 3.10 Distribution of Working Caribbean Migrant Women by Economic Sector, Compared with the Total Active Female Population in France, 1990 (Percentages)

	<i>Caribbean Women</i>	<i>All Women</i>
<i>Sectors</i>		
Industry	6.7	16.0
Construction	0.3	1.4
Retail	6.0	13.9
Transport	2.2	1.9
Postal & telecommunications.	6.4	2.2
Hotel, catering	5.4	3.9
Business services	5.4	7.5
Personal, hospital services	33.6	17.7
Public services	30.8	26.0
Other	3.2	9.5
Total in employment	66,074	9,435,569

Source: Calculated from data in Marie, 1993.

There are notable similarities in the positioning of the Caribbean migrants in the British and French labour forces reflecting gaps in the labour supply that were common to both labour markets. However, the important role of the French state in directing Caribbean migrants into certain levels of the public sector is also evident and differentiates the outcomes for the two groups. For some of the recruited French Caribbean labour force, cheap holiday flights to the Caribbean and finally a job transfer back to the islands compensated for the frustration of limited socioeconomic mobility in France. However in the unprotected, non-state sectors, redundancy was also a greater possibility.

Superficially, Caribbean women in Britain and France were similarly represented within the health services of the two countries. However, interviews with Caribbean health service workers in each country revealed that relatively few Caribbean women rose beyond the role of nursing assistant or auxiliary within the French public and private hospitals. Nonetheless, there was the possibility for women to move into administrative jobs within hospitals, where many moved up from clerical assistant to supervisory posts. In Britain, a large proportion of health workers did attain full registered nurse qualifications and of those who held the State Enrolled Nurse status, the opportunity to upgrade to Registered Nurse came in the restructuring of the grading system in the early 1990s.

In Britain, the impact of the initial recruitment from the Caribbean islands by the public transport and health sectors remained evident in the

occupational distribution of this group. However, the overall tendency for this migration to be generated by social networks meant that the migrants tended to find work where it was available and where their network contacts led them. Caribbean workers in Britain consequently found employment that was more widely distributed across the private sector, albeit mainly in manufacturing industry and later in the lower levels of the tertiary sector. These workers, men in particular, were more vulnerable to the redundancies resulting from the restructuring of the British economy from the late 1970s than their Caribbean contemporaries in the French economy.

Unemployment and the Migrant Generation in Britain and France

From an economic environment of low unemployment up to the early 1970s, the British employment profile for the late 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s was characterised by sustained rises in unemployment, particularly in the primary and secondary industrial sectors. For Caribbean migrants, the rapid decline in blue-collar manufacturing jobs had a profound effect on their employment levels (see Figure 3.1). Often the least skilled workers were the first to be made redundant. The relatively low proportion of male, unskilled workers in the PSI sample survey of Caribbean men in the early 1980s (Brown, 1984) is partly the result of the decline in jobs in the manufacturing sector in the previous decade. Similarly, Modood (1997) observed that manual workers were more likely to be unemployed than non-manual workers. Over half of the unemployed men in Brown's sample had been in semiskilled or unskilled

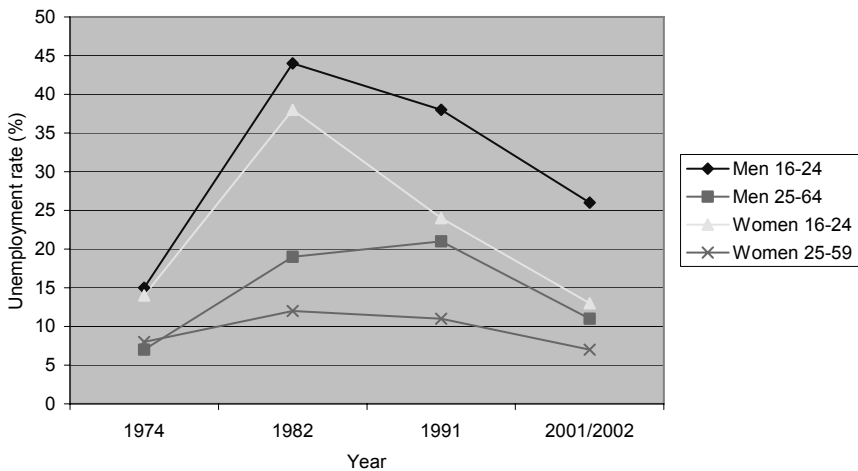


Figure 3.1. Graph of Caribbean unemployment rates over time (1970s–2000s).

Sources: Smith (1976); Brown (1986), table 84; OPCS (1993) Census 1991, Table 10, England and Wales; ONS (2003) Census 2001, England and Wales, Table S108.

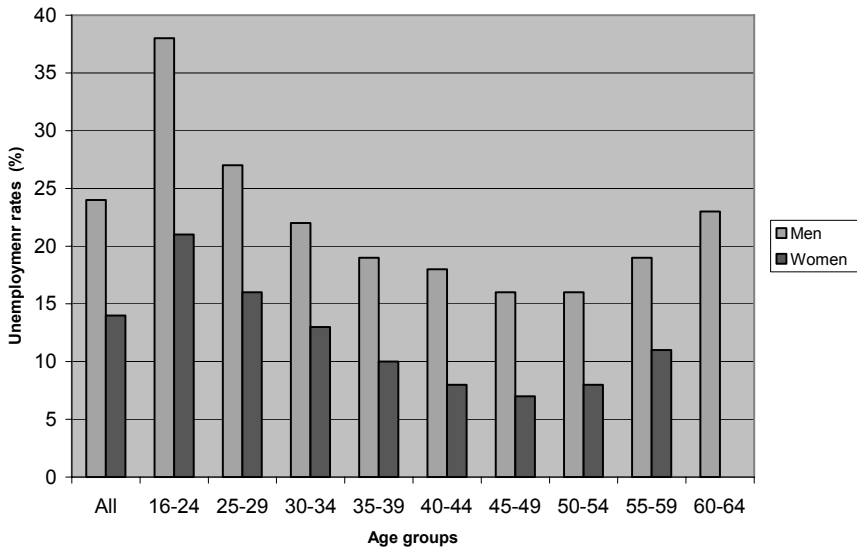


Figure 3.2. Graph of Caribbean unemployment in England and Wales (1991): Men and women.

Source: OPCS (1993) Census 1991, England and Wales, Table 10.

manual jobs prior to becoming unemployed, indicating the particular vulnerability of people at these job levels. The elements of manufacturing that survived restructuring were those that easily converted to high-tech operations that required skilled labour, leaving the most skilled in the labour force at a distinct advantage. In the cases of firms that closed completely, it was skilled workers who found related employment with least difficulty.

There is considerable variation by age and gender in unemployment levels. The general trend is for the higher rates of unemployment to occur at the poles of the working-age spectrum. In the Caribbean group, this involved two distinct groups. First, many postwar migrants who had arrived in Britain to almost certain employment faced unemployment at a relatively late stage of their working lives. Second, their descendants, mostly born in Britain and who entered the very different labour market of the 1980s and 1990s, had been given much less guarantee of a job. The impact of unemployment on the descendant generation in Britain will be discussed later. The former group encountered unemployment at a point in the working life course, forty-four to fifty-nine years, when retraining was a complex and daunting prospect. Many of the redundant industrial workers had no training beyond their considerable experience gained on the shop floor. Shifting to an alternative, often high-tech, industrial sector was relatively uncommon. Modood (1997) notes that older people were less likely to have participated in a government training programme for the unemployed and also

that, particularly in the case of Caribbean men, a significant proportion of those who had participated in a training scheme returned to unemployment afterwards. That survey also suggested that disability and the state of being out of work preretirement 'are associated with labour market disadvantages as well as ill-health' (Modood, 1997, p. 85).

Often, redundant Caribbean men commenced an extended period of unemployment until they became pensioners. Others moved into the growing service sector and took up low-paid cleaning, security, or caring jobs in preference to 'sitting at home on benefit'. Caribbean women in Britain also suffered mass redundancies at the contraction of the manufacturing sector, particularly as women were more likely to be in semi- or unskilled posts in this sector. Some women were able to find other jobs in the declining manufacturing sector but more were successful in finding low-skilled work in the expanding tertiary sector, particularly in the rapidly privatising care industry. Their high levels of economic activity combined with the feminisation of the job market to render the decline of the blue-collar element of the job market less devastating to this group. Consequently female unemployment rates are significantly lower than those for men throughout this period. This was the pattern for all ethnic groups except for the Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, whose unemployment rates were similar to those of their male counterparts (Modood, 1997, p. 89). The 1991 census bears out this trend (see Tables 3.11a and 3.11b).

A striking trait of British unemployment rates in comparison to those of France and most other European states is the lower rate for women (Eurostat, 1998). The higher availability of part-time work in Britain, combined with the withdrawal of a greater proportion of women from the labour market must go toward explaining this difference as, indeed, does the feminisation of large elements of the job market: the greater availability of 'jobs for

Table 3.11a Unemployment Rates for Men from Major Ethnic Groups in the 1991 Census of England and Wales

<i>Ethnic Group</i>	<i>Unemployment Rate 16--24 years (%)</i>	<i>Unemployment Rate 25 years + (%)</i>
White	17.2	9.0
Chinese	15.3	10.0
Indian	23.4	11.6
Pakistani	36.6	26.7
Bangladeshi	20.0	34.0
Black Caribbean	38.0	20.8
Black African	42.0	26.0

Source: Census of England and Wales 1991, Ethnic Group and Country of Birth, Volume 2, Table10, OPCS, 1993.

Table 3.11b Unemployment Rates for Women from Major Ethnic Groups in the 1991 Census of England and Wales

<i>Ethnic Group</i>	<i>Unemployment Rate 16–24 years (%)</i>	<i>Unemployment Rate 25 years + (%)</i>
White	11.4	4.9
Chinese	14.2	7.3
Indian	18.7	11.2
Pakistani	35.5	25.1
Bangladeshi	36.2	33.1
Black Caribbean	24.1	11.2
Black African	36.0	22.1

Source: Census of England and Wales 1991, Ethnic Group and Country of Birth, Volume 2, Table10, OPCS, 1993.

Table 3.12 Unemployment Rates for Economically Active Caribbean Migrants in France by Age Group, Compared with the Total Active Population (1990)

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>French Caribbean Migrant Men</i>	<i>Total Men</i>	<i>French Caribbean Migrant Women</i>	<i>Total Women</i>
Total rate	9.9	8.2	13.1	14.6
15–24	21.3	15.6	32.0	26.4
25–29	14.7	9.4	19.5	17.7
30–39	7.3	4.7	9.8	13.5
40–49	5.8	5.7	7.7	10.1
50–59	7.6	8.5	7.1	11.8

Source: Marie (1993, Table 18, p. 60)¹⁹ and INSEE (1992, p. 20).

women' in the service sector, and the flexible and casual nature of much of the employment that has been generated in the post-1980 decades (Hantrais and Letablier, 1996). Higher unemployment amongst women in France is also reflected in rates for French Caribbean migrants (see Table 3.12).

Overall, unemployment rates for the Caribbean working population were similar to those of the total economically active population. However, unemployment rates in the youngest age groups were higher than for the total active population in metropolitan France (see Table 3.12). Young French Caribbean men aged twenty-five to twenty-nine also had significantly higher rates of unemployment, whereas the rate for French Caribbean migrant women of these ages was only two points higher than that for

all women. As noted above, Caribbean migrants were massively employed in public service jobs and in relatively stable, state corporations, which were much less affected by contraction in employment than were private-sector industrial jobs. The effect of this is evident in the lower unemployment rates of French Caribbean women from thirty years of age upwards and, to some extent, the similarity between rates for French Caribbean migrant men and total economically active men in France.

The unemployment rates given above for the total active population include of course immigrants (whether still foreign nationals or naturalised French). When we look specifically at the rates for the immigrant working population, there are a number of differences. Compared to several groups of migrant men in France, other than those men from Portugal and Spain, Caribbean men were significantly more likely to be in employment. For example, in 1990, 16 percent of active men born in Algeria and 18 percent of men born in Turkey were unemployed (Kohler and Thave, 1997, p. 111). Meanwhile, North African-born women, less present on the labour market, had levels of unemployment similar to those of Caribbean women; women from Portugal and Spain had the lowest levels, situated at around 6 percent (Kohler and Thave, 1997, p. 111). Again, particularly in the case of men, this contrasted with the British case where Caribbean men had unemployment rates that compared closely with those of other migrant groups with high unemployment rates.

The postwar migrants possessed a wealth of employment experience. They were very conscious of their decades of membership in the British and French labour forces, their real contribution to these European postwar economies. Relative to their young descendants to whom we refer later in this chapter, they faced unemployment with a confidence gained from full-time employment for a significant part of their working life course. As Hareven notes, 'The age, the career stage or the family stage at which individuals encountered the Great Depression affected their ability to cope with adversity' (1982, p. 7). In the case of Caribbean migrants in Britain and the postwar cohort of migrants in France, this work experience combined with their transnational frame of reference at times to increase their range of options, providing a support system that extended beyond their immediate localities.

Retirement: Reward or Dilemma

To the young men and women leaving the Caribbean in the 1950s and 1960s, retirement was a very unfamiliar concept. In the Caribbean, regular pensions were the preserve of those who had held senior positions within the socioeconomic hierarchy. The masses worked until age or infirmity prevented this. Nor did retirement fit in with the original short-term plan most migrants held for their stay in Britain and France. Most migrants sought a five- to ten-year sojourn abroad to attain financial security in the Caribbean.

Over time, however, a variety of obstacles arose that made the envisaged short stay unrealistic for most. For those migrants to France who obtained jobs in the public services, there was also the possibility of securing a job transfer to the Caribbean, in this case an extension of French territory. While this seldom happened as soon or as often as was predicted, it provided a goal for workers in France. Here they would continue to work until retiring to the islands with pensions paid through French retirement pension schemes. As the prospect of return in the short term faded, the goal of retirement increased in relevance for migrants to Britain. Not only did this give them time to honour their many commitments to families in Britain and the Caribbean, but a return at retirement with a pension, the reward for many years of national insurance contributions, would ensure financial security for their remaining years in the Caribbean.

Of the Caribbean-born population in England and Wales present at the 2001 census, 30 percent or 76,426 were of pensionable age or over, sixty years for women and sixty-five for men. This was a considerable rise from the 11 percent recorded in the 1991 census and marks this group's departure from the ranks of the working population; by 2011, there will be a minority of Caribbean-born remaining in the labour force. The effective curtailment of Caribbean labour migration to Britain, starting in 1962, prevented the rejuvenation of the age structure. In fact, the proportion of retired people within the Caribbean-born group in Britain would be larger but for two important developments. First, there has been a greater level of return to the Caribbean from this age cohort than any other, reducing its absolute and relative size. Second, there is evidence in the 2001 census of an increase in the numbers of Caribbean-born in the working-age groups, indicating a renewed, but relatively small-scale, immigration from this region.

The proportion of the Caribbean-born population who are at or near retirement in France is significantly lower than that in Britain. Only 10 percent of women and 9 percent of men were aged sixty and over. This different demographic structure is the outcome of the very different policies adopted by Britain and France towards the populations of their Caribbean territories. In the French case, the departmentalisation of the Caribbean colonies and the assignment of full citizenship to their populations resulted in movement in both directions across the Atlantic continuing unabated. The life course tends to dictate the timing of migrations in either direction with the continuing migration of a young age cohort maintaining the youthful age structure of the population. Meanwhile, there was a substantial return movement of people of retirement age in the 1970s and, although return movements have increasingly included younger people as we discuss in Chapter 6, retirement migration to the Caribbean has continued to be a major feature of the flows. It is worth noting that the mass migration from the Caribbean to France did start somewhat later than that to Britain and consequently a smaller cohort would have reached retirement age by the end of the 1990s. It is likely that return to retire in the Caribbean will decrease due to the rising

costs of land and housing in the islands and that, consequently, the retired Caribbean-born population in France will rise. At present a large proportion of the retired population has a stable pension from their jobs in the public services. However, those people, particularly women, who did not have a stable career and do not benefit from a partner's pension, could be a marginalised group in retirement and would be reliant on support from offspring, siblings, or other relatives.

For the majority of the Caribbean migrants, a secure retirement became a reality only after they migrated. During the early decades of their migration, many migrants, particularly those in Britain, ended up financially supporting elderly parents in the Caribbean through their remittances. Simultaneously, as they worked, they were contributing to their own state and, in many cases, private pensions in Britain. The following example²⁰ recounted by a recently retired Caribbean man in Britain illustrates the transnational nature of the commitments carried by many migrants in Britain:

Back home my parents worked until they had to 'sit down.' My mother got Alzheimers and she had to stay in the house. My father and my sister cared for her until she died. My father was in his eighties when his diabetes led to other problems and he lost his leg. Up to that time he was working as gardener for Americans and English people who had homes there for the winter months.

Following the amputation of his leg, the parent referred to in this interview was cared for by his daughter and her children. His two sons made regular monetary remittances from Britain to cover his expenses. So, long prior to approaching their own retirements, the sons had provided their father's security in old age while simultaneously maintaining their households in Britain.

In some cases, migrants returned to the Caribbean to shoulder the burden of care for their elderly parents if no other relatives were available or willing. At times this move coincided with their retirement and entitlement to pensions. In other cases, migrants forfeited years of pension contributions to return to care for relatives as the case below exemplifies:

I had never plan to come home so early. I plan to stay until when my pension is due. . . . But my mother send call me and say come look after her cause she don't have anybody to care for her now and she only have one foot. . . . I didn't plan to return that year but one of my family come out on holiday and when he came back he said to me 'your mother need care.' So I just packed up and come along. I sold the house I bought in Manchester.²¹

After living back in the Caribbean for five years, this returnee successfully applied for her state pension from her period of working in Britain. 'God Bless England and I will ever say so because I know the little what the Queen

give me [her pension], I am going to get it until I die. And sometimes it comes in just acceptable to help my situation back here . . . '.

Return at retirement is a logical development in this migration as, financially and ideologically, retirement ends the rationale for the migration. It releases the migrants finally to 'make the dream of a secure life in the Caribbean come true.' The pension rewards the labourers for their prolonged and often difficult stint of working in Britain and, provided that other material 'preparations' have been made in advance, 'return' becomes a real option at retirement. Alternatively, a more flexible state of spending several months of the year in the Caribbean while retaining a place and a role in a British-based network has evolved among many retired Caribbean migrants. We elaborate on the possibilities and dilemmas facing 'transnational' pensioners in Chapter 5.

For labour migrants, retirement in the destination country is a contradictory state. The level of acceptance of this condition is related to the extent to which the immigrants have adopted the destination country as their own and simultaneously feel accepted in it. These migrants have spent a greater proportion of their lives in the European metropolises than in any other country and it has also become home in many ways, not least as the place where many own property and where their children and grandchildren reside. Yet for many, retirement from work, jobs that were the reason for their presence in Britain or France and that reassured them of their contribution in a very material way, left them disconnected. This has been particularly true of Caribbean men, many of whom were less close to their offspring and to elements of the wider society such as church and community groups and, later in life, senior citizens groups. Plaza (2001) makes a similar observation on gender differences in adaptation to old age, noting that Caribbean women seem to adjust to this term of the life course more easily due to their greater integration within the family and society beyond work (c.f. Delbès and Gaymu, 2004; Blakemore and Boneham, 1994). Moreover, distrust has accumulated over decades of racist treatment, which was experienced more acutely by Caribbean migrant men than by their female counterparts. Unsurprisingly, men were found to be the ones who expressed their fear of racist mistreatment increasing as they grew older and less able to defend themselves (Plaza, 2001). For Caribbean men, as for most men in British and French society, work conferred status: evidence of their value, their contribution to the economy and to their families. The workplace constituted a socioeconomic sphere that offered social interaction and yet protection from an often hostile wider environment. Retirement brought an end to this relative psychological security.

CARIBBEAN DESCENDANTS IN THE LABOUR MARKET

In 1998 as the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of the Empire Windrush was celebrated in Britain, it was clear that the members of the postwar Caribbean migrant generation were either already retired or fast approaching that

status. Consequently, the Caribbean ethnic group as represented in the British labour market is increasingly composed of people who have been born and/or raised from childhood in Britain. Recent employment patterns are related to this generational change and the very dynamic economic context in which it has occurred. The very different political relationship that has evolved between France and the French Caribbean departments has meant that the postwar migration became a continuous flow of migrants until the present day. Consequently the French ‘descendant’ category is a complex entity composed of recent migrants and those who migrated two or more decades ago as children or were born in France to parents of Caribbean origin.

Since the 1991 census there has been a growth in the proportion of Caribbean men who were in management or proprietorship positions in the proportion in professional and related occupations (see Table 3.13 and Figures 3.3a and 3.4a). This growth in the professional and managerial classes is consistent with the wider professionalisation in British society and has occurred mainly within the younger age categories. For the descendant generations, the declining availability of skilled, semiskilled, and even unskilled jobs in the manufacturing sector and public services has led a minority who have acquired relevant skills into establishing small businesses, some of which have been successful. Others made it through tertiary level training despite numerous obstacles to become professionals or associate professionals. Over the past decade the proportion of associate professionals almost doubled, reflecting the entrance to this sector of some highly skilled descendants of the migrant generation. This trend of occupational mobility has also been observed by Heath and Smith (2003) and Platt (2005).

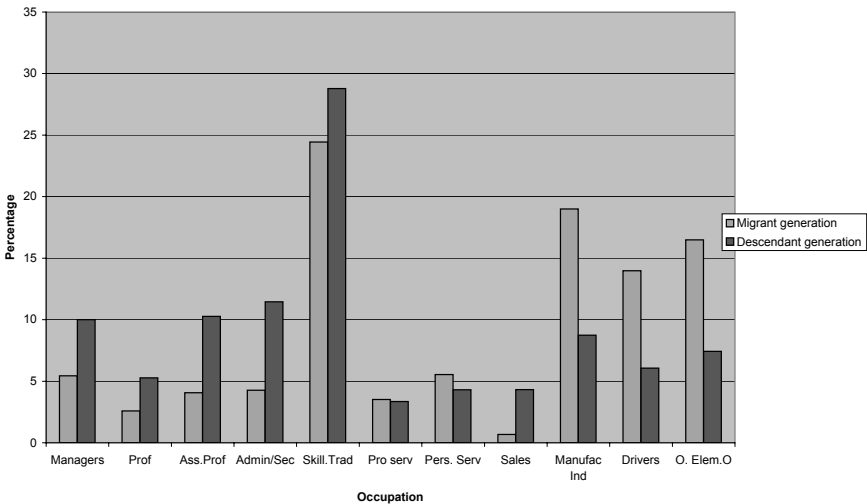


Figure 3.3a. Caribbean men in England and Wales: Occupation by generation, 1991. Source: OPCS (1993) Census 1991, England and Wales, Table 13.

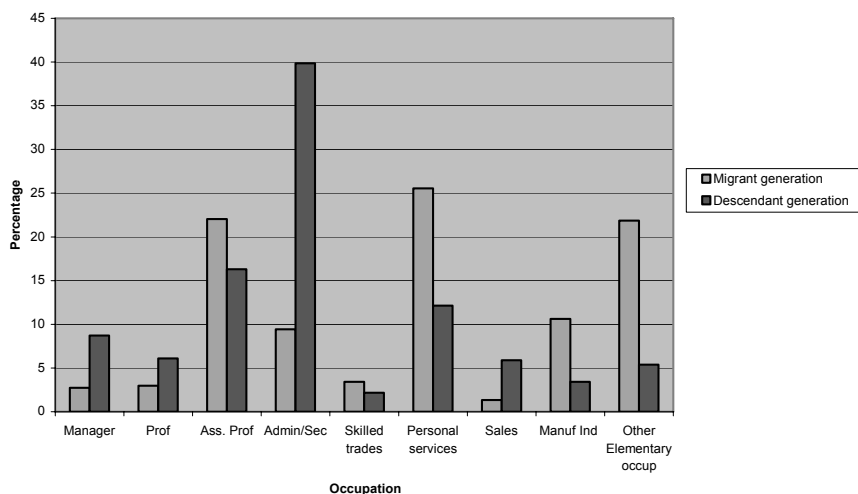


Figure 3.3b. Caribbean women in England and Wales: Occupation by generation, 1991.

Table 3.13 Occupations of the Caribbean Working Population in England and Wales, 2001

Occupations	Men	Women
1. Managers and Senior Officials	11	8
2. Professional Occupations	9	9
3. Associate Professional and Technical Occupations	14	20
4. Administrative and Secretarial Occupations	7	26
5. Skilled Trades Occupations	19	2
6. Personal Service Occupations	4	14
7. Sales and Customer Service Occupations	5	9
8. Process, Plant and Machine Operatives	15	2
9. Elementary Occupations	16	9

Source: Census of England and Wales 2001, Table S109, ONS 2003.

Indeed, Platt notes that the greater tendency in ethnic minority groups than in the white British group for the descendants of working-class parents to have higher occupational positions is consistent with the relative downward

mobility experienced by their parents on entering the British labour market in the decades following World War II.

In the service sector, there has been a small presence of younger Caribbean men employed in personal and protective services and in retail. This sector has tended to employ workers who would, under previous labour market conditions, have been employed at a range of skill levels in manufacturing and related industries. The most important change in employment conditions over this period has been the increased insecurity of employment, the low, unprotected wages, and the absence of organised labour within the ‘new’ labour regime (Martin, Sunley, and Wills, 1996). Few descendants of Caribbean migrants are employed as skilled workers in what remains of the manufacturing sector. However, self-employed, skilled tradesmen make up a substantial proportion of working descendant men in this group.

For women in the ‘descendant’ category the picture is somewhat different. There is still a strong Caribbean presence in public sector employment including the National Health Service (Modood, 1997), a legacy of the post-war recruitment into this sector. However, descendants of the Caribbean migrant women are less likely to enter the nursing profession than their mothers and grandmothers were. The public administration sector, including central and local government and, to a lesser extent, education, employs many of this generation of women. Since the PSI survey of the 1980s, there has been a considerable increase in the proportion of Caribbean women in management positions. Six percent of the 1991 census sample of Caribbean

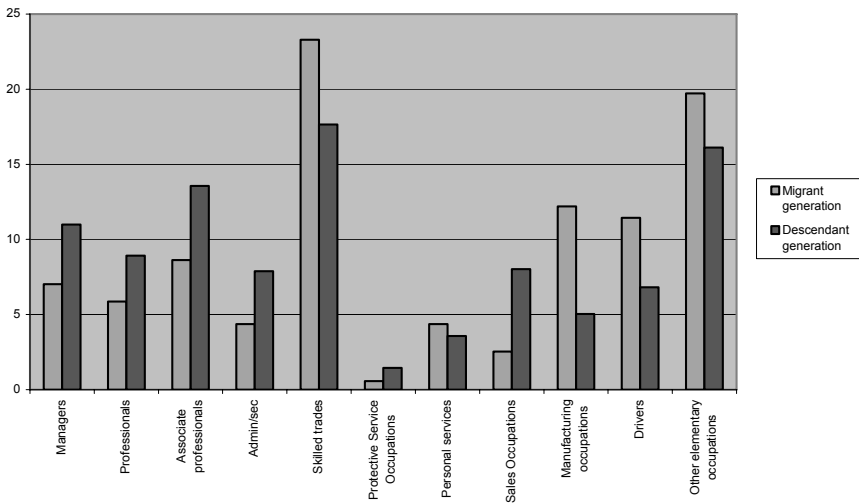


Figure 3.4a. Caribbean men in England and Wales: Occupation by generation, 2001. Source: UKILSAR, Census 2001 England and Wales, Special tabulations (see note 23, chapter 4).

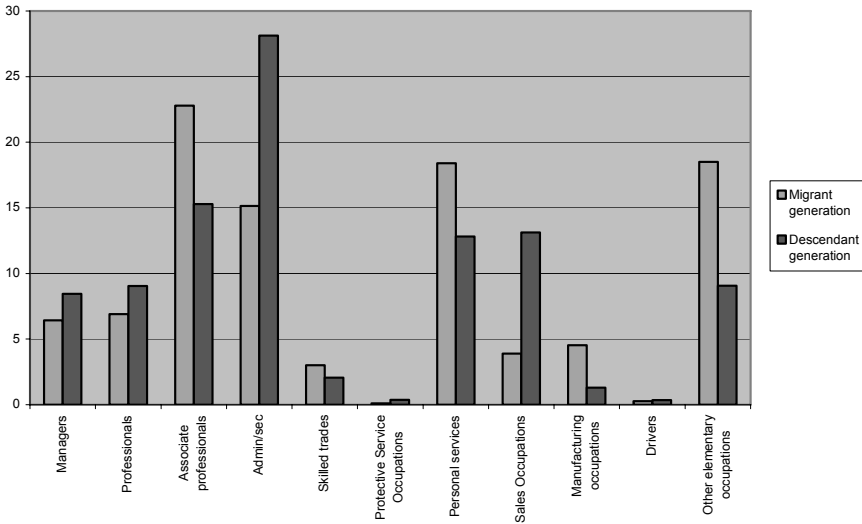


Figure 3.4b. Caribbean women in England and Wales: Occupation by generation, 2001.

Source: UKLSAR, Census 2001 England and Wales, special tabulations

women were in such occupations compared to only 1 percent of the PSI survey sample in 1982 (Brown, 1984). Importantly, when broken down by generation, the proportion of women holding management positions in the under-forty-five age group was almost three times that of the older, migrant age group (see Figure 3.3b). By the 2001 census, the total figure was 8.5 percent (see Figure 3.4b) The management category ranges from corporate managers to public services managers such as those in the health sector. Within the professional category, Caribbean women only really appear in significant numbers within the teaching profession (1.6 percent) at the time of the 1991 census. However, by the census of 2001, not only is there a significant increase in teaching professionals among Caribbean women to 4.4 percent, but 3.5 percent of all working Caribbean women are in the business and public service professional category. So by 2001, there is growing evidence of upwards socioeconomic mobility for Caribbean women. This mobility is largely inter-generational, the result of the descendant generation that has attained significantly higher qualifications and has access to a wider range of employment options than their migrant parents and grandparents did in postwar Britain. However, given the similarity in qualification levels of the Caribbean ethnic group and the white British group in 2001 (Census, 2001) and the professionalisation of the working population as a whole, there are clearly other factors, racial discrimination amongst them, that are preventing the Caribbean group from attaining occupational and socioeconomic parity with the white British population.

Meanwhile, in the associate professions (including nurses and technicians in a variety of contexts), the figure was 16 percent of all Caribbean women in 1991. By 2001, this figure was 20 percent. The main change over this decade, in addition to the increase in the proportion of women in this category overall, was the shift in relative distribution with the business and public services and the science and technology associate professionals increasing to one-third of this category. Meanwhile, there has been a concurrent decline in the proportion of health associate professionals in the Caribbean working population as the postwar migrant generation of nurses gradually retires from the labour force and their daughters gain access to a wider range of occupations. Within the associate professions, particularly nursing, while there was in 1991 some evidence of later generations of Caribbean women feeding into these jobs, the majority of Caribbean women in this occupational category were from the migrant cohort (Census, 1991, Table 13). Analysis of occupation data from the 2001 census bears this out (Fig. 3.4b).

In contrast to nursing occupations, within administrative and secretarial jobs younger women, mainly of the descendant generation, are the majority. The largest proportion of Caribbean women, 27 percent in 1991, 26 percent in 2001, are employed in these jobs with the majority from the eighteen to twenty-nine and twenty-nine to forty-four age groups (Census, 1991, Table 13). This sector has to a large extent replaced the nursing and related sector for the generations of Caribbean descendants entering the labour market in the past two decades. There is some cause for concern given that this is one of the declining occupation categories identified by A. Green (1996). Public administration employees faced mixed fortunes. While many Caribbean people who had attained professional and management positions were employed in senior positions within the public sector, the majority working in public administration were located in the lower-level, clerical positions described by A. Green (*ibid*) as slowly declining in number. This is reflected in the relatively high proportion of unemployed persons from the Caribbean group who were previously employed in this job type (Census, 1991, 2001).

A smaller proportion of the employed Caribbean women, 4 percent in 1991 and 9 percent including those in customer service occupations by 2001, occupy sales jobs. Descendants were much more likely than the migrant generation to be in these positions (see Figures 3.3b and 3.4b). Caribbean women's presence in the declining manufacturing industries in Britain had decreased significantly by the 1990s. Compared to the PSI survey of 1982 when 21 percent of women in the sample were employed in the manufacturing industry (Brown, 1984), by 1991 less than 10 percent of employed Caribbean women worked in the manufacturing sector and the census of 2001 revealed that of all working Caribbean women, only 2.7 percent were located in the manufacturing sector. Meanwhile, more than 16 percent of working Caribbean women were recorded as employed in personal services in the 1991 census and in the 2001 census, 14 percent were in this sector. However, Caribbean descendants are less likely to be in this employment

category than their parents' generation (see Figures 3.3b and 3.4b). The gendered division of labour is particularly evident in this sector. Men are much more likely to be employed in the protective services than women, a ratio of 3:1, while women are eight times more likely than men to be in caring service occupations. Caribbean men and women are equally likely to be employed in leisure and related service occupations.

The employment profile of this group differs significantly from that of their parents. First, the restructured British economy presents a different range of job opportunities with the most prominent being the relative absence of the manufacturing jobs that many of their parents had filled. The service sector—personal and protective services, retail, and hotel and catering—have expanded, replacing many of these job types. With this change has come much deregulation of employment conditions and the end of the organised blue-collar employment regimes of the 1960s and 1970s. Even employment in the health and education sector is increasingly contracted out by the state and provided by the private sector. Other explanations for the changed employment profiles of the younger generation are more internal to the group. Migrant parents tolerated discrimination, downgrading of their employment status and were prepared to forgo training opportunities in order to achieve short-term goals and to fulfil financial commitments to families in the UK and the Caribbean. Most, though, had higher aspirations for their children, for whom they considered their own sacrifices in the British economy and society worthwhile. This is reflected in responses given by black school girls interviewed by Mirza (1992) in the late 1980s, few of whom expected to follow in the footsteps of their mothers into skilled manual work. Indeed, Mirza found that Caribbean girls in her inner London survey had the highest aspirations of any of the ethnic groups she interviewed. Interestingly though, their career strategies often led them into the caring professions, albeit as professional social workers, youth workers, nursery nurses, and care workers in nursing homes, not unrelated to the nursing careers into which many of their mothers and grandmothers had been recruited in the 1960s.

During interviews in the late 1980s, several migrant Caribbean fathers who were employed in the heavy engineering manufacturing industry in Leicester were adamant that their sons, then at school and college, should not follow them into the factories. They saw the education available to these young people as providing them with alternatives. Parents were expressing the Caribbean-based ideology that education or migration was the key to improved socioeconomic status. Their generation had undertaken the latter and felt that their children should benefit from the superior education facilities that 'were all around them in Britain.' The reality has been much more complex for Caribbean origin children in Britain. There has been a considerable mismatch between such parental expectations and the actual educational outcomes for Caribbean men. Both Berthoud (1999) and Platt (2005) concluded that the class position of parents influenced their childrens' chances of ending up in a professional or managerial class. Children of parents from

the professional and managerial classes were much more likely to end up as members of these groups whichever ethnic groups they belonged to. Starting from a largely working-class background, Caribbean children in Britain faced greater difficulty attaining the mobility envisaged by many of their parents. This combined with racist assumptions within the education system that directed Caribbean children into a narrow range of occupations largely linked to the jobs performed by their parents in the postwar years.

A now retired Caribbean mother²² told of the battle she fought alongside her husband to help her daughter realise her goal of becoming a teacher. She gained one of two places at the local grammar school and her mother was told that she should give it up so that a white girl in her class who ‘was very bright and had gone through a lot in the past months’ could go to this school. Her own ambitions for her child were disregarded. ‘But we were not having her cleaning hospitals like *they* expected. We had to fight for her schooling but she got to be a teacher in the end.’

Unemployment in Britain in 2001

Within the British-born and -raised Caribbean group there are distinct divisions based first on gender differentiation and, within the male and female groupings, on skill levels. (See Tables 3.14a and 3.14b). Compared to their parents’ generation, the descendants’ occupations cover a wider spectrum and considerably higher proportions are in the top socioeconomic groups. Yet, accompanying this are higher unemployment levels than were experienced

Table 3.14a Unemployment Rates²³ for Men from Major Ethnic Groups in the 2001 Census

<i>Ethnic Group</i>	<i>Unemployment Rate 16–24 Years (%)</i>	<i>Unemployment rate 25 years + (%)</i>
White British	10.0	4.6
White Irish	10.5	6.4
White other	9.4	5.9
Indian	10.3	5.4
Pakistani	19.0	12.0
Bangladeshi	17.1	15.6
Black Caribbean	26.7	13.2
Black African	15.0	14.0
Chinese	6.5	5.3

Source: Office for National Statistics, 2003, Census 2001, National Report for England and Wales, Table 108: Sex, Age, and Economic Activity by Ethnic Group.

Table 3.14b Unemployment Rates for Women from Major Ethnic Groups in the 2001 Census

<i>Ethnic Group</i>	<i>Unemployment rate 16–24 years (%)</i>	<i>Unemployment rate 25 years + (%)</i>
White British	6.4	3.2
White Irish	6.6	3.6
White other	6.3	5.3
Indian	7.9	3.8
Pakistani	16.8	13.5
Bangladeshi	15.8	17.3
Black Caribbean	13.2	7.0
Black African	15.5	12.3
Chinese	4.6	5.4

Source: Office for National Statistics, 2003, Census 2001, National Report for England and Wales, Table 108: Sex, Age, and Economic Activity by Ethnic Group.

by their parents. Young men of Caribbean origin entered the labour market with lower qualifications than the white majority group (Berthoud, 1999). In a ‘knowledge based economy’ this has proved a major disadvantage (Blackstone, 1998). It is important to disaggregate the younger generations of Caribbean people by gender as there is evidence that unlike this picture of academic underperformance by men, Caribbean women are performing at or above the level of the white British group (Berthoud, 1999). Indeed, given the parity in levels of qualification in these ‘descendant’ age groups in the 2001 census between the white British and Caribbean group, it suggests that Caribbean women are performing very well.

The relatively high unemployment levels of the Caribbean ethnic group has been experienced disproportionately by the younger, British-raised generations as their entry to the labour market coincided with contraction of the traditional source of employment. Skill levels are particularly important here. The shift to a service-dominated industrial structure requires a highly trained workforce but there has been a parallel creation of a miscellany of low-paid, insecure jobs that often service the high-income sectors of this labour market. While there is a considerable demand for low-paid personal and protective services, slightly older men with some work experience are preferred and also, these jobs are rapidly becoming the preserve of new immigrant groups whose efficient networking has led to an effective, internal recruitment system. The gendered allocation of employment itself also exacerbates this trend with the personal service sector being perceived as a feminised domain, which men

may manage but have rarely laboured in (Bashevin, 2002; Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2002; Meyer, 2000; Momsen, 1999) until recently (King et al., 2007; Scrinzi, 2005)

Despite some of the positive trends in Caribbean male and female presence in the top occupational sectors discussed earlier, a parallel reality is that Caribbean young men remain the most under-represented among ethnic groups in managerial and professional occupations. This closely correlates with the lower educational achievements recorded for black Caribbean men over the past two decades. Berthoud (1999) argues that educational qualifications constituted the most important influence on the occupation outcomes of young men and links the under-representation of Caribbean young men in the top occupation categories to their poor education outcomes. A range of sources support this and argue that radical changes at the school and community level are essential if the current trends towards polarisation of the fortunes of Caribbean men and the consequent alienation of a large proportion of the Caribbean community in urban Britain (Sewell, 1997; LDC, 2004) are to be reversed.

Men's unemployment rates for the Caribbean sixteen to twenty-four age group rose rapidly from the 1970s to exceed 40 percent in the 1980s. This closely mirrors that of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic groups but is more than 10 percent higher than the majority white population and for other Asian groups. For young Caribbean women, rates exceeded 50 percent in the sixteen to nineteen age range in the PSI survey of 1982 but had dropped to half that for the twenty to twenty-four age group. Unemployment rates have dropped in the two censuses since the 1980s but in recent Labour Force Surveys, unemployment rates for the Caribbean group remain at between three and four times that of their white British counterparts. The extent of unemployment for this group indicates discrimination by employers. It is accepted that this age range is one of great transition for young people in the labour market as they move in and out of training institutions and the labour force, and that at this age many lack the experience sought by many employers. However, given the findings that a Caribbean man with no qualifications, without a dependent family, was much less likely to have a job than a white man of similar description, there appears to be evidence of selective discrimination by employers in allocating jobs at the lower levels of the job market. Importantly it is also noted by Berthoud (1999) that those men with degrees, located at the higher end of the job market, stood almost as good a chance as a white man of obtaining a job. The trend towards polarisation in the Caribbean community between the upwardly mobile highly qualified group and the increasingly unemployed group with low qualifications is very evident here. It is those who have not benefited from the British school system and have had little success in gaining a foothold in the labour market who appear to be suffering most from depressed wages and increased competition from 'new' migrants in the city (Berthoud, 2000).

'Descendants' in the French Labour Market: A Composite Picture of More Recent Migrants and Metropolitan-Born Caribbeans

As we noted in the introductory chapter, the absence of 'ethnic' categories from the French census means that metropolitan-born descendants no longer living with a Caribbean-born parent can no longer be identified as 'descendants of migrants.' This of course skews the overall Caribbean-origin population towards the younger age groups and so is not exactly comparable to the British Caribbean population. The thirty to forty-five age group is particularly affected by the statistical invisibility of these descendants of migrants. When we look at the participation in the labour market of those descendants who are identified as such in the census, the picture is somewhat biased as those people who are still living with their parents at ages over twenty-five years may be those who have encountered more difficulties in finding jobs. Nonetheless, it is pertinent to bring together the young descendants with the Caribbean-born population when we examine the structure according to age group: for in the younger age groups, a fair proportion of the Caribbean-born actually arrived during early childhood and, having accomplished most of their schooling in metropolitan France, their experiences can be considered representative of those of the metropolitan-born descendants.

Labour Market Positions of the Caribbean Population in Metropolitan France in 1999

As in Britain, the generation of earlier migrants, who emigrated in the 1950s, had retired by 1999 and many of those who migrated during the 1960s would have been approaching retirement by the turn of the century. Thus the labour market positions of the economically active Caribbean-born population in France include both the people who migrated during the latter years of the large-scale labour migration and those who left the islands after the economic crisis had become well established. The positions of the older generation, often having acquired a stable work status with a state employer, reflect the economic context prior to the reductions in public investment, to industrial decline, and to deregulation in the state sector. This examination of the positions of two broad generations aims to identify continuities and changes in the status of Caribbean migrants and their descendants in the metropolitan labour market (see Figures 3.5 and 3.6).

Analysis of the socioeconomic profile of the total working population of Caribbean migrants in France reveals some substantial changes, as in the total economically active population in the country. Comparison with the data presented in Table 3.15 shows slight increases in the categories of professional/managerial and intermediate professionals (see Table 3.15). In general, the upward social mobility of the total migrant population is in line with that experienced by the total working population. The proportion of

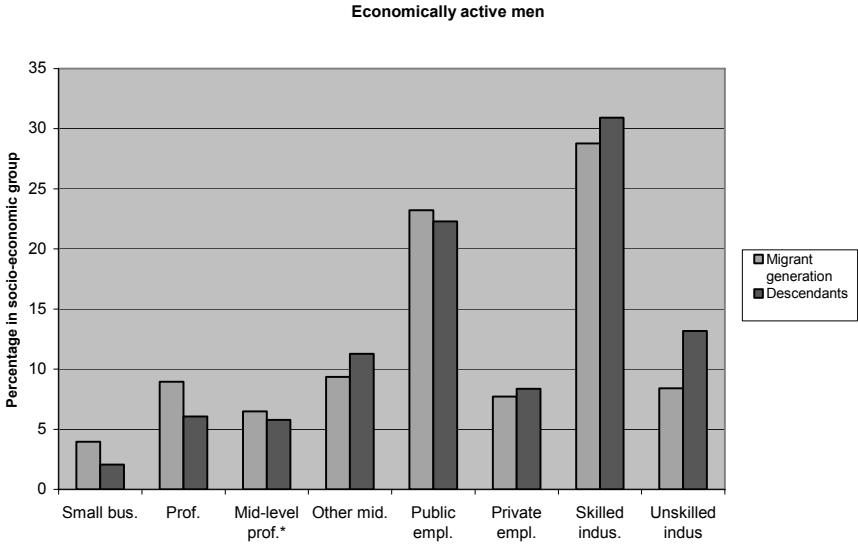


Figure 3.5a. Caribbean men in France: Distribution by socioeconomic group, 1999. (Calculations from Census database)

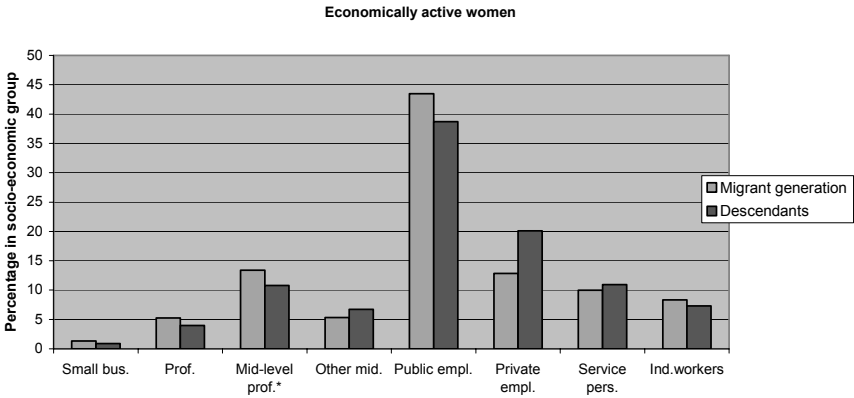


Figure 3.5b. Caribbean women in France: Distribution by socioeconomic group, 1999. (Calculations from Census database)

both men and women from the Caribbean in the intermediate professionals category has increased by 3 points and that in the professional/manager category by 1.5 points, similar to the increases in the total population. However, whilst the proportions of men and women in the low-skilled white-collar and industrial categories have slightly increased, in the Caribbean migrant population, they have decreased; the proportion of men in

the industrial worker category has decreased by 5.5 points, the proportion of women by 3 points. The proportion of male low-skilled white collar has not changed between 1990 and 1999 but for women in this category, the proportion has fallen by 4 points. The shifts within the total population reflect the rationalisation of the agricultural sector as well as the increasing skill levels of a section of the population. For the Caribbean migrants, the upward shift must correspond largely to promotions within the public services and the hospital sector, but also to the entry onto the labour market of more qualified young people.

The fall in manufacturing employment that has affected both workers born in France and immigrant workers during the 1990s (Tavan, 2005) is clear from comparisons of the economic distributions of Caribbean men and women. Whilst employment in several state sectors has diminished slightly, the proportions of workers in the retail and services to business sectors have increased substantially. Comparison of the ‘migrant generation’ with the ‘descendant generation’ reveals that the latter has been most affected by these economic changes (see Figures 3.6a and 3.6b). Fewer men and women in this generation work in the hospital sector, fewer men in the postal/telecom sector, and more women and men work in the retail and hotel/catering sectors, as well as in the business services sector. As they progress through their working lives, the employment profiles of these people may change of course. However, comparison of these distributions strongly suggests reduced access to state-sector employment. Recruitment into the education, administrations outside the health or social sectors, and the transport sector appears to have been maintained for this population.

Table 3.15 Socioeconomic Distribution of the Caribbean Migrant Working Population in 1999, in Comparison with That of the Total Working Population in Metropolitan France (Percentages)

<i>SEG</i>	<i>Caribbean Migrants</i>		<i>Total Working Population</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Farmers	0.0	0.0	3.1	1.9
Shopkeepers/artisans	2.4	0.9	8.1	4.3
Professional/manager	6.8	4.2	15.0	9.5
Intermediate professional.	16.7	17.0	19.4	20.3
Low-skilled white-collar	29.9	68.9	13.0	49.7
Industrial workers	43.1	7.5	39.6	12.6
Unemployed, never worked	1.1	1.5	1.9	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

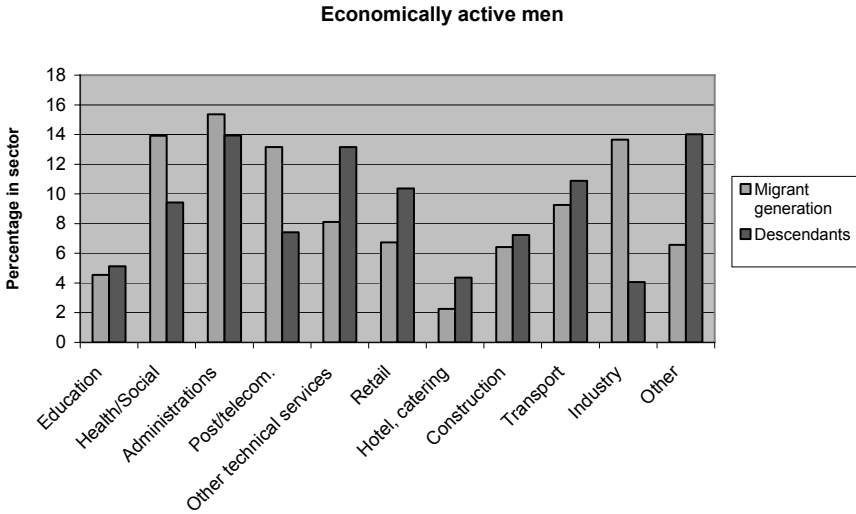


Figure 3.6a. Caribbean men in metropolitan France: Distribution by sector of activity, 1999. (Calculations from Census database)

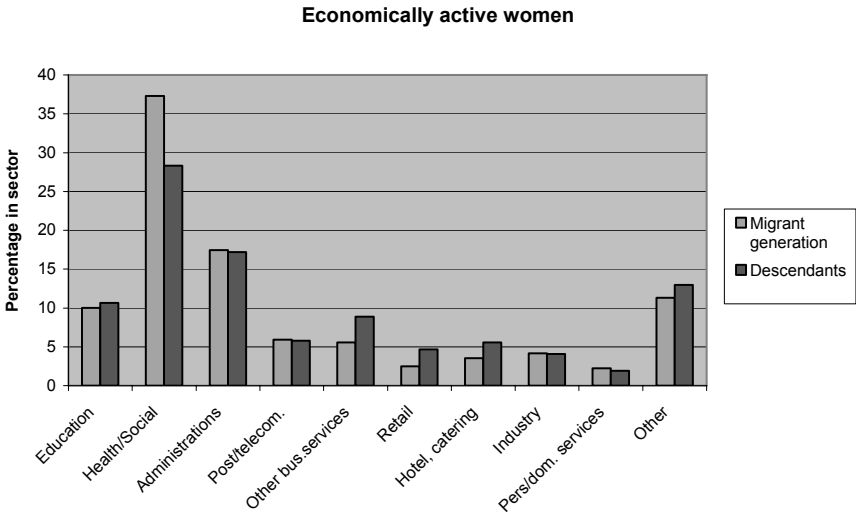


Figure 3.6b. Caribbean women in France: Distribution by economic sector, 1999. (Calculations from Census database)

For the men of the descendant generation, employment in the police force and army still represents a significant sector.

In comparison to 1990, the unemployment rates for the Caribbean population at the 1999 census strike a contrast to those of most populations

of migrant origin in France (see Table 3.16). People born in North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, and Turkey include women and men who arrived in France during their childhood and thus have received most of their education in France. Recent studies using census, labour force, and other surveys have demonstrated the inequality of access to employment according to parents' place of birth (Simon, 2003). Unemployment levels and proportion of young people never having obtained contracts longer than three months were found to be so much higher than for people with French-born parentage that the authors concluded on strong discriminatory processes being at work (Frikey, Murdoch, and Primon, 2004; Fournier, 2006; Silberman et al., 2007; Meurs, Pailhé, and Simon, 2006). In addition, the high levels of unemployment for women reflect the massive arrival of these younger generations on the labour market, in contrast to their mother's generation in the early years of their residence in France. However, women from this group have increasingly entered the workforce as their children reach adolescence, particularly when their partners have been confronted with redundancy.

It must be remembered that the relative ease of circulation between the French Caribbean and the mainland means that, faced with enduring unemployment in metropolitan France, there is always the option of return to the islands if there is a supportive network. Marie and Rallu argue that this is a major factor in lowering the unemployment rate of French Caribbeans residing in metropolitan France (Marie and Rallu, 2004). We will elaborate on this point below and in Chapter 6.

Table 3.16 France, 1999: Average Unemployment Rates by Country of Origin (Percentages)

<i>Country of Origin</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Spain	10	14
Italy	10	16
Portugal	10	12
Algeria	30	39
Morocco	27	38
Tunisia	27	35
Other Africa	26	37
Turkey	27	43
CLV	15	26
French Caribbean-born	13	14
National Level	11	15

Sources: For the French-born and immigrant populations, Insee (2001, Recensement de la population . . .); for the French Caribbean-born population, Marie and Rallu (2004).

The Descendant Generation: What New Trends?

As in the British case, many of the differences between the employment profiles of the migrant generation and the younger, descendant generation can be explained by the contrasting labour market contexts when each generation was in the early stages of their working life. Whilst the decline in manufacturing jobs was to affect the Caribbean population in France to a lesser extent, particularly in the case of women, the expansion of private-sector service employment and the often corresponding decline in public service jobs has had some impact on the employment profile of the younger generation.

What were the aspirations of French Caribbean migrant generation for their descendants? A strong force within the labour market in France has long been the use of family and social networks in the process of recruitment into the public sector (Bertaux-Wiame, 1980). For many Caribbean parents, the relative security they had acquired by obtaining a permanent post in the state sector enabled them to assist their sons and daughters to gain similar security. This was particularly so for those children who did not succeed during their secondary education, for whom the openings in public services were seen as offering secure job positions for those with few skills, positions that would no longer be found in the private sector.²⁴ For those children who progressed through the school system with fewer difficulties, openings at higher levels in the public sector (health, social work, taxation, other branches of public administration) remained attractive. At the same time, other types of training for tertiary-sector work are now encouraged, such as secretarial skills, foreign language acquisition, law, computing, and business studies, in the hope of gaining access to more highly skilled jobs in the private sector.

Recent research has provided an insight into the continuing gender divisions in the labour market (Maruani, 1998; Kergoat, 2002), which contribute to the perpetuation of social representations of gender roles in society, and the impact of these in education from a young age (Durand-Delvigne and Duru-Bellat, 1998; Mosconi, 1998). Furthermore, research into inequalities within the labour market based on ethnic origin (Frikey, Murdoch, and Primon, 2004; Meurs, Pailhé, and Simon, 2006; Silberman et al., 2007) and social background (Baudelot, 1992) reveals how expected gender roles still play a part in choices made during secondary education, particularly for young people going into vocational training at the age of sixteen rather than going on to prepare for the general *baccalauréat*. Sexist and racist representations of capacities and ambitions have a dramatic impact on the decisions made and advice given to parents by teachers and school committees, meaning that insufficient encouragement is given to pupils from lower social backgrounds and categorised in certain ethnic groups (César, 2004). In absence of biographical survey data enabling us to link school and training experience with employment outcomes, these case studies²⁵ from in-depth interviews can give some

leads to understanding the various factors behind choices and constraints limiting aspirations.

Georgette, who arrived in metropolitan France in 1958, recently retired from work as a nursing ancillary. Her five offspring work in various activities of the state sector. She is content that they each have stable jobs, enabling them to 'plan for the future, start a family, put down some money to perhaps buy a flat'.

Other parents, who themselves have benefited from further training in metropolitan France, tend to have a broader view of opportunities for their children. *Ginette*, who had worked for several years in retail during the 1960s and then the publishing sector before obtaining a skilled post with Air France, encouraged her son and daughter to follow the careers of their choice (in theatre and advertising, respectively) rather than dissuade them from these sectors in preference for the relative security of the state sector. *Mireille* too, a social worker, who saw that her daughter had a gift for languages, sought opportunities for trips to Britain and Spain to increase the likelihood of her obtaining her *baccalauréat* in order to go to university. She had previously endured a difficult experience when her daughter was fourteen and was discriminated against by one of her teachers. Mireille recognised her daughter's potential and went to the school to stand in her daughter's defence (her plea was acknowledged and the problem resolved).

In some families, with a more disrupted history, the encouragement towards their offspring to direct their energies to one or another sector of employment is not necessarily strong. For example, *Linda*,²⁶ whose parents separated when she was very young and each set up households with another partner and had further children, has neither benefited from support nor felt parental pressure in her career choice. She had to give up her studies (in creative arts) for financial reasons and, after a series of short-term contracts, found a steady job (in the computing department of a large firm) through the partner with whom she had recently settled down. Geographical separation can mean that parents play a lesser role in orienting their offspring's entry to the labour market. *Marc*, whose parents returned to Martinique in 1999 shortly after he finished school, has been left to find his own way. As he says, 'For them, they had had so little schooling that, to have a *baccalauréat*, that was already a big achievement'. He took up vocational training at sixteen and passed a technical *baccalauréat* in book-keeping. Like many young people of his generation who have not gone into further education, he has worked in a variety of sectors on short-term contracts. He obtained his present job, as an assistant supervisor in a supermarket, through a family contact. For Marc, setting up a small business of his own still remains an ideal (his father set up a decorating business on his return to Martinique), particularly if he moved to the Caribbean. On the other hand, some parents who have moved back to the islands, leaving their offspring in metropolitan France, and who can afford to do so, give financial support to a son or daughter during their vocational or university training. This is also the case

for many young people who, after a secondary education in the islands, travel to metropolitan France to go to university (Urunuela, 2002).

These examples are revealing about the trajectories behind the employment categories used in the census. Clearly unemployment can also be a short interlude in between two short-term contracts, just as it can be a longer period at the end of university studies, for example. Such was the case for *Claudia*, who experienced great difficulty in finding work after obtaining a master's degree in history. She had done holiday jobs with the post office (her father is a postal worker), but, since continuing further with her education was impossible, she had little knowledge of how best to use her skills in the labour market. She eventually took an entrance exam for work in public administration. Several interviewees mentioned feelings of having been victims of discrimination during their job search and stated that there is a rising sense of injustice amongst descendants of Caribbean migrants living in metropolitan France (cf. Célestine and Wuhl, 2006; Giraud, 2002; Marie, 2002).

Further education has become increasingly important in French society, now reaching a large number of people whose parents have had relatively little formal education. The younger generations of Caribbeans have been affected by expansion in education: at the 1999 census, half of the twenty to twenty-four age group were following university or similar level courses.²⁷ An important point is that, similar to the British context, women are far more numerous in the student population than are men. In 1999, 55 percent of women in this age group were students as opposed to 45 percent of men. It is likely that women also currently gain more benefit from their further education than do men, since the gap between educational levels of women and men is substantial: in 1999, 58 percent of women aged twenty to twenty-four had acquired qualifications beyond the *baccalauréat* compared to only 39 percent of men. As one moves up the age groups, the proportions of both men and women with such education levels decline (46 percent and 34 percent respectively in the twenty-five to twenty-nine age group and 26 percent and 21 percent respectively amongst thirty- to thirty-four-year-olds), indicating both an increase in the number of people continuing their studies in reaction to decreasing job opportunities and also the return to the islands of highly qualified young people who may or may not have sought employment in metropolitan France at the end of their studies (Chanteur, 2002; Urunuela, 2002).

Thus in the younger age groups, a number of dynamics combine to produce the educational levels and employment characteristics summarised in the census. The 'migrant' population includes both recent migrants who have travelled to France to continue their education or to seek work and also people who migrated during childhood. The latter group may have spent several years in schools in the islands; their adaptation to the metropolitan French school system may not always have been easy. The metropolitan-born descendants have varying levels of links with the Caribbean; some

may have spent one year or more in a school in the islands (César, 2004). There is a degree of variety amongst the social backgrounds of these young people of the 'descendant era', from the migrating students whose parents lead a relatively comfortable existence in the islands to the numerous metropolitan-born Caribbeans brought up on one of the housing estates north of Paris, whose parents experienced little social mobility. The people of this generation thus are not equally prepared to face the numerous obstacles within the labour market.

Unemployment levels appear considerably lower than those found in the general population, and certainly lower than those in the immigrant population. An important part of the explanation for this difference lies in the possibility of circulation between metropolitan France and the islands. As Marie and Rallu have argued (2004), only those migrants who rapidly find employment stay in the metropolitan labour market, the others preferring to confront possible unemployment in their island of birth, and perhaps return to metropolitan France at a later stage. As for the people of the descendant generation born in France or having migrated during childhood, analysis by age group is necessary in order to gain a clearer picture. Amongst those descendants born in metropolitan France (and living with their parents, whatever their age), 11.4 percent of men and 6.4 percent of women are recorded as being unemployed in 1999, the majority of this group being students (65 percent of men and 75 percent of women). Rates within the younger age groups of descendants are far higher though, for example, one-quarter of economically active women in the twenty-five to twenty-nine age group and one-third of men, and are similar for the thirty to thirty-nine age group. Unemployment is certainly a principal reason for these people continuing to live in their parents' household. For the whole of the Caribbean population in metropolitan France (migrants and identifiable metropolitan-born combined), the highest unemployment rates are in the twenty-five to twenty-nine age group, with one-third of women and one-quarter of men. After the age of thirty, the rates decrease steadily. This trend parallels the employment situation of the youngest generation of workers, a considerable proportion of whom had temporary contracts or were employed on youth schemes in 1999. Thus 49 percent of men in work aged twenty to twenty-four were on short-term contracts, apprenticeships, or youth schemes, with most of the remainder on long-term contracts. The proportions were respectively 29 percent and 69 percent for the twenty-five to twenty-nine age group and for men aged thirty to thirty-four, the percentage of actively employed on short-term contracts was very low in 1999 as 83 percent of the group had long-term contracts. For women in the youngest age group, the instability of employment was higher still. Well over half (58 percent) were on short-term contracts or youth schemes, a proportion that fell to 33 percent for the twenty-five to twenty-nine age group and, similar to the men, to 15 percent amongst the thirty to thirty-four age group. However, these long-term contracts are located in the public sector to a lesser extent

than for the older generations. One-third (34 percent) of employed women aged thirty to thirty-four work in this sector as opposed to 48 percent of the women aged forty to forty-nine years; for men, the corresponding proportions are 21 percent and 40 percent. This is further evidence of the impact of reduction in recruitment in the state sector.

Clearly, different types of data are required to gain a better understanding of the employment situation of the generation of descendants and young migrants. It is certainly a dynamic context, with changes in the employment structure and circulation between metropolitan France and the islands—including migration to the Caribbean of metropolitan-born descendants of earlier migrants. Family and social networks appear to have continued functioning in favour of recruitment into the state sector of young people coming onto the labour market during the 1990s, whilst other young Caribbeans have moved into other expanding sectors. We can add that, increasingly, they are being employed by subcontracted companies carrying out some tasks previously part of public service employment. Furthermore, survey evidence has shown that the public sector has become highly attractive to descendants of North African immigrants (Calvès, 2005, cited in Meurs et al., 2006). There are contrasting outcomes for this group in the sector: women are particularly attracted to the sector but are concentrated in lower categories, whereas those male descendants from this group are located in the upper categories and on short-term contracts (Meurs et al., 2007). More detailed data will be necessary to assess the extent of continuing gender divisions within the labour market and how they have affected the labour market positions of the French Caribbean descendant generation. The contrast between the university-trained—more of whom are women—and those young people who have gained considerably less from the education system is likely to lead to a strong level of social polarisation within this generation, similar to what has been observed for the Caribbean population in Britain.

CONCLUDING POINTS

There were many similarities in the labour market profiles of the postwar Caribbean migrant populations in Britain and France, reflecting the structural similarities of the economies of these countries. Labour scarcity and the movement of the indigenous labour force into preferred positions in the labour market left unpopular elements of the industrial structure without workers. Both countries turned to migrant labour to fill these vacancies and the Caribbean colonial populations became part of this solution to the national labour shortages. Whereas the governments of both Britain and France relied on flows of migrant labour from a range of European sources to maintain their industries and services, their assumptions on the incorporation of their colonial populations into this labour force solution diverged. France actively sought to integrate the Caribbean population into

specific vacancies in the economy of the metropole whereas, for a substantial period, Britain resisted the inclusion of this labour source in the national labour strategy. Consequently, while Caribbeans came to Britain of their own accord or remained in the country following military service, their navigation through the labour market was less directed than their counterparts in France. This is not to say that Caribbeans in Britain moved freely through the labour market. Their work trajectories were very restricted as is demonstrated in the statistical and interview data discussed here. However, there was some mobility within the sectors in which they were concentrated, especially for women and to a greater extent than was the case in France.

The state sector proved a source of job security for a large proportion of labour migrants to France and the prospect of a secure return to the Caribbean kept many committed to this sector. Yet there is evidence, particularly from women who worked in the health sector, of a highly restricted socio-economic space where mobility was largely denied. Meanwhile, it was in the health service that many of the Caribbean women who came to Britain in the postwar years broke through barriers and attained senior positions with the nursing hierarchy. Although many Caribbean women did work in positions of nursing auxiliaries, many others attained full nursing qualifications and the image of the Caribbean nurse remains a strong and positive element of the postwar labour market mosaic. Indeed, one of the struggles faced by young female descendants of the postwar cohort was to break out of this mould, resist strong stereotyped representations of their expected place in the workforce, and attain other occupations within the professional category. Such gendered representations combine with those based on 'race' to render not only occupational choice but also access to the labour market difficult for many descendants and young migrants, whatever their level of education. Clearly, they are as much the object of gendered and racial stereotyping as their parents' generation but the impact on securing work is quite different.

4 Housing and Residential Strategies

For Caribbeans in Britain and France, residence has been largely an urban experience. Employment opportunities offered to migrants in the 1950s and 1960s were located in the largest cities and family networks generated a permanency in settlement patterns, with increasing concentrations in some areas. In a similar way as for the thousands of migrants arriving in the cities from Europe and Africa, or those arriving from the rural areas of France and Britain, there was a stark contrast between the living environment in the cities and those from which they had migrated. The density of housing blocks, streets filled with traffic, shops, factories and workshops, and modern transport systems were largely alien to them as was the confined nature of dwellings and the lack of outside space for family or common use. For several months or years, rooms or small flats would shape the space within which domestic duties were carried out, roles distributed, family or couple relationships played out, problems solved, and decisions taken. The lodgings secured initially in British and French cities were not always modern by comparison with homes in the Caribbean and were rarely comfortable. Not only damp and cold, they could be also cramped and lacking in a private bathroom or inside toilet. Furthermore, all household activities had to be performed inside the dwelling. Lack of privacy was another hardship that had to be endured, especially when new migrants spent several weeks with relatives in already crowded homes.

On arrival in the cities, the first lodgings constituted a base from which to survey opportunities, familiarise oneself with the workings of the city and the immediate neighbourhood, and make acquaintance with work colleagues, shopkeepers, and neighbours. After a certain lapse of time, the migrant began to work out some short-term strategy—including for many the prospect of return to the Caribbean after four or five years—a strategy that for the majority would gradually be adapted, be extended, and become increasingly flexible. In the meantime, migrants retained some ideal of a ‘home.’ Over the decades, the transition from furnished rooms to a public-tenanted apartment or to a terraced or semidetached house indicated by the census statistics on an aggregate level reflects the experience of a majority of former migrants who have since lived most of their adult life in the

metropolises. Yet how such housing histories were played out, the obstacles that had to be surmounted, the compromises accepted, and plans revised, all deserve closer attention. A life course approach, taking into consideration life stage and individual histories, has been combined here with an analysis of changing housing and social contexts. Only thus can we gain a clearer understanding of residential patterns and segregation, mechanisms of discrimination, the strategies used by individuals to exercise choice and cope with financial and social constraints, and the importance of social, family networks as a resource base.

With respect to immigrant housing conditions and patterns, there is a gulf between the French and British literatures. A combination of reasons account for this, principally the more recent nature of housing studies as a sub-discipline of French sociology and the limited interest for the topic within geography. The small number of French studies on social housing estates and 'new towns' in the 1960s and the first investigations into the problems of immigrant housing in the early 1970s, focusing on hostels and shanty housing, remained isolated in the sociological literature (employment and the family transformations attracting the most attention). Meanwhile, geographers focused on residential mobility on a macro scale and appeared not to see the relevance of the Chicago School approach to studying socio-spatial segregation. Rare work by sociologists such as Véronique De Rudder aimed to reveal discriminatory processes against immigrants, as seen through access to housing (De Rudder, 1985). Housing policy research developed from the mid-1980s, notably through a geographical perspective on residential segregation (Brun and Rhein, 1994) and access to public housing (Lévy, 1984). A multidisciplinary approach to housing studies took off in the 1990s, largely through the instigation of the housing ministry and funding of research and including collaboration with British and other European colleagues (Bonvalet, Arbonville, Anastassiadis et al., 2006). As far as Caribbean housing is concerned, then, previous studies to our own (Condon and Ogden, 1993; Condon, 1995) are limited to that by Alain Anselin, who investigated living conditions of Caribbeans in the Paris region. The principal argument of this author was that their housing status was a consequence of their social position in metropolitan France, as both a reserve labour force and 'colonial migrants' (Anselin, 1979).

For the British context, literature on housing and residential patterns, generally and for the Caribbean and other migrant populations, is much more extensive, reflecting the rich debate on choice and constraint in housing patterns. Rex and Moore's study of Sparkbrook (Birmingham) in the mid-1960s constituted a piece of ground-breaking analysis within the constraint approach to studying minority housing experience (1967). These authors were the first to draw attention to the effects of racial discrimination as an obstacle preventing access to the various housing categories and their analysis initiated a break from previous cultural explanatory frameworks. Over the next two decades, numerous local studies enabled a broader picture of processes of

discrimination, their outcomes in terms of minority housing status and, more generally, of these populations' social status within the social geography of cities (Karn, 1977/1978; Lee, 1977; Parker and Dugmore, 1977/1978). Until Brown's study in 1981, most analyses focused upon either choice or constraint (Dahya, 1974; Cater, 1981). Re-conceptualising the choice/constraint continuum, Brown interpreted constraints as the limits set by 'structural determination' and choice as the solutions adopted within these restrictions. This perspective allowed for 'migrant solutions' to be considered. However, in this model the scope of migrant decision making was still seen to be determined by structure. A good illustration of this was the very limited interpretation of return migration as a negotiated response to British racism; ignoring the fact that return was a central tenet of the original migration plans of a great majority of Caribbean migrants. In the mid-1980s, Giddens's structuration theory was applied by Sarre (1986, 1989) to the complex issue of ethnic minority housing positions, allowing structures to be seen not only as constraining individuals but also as offering the possibility of goal achievement (for example, accepting social housing in a particular district because it was located close to relatives). In parallel, comprehensive studies into discrimination processes, for example, Henderson and Karn (1987), Jackson (1987), and Smith (1989), built on this wide-ranging body of research.

Another perspective, bringing together approaches in the fields of migration and housing studies, is the analysis of internal migration and residential strategies. Particularly useful to our consideration of housing histories has been work on retirement residential strategies (Karn, 1977; Warnes and Cribier, 1992) and studies into the notion of 'double residence' (Cribier, 1992; Bonnet and Villanova, 1998). In relation to the latter set of studies, the concept of 'espace de vie' (the geographical scope of individual life space, a set of attachments to places) can be applied to studies on transnationality and circulation in the context of international or transatlantic migration (Condon, 1996).

Drawing on these literatures, we will begin the discussion on housing and residential strategies by examining the housing markets and the sectors to which labour migrants arriving in the 1950s and 1960s had access, before analysing more specifically the housing opportunities open to Caribbean migrants through archival material and individual accounts of experience. The third section will examine housing histories and strategies in the 1970s, in parallel to policies specifically benefiting this population or, on the contrary, hindering strategies; and the final section will consider the circumstances of Caribbean households from the late 1990s and their residential plans for the future.

HOUSING CONDITIONS FROM THE 1950s TO THE LATE 1970s

The dissimilarities in residential experience of the migrants in each metropolitan state are related to the differing characteristics of the housing markets: tenure

and type of housing. In addition, the issue of citizenship and rights to resources arose in the context of the receiving state's perception of the migrants' right to housing. Interestingly, while the housing stock and housing policy of each state stood in contrast to each other in 1945, they bore many resemblances by the beginning of the 1990s. During the intervening period, the way housing problems were defined and the solutions proposed in each context differed considerably. These had a direct impact upon residential mobility and also on levels of segregation. We will summarise here housing conditions before the 1980s and then describe the sectors of the market in which immigrants found housing, highlighting important policy changes during the period.

Contrasting Housing Stocks in Britain and France

Differences in the housing landscapes in French and British cities were more striking in the 1950s and 1960s than at the turn of the twenty-first century. Victorian single-family terraced houses with back yards or gardens have no equivalent in France outside the industrial northeast, single rooms or flats in five- or six-storey tenement blocks being the type of housing occupied by the French working classes in town and city centres. Multistorey housing blocks were a new phenomenon in England and Wales in the 1930s, corresponding to public housing programmes. These were pursued after the Second World War, until building methods were revolutionised and the first tower blocks were built at the beginning of the 1950s on slum clearance sites. In France too, the style of public housing changed in the 1960s as modern methods of construction were put into action. Prior to then, such housing was located at the fringes of the city limits, often low-rise and of sound quality. The 1960s then saw the creation of high-rise housing estates in the outlying suburbs, along with the birth of the 'new towns' (Clerc, 1967). Many residents soon became disenchanted with these 'ideal homes' and, as some commentators had forecasted, returned to more central locations or bought houses (Bernard, 1964; Duquesne, 1967). There was a corresponding movement out of these estates in Britain by the first occupants, although isolation from the city centre was not generally an issue as they were located in the ring of 'inner cities'. Meanwhile suburban greenbelt locations were sought after by upwardly mobile households. This is one of the aspects of the contrasting urban structure of the capital cities (Cribier and Kych, 1993), local contexts within which terms such as 'suburbs' and 'inner cities' capture different social representations and meanings.

The private rental sector, which had been the principal housing type in Britain at the start of the twentieth century, fast diminished during the post-war years. The main reasons for this were the decline in the number of properties due to the sale of dwellings to occupants (Harloe, 1985) and the creation of the welfare state of which an essential feature was public housing (Allen and McDowell, 1989). In France, on the contrary, the private rental sector was long maintained by the blocking of rents for pre-1948

properties and also the construction of blocks for private rent in towns and cities (Duclaud-Williams, 1978). Meanwhile, the French public housing sector, which constituted a marginal sector certainly in comparison with the British context, more than doubled its share of households during the 1960s (see Table 4.1). The British public housing sector, which had benefited from the impetus given to construction by the Labour governments of the interwar years (Malpass and Murie, 1990), continued to expand in the 1960s.

In British cities, whilst terraced houses had often been subdivided into flats for purchase, most owner occupation outside London was of houses. Blocks of flats were built for owner occupation in urban France from the 1960s, for both lower- and higher-income groups. The expansion of owner occupation in France, beyond the traditional rural housing sector, came about through the construction of estates of detached or semidetached housing on the periphery of urban areas, similar to the process in Britain. This phenomenon took off in the 1980s (Ion, 1987).

In addition to transformations in urban landscapes and in tenure structures of the housing market, this period saw great changes in the quality of housing. This was particularly so in the case of France. Overcrowding of dwellings was a particular problem in France and combined with often limited amenities to offer poor housing conditions to a large section of the population of the country. In 1962, only 29 percent of dwellings were equipped with a bath or a shower and only 55 percent an inside toilet, compared with three-quarters of dwellings in England and Wales (Madge and Wilmott, 1981, p. 62). These data cover only officially recognised dwellings

Table 4.1 Changes in Tenure Status of Dwellings in France and Britain, 1961–1971 (%)

<i>Tenure status</i>	<i>France</i>		<i>England and Wales</i>	
	1961	1970	1961	1971
Owner-occupied	39	45	43	49
<i>Outright</i>	(nd)	31	(nd)	22
<i>Mortgaged</i>	(nd)	14	(nd)	27
Rented	39	40	52	47
<i>Private</i>	33	29	26	15
<i>Public</i>	5	11	26	32
Other*	22	15	5	4

* Includes dwellings occupied as part of retribution for work; for example, caretakers, certain civil servants, or public employees (in the case of France, 14 percent percent of total dwellings fell into this category in 1961, 11 percent percent in 1971)

Sources: National housing surveys for France (Vanderherchove et al., 1995) and censuses for Britain; compared in Bonvalet and Lelièvre (1993) and Bonvalet (1995).

of individual households; hostels, works site barracks, and shanty dwellings are not included. At the beginning of the 1960s, almost all British dwellings had tapped water (96 percent), whereas this was the case for only 78 percent of those in France. At this time, households in Britain enjoyed an average of 40 percent more space than their counterparts in France and the number of people per room was far lower than in French dwellings (Duclaud-Williams, 1978, p. 268). Living conditions were much more crowded in the cities than outside, although the construction of council flats in inner-city areas in Britain improved the amount of space for families (Madge and Willmott, 1981, pp. 59–62). This was also to be the case for France and contributed to the substantial improvement in housing amenities by the mid-1970s, tapped water by then being almost ubiquitous and around two-thirds of dwellings having bath or shower and inside toilet.

Types and Quality of Housing Accessible to New Migrants in the City

The majority of migrants in the 1950s and 1960s settled in the cities, where most labour needs in industry, construction, and services were located. Urban areas in both states experienced critical housing problems well into the 1960s, due to a lack of public and private investment since the 1930s and, in the British case, as a consequence of bomb destruction during the Second World War. Immigrants arriving in French cities were confronted with a severe housing crisis (Castles and Kosack, 1985; De Rudder and Vourc'h, 1978). Extreme overcrowding was experienced by many metropolitan French households and the problems associated with rapid urbanisation, and an ageing housing stock, were much more serious than in Britain (Duclaud-Williams, 1978). Furthermore, a considerable number of poorer families became increasingly marginalised, either trapped in slum dwellings or forced to live in makeshift accommodation in the infamous bidonvilles (Granotier, 1970; De Rudder and Vourc'h, 1978). Meanwhile, the population of major cities, notably Paris, continued to increase with the renewed arrival of rural and small-town French migrants, immigrants from Italy and the Iberian Peninsula, Algeria and then, with Algerian independence in 1962, the arrival of French repatriates. Housing was not given any real forethought in the French state's immigration policy and attempts to encourage employers of these much-needed immigrant workers and their families to provide lodgings were limited (Granotier, 1970; Hervo and Charras, 1971).

For the immigrant with little financial capital arriving in France during this period, the principal housing type available was the furnished room or lodging house. This sector, located in urban centres, had the advantage of proximity to work opportunities and services but offered a very poor standard of basic amenities (Michel, 1968). Many households fell victim to exploitation by compatriots, themselves former immigrants, or by other 'sleep sellers' ('marchands de sommeil') renting out rooms, or even damp

cellars (Granotier, 1970, pp. 98–9). In the Paris area, these were located not only in the northern districts of the city but very often in the inner suburbs (Bonvalet et al., 1995).

Second, some employers of immigrant labour ran hostels, accommodating lone male migrants, whilst others, particularly the construction firms that used clandestine immigrant (male) labour, provided not more than temporary barracks on building sites. To compensate for the paucity of lodgings, public funding through the social action fund (FAS) contributed to financing further hostels providing inexpensive, rudimentary, and usually dormitory accommodation (Jones, 1989). The initial provision of workers' hostels was intended as purely 'temporary housing for temporary workers' (Sayad, 1980). Third, those individuals and families who found the obstacles to these sectors too great were pushed out into the shanty towns—the infamous bidonvilles—which had sprung up in the suburbs of major cities, notably Paris. This was particularly the fate of clandestine migrants from North Africa and Portugal and the bidonvilles expanded through migrant networks. Following successive government measures, the bidonvilles and slum housing were progressively destroyed and their inhabitants rehoused in transit accommodation (Pétonnet, 1982). Despite the declared government intention to correctly rehouse these households in public housing, many remained for years in the transit housing (Zehraoui, 1971; Mollet, 1986).

In France, public housing did not become a real option to immigrants until the early 1970s, as the stock expanded and as the metropolitan French working classes began to leave the estates to buy their own homes. The state had enforced the participation of both private and public employers in developing this sector through a contribution of 10 percent of the firm's wages bill to public housing construction. Private firms and public employers then had access to a number of reserved flats for their employees. In 1975, the state allocated 20 percent of this employers' housing contribution to housing immigrants, thereby ensuring a reservation of dwelling units for these groups (Pinçon, 1981). This was in addition to those immigrant families who had by then acquired sufficient years of legal residence to apply for public housing and began to find access to public housing easier owing to the desertion of outlying housing estates by French families. Immigrant households were already numerous in this housing sector by the 1975 census, but the ease with which they gained access to such housing varied from one local authority to another (Aballea and Auclair, 1988; Blanc, 1985; Calcoën, 1983).

The migration from the colonial Caribbean to Britain, which had commenced as early as the 1914–1918 war, resulted in settlements of seamen (from the Caribbean and Africa) in major port cities of Cardiff, Liverpool, London, and to a lesser extent the northeastern cities of North and South Shields and Hull. There was a clear reluctance on the part of the British authorities to condone the tendency of the postwar migrants to join these existing concentrations of black migrants with the main reasons given being

high levels of unemployment and housing shortages¹. Several major British cities, including London and Birmingham, had suffered from severe bombing during the Second World War. Vast areas of housing had been destroyed and the quality of many dwellings had deteriorated during the war years owing to lack of investment. Thus, cheaper housing stock having been particularly depleted the people who arrived in Britain to take part in the reconstruction of industry, urban infrastructure, and public services bore the brunt of the housing shortage (Rex and Moore, 1967).

Furnished rooms or small flats in ageing Victorian terraces comprised the sector most easily accessible to migrants. These dwellings were rarely the most comfortable and did not always have a bath or inside toilet. Owners of these rented lodgings were usually unlikely to renovate their properties as these were often located in 'twilight zones' (Rex and Moore, 1967) and thus condemned to demolition in regeneration schemes in the longer term. Furthermore, relaxing of rent controls in 1954 encouraged the exploitation of immigrant households, seen as most vulnerable (Rex and Moore, 1967; Castles and Kosack, 1985; S. J. Smith, 1989). Such zones of multi-occupation were typical of immigrant settlement areas in major urban centers across England and Wales described by, for example, S. Patterson (1963), Burney (1967), and Sarre et al. (1989). Unlike the French context, therefore, immigrants to Britain did not find themselves in a position where the only solution was to construct bidonvilles, but they often were obliged to take up lodgings in urban slums and were severely exploited by ruthless landlords, the most notorious of whom was Rachman in 1960s London (Davis, 2001).

Whilst there was some accommodation available for individuals in hostels that were run on behalf of the government by the National Service Hostels Corporation, this was selective and admittance was governed by the Ministry of Labour. This was the major form of early accommodation occupied by, for example, the EVWs recruited for the textiles industry in the northwest of England (Tannahill, 1958). However, the authorities considered it 'doubtful whether it would be practicable for Colonial workers to share this accommodation with EVWs and Poles' (LAB 26/226, p. 10). In 1949, after concluding that 'the presence in any hostel of coloured workers in appreciable numbers invariably leads to trouble,' the Corporation asked the Ministry to 'make it a rule that no more than 3 coloured workers could simultaneously be resident in any one hostel' (LAB 26/226). As we will discuss in more detail in the next section, racism—in the form of racial discrimination—was clearly sanctioned at the highest levels of the immigrant housing system from the earliest stages of this postwar immigration. In addition to these state-controlled hostels, there were also a small number of employer's hostels in some northern towns (Burney, 1967).

Ironically, it would seem, Caribbean volunteers who were drafted into a variety of military and civilian tasks across Britain during the Second World War had been regularly housed in such hostels. In a recorded case in the town of Bolton, around 100 Caribbean men were housed in a hostel from 1941.

They were well received in the local community and by 1946 the hostel closed down as the occupants 'had found alternative accommodation within the town where they had settled comfortably' (LAB 26/226, p. 2). Yet it was exactly these northern textile towns such as Bolton that were ruled out by the state as settlement areas for migrant workers from the Caribbean due to 'scarcity of accommodation' and, as we discussed in Chapter 3, the potential intolerance of the 'fellow white British worker' (LAB 26/226). Excluded from the limited accommodation allocated for migrant labour, the Caribbean workers had little choice but to seek rooms wherever they were available.

Renovation and public housing construction were to improve quality of housing in both countries. However, immigrants were rarely the first beneficiaries of such improvements. From the 1950s, vast areas of British cities came under the slum clearance programme. Yet, as we discuss below, such programmes were slowed down in areas where immigrants, particularly Caribbean, had found accommodation. Access to the public sector was governed by position on waiting lists and various factors could intervene to assist or delay a household's progress up a list. Rehousing immigrants was a sensitive issue, particularly in a context of prolonged urban housing crisis. In France, the accommodation difficulties of Caribbean migrants, who were effectively outside the 'immigrant category,' nonetheless generally went unnoticed. It must be said that a fair proportion of French Caribbean migrants at that time, as we shall discuss in the section *Housing Histories and Strategies Within a Changing Housing Market*, found themselves in a more favourable position as regards access to public housing. Others, in a similar position to their counterparts in Britain, remained for several years in poor housing (Anselin, 1979; Condon, 1995).

THE TRANSITION FROM THE CARIBBEAN TO METROPOLITAN LIVING SPACE

Arrival in the City

As we have seen in the previous chapters, the Caribbean population arriving in Britain and France in the 1950s mainly consisted of young individuals, couples, and small families. Migrants had responded to a call for labour in the expanding postwar economies, particularly in the new service sector. The geographical concentration was closely linked to the location of employment, as well as to the attraction of the capital cities. Family and social networks then reinforced settlement patterns, as will be discussed later.

The homes migrants had left in the 1950s and 1960s were usually individual dwellings. They were most often simple wooden structures in some cases with concrete extensions and verandas, usually set within small gardens or yards (Condon and Ogden, 1997). Such space was used for growing vegetables and fruit trees and for keeping poultry. Laundry tasks were carried

out in the open air, as were some cooking activities. In the days before piped water and sewers, many aspects of personal hygiene were dealt with outside the house. Journeys to school, work, and market were usually made on foot. The transition to the city environment was abrupt, even though many had vivid images of what it comprised: buses, shops, busy streets, grandiose buildings, elegant town houses. Once arrived, they had to adjust these images to the often harsh realities of the European inner city.

The earliest arrivals of men in Britain found accommodation in lodging houses, later graduating to rooms in multi-occupied houses. Few were in a position to purchase housing upon arrival in the city. In France, the areas of 'hôtels meublés,' or cheap hotels providing furnished rooms, constituted major reception areas for the early migrants. These were very often located in the city centres, particularly in Paris, and, as one study suggested, contributed to Caribbean migrants starting their housing histories more often in central Paris than foreign migrants arriving in the agglomeration at that time (Bonvalet et al., 1995). Migrants moved around within this sector for several months or years. These were the rooms to which they were to welcome their wives who had travelled to join them. The "Just this?" uttered by Andrea Levy's Hortense was certainly a common reaction of these women, shocked to discover housing conditions in the motherland.² The early experiences in the urban housing market left lasting impressions upon migrants, recounted in detail during interviews thirty years on. Such was the contrast with what they had left in the Caribbean. In addition, they realised that they had an extremely vague idea of what to expect. This is clear from both written (Perfey, 1985; Ega, 1978) and oral accounts as illustrated below:

Georgette³ arrived in Paris in 1957, at the age of eighteen, to join her husband. They had married the previous year. He had been recruited directly by a French car firm and was working at the time at a vehicle manufacturing plant in the western suburbs. Georgette had not been able to join him earlier owing to the difficulty that he had encountered in his search for decent lodgings:

And when we got back, I found myself in this tiny room, a small basin, there was nothing. I had never lived like that We had to change hotel every fortnight because there was a sort of complicity in the neighbourhood . . . because I think that all the Caribbean people who came took lodgings in that area in those days. We made our meals in secret because we weren't allowed to cook. We had a suitcase that we put everything in, closed tightly because if the landlady came in and saw that, she would have thrown us out.

The arrival of a baby was a further obstacle to finding rooms. When Georgette became visibly pregnant, the landlady forbade her and her husband to return after the birth; she only relented when they pleaded, Georgette holding the carrycot and saying that they were homeless.

Henrietta⁴ arrived in 1954 with her baby of three months. She came to join her husband, who was living in a bachelor's house. The landlord allowed her to share the room with her husband, but after a few weeks, the couple wanted more space. The landlord told them about a furnished room to let nearby: 'We visited it and when we were asked if we wanted to rent it, I said no because there was no bath. The landlord replied, "But that's not a reason to refuse. Very few homes in London have their own bath!" Later on, we found rooms let out by a Jamaican and we were allowed to use his bath but just on Thursday nights. . . . And I was so cold that I slept with my coat on'.

These similar accounts, one from France, the second from Britain, reveal the shock and disappointment felt by migrants on encountering metropolitan housing conditions. The cold and damp were exacerbated by poor-quality housing. Space was a major concern, as was the necessity of a bath for washing and attending to laundry. As Gilberte remembered, when she arrived at the age of twenty-three in 1962 and shared a furnished room with a female cousin in Paris: 'It was so difficult to do the washing properly. I was used to washing clothes and dishes outside, with plenty of water and here there was just a small sink in the corner of the room'.

Two further accounts⁵ from Britain depict the discomfort experienced by migrants during this period. According to the first, 'It was worse for the women, I think. The men they used to go to the public baths in Leicester on a weekend and have a good scrub. I could never see myself going there, never. . . . For months, till we got a room in a place with a bath, all I had was a good wash in a basin.' And the second: 'It was OK until I had the baby. Then she [Jamaican landlady] used to say, "Have you been washing again, the hot water's gone again". I told my husband and he got very mad and told off the woman and we had to leave.' In this case, it was the latter half of the 1960s by then, the family were on the council list for housing, and a house came up for them shortly afterwards. 'It was very good to get our own house, not to have to be worried about other people, lodgers, landlords'

There is much in common in terms of residential experience in each context during the first months after arrival in the metropolises. However, the specific traits of the organised migration to France resulted in an intermediate stage for many migrants before they entered the housing market. One specific category included the families of men recruited by the armed forces or Customs and Excise Department who were directly allocated public housing. For lone men, there were hostels for industrial trainees and army barracks for those who were carrying out military service. These hostels were located throughout mainland France and, whilst some men remained in these regions after training, a majority left for the Paris area, sometimes requesting assistance from the BUMIDOM office. Most of these migrants were young and single. However in the early days of the organised migration, many older, married men went to France alone through the industrial training scheme, some to be joined later by their wife and children, whilst

others returned. Similarly, in the Paris region, young trainees in postal work or other administrations, both men and women, benefited from post office hostel accommodation for provincial migrants. As in many hostel contexts, there were strict rulings as regards inviting boyfriends, girlfriends, or other acquaintances to spend the evening. Liliane⁶, a tax office trainee in 1963, recalls how she almost lost her hostel place when the warden discovered her boyfriend there one evening.

Another housing context in which the social life of migrants was restricted was that of domestic service. In France, the fashion to have live-in maids continued into the 1950s and early 1960s and Caribbean nannies or maids were sought after by many households (Ega, 1978). The conditions of accommodation for those women taken on as live-in domestic servants could vary considerably. Thus the experience of Elise, taken on by a household in southern France, stands in contrast to that of Gabrielle. Elise had responded to an advertisement for a maid to work for a household on the French Riviera. The employer paid her passage from Martinique, a sum that Elise was to pay back over the first months of her employment. She was soon disenchanted by her situation, particularly as she was housed in the cellar of the house. However, she stayed long enough in the post to pay back the sum before leaving. By contrast, Gabrielle had found her post as a domestic servant a few days after joining her cousin (similarly employed) in Paris. She was to stay with her employer, an army colonel's wife, for several years. She was given a spacious room, sufficient meals, and Sunday afternoon free; she felt herself to be the confidante of her employer, who 'took good care' of her and 'showed her other parts of France. It was when she met the man she decided to marry that she left this employment and first encountered the trials of the urban housing market.

Obstacles to Early Housing Choice: Discrimination and Exploitation

In the British case, Caribbean migrants initially found lodgings in the sector traditionally accommodating migrants, that is, furnished rooms or in an ageing housing stock of small flats and houses. Here, they found themselves in company with Irish and East European recent arrivals who were similarly discriminated against by landlords (Byron, 1992; Webster, 1998; Walter, 2000). Subsequently, many migrants from the Caribbean found themselves trapped in this sector for several years owing to a number of obstacles. Low income was a major factor leading to limiting housing choice and mobility. However, such housing was not necessarily cheap and many migrants were exploited by unscrupulous landlords. The location of such poor-quality housing being confined to certain areas meant that migrants became segregated in these areas. Discriminatory practices of housing agents in both the private and public sectors were strong obstacles and such practices then led to further segregation. As Carter, Harris, and Joshi (1993, p.59–62) show, several city councils (Liverpool and Birmingham, among others) were reluctant to discharge their

legal responsibilities under the 1954 Housing and Rent Act, which obliged them to rehouse tenants living in overcrowded or unsanitary conditions. This combined with the reduction in housing investment and lack of restriction on rent rises meant that Caribbean and other (black) migrants were forced into a narrow, abandoned corner of the housing market, in short-lease properties and unhealthy housing conditions in which to bring up families. It was during these years, the mid-1950s, that politicians and the press reinforced the emerging 'commonsense' relationship between housing shortage, slums, urban decay, and black immigration (Carter et al., p. 62). This racialised view of urban crisis gave the Conservative Party the confidence to draft an immigration bill specifying that immigrants were responsible for finding adequate accommodation: this interpretation of the housing crisis made it possible to build a strong case for immigration control.

A colour bar was proved to be operating in the housing market by the Millner-Holland Committee in 1965. According to this report from a survey of more than 1,000 housing units in London advertised for rent, 27 percent overtly barred coloured applicants and only 6 percent indicated that 'coloured people would be welcome' (Millner-Holland Committee, 1965). As the British state only formally intervened in 1968 to prevent discrimination in housing allocation⁷, such explicit discrimination went entirely unchecked for at least the first ten years of the presence of large numbers of Caribbean migrants in Britain. Also, the enactment of this anti-discrimination legislation did not immediately translate into a quantifiable reduction in racial discrimination by white landlords and their agents towards the black population: Most migrants were unaware of the race relations legislation and, while very conscious of discrimination, they devised new routes and strategies in their housing quest as opposed to confronting racist landlords and estate agents (Milner-Holland Committee, 1965; Doling and Davies, 1983; Karn et al., 1986). It was, for example, commonly accepted in the Caribbean migrant community in Leicester in the late 1950s and early 1960s that only a narrow segment of the rental market was accessible to them. 'No one but the Polish and the Indians would rent you a room' was the typical comment of the Caribbean interviewees and, in response, most approached landlords who were thought to fall into these categories. In addition, the few who purchased terraced houses in the inner city themselves usually let out rooms to fellow Caribbean migrants, providing a much-needed service at the same time as bringing in cash towards the cost of the mortgage.

Despite the increasing incomes to be made from accommodating this influx of postwar migrant labour, the desire to profit did not erase the racist attitudes of many proprietors of lodging houses. One elderly man described the behaviour of his first landlord who, at the time, also accommodated four of his friends from the same village in the Caribbean. When the landlord saw him looking out of their bedroom window: 'He rushed into the room and said "Don't you ever do that again. What will people think if they see

you looking out from one of my rooms?" It hurt me a lot, they did not want us here, did not want to see us'.

At a later stage in the settlement process, racist exclusion came from a different source. As Caribbean households sought to purchase their first properties, a more subtle form of racism was encountered. One family lived in a caravan in a field in Oxford until they could afford to deposit on a house. Once they commenced the search for a property, they encountered numerous frustrations. 'There were two houses we did not get. We went to see the first one and we liked it and my husband went to tell the agent we would like to go for it. He told him that he was sorry but the owner would not sell it to us. What could you do? The next one, they said it had gone by the time we made our offer . . . but it was still on the market. . . . It put us off but with the kids and all that you had to keep looking until you got a place. In the end we got this house and we have never moved.'⁸

In France, whilst there was a similar implication that the overcrowded and poor housing conditions of North African and Portuguese was brought on by the migrants themselves, there is an absence of (racist) political discourse as in the British case. The French immigration laws included a half-hearted stipulation that migrant workers (implicitly men) should acquire suitable housing before asking for their family to join them (Hervo and Charras, 1971). Meanwhile, there was little control on entry, no facilitated access to public housing for foreign migrants and, for several years, bidonvilles were allowed to expand on the outskirts of Paris and other major cities. Only when protests—from both housing and immigrants' rights activists and from local authorities, with differing perspectives on the problem—were the bidonvilles destroyed and their residents forcibly rehoused in so-called transit housing (Pétonnet, 1982; Mollet, 1986).

The housing conditions of Caribbean migrants attracted little political attention, although the plight of migrants living in the furnished-room sector was reported in an article in *Le Monde* in 1965 (Decraene, 1965). The journalist had interviewed a young worker at a Citroën factory, who had been living in a furnished room 'the size of a cupboard' for more than a year; 60 percent of the buildings in the street consisted of furnished rooms housing Caribbean, Spanish, and Algerian immigrants who 'felt privileged, compared with the Portuguese and North Africans who could not afford such a luxury' (Decraene, 1965, p. 5). The latter were usually families who had built their own homes in the bidonvilles. Alain Anselin, who carried out a survey in the Paris region in 1969, confirmed other reports (BDPA, 1968; Rudel, 1968) that most new migrants were housed in this sector. At the time of his survey⁹, he found that almost half the households interviewed were living in a single room and that most small dwellings were overcrowded. 'Those who can not prove that they earn four times as much as the rent asked are forced to take up lodgings for which they have to pay out almost half their wages. The poorer the Caribbean migrant, the more he [*sic*] pays for rent, particularly in the furnished room sector and delapidated properties' (Anselin, 1979, p. 202). The

experience of a young woman who arrived in Paris from Marseille in 1963 illustrates the context:

I share my room with two other compatriots, they also work in hospitals. There are no problems for sleeping, because there is always one of us on hospital duty from the room in the evening The man who owns the room gave us a receipt for a quarter of the amount in one of our names. I've never had a receipt for the amount I actually pay. I can't do or say anything, it's like that everywhere. (quoted in Ega, 1978, pp. 59–60)

Owing to the lack of attention paid to Caribbean migration within the general French immigration literature, partly because of their citizenship status and partly because of political preoccupation with the bidonville phenomenon and the poor quality of immigrant worker hostels, there is little evidence of differential treatment beyond Anselin's study. During the early years, they were exploited as newcomers to the city, but not rejected as were many Algerians (particularly during and after the civil war). Those who worked in the public services were relatively protected from the effects of the housing crisis.

In Britain on the other hand, there was considerable evidence of overt racial discrimination (Milner-Holland Committee, 1965; Ramdin, 1987, p. 195). In France, though less direct or virulent, racist attitudes were perceived sometimes by migrants who were confronted with feeble excuses given by landladies and landlords (Anselin, 1979). In other cases, offers of lodgings were directed specifically to overseas migrants seen as particularly vulnerable and ready to pay any price. Anselin's survey revealed that single-parent families were particularly at a disadvantage in terms of access to decent housing. A contemporary observer remarked that it was through their experiences in the housing market that Caribbean migrants became aware of their status in metropolitan France and of the concrete realities of life there (Rudel, 1968). Many sacrifices were made therefore: migrants often had to pay a high price, financially and psychologically, before gaining a foothold on the housing market and beginning to make residential plans for the future.

Family Networks as a Resource

After the initial months and years of the migration flows, migrants arriving in Britain or France were not socially isolated. As in previous migrations (Tilly and Brown, 1967; Hareven, 1982), networks of kin and friends were a crucial resource in the search for accommodation. Relatives either provided lodgings in their own home or put newcomers in contact with a friend or neighbour who had available rooms. Such networks thus acted as buffers against the worst effects of racism and discrimination encountered on attempting to enter the housing market.

Once the first obstacles had been surmounted by pioneer migrants, later arrivals tapped into kinship networks to obtain initial accommodation as the cases below illustrate:

The first place I lived was Ipswich, near London, and then I went to Manchester, very soon after reaching Ipswich because no work was going in Ipswich. I lived in Moss Side, Manchester. I had a cousin there who said that if I didn't get through in Ipswich I could come to Manchester and stay with him. I stayed there until I bought my own house. . . . The friend I told you of—well after I get the house she and her husband came and lived with me.¹⁰

I was nineteen years when I came to England. I came to a lady who was a good friend of my parents. Later she went to live in America. I stayed at her room with her family until I got a room in a house with other blokes from Nevis. My brother was then in Manchester and I went to see him and they said, 'Stay here with us'; but I preferred Leicester and came back here.¹¹

There was one chap from our village who was in England, in Leicester. He had a bed in a boarding house. And, you know, five of us ended up in that boarding house with him, his brother, and four friends. From there we got our own places. After some months, my fiancée came to me from St Kitts and we moved from room to room. In the end, my brother and I put our money together and we bought a terraced house. Life got better from there. My wife was pregnant and our first child was born while we were there. After about two years, we bought this house and moved away from my brother's family. His family still lives in that house there.

Given the extent of the housing crisis in French cities, the BUMIDOM investigated the housing solutions available to migrants. At their interview in the islands, prospective migrants had been asked whether they had relatives in France who could accommodate them (BUMIDOM files, various documents¹²). Although most households lived in small, often cramped lodgings, relatives usually helped out newcomers by finding space for some length of time. Mr M arrived in metropolitan France in 1962 and was sent for vocational training in central France. After problems (disappointment, disillusionment) during his training, he went to Paris, where a cousin lodged him and helped him find work in the transport sector. A year later, he spent two months living with another cousin in Paris, then was lodged by his half-brother in the suburbs (according to the BUMIDOM archives, four years later he was living in a social housing flat obtained through his employer).

The BUMIDOM agency was often contacted by migrants after training courses for assistance in housing. This was particularly the case in the early days and also for those who did not have relatives in metropolitan

France—or could not be received by relatives, for one reason or another. The BUMIDOM did not have sufficient financial capacity to give such assistance, for example, run hostels or purchase flats for renting out to migrants. Its assistance thus was limited to reservation on a small number of state-sector flats, the funding of short-term lodgings in hostels for men after training periods, and loans for deposits on private-sector rent or for furniture purchase (Condon and Ogden, 1993). Given the will of the state to encourage permanent settlement and that family reunification was subsidised by the BUMIDOM only when suitable lodgings had been acquired, it is surprising that so little priority was assigned to housing. However, in a survey conducted in 1967 among migrants having contacted the BUMIDOM at some time since their arrival, only 9 percent of men and 5 percent of women had used the agency as an intermediary in their housing search, whereas 17 percent of men and 21 percent of women had acquired housing through their employer, the remainder, through family, friends, the press, or by themselves (BDPA, 1968, III).

Other migrants, who neither had relatives they could call upon nor were aware of the Bumidom, were in a rather vulnerable position if they did not have steady employment or were facing personal crises such as separation, divorce, or death of a partner. As we shall discuss later on in the chapter, the context of access to social housing or to other low-rent accommodation evolved throughout the period in such a way that households on low incomes (outside the public sector) or lone mothers with no support from relatives have been at a similar disadvantage in recent years as they were at the beginning of the labour migration.

In France, the role of women as ‘receivers’ was advanced as important by some—women—interviewees: taking in younger siblings, cousins, nephews, and nieces, they acted as mothers or big sisters, accommodating them, making meals, guiding them in the search for work, and introducing them to networks. As Lidia¹³ described, ‘I was the anchor! There was always some member of the family with us. I took in two (female) cousins soon after I arrived, then my younger sister came in 1968, and later I took in cousins when they came up to Paris at the end of their military service’. This role bears similarities to that described by Watkins-Owens for early twentieth-century Caribbean women in New York (2001).

New migrants could not be lodged indefinitely, of course. This was certainly the case when it was a young family receiving the migrant, in a bed-sit or small flat. Sometimes relationships became tense when the migrant did not sense it was time to leave; an issue we will return to in the next chapter. In other cases, lodgings were offered in exchange for services; for example, young women migrating to finish their schooling in metropolitan France could be expected to do baby-sitting or housework.

Over the years, these networks were to continue to play a major role in housing; in the early accommodation of migrants that continued to arrive in metropolitan France and Britain and in helping them to decipher the urban

housing markets. They would continue to intervene at later stages of housing histories as people sought more comfortable lodgings, put in a request for social housing, looked for accommodation for their offspring, and so on. We now turn to an analysis of the different types of housing trajectories, the role of state housing, and the importance of home ownership as a desirable housing outcome.

HOUSING HISTORIES AND STRATEGIES WITHIN A CHANGING HOUSING MARKET

The structural processes just described formed the dynamics within which Caribbean households negotiated the metropolitan housing markets. In both France and Britain, migrants had settled predominantly in urban areas, around two-thirds in the capital region and the majority (over two-thirds) lived in private-rented properties. The following section analyses how, in their search for more comfortable accommodation, individuals, couples, and families moved within and out of the private rental sector and discusses what movement into public-rented flats or houses meant to households in terms of housing strategies. Similarly, we examine the importance of the ambition to be a home owner within these strategies.

The Search for More Comfortable Lodgings in the 1960s and 1970s

Migrants soon sought more comfortable lodgings. Those who were single when they had migrated and had decided to live with a partner or couples who now had children desired more living space, separate bedrooms for parents and children, ideally some garden area. For those who had begun to accept that their stay in the 'motherland' was likely to be prolonged, the housing search became that of a dwelling that they could regard more as a 'home'; that is, a place to which they would be reasonably happy to return after a day's work, in which to relax, perhaps bring up children, invite friends and relatives. Particularly in the British case, the quest for more spacious homes usually involved housing purchase, particularly since access to 'desirable' public housing was difficult. Financial constraints and considerations of travel to work, in addition to a possible desire to stay near a neighbourhood familiar to them, limited the types of housing and areas in which they could search. In the French case, where access to this form of housing was facilitated for state employees, lower-income households—that is, the majority—requested a council flat. Although often quite rapidly allocated, French Caribbean households usually found themselves relocated to distant suburbs; in most cases, they accepted then requested a transfer of their work post nearer to their new area of residence or more conveniently situated as regards public transport.

In both countries, the Caribbean population was from the outset, and remains principally concentrated in large conurbations. In France, the role

of the capital city and its suburbs is particularly striking, housing two-thirds to three-quarters of the Caribbean-born throughout the period. For Britain, although there has been a settlement focus on Greater London, seven conurbations or metropolitan counties have shared three-quarters of Caribbean residence; the proportion rose from 75 percent to 83 percent between 1971 and 1991 (Byron, 1994, p. 83). Highly associated to employment, these residence patterns in the French case were gendered, as a greater proportion of women migrants settled first in the capital city through employment in hospitals and domestic service. Men migrating through the BUMIDOM or as a member of the national service contingent were initially dispersed throughout France in training centres or army barracks, but often chose to move to Paris afterwards, joining siblings, aunts, uncles, and cousins. In the British case, women were slightly more likely to have a wider distribution across Britain due to their concentration within the nursing sector where training and subsequent positions could be quite dispersed as was noted in case studies in Chapter 3. At the city level, Caribbeans were initially concentrated within the inner areas. Subsequent movement towards the suburbs in the 1970s was linked to access to public housing. Anselin (1979) identified this movement in the Paris region from the end of the 1960s, as the organised migration reached its peak.

Housing Mobility Within the Private Sector

In Britain, most people continued to live in rooms until they moved either into privately-rented flats or managed to purchase terraced houses in the inner cities. In 1961, 74 percent of households rented privately, most of the remainder were owner-occupiers; by 1966, one-third of households owned their dwellings (Peach and Shah, 1980). Only a minority had gained access to council housing by the mid-1960s; only 4 percent of Caribbean households at the 1966 census compared with 22 percent of all households. (See Table 4.2.) It is important to stress that house purchase was not part of most migrants' plans at the outset (Byron, 1992, 1998). It became an enforced

Table 4.2 Caribbean Housing Tenure in England and Wales, 1961–1981

<i>Year of Survey</i>	<i>Owner -Occupied</i>	<i>Rented from L.A.</i>	<i>Other Rented</i>
1961	27 (42)	2 (24)	69 (28)
1966	41 (47)	7 (26)	52 (23)
1971	44 (52)	21 (28)	35 (15)
1977	45 (54)	45 (30)	14 (14)
1981	43 (58)	45 (29)	12 (13)

Source: Adapted from Peach and Byron 1993, p. 410). Figures in parentheses are the proportions for the total household population.

strategy as a result of the cramped and often unsanitary conditions combined with the discrimination that they suffered on a regular basis in the private rental sector (Rex and Moore, 1967; Burney, 1967). Purchase was an escape.

Family and community networks proved important social capital in the search for housing solutions by many Caribbean households. Single migrants and couples could pool resources with close family or a friend to make the initial deposit on a property or even to fund the entire cash payment. Many used their 'partner scheme membership' within a self-help, rotating savings and credit association (ROSCAs) to fund their deposits. ROSCAs were particularly important to women, who preferred this method of saving to the banks. Also, women in the 1960s and 1970s found it almost impossible to get mortgages in their own names. ROSCAs consequently were vital during the early years of their sojourns abroad, often replacing the formal banking system, and they still survive today in several immigrant contexts (Ardener and Burman, 1995; Mayoukou, 1994; Dieng, 2002). Yet other migrants or couples, through extremely frugal living, managed to save the deposit by themselves and, in some cases, often after being refused a mortgage, went on to make cash offers for a house. First purchases were almost entirely in inner-city locations. Some households remained in these dwellings, investing in significant improvements over the years. Others used them as stepping stones towards a later residence in, for example, an interwar semidetached home in the suburbs; this was an increasingly common occurrence for Caribbean households in the 1970s.

In French cities, migrants often moved several times within the furnished rooms sectors before moving to a larger, private-rented apartment. For some, this was a temporary solution, after requesting a dwelling in the state sector. For others, who found a rent they could afford and preferred to live in Paris or one of the other city centres, this housing type corresponded to a choice; once they had realised that their stay in metropolitan France was to be prolonged. For a couple in stable employment and with promotion prospects, this could be a long-term solution. Housing purchase was still a minority phenomenon in urban centres, but those migrants interested in investing for a possible future return to the islands or preferring to buy rather than pay out rent could find cheaper properties in the outer northern or eastern arrondissements of Paris in the 1970s and early 1980s (before gentrification spread through these districts). From the 1980s, this strategy could correspond to a desire to avoid bringing up one's family in one of the rapidly deteriorating public housing estates in which thousands of Caribbean households had been allocated flats over the past two decades. In the inner suburbs of Paris, purchase was generally of flats in blocks outside the rented sector. Quality of this housing was variable and construction not always more sound than the hastily built tower blocks in Sarcelles or Saint-Denis. Flat owners would be obliged to share the cost of renovation and maintenance bills when such works were agreed upon by

the housing syndicate. Whilst a financial burden at the time, such renovation would increase the value of their housing capital.

State Housing: An Increasingly Common Housing Experience for Both Communities

In Britain, an extensive literature developed during the 1970s and 1980s focused on state housing allocation procedures and their impact on residential location and housing quality in relation to Caribbean and other minority households (Henderson and Karn, 1984; Phillips, 1986; Rex and Tomlinson, 1979; Smith, 1989). Thereby, Caribbean migrants and their households were shown to be, as a group, both victims of direct and institutional racism and also particularly dependent on housing through the welfare state (Brown, 1984; CRE, 1984; Haddon, 1970; Peach and Byron, 1993). What is usually missing from analyses, on the one hand, is the link between the increasing concentration of households in this sector and migrants' housing trajectories and strategies. On the other hand, there is little discussion of the experience of discrimination at the individual or household level or on how this impacted upon solutions sought and residential plans for the future. These are processes we will attempt to highlight here. In both contexts, the movement into the public housing sector corresponded to a strategy for more security and cheaper housing with modern equipment and more space. In comparison to the much private-rented accommodation and furnished rooms, this tenure status was widely aspired to. As such, Rex and Moore (1967) originally ranked the council sector as the second-highest category in terms of desirability after owner occupation. At the same time as being assured of more comfortable lodgings and relatively low rent cost, many households hoped thus to be able to accumulate necessary savings for a future housing purchase, be it in the Caribbean or in the country of residence.

It was not until the late 1960s that Caribbean households in Britain managed to gain a foothold in the sector. Prior to then, despite often residing in boroughs a number of years and theoretically qualifying for registering on the waiting lists, Caribbean households in Britain encountered stiff barriers to council housing access. First applications were often rejected, a variety of reasons being given ranging from income level to full waiting lists. A number of factors contributed to the widening of access. Initially, the collapse of the private rental sector produced by the legislative reforms following the Rachman scandals of the early 1960s (Mullings, 1991) and slum clearance moving into the areas where many Caribbean households had found themselves concentrated largely contributed to urgent rehousing of this population. Then, during the 1970s, the combined processes of the building of new housing estates and departure of increasing numbers of white households from the sector made more housing units available. A further reason given for the shift of Caribbean tenure towards public rent, over and above their socioeconomic profile, was the rise in the 'crash' category needing emergency housing; this

category including a large proportion of lone parents with dependent children (Peach and Byron, 1993).

After long having ignored the housing problems of Caribbean migrants—and having blamed these people for the poor quality of dwellings and residential concentration—local-level policy in many instances announced a need for dispersal of Caribbean households. The announced aim was to aid assimilation and move households out of degraded housing. However, within London and larger cities, state housing allocations did not lead to dispersal at the city level but rather a reshuffling within boroughs (Peach and Shah, 1980). Only in smaller cities, such as Leicester, did access to the council sector lead to dispersal as migrant households were allocated properties within the inter- and postwar housing estates in the suburbs (Byron, 1993, 1994)

Mr and Mrs H¹⁴ had lived in a series of rooms in multi-occupied houses in Leicester from the late 1950s until the mid-1960s. While in the last residence of this kind, they were made 'head tenants' as they had been there longest and they were 'liked' by the landlord. Suddenly, in 1965 they were told that they would have to leave as the house was to be demolished along with several others in the neighbourhood in a slum clearance programme. They were offered no help with relocation and were making enquiries locally as they had done in their past moves. Mrs H was telling a colleague at work about the situation and was informed about the possibility of being rehoused by the council. The friend said that usually the residents of the properties to be demolished were informed by the council about rehousing possibilities. They, however, had been left homeless with no option but to find alternative private-sector rooms. After learning of the rehousing option, they approached the council and were indeed shortly offered a small house in a council estate in the suburbs. Although it was not close to their friends, they took it as it was a better place than anything they had occupied before.

In early cases of council sector access, Caribbean households tended to discover the sector by chance. Typical examples were: a schoolteacher mentioning the possibility of a council house to a parent in distress at the cramped conditions in which she was raising four children; a friendly post mistress informing one couple that their adult daughters who each had babies might qualify for council housing; and, as in the above case, a chance comment by a work mate, where rehousing should have been mandatory but immigrant households were simply not informed of this right.

By the mid-1970s, therefore, the state sector had finally opened its doors more generally to the Caribbean population and received households leaving the private rental sector. By the end of the decade, 90 percent of Caribbean households were shared equally between the owner-occupied and local authority rental sectors (Peach and Byron, 1993). In France, the relatively low proportion of owner-occupiers amongst Caribbean migrants is explained by their high concentration in Paris and other large cities: owner occupation was a minority tenure status in such locations. Unlike in the

British context, there was a lack of cheaper housing for purchase. However, the main explanatory factor was the relative ease with which this population gained access to state housing.

Very much linked to the organised migration process, the policy of access to public housing was notably favourable to French Caribbean migrants. This was particularly so for those with permanent posts in the public services. A distinction in the public housing sector is crucial to the understanding of allocation procedures in that between the local authority-controlled offices (*Offices Publics d'HLM*) and the mixed-economy housing companies (*Sociétés Anonymes d'HLM*). The former are financed entirely by state capital, whereas a large proportion of the capital of the latter originates from the 1 percent employers' contributions (see Duclaud-Williams, 1978, pp. 124–53). Thus employees of public administrations such as the hospital service, the railways, the post office, and so on can be allocated public housing within the stock of the company receiving contributions from the employer concerned. Mixed-economy companies have constructed blocks and estates mostly on the outskirts of agglomerations, the public offices being given priority within the cities. Thus people applying for public housing through their employer have tended to find themselves allocated dwellings in the outer suburbs of Paris. A small number of mixed-economy companies have been created specifically to house state employees; such was the case for the Ministries of the Postal Services and of Defence from 1954. It is here that we find part of the explanation for concentrations of Caribbean people in certain areas (Condon and Ogden, 1993). No request for housing was accepted before recruitment, but those people leaving a family behind in the Caribbean were attributed extra waiting list points, as are other 'provincial' migrants in the same situation. For example, Fred, recruited in Paris as a trainee telephone engineer, arrived in October 1965, took lodgings in central Paris, and applied for public housing through his employer and assistance in family reunification from the BUMIDOM. In April 1967, he was allocated a five-room flat in the outer western suburbs and, a month later, his wife, seven children, and sixteen-year-old sister-in-law joined him.¹⁵

However, for those working outside public-sector employment, barriers to access operated in similar ways to the British context. Length of residence obligations, minimum income, and family size criteria meant that their stay on the waiting list was prolonged. It must be emphasised that the state housing sector in France was never as extensive as its equivalent in Britain. Plus, income was often a serious constraint for French Caribbean migrants in the 1960s, when competition for state housing was fierce; it was reported that many were unable to invite their families to join them since, when they applied for public housing after five years' residence in the same district, they 'did not have a income high enough to afford the rent in the housing blocks where flats were available' (CGP, 1966, p. 581). The BUMIDOM was able to assist in a limited number of cases, through its own pool of allocated dwellings or by appealing to the employer on behalf of the

migrant. The limitations of its capacity to act as intermediary are revealed in the family reunification procedure, for 'suitable accommodation' was necessary to qualify for assistance. Numerous applicants to the organised family reunification were refused help through lack of suitable accommodation; the agency did not offer any alternative dwelling.

Fairly rapid access to public housing was seen by French Caribbeans as one of the major advantages of seeking employment in the state sector: migrants thus gained stability in employment and a secure accommodation situation. It soon evolved as the social norm for this population; interviewees referred to their application for public housing as a matter of course, something 'due.' Although the location was not always considered desirable, either owing to increased travel to work time or for reasons associated with the image of the place, people accepted when they could no longer put up with cramped dwellings, and considered public rent to be preferable to private rent and a more secure housing status. Thus Lucienne¹⁶ describes how she felt in 1972:

We asked for a flat and the Postal Service sent us here To begin with, we didn't want to come because Sarcelles had a bad reputation . . . , because people had told us that there were just tower blocks, nothing but tower blocks and that all the blocks were the same, and that people were unhappy living in them. Then when we came to visit and found no-one was living in it yet, and that we didn't look out onto other blocks . . . and that the caretaker lived in our stairway, we accepted We settled in quickly, there was so much room compared with Paris. And, look: you can even see the Eiffel Tower from here!

Other people gave up on applying for housing when proposed flats were too inconvenient for travel to work or in too poor condition. This was the case for Liliane, who worked in central Paris at the time:

So I'd asked for a flat through my work. They offered us a flat in Stains [northern suburb]. I wasn't very enthusiastic . . . so I didn't even go to visit it. Then I got pregnant. . . . They offered us a flat in Sucy-en-Brie [outer eastern suburb], a hole in the middle of nowhere, so I said, all the same, we're going to have a child, I'll give it a go. We need somewhere of our own What's more, it was winter. I went to see this flat. It was really disgusting.

Various processes worked in favour of easier access to state housing by the 1970s: the continuing reservation of flats by administrations and other state employers; the allocation procedure for large families and lone-parent households; and, similar to British context, the increasing rejection of public housing estate accommodation by the white metropolitan population, particularly by stable-income, two-parent families. However, a regular income remained a

crucial necessity when applying for such housing. Thus, when Marie, a nurse's aide, had to leave her husband (who had become violent) in 1978, she applied through the CAF (Family Allowance Office) and, one month later, was allocated a flat for herself and her daughter about half an hour's journey from the hospital at which she worked. But for those without a stable income, access was far more difficult.

Victoire migrated to France in 1964 to join her fiancé. He had left some months earlier and was living in a small furnished room in the northern quarters of Paris. After her partner abandoned her, she found herself stranded in this room, having no other relatives or friends to ask for help (she worked as a cleaner initially). She was forced by the social worker to send her baby to a child nurse since the living conditions were not judged adequate for bringing up a baby: 'So I had to take the child there every Sunday evening and go and fetch him on the Friday evening. Those Sundays were dreadful, and it was so far away.' Her older child was in Guadeloupe with her mother. 'Then I went to the town hall, to see the social worker. . . . There are some real cows! The first, she said, "I'm sorry, we can't give you a flat' Some people are really impossible; they think you've abandoned your baby. . . . So I went to see another. It was the same story.' Her various early attempts from 1966 to apply for social housing 'so that I could have my family around me' were not accepted and it was not until 1972 that she managed to obtain a sizeable flat in the southeast suburbs. Her mother then joined her with the oldest child.

Another case, Sophie, who arrived in Paris alone with her child in 1977, also highlights the difficulties when migrants cannot rely on family networks and when they do not have a stable income. Sophie found herself a furnished room near the hospital in northern Paris at which she had found work as a domestic. She had left Guadeloupe with little preparation, after her partner (and employer, at the shop where she worked) abandoned her. After a distressing experience with a childminder to whom she had entrusted her baby, she appealed to the director of her hospital department. He realised that her income would be insufficient to gain her access to a flat 'and so he wrote a letter giving a higher wage than I really earned then and he advanced me the deposit. I shall be ever grateful to him. I was able to take my little boy to somewhere safe and start a new life.'

The published volumes of census data used in other parts of the discussion on housing of French Caribbean migrants in France unfortunately give no breakdown of households by tenure status. From the 1975 census volume, it was indicated that 11 percent of households whose head was born in the Caribbean lived in furnished rooms, 63 percent in other forms of rent (no distinction was made between private- and public-rented accommodation), a further 8 percent occupied dwellings gratuitously or by an employer, and 18 percent of households were owner-occupiers. The low proportion of owner-occupiers (compared to 45 percent overall, of which two-thirds were outright owners) was partly owing to concentration in the capital, where

owner occupation constituted a minority tenure, and also to major role of access to public rent or fairly low-price private rent. By 1982, we have a more detailed picture, thanks to a volume published under responsibility of C. V. Marie (1985). However, the tables group together French Caribbean household heads with all others from the overseas territories. A comparison between these figures and those obtained directly from the national statistics institute (INSEE) in 1989¹⁷ indicate the impact of residence in the Paris region and other large cities on French Caribbean tenure status: 13 percent in owner occupation compared to 18 percent for all households whose head was born in an overseas territory and slightly higher proportions in furnished rooms, in private rent, or housed by employer. Half as many households as in 1975 lived in furnished rooms (5 percent of the Paris region sample), indicating both the decline of the sector and the accommodation of new migrants by households occupying other types of housing. The public sector had established itself as a major tenure status, accounting for 42 percent of households (Condon and Ogden, 1993). The facilitated access to the sector through employment channels largely explains the somewhat higher rates than for households whose head was Algerian or Moroccan (for which groups one-third were housed in this sector). Another part of the explanation was the higher proportion of lone-parent households within the Caribbean population.

For migrants, who had experienced often difficult housing conditions for the first years of their stay in the European metropolises, the size of the flats allocated to them and the modern amenities were an attractive proposition initially. Many would make these flats their home, redecorating, choosing their own new furnishings, cupboards, shelving, and so on, and installing new domestic appliances over the years. They became settled on the estates, asked for their jobs to be transferred to a nearby location, and many became highly involved in the local neighbourhood communities. For others, the social-rented flat remained another temporary base from which to organise domestic life and their work routines, another stage of their housing history. The housing contexts, notably in relation to state housing, were to change rapidly from the late 1980s. On the one hand, state policies would have a dramatic effect on the public housing stock available and create new difficulties for those people whose occupational or financial circumstances were less secure. On the other, the social and physical deterioration of many housing estates would have an impact on both the housing strategies and living conditions of the households we are studying here.

Obtaining access to public housing did not necessarily mean access to a more desirable housing location. Yet after many years on the waiting list and several propositions from the local authority or public housing agency, there came a point when it became difficult to refuse a dwelling offered. In both countries, as certain areas of public housing were increasingly rejected by the 'white' population during the 1970s, they became the zones in which Caribbean households in the least favourable social position were housed; or, in the eyes of some, were relegated (Smith, 1989; Lévy, 1984;

Lucas, 1982). These were the large, ill-maintained housing estates, often with poor access to public transport. Furthermore, whilst access to state housing offered more stability and space, often an end to racist encounters with private landlords, housing agencies, and so on, many individuals or households found themselves made to feel vulnerable initially owing to racist attitudes of neighbours or caretakers who made remarks or insinuations about their lifestyle (Anselin, 1979). Such experiences were damaging to those households not in a position to move elsewhere or who did not have a close, supportive network of relatives or friends.

As time went by, whilst remaining committed to a future return, migrants were increasingly aware of what represented desirable housing in Britain and France and also aspired to comfortable, modern homes in pleasant areas. In Britain, in the 1960s and 1970s, a standard desirable home, in urban areas as much as in more rural, was increasingly a three-bedroom house with a garden; in French towns and cities, it would be less often a house than a modern apartment in a low-rise block surrounded by lawns. Local authority housing stocks included such desirable properties. To accept a flat in a less desirable location, in a high-rise block, would be seen as a temporary solution and a move within the housing stock expected a few years hence. Many households however found that it was extremely difficult to acquire homes that approached the ideal, even if in a modest way. After having left the segregated twilight areas of the conurbations, once again, they risked finding themselves segregated in the least desirable corner of the public housing stock, in socially degraded areas. How they would struggle against this process and what impact new policies would have on their housing opportunities and strategies is to what we will turn next.

The Ambition to Be a Home Owner

In the context of Caribbean migration, the desire to own one's home can be analysed from different perspectives. Within the European metropolises, home ownership expanded in importance, particularly in the case of Britain from the 1950s where it became commonplace for young couples to acquire mortgages to purchase houses. In France, it was less easy to obtain housing finance and the owner-occupier tenure status was limited outside rural areas until the 1980s.

Central to the migration project for numerous Caribbean people was securing their tenure status in their home territories, usually through the ownership of property. After a number of years' saving up, once immediate everyday needs were covered and remittances sent to parents or siblings, people from the labour migration generation commenced the process of purchasing land in their 'home' island (Byron, 2007; Condon, 1999). A significant proportion of these migrants later built houses on these plots of land or, alternatively, on plots they had inherited. The ambition was to have a respectable home to which to retire and, in the meantime, be able to enjoy

the house and receive the family during holiday periods. This house represented an ideal, equipped with modern conveniences, a veranda, and rooms to lodge friends and relatives. At the same time, Caribbean migrants wished for better housing in the metropolises; some thought of buying a home as a good investment, to be sold on return to the Caribbean or to be passed on to offspring remaining in Europe.

Meanwhile, households needed to be adequately housed during their time in Europe. In Britain, given the obstacles to access to state housing, home ownership had become by the early 1960s the prime solution to leaving the private rental sector. Thus in 1966, 41 percent of households were owner-occupiers (Peach and Byron, 1993). These dwellings were often as in poor condition as the furnished rooms the people left; yet the purchase meant an escape from unscrupulous landlords or landladies and, finally, provided private living space and undisputed access to facilities such as a kitchen and bathroom. In general, these purchases also became investments for the future. However, there were major geographical differences in the extent to which this was the case. Karn et al. (1986), for example, demonstrated that within the urban context, the types of property purchased by the immigrant population lost value relative to regional and national property values. Also, depending on which geographical location people had made their purchase in, the appreciation in value varied considerably. Thus a purchase in south London in 1962 would have increased in value thirty years on to a far greater extent than a similar house purchased at the same time, for example, in Bradford, Preston, or Leicester.

In France, less than one in five Caribbean-headed households owned their dwellings by the turn of the 1980s. In the Paris region, only 13 percent of households were in the owner-occupier category (Condon and Ogden, 1993, p. 265). Many Caribbean home owners would have been longer established in metropolitan France and often in the provinces. In addition to the fact that much of the Caribbean population had arrived only ten or fifteen years previously, housing purchase in urban areas was far from the housing norm. Unlike the British context, there was little stock being transferred from the private-rented to the private-ownership sector. For most Caribbean households in France in the 1980s, home ownership remained a dream located in their home islands. Over the following decade, however, new conditions were to enable some households to review their plans and to take up the opportunity of investing in house purchase. However, the proportion of Caribbean home owners in the French context would remain at a far lower level than for those on the other side of the English Channel.

CHANGING CONTEXTS AND HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES IN THE 1990S

At the beginning of the 1980s, a new government was in power in each state. Each set about solving the housing problem, seen in both contexts as

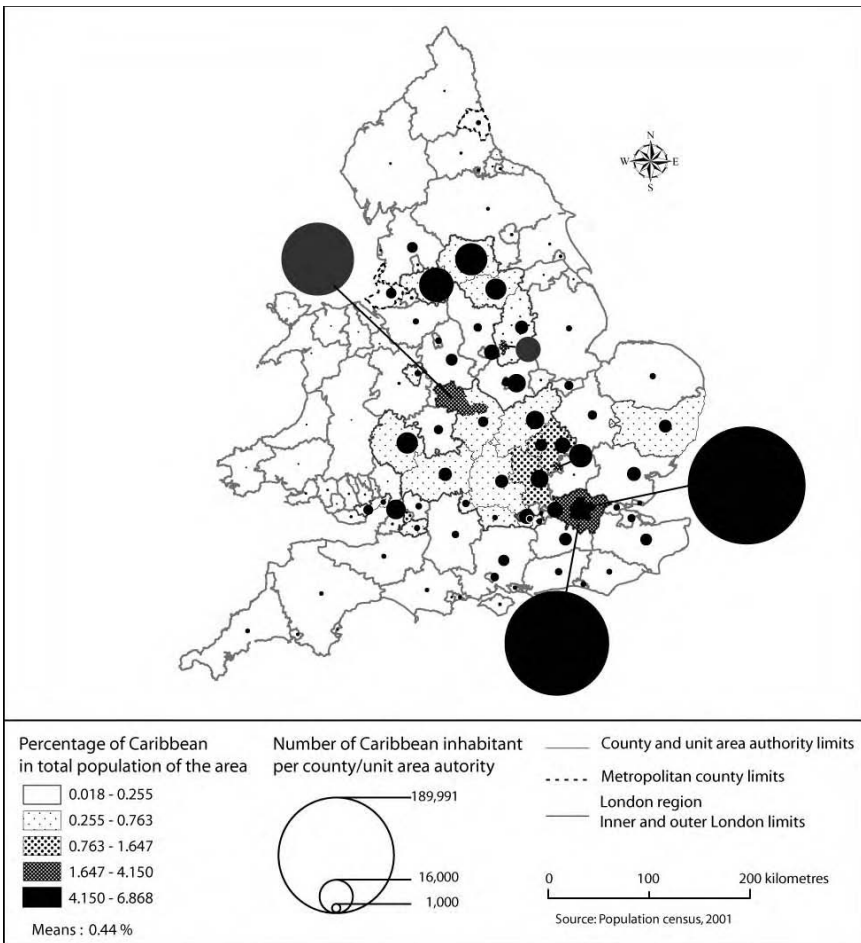
an urban problem and linked to social exclusion caused by unemployment. The Socialist Party, who came to power in France in 1981, pledged greatly to increase the output of social rented housing; but by the following year, it had been forced to abandon this (Ball and Harloe, 1999). There was no move by any subsequent governments to privatise the existing social rented housing stock. In contrast, such a policy was high on the agenda of the British Conservative government. It was implemented through the 'right to buy' policy and led to the cutting back of the public housing sector. The preceding decade, marked by the international petrol crisis, had already seen a disengagement of the state in construction in this sector whilst giving financial encouragement to housing purchase. What we intend to explore in this final section is how Caribbean households were affected by changes in social and housing policies. For the earlier labour migration generation, we will examine the ways in which their housing histories evolved during the 1980s and 1990s, the new opportunities that presented themselves, and the new constraints. We will then move on to the 'post-labour' migration period in which flows to France continued, even if their volume was diminished, and look at the accommodation solutions found by these new migrants. From the 1980s, people who had migrated as young children with their parents or who were born in Britain or France reached adulthood. On entering the housing market, many were faced with new obstacles when parents were unable to assist them.

Residence in the European Metropolises in the 1990s: The Enduring Primacy of the Capital

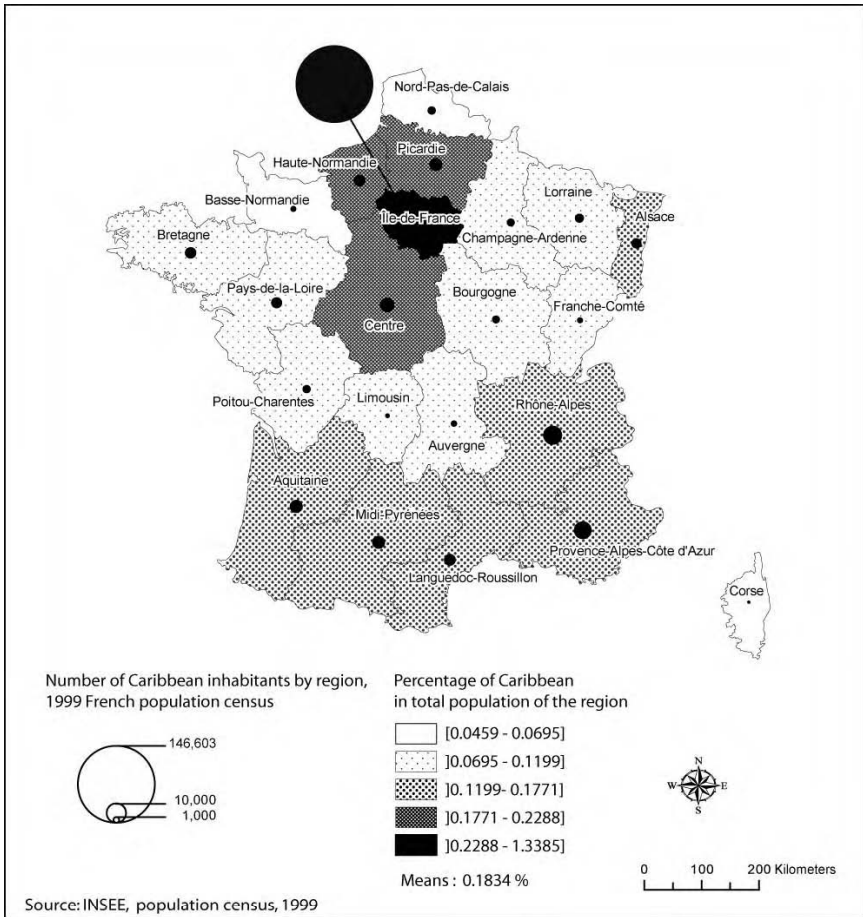
Residence patterns were fairly stable over the previous forty years on the national level. In France, the Paris region concentrated 62 percent of Caribbean migrants at the 1962 census, gaining in share progressively from one census to the next to a maximum of 75 percent of migrants at the 1982 census (Marie, 1985). Movement away from the capital induced a decrease in its share, to 69 percent at the 1999 census. The remainder of the population has been rather dispersed throughout France, with fairly large groupings in Lyon, Marseille, Bordeaux, and Le Havre. Whilst the southeast coast maintained a strong concentration early on in the migration (12 percent of Caribbean migrants at the 1962 census), the proportion had fallen to 4 percent by 1982, after which it stabilised. The Caribbean population in Britain has been slightly less concentrated in the capital than in the French case, but the most striking feature is the importance of the second concentration, in the Birmingham agglomeration (Map 4.1a). Accounting for one-fifth of the population in 1961 (Peach, 1968), the share had fallen to 14 percent by the 2001 census.¹⁸ In both cases, employment opportunities and family networks had led to further concentration in the capital cities and their suburbs from the early 1960s. In the French case, the focus on the capital is particularly pronounced (Map 4.2b). In addition to the highly organised labour migration bringing

migrants—and especially women—to the Paris agglomeration, the role of family networks and also the symbolic attraction of Paris as the place where social advancement could be achieved made Paris a popular destination. The capital also certainly had the attraction of being the location of the principal airports. Both the cost and the time taken to travel back to the Caribbean thus could be optimised. In the British case, the concentration of employment in London and the other major conurbations of the West Midlands and Greater Manchester and, to a lesser extent, West Yorkshire and the East Midlands led to the heavy concentration of Caribbeans there.

Locally however, there had been considerable shifting. Much of this movement has been the result of transition from one housing type or

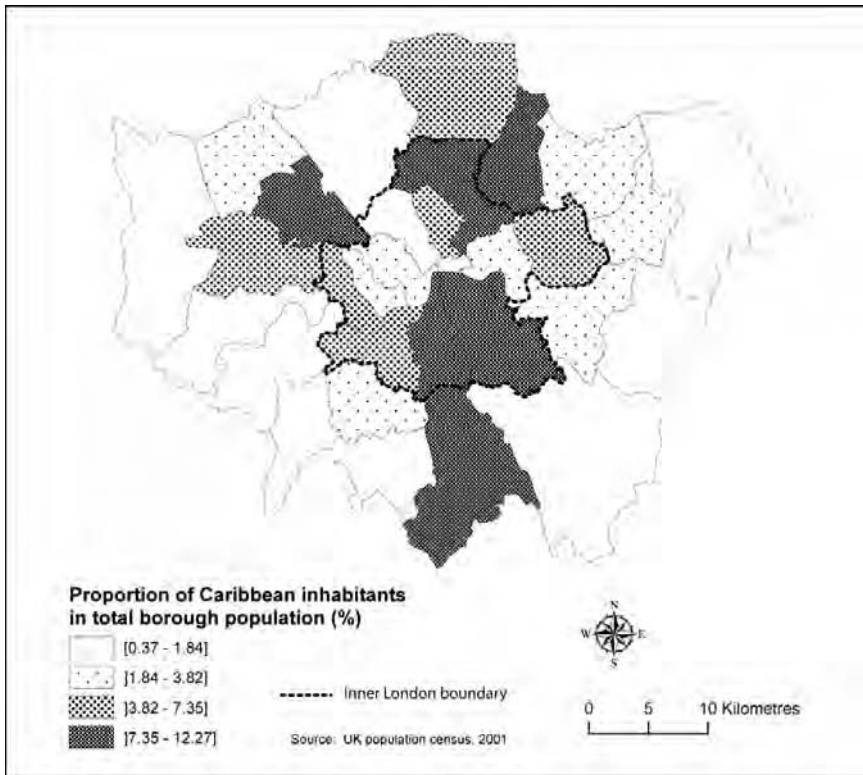


Map 4.1a. Distribution of the Caribbean population in the counties and unit area authorities of England and Wales, 2001.



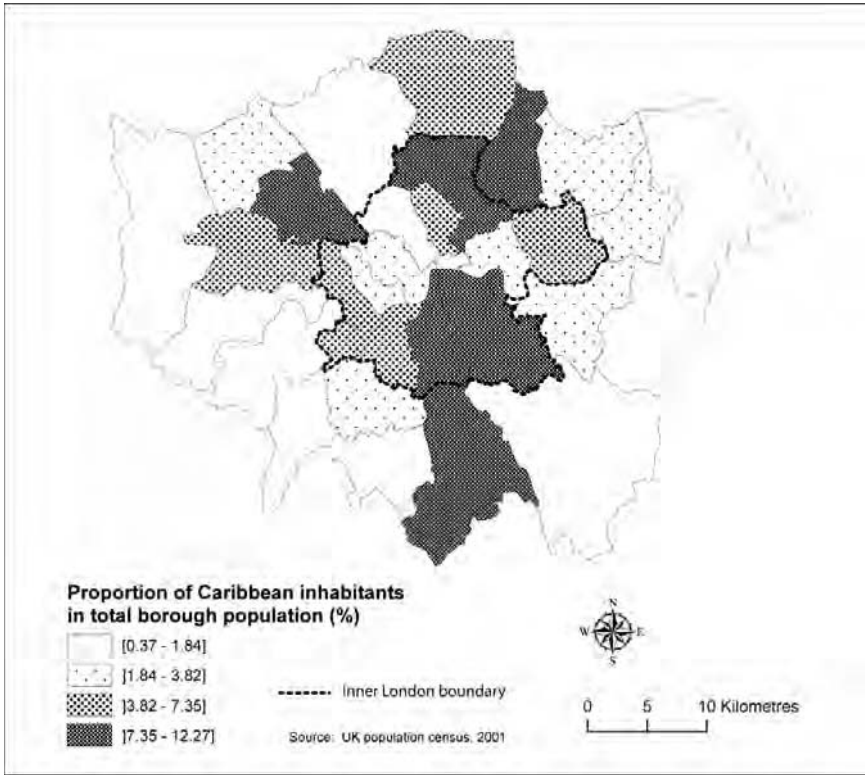
Map 4.1b. Distribution of the Caribbean population in the regions of France, 1999.

tenure to another. From the late 1960s in the Paris region, it was observed (Anselin, 1979) that exit from the furnished-rooms sector and access to social housing were leading to households relocating into the suburban housing estates. Such out-movement continued in subsequent decades, from the northeast quarters of Paris and inner suburbs and from inner-city London to outer suburbs (Maps 4.2a, 4.2b, 4.3a, 4.3b) and indeed more recently out of the city entirely to smaller towns in the southeast in search of more affordable housing. This movement has taken place against a backcloth of rapid urban and social change within the metropolises, including the renovation of Victorian and interwar properties associated with gentrification (Hamnett, 2003; Butler and Robson, 2001) and massive sales of state housing stock.

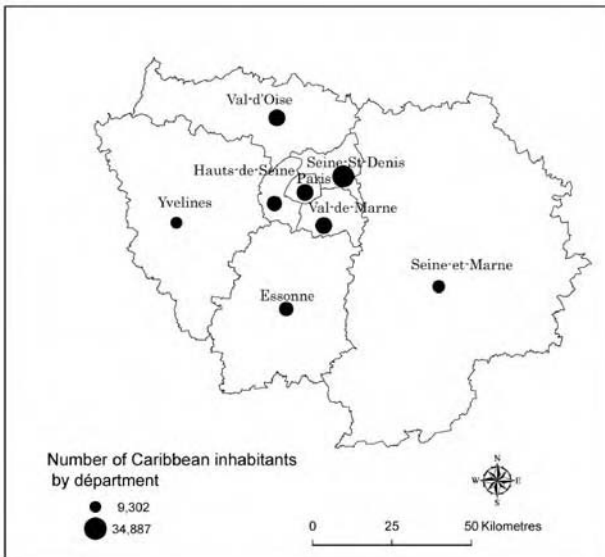


Map 4.2a. Spatial distribution of the Caribbean population in Greater London, 2001.

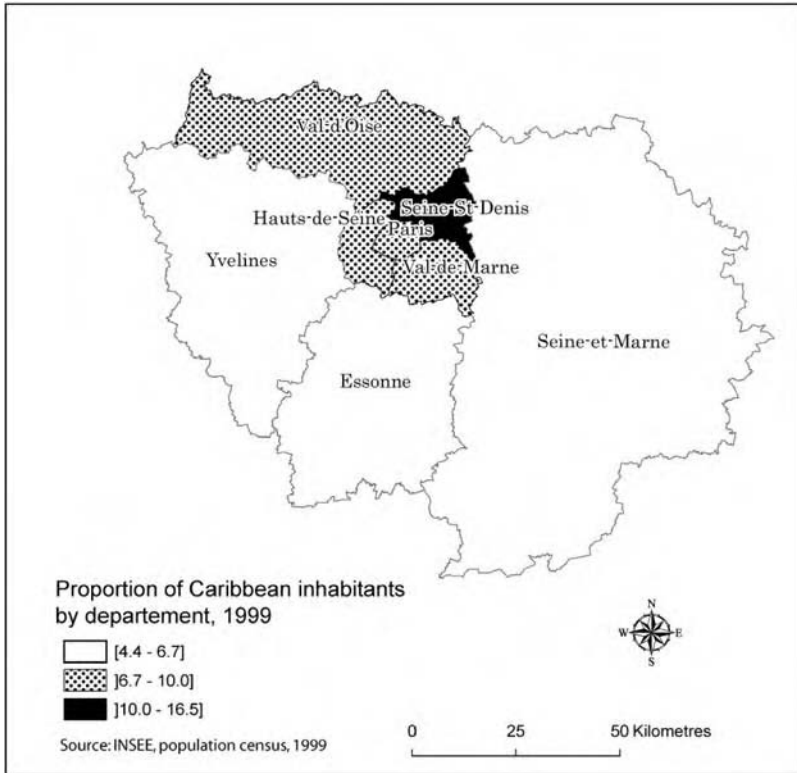
The preceding three decades had seen an overall improvement in housing conditions in the two states. This was the consequence of slum clearance programmes, reduced levels of overcrowding, and increasing proportions of dwellings equipped with inside toilet, bathroom, and heating systems. There had been a widening of access to public housing and also home ownership. To what extent did Caribbean households benefit from changes both in housing stock and in policy? Did the level of housing quality generally rise? Were households more satisfied with the type, location, and quality of their accommodation? Were they less exposed to discriminatory practices than previously in their search for preferred housing? In Britain, there had been several legal and policy initiatives addressing racial discrimination in housing at both individual (direct) and institutional levels.¹⁹ Did housing circumstances improve subsequent to such initiatives? Studies such as those conducted by the Policy Studies Institute (PSI) habitually compare various indicators of housing quality. These are very useful since gross rates in housing tenures or residential distributions are the result of a multiplicity of processes: available capital



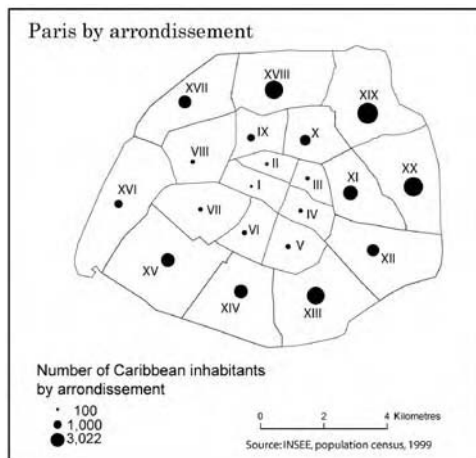
Map 4.2b. Proportion of Caribbean people in Greater London boroughs, 2001.



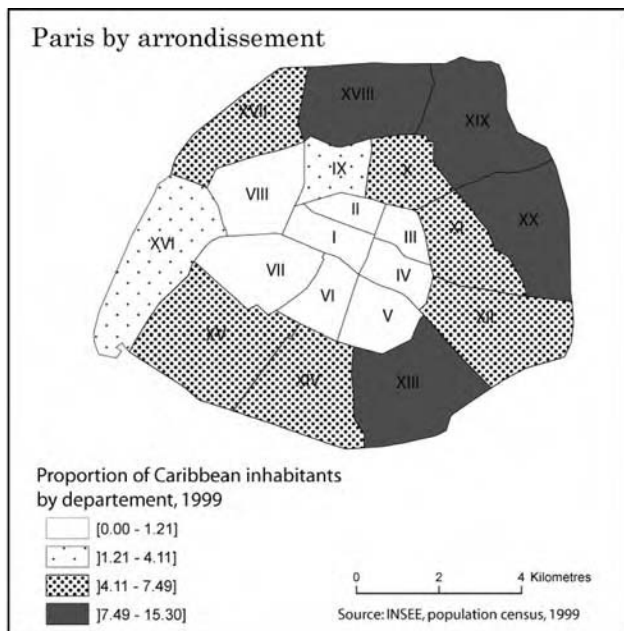
Map 4.3a. Spatial distribution of the Caribbean population in the Ile-de-France region, 1999.



Map 4.3b. Proportion of Caribbean people in the Ile-de-France region, 1999.



Map 4.4a. Spatial distribution of the Caribbean population in Paris, 1999.



Map 4.4b. Proportion of Caribbean people in Paris, by arrondissement, 1999.

and its use, knowledge of opportunities, proximity to workplace, household strategies, immigration history, the migration process, as well as discriminatory practices. Thus a simple juxtaposition of differing rates for particular minorities tends to hide more than it reveals. Here, we will concentrate on the generational experience of Caribbean housing in France and Britain, highlighting aspects relating to the life course, whilst alluding to outcomes for other groups of the population.

The Migrant Generation in Britain and the 'Right to Buy'

In 1981, just under one-third (29 percent) of households in Britain lived in local-authority accommodation. Over the decade, about 30 percent of council housing stock was sold to sitting tenants (Forrest and Murie, 1988; James et al., 1991). The popular property types and areas for purchase were semidetached and terraced houses rather than flats or maisonettes located outside inner-city areas, mainly in rural areas, small towns, and non-metropolitan counties. Since nearly half (45 percent) of Caribbean households were living in state-sector housing and since their pattern of housing was the obverse of the types that sold in large numbers, contemporary observers thought these households would find themselves among the residualised poor population in inner-city blocks (Dunn et al., 1987; Peach and Byron,

1993, 1994). The Caribbean households in local authority housing were over-represented among the manual occupations and had a higher than average rate of unemployment and of single-parent families (Peach et al., 1988). Caribbean tenants of council housing, taken as a whole, seemed, on average, to occupy one class of property lower than the white tenants (Peach and Byron, 1994). Within the Caribbean households, those headed by women were at particular risk of residualisation due to lower incomes and women's restricted capacity to work full-time due to their sole responsibility for childcare. In the late 1980s, 41 percent of Caribbean households were female-headed as against one-quarter of all households in Britain (Peach and Byron, 1994, p. 367). Such households were disproportionately concentrated in the local-authority sector, and particularly so in the case of those of Caribbean origin (63 percent as against 43 percent of all female-headed households). In fact, more than one-third (34.7 percent) of Caribbean households in this accommodation were lone mothers, mostly with dependent children (Peach and Byron, 1994).

Council house purchase involved only those people who were in a sufficiently secure position to feel able to risk taking on a mortgage. Any individuals or couples who considered such a purchase to be a worthwhile investment and could obtain a mortgage took up the offer. In cities outside the capital, suburban locations were preferred and, in general, houses as opposed to flats were purchased. By the mid-1980s, many households had obtained transfers out of some of the worst-quality accommodation into semidetached houses in suburban estates (Peach and Byron, 1994). These homes were bought mainly by households in which there were at least two working adults, sometimes more than two. There have been interesting combinations of adult contributors to the mortgage. In the case of female household heads, several single mothers combined forces with adult, working children to obtain a mortgage. In other cases, due to the early retirement of the male head of household, the female, who remained in work, had to take on the mortgage. This was often relatively small mortgage, thanks to a discounted price based on years of residence in the property. The two following cases illustrate how households coped with changing circumstances.

Mr Green's wife was still employed as a nurse at the local hospital. He²⁰ told us wryly that 'she was the boss' as she got the mortgage when they decided to buy the house. He had been made redundant but was able to use his redundancy compensation to deposit on the discounted house price, which left a mortgage that could be covered by his wife's salary. At the time of this interview in 1991, he was in his late fifties. Their adult children had left home.

For years Mrs Baxter²¹ had raised a family of five children and an invalid husband in a semidetached house in an interwar housing estate in a Midlands city. In the 1990s, this estate was condemned, demolished, and rebuilt and the occupants were allocated new housing. After a few years,

residents of the new houses were entitled to exercise their 'right to buy' the properties. By this time, Mrs Baxter was widowed and retired and could not on her pension afford the mortgage. However she combined forces with her adult, employed son and daughter who lived with her and they obtained a mortgage on the house. They stressed that they would never have bought the former property they had rented from the council as it was in such poor condition with 'damp everywhere and bad windows.' As it was, they were paying a relatively small mortgage on a new, semidetached property on a newly constructed estate.

The take-up of local-authority housing purchase opportunities during the 1980s affected housing tenure distributions by 1991 and beyond. At the 1981 census, 43 percent of Caribbean households were owner occupiers and by 1991, combining outright owners and mortgagees, the proportion has risen to 48.1 percent (see Table 4.3). Many households thus took part in this process, which, for the whole household population Britain, largely contributed to a rise from 58 percent to almost 70 percent in home ownership. In parallel, the proportion of households in state housing fell from 45 percent to 34 percent in the same decade. Between 1991 and 2001, the transfer from state rent to home ownership was at a much lower rate although the latter category continued to rise. Other changes in the tenure distribution, notably a range of registered social landlords compensating for a falling state housing stock, mainly involved younger generations but also catered specifically for the elderly as well.

Table 4.3 Housing Tenure Change for Caribbean Households, as Compared with That for All Households in England and Wales, 1991–2001

<i>Tenure</i>	<i>All Households 1991</i>	<i>Caribbean Households 1991</i>	<i>All Households 2001</i>	<i>Caribbean Households 2001</i>
Owner occupation	68.0	48.1	69.0	48.1
Private rental	7.4	5.5	9.8	7.8
Local- authority rental	19.6	35.7	13.2	26.7
Registered Social Landlord (RSL)	3.1	9.7	6.0	16.1
Other	1.9	1.0	2.0	1.3
Total	100	100	100	100

Sources: Census 1991, England and Wales, Table 11, OPCS 1993; Census 2001, England and Wales Table S111, ONS, 2003.

Breaking down the Caribbean tenures by social class reveals a pattern that reflects the wider policy of the British state to target the poorest households for state housing or that of registered social landlords while encouraging the more affluent to purchase housing (P. Lee and Murie, 1999). So in Table 4.4, social classes 1 and 2, senior managers and professionals, are unsurprisingly the groups with the highest proportion of home owners with mortgages and this is closely followed by the intermediate categories 3, 4, and 5. Also, during the 1960s and 1970s many working Caribbeans from the migrant generation who fell into classes 6 and 7 were to purchase homes and this increased during the ‘right to buy’ era of the 1980s and early 1990s. Many of this group have completed their mortgage payments as they approach retirement. Importantly this classification includes pensioners in the unclassified (NC) group. Consequently, the largest proportion of those who own their homes outright fall into this category. Today, the less secure conditions of the employment markets and the low-pay characteristic of jobs in classes 6 and 7 mean that significant proportions of these social classes who may in past decades have attempted to enter the owner-occupied sector, today occupy council and other categories of social housing, where they have gained access to it. An important development over the past decade and a half is the rise in the proportion of people in the private-rental sector. Many of these people would in earlier decades have obtained mortgages and entered owner occupation. However, today many are excluded from this sector by virtue of the high prices of housing and the consequently exclusionary deposits required by lenders. The private-rental sector is increasingly occupied by people who have fallen out of the mortgage-holding category due to the increasing level of mortgage indebtedness in Britain (Burrows,

Table 4.4 Tenure by Social Class: Black Caribbean Population in England and Wales, Census 2001

<i>NS-SeC of HRP (% percent)²²</i>	<i>Tenure of Accommodation</i>							<i>N =</i>
	<i>OO</i>	<i>OM</i>	<i>OS</i>	<i>Council</i>	<i>Oth Soc</i>	<i>PR</i>	<i>Total</i>	
1, 2	16.4	34.0	30.2	12.5	13.7	26.3	23.2	1132
3, 4, 5	17.9	29.4	20.7	18.2	19.8	19.6	23.0	1120
6, 7	26.5	24.9	35.9	34.8	30.6	24.5	28.0	1369
8	1.8	1.7	3.8	11.4	10.8	15.0	5.7	276
NC	37.4	9.8	9.4	23.1	24.9	14.7	20.3	990
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	4887
<i>N =</i>	1024	1944	53	1022	497	347	4887	

Source: ONS UKILSAR.

1998). In addition, there are those who, while in employment, are unable to become home owners due to the mismatch between house price increases and income rises in Britain in the past fifteen years (Wilcox, 2003).

Tables 4.5a and 4.5b further illustrate the gendered nature of housing outcomes. These tables focus on the housing tenure of Caribbean-origin people, born in Britain. Women's position as household head while the lone parent of dependent children, often on relatively low incomes (Berthoud, 2000), is reflected in the greater proportion of women than men in the two social housing categories. Men are not only more likely to be home owners due to their greater ability to work full-time but they are also more likely be renting privately due possibly to having less access to the social rented sector.

For Caribbeans in Britain, the 'right to buy' policy has resulted in contrasting outcomes; as one portion of the population gained access to home ownership through the purchase of their council homes, there was the increasing likelihood of residualisation of the remaining rented sector and its occupants. This further development of council housing into 'welfare housing' (Lee and Murie, 1999, p. 627) has disproportionately affected those who are already in relatively marginal positions within the housing market, younger, often lone-parent households or those households facing irregular or low-paid employment.

Table 4.5a Tenure of Accommodation of Men (England and Wales Only): Men 25–44

	<i>Born in UK</i>							<i>Total</i>	<i>N =</i>
	<i>Own Out</i>	<i>Own Mort.</i>	<i>Shared</i>	<i>LA Rent</i>	<i>HA Rent</i>	<i>Priv Rent</i>			
White British	12.2	61.6	0.8	9.4	3.9	12.0	100.0	191,434	
Black Caribbean	8.8	48.7	2.0	18.6	12.2	9.8	100.0	2,150	

Source: UKILSAR, 2001.²³

Table 4.5b Tenure of Accommodation of Women (England and Wales Only): Women 25–44

	<i>Born in UK</i>							<i>Total</i>	<i>N =</i>
	<i>Own Out</i>	<i>Own Mort.</i>	<i>Shared</i>	<i>LA Rent</i>	<i>HA Rent</i>	<i>Priv Rent</i>			
White British	9.6	61.9	0.9	11.3	5.2	11.1	100.0	196,432	
Black Caribbean	7.1	38.2	3.0	24.8	19.2	7.7	100.0	2,903	

Source: UKILSAR, 2001.

Housing Circumstances of the BUMIDOM Generation in France

At the beginning of the 1980s, just under half of Caribbean households lived in public housing (Condon and Ogden, 1993). Some longer residents in the sector had moved from one area to another or had upgraded their dwelling type in the previous decade. Most individuals or couples waited until they were allocated a flat in the same area (unless they had moved jobs to another area), as well as looking for a better quality of housing. Movement was sometimes generated by a change in family circumstances. For example, Elise had been living with her family in a flat belonging to the hospital administration where she worked as a nurse. The flat she had been allocated in 1976 was located in the northeast suburbs at a fair distance from the hospital (in a southwest arrondissement of Paris). They requested a larger flat two years later and were allocated one by her husband's administration in a neighbouring suburb in 1979. Then, in 1985, following her divorce, she obtained a flat through the local council for herself and her two children.

Private rental continued to be important for people who had left the shrinking furnished-rooms sector and who either had not been able to gain access to the public-rental sector or had preferred to remain in more central locations within cities. This particularly concerned men or women living alone or with siblings, cousins, or friends (Condon and Ogden, 1993). Many of these households were more recent migrants, having arrived from the late 1970s.

Owner occupation began to emerge as a significant category in urban areas from the 1990s. In addition to the introduction of subsidies for new home owners, increasing numbers of relatively low-cost individual or detached houses were built on new estates in outlying suburbs or in 'new towns.' A considerable number of Caribbean people were to take the opportunity to move out of public housing estates and invest in such properties. Such was the case for Fernande and Renée, work colleagues at a hospital in the southern suburbs. At a time when she was encountering problems with a neighbour in her block, and after nearly twenty years' residence on the estate, Fernande heard about new houses that were to be built three kilometres away from her flat. Both she and her friend were still planning to return to Martinique and, thinking of their children who were still finishing school or starting further education and 'likely to stay in France', they considered purchasing a home a good investment for their offspring, 'better than paying rent and living in a flat', and also a place to come back to on return visits.

At the same time, other strategies involved buying older stock in inner suburbs. Liliane, who had always longed to return to Martinique since her arrival in metropolitan France in 1966, found herself settling into Parisian life. She had achieved promotion within the taxation authority and worked in central Paris. Living alone, she found a small 1920s house in the inner eastern suburbs in 1988 and gradually renovated the property. She was very happy in the area, which 'has a village feel to it, a market, lots of trees, it reminds me of home'.

By 1999, one-quarter of households headed by a person born in Martinique or Guadeloupe owned their dwellings and just over half now were in public-rented properties (see Table 4.6). The proportion of households in state-sector housing was particularly high in the Paris region, where it rose to 58.6 percent. The highest concentrations of French Caribbean households in this tenure category were in the northeastern quarter of Paris (nineteenth arrondissement, 68 percent) and in the northeastern and southeastern départements of Seine-St-Denis and Val-de-Marne (66 percent). Whilst urban residence has influenced the tenure structure of the Caribbean population, social category has also played a role. Comparing the tenure distribution for this group with the socioeconomic groups in which most Caribbean households are located, it is closest to the white-collar employee category: the proportion of households owning their dwellings in both groups is less than half the metropolitan French average. However the latter group is far less concentrated in state-sector housing than is the Caribbean group: many households have moved into owner occupation and out of the rented sector as a whole, a transformation from the distribution observed in the early 1980s (Condon and Ogden, 1993). The relative ease of access to public housing and its desirability as a housing status for migrants has led to these exceptionally high rates in the sector. However, the concentration within certain suburbs—and particular districts of suburbs—reflects allocation procedures (Condon, 1995; Maps 4.4a and 4.4b).

Table 4.6 Tenure Status in Metropolitan France in 1999, Comparing French Caribbean Household Heads²⁴ with Total Households and Particular Social Categories Within the Paris Region

	<i>Owner-Occupier</i>	<i>Public Rent</i>	<i>Private Rent</i>	<i>Furnished Rooms</i>	<i>Other</i>
Metropolitan France	54	16	23	2	5
Paris region: all households	44	22	26	2	5
Paris region: white-collar workers*	24	38	28	3	7
Paris region: industrial workers	31	39	24	2	4
French. Caribbean** in the Paris region	20	59	16	3	2
French. Caribbean** in metropolitan. France	24	51	19	4	2

* Social category of head of household; ** birthplace of head of household.

Sources: INSEE, Recensement Général de la Population, France 1999—analysis by S. Condon of data for Caribbean households using an extraction from the database; INSEE, 1999, Recensement Général de la Population, France métropolitaine.

Accommodation Opportunities and Obstacles for the Younger Caribbeans in France

Access to public housing was to become more difficult for Caribbean migrants in France, but for reasons different to those in the British context. In France, migrant households, of foreign or Caribbean origin, were already numerous in the state-housing sector by the 1975 census, but the ease with which they gained access to such housing varied from one local authority to another (Aballea and Auclair, 1988) resulting in some authorities, formerly welcoming to immigrants, later changing their policies to avoid the formation of 'ghettos' (Lévy, 1984; Geindre, 1989). Public-housing bodies perceived strong concentrations of Caribbean households, in similar areas to households of North African origin, and, giving the argument that 'residents were unhappy about these concentrations,' selected applicants on the basis of their 'origin' (Condon, 1995). An undefined tolerance threshold ('seuil de tolerance') entered political discourse and led to the introduction of quotas or dispersal policies in allocation procedures. For example, some local authorities established unwritten residence requirements: five years for 'metropolitan' ('white') French; ten years for French from the Caribbean, Reunion Islands, or other overseas territories; fifteen years for 'foreigners' (*Le Monde*, 1991). Some set quotas on the number of female-headed single-parent families, especially those headed by 'black French women' (Aballéa and Lepage, 1985). An official 'social mixing' policy was launched in the late 1980s ('politique de mixité') as a solution to social degradation, urban unrest, and acts of racism (UNFOHLM, 1992). This resulted in increasing discrimination.

This unfavourable context has had a severe effect on the housing both of young migrants (students, demobilised military servicemen, other young people migrating) and of the descendants of the BUMIDOM generation who wish to leave the parental home. The furnished-rooms sector shrank to what had become a marginal housing solution by the late 1990s, very few student residences or young workers hostels exist, and private rents have risen steeply within Paris and other major cities since the mid-1990s. New-comers, who cannot be accommodated for long periods, move from one relative to another, sometimes ending up in squatted properties or homeless (Rey, 2006). A particularly discriminatory obstacle to housing access is the refusal of some landlords to accept guarantees of payment from 'people resident in the Caribbean' (Karam, 2005). Thus young people are left with no choice but to use the name of other relatives or acquaintances residing in metropolitan France.

Through the 1990s and since, public-housing flats have become a commodity useful for housing relatives and offspring. Furthermore, people having migrated during the BUMIDOM era and who have returned to the Caribbean or who spend part of the year there leave their accommodation to their young-adult children, or sometimes sublet to other relatives. This

unofficial circulation of occupants is not always visible to public-housing agencies, and problems arise only when rents are not paid. In general, possession of a socially rented flat is not readily given up now as its value, in terms of proximity to employment or to universities, as well as to major airports, has increased from constituting modern, spacious, low-rent lodging for the BUMIDOM generation to a precious asset for the younger generation.

CARIBBEAN HOUSING PROSPECTS

This discussion of housing and residence of Caribbean people in the metropolises has taken a different approach to that usually adopted. We aimed to go beyond an examination of residential patterns and an analysis of discrimination in access to housing towards a more actor-centred approach incorporating a perspective of relationship to housing as a commodity and as a living space. The manner in which residential preferences are constrained or achieved in metropolitan cities has been examined alongside the way in which such preferences are reflected in the return strategy and the quest for a housing ideal. Since return for many remains a dream, they are increasingly resigned to a future in Britain or France and seek the best housing solution for retirement and also old age. For others, well integrated into their working environment and neighbourhood, they have striven to make a home there, a focus for the family, their own offspring, grandchildren, nieces and nephews.

Despite many similarities in the residential patterns and housing circumstances of Caribbean populations in the contexts studied, there are a number of important differences. A comparison of housing characteristics of the Caribbean migrant population in the 1970s reveals similar profiles. However, behind these similarities are contexts characterised by distinctive housing markets, contrasting urban forms and housing types, and different paths of access to public housing. In the case of migration to France, the organised character of work and training placements generated particular housing circumstances for some groups. By the 1990s, the sharp contrast in the tenure distribution between the two Caribbean-origin groups is the result from the interplay of various factors relating to the housing market, state policies, and the continuing migration to France.

Demographics, household type, and employment combined to influence housing need and possibilities in the 1950s and 1960s. In a favourable employment context, couples, and some individuals, with women most often being in full-time employment, were able to finance investment in housing. Housing type was then conditioned by wage levels and access to deposits for housing purchase. From the 1980s, rising unemployment affected both the migrant generation and their descendants. Many male household heads found it impossible to get onto the home ownership ladder due to job insecurity. Relatively low incomes have also increased the hardship of many

lone Caribbean mothers, faced with little choice besides remaining in residual elements of the social-housing sector. For the British-born generation, then, there is a polarisation between the successfully educated descendants of the labour migrants who have acquired job stability and a comfortable income, in addition to possessing some form of capital thanks to the thrift of their parents, and those descendants who did not benefit from the school system, can least resist processes of discrimination, and have not yet gained a foothold on the labour market. For these, setting up home as a couple, which usually means having the advantage of the pooling of resources, is not possible. It is likewise for lone mothers on unstable or low incomes. In the French case, although men of the BUMIDOM generation have been far less often victims of redundancies, owing to their different employment distribution, outcomes for the descendant generation—which includes young migrants—are very similar to those of their British counterparts. For the younger generations in both contexts, residential strategies include the option of ‘returning’ to the Caribbean, as we will discuss in the final chapter, or in some cases that of venturing to other places, such as North America or—for French Caribbeans—Britain.

5 Caribbean Families as Anchors and Adaptors

INTRODUCTION

The family has long been one of the concepts at the heart of migration and immigration research. The settlement of European migrants in North America generated a vast body of research that came to dominate the literature of immigration in the 1970s and 1980s and models based on the American experience were applied to European contexts. In this literature, family ties were shown to play a major role in initiating and perpetuating migration streams, in guiding new migrants in the labour and housing markets (MacDonald and MacDonald, 1964; Tilly and Brown, 1967). At the same time, proponents of the theory of social breakdown of traditional family structures caused by emigration, particularly the Chicago school of sociology and its followers, gave rather a pessimistic if not catastrophic view of social change (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918–1920; Wirth, 1938; Chevalier, 1967). Research has since demonstrated the innovative ways in which families function despite geographical dispersion of their members (Boyd, 1989; Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002; Chamberlain and Leydesdorff, 2004; Hareven, 2000; Olwig, 2001, 2005; Reynolds and Zontini, 2007; Urunuela, 2002). New technologies and improved communications clearly introduce new parameters within which members of kinship networks gather together, care for each other, disperse, and exchange information and resources. This is not to ignore, of course, conflict and splits within families, migration then allowing a desired separation of individuals or households (Bonvalet et al., 1993). The dynamics of family relationships influence how, over time, members are drawn to one another or keep their distance. The form and content of family obligations have to be understood in such a changing context.

The ‘Caribbean family’ has intrigued North American and British family sociologists and anthropologists. From the 1940s to the 1970s, studies focused on the context of reproduction and researchers sought to explain the instability of couples either through the maintenance of polygamous African family structures or as a consequence of slavery (Herskovits and Herskovits, 1947; Herskovits, 1973; Frazier, 1940; Barrow, 1996; Charbit, 1987). High illegitimacy rates, unstable conjugal unions, and a relatively

high proportion of female-headed households were interpreted as characteristics of 'disorganised lower classes' of Caribbean society (R. T. Smith, 1988). Despite reference to cohesive bonds between female relatives and the organisation of 'matrifocal' households, the divergence of this system from the male-headed patriarchal family—held to be the universal norm of social and family stability—contributed to Caribbean family forms being considered as inadequate structures within which to bring up children (Gautier, 1993). Studies of Caribbean families in Britain and discourses prevailing in institutions and service provision bodies have been, and often still are, framed by such assumptions. In-depth research providing a broader, more varied picture has only recently been recognised by wider academic research (Attias-Donfut and Lapierre, 1998; Byron, 1998; Charbit, 1987; Goulbourne and Chamberlain, 2001).

A persistent error that has arisen in analyses of the family has been the confusion of the terms 'household' and 'family.' This tendency to equate family structure with household structure and to confine studies of the family to the household, has meant that extended-kin, inter-household relations were overlooked and their role in social organisation and function was ignored (Solien, 1960; Barrow, 1996; Hareven, 2000). Hareven notes the role played by historians in perpetuating this misrepresentation: 'Historical scholarship has contributed inadvertently to the myth of the "isolated nuclear family" which was prevalent in sociological theories' (2000, p. 32). Pre- and postwar writing on the Caribbean family has been no exception to this rule, neglecting inter-household relations, between kin, that were so central to Caribbean families (Solien, 1960; Barrow, 1996). In studies relying on statistical data, the notion of family has most usually coincided with that of the household. This feature continues in contemporary literature as is evident in Owen's census and survey-based discussions of the Caribbean family in Britain (Owen, 1995, 2001) where lone-parent, usually female, households are from time to time referred to as 'single-parent families.' This conflation of terms excludes from the analysis the household's position within an extended-kin grouping that often provides critical support. The latter is made up of a number of 'households,' extended over generations and over space. Similarly, one household may comprise two or more 'nuclear families,' as often occurs in the early stages of migration. The extension of active family relations across frontiers has recently been recognised in the literature, generating a focus on the 'transnational family' (Byron, 1998; Goulbourne, 1999; Goulbourne and Chamberlain, 2001; Bryceson and Vuorella, 2002). Critical to this concept is the differentiation between family and household. Thus when we speak of family relations, we are referring to dynamic and multi-stranded relationships across and within generations, between individuals who may or may not be blood relatives, and so on. In this chapter, as well as in the following chapters, the 'family' is defined as 'the extended kinship network of any specific individual' and the household as 'the people living, permanently or at intervals, within a particular domestic establishment.'

The objectives of this chapter are threefold. First, it examines the conceptualisation and problematisation of 'family' in the Caribbean, the formulation of Eurocentric images on 'an acceptable family form' that have remained pervasive despite a considerable body of in-depth research. Family involvement in the migration process is then discussed, that is, how the family may encourage, facilitate, enable, or sometimes discourage or prevent, migration of some of its members. Third, change in household structures and in the formation of couple relationships during the history of Caribbean settlement in the metropolises will be analysed. Finally, the migration process will be proposed as the context within which our understanding of Caribbean family formations can be furthered. This is done by examining evidence revealed in this study of the family's importance as resource system and its capacity for flexible responses to the mobile and changing medium presented by the migration-dependent society.

CARIBBEAN FAMILY FORMS, FROM 'DISORGANISATION' TO STRENGTHS AND FLEXIBILITY

The 'Caribbean Family Model'

The fascination generated by the 'Caribbean family' within Anglo-American academia stemmed from the discovery of a 'model' diametrically opposed to the bourgeois, patriarchal family. Conjugal instability, absence of male partners or fathers from households, and high rates of illegitimate births became the recognised traits of this Caribbean model (Simey, 1946; Clarke, 1957, 1970; Davison, 1966; Wilson, 1973). As Barrow, Reddock, and Smith, among others, note, implicit in the observations of these authors, almost exclusively from Britain and the United States, was the Anglo/Eurocentric assumption that the 'nuclear family'¹ is essential to the normal functioning of all societies and that the male is the natural head of the family (Smith, 1988, 1996, 2001; Barrow, 1996; Reddock et al., 1999). The complex range and dynamic qualities of the family forms that these anthropologists, sociologists, and welfare workers encountered in the Caribbean challenged their assumptions of normality. However, so deeply embedded were these assumptions that observers regularly applied such terms as 'disintegrate' (Simey 1946) and 'denuded' (Clarke, 1970) to describe family forms, which, in fact, represented much of Caribbean society. Meanwhile, as Reddock et al have argued, the coining of the terms 'matriarchal' and 'matrifocal' for Caribbean families (for example, R. T. Smith, 1996) implies that the male-headed, patriarchal family is the universal, 'natural' norm (Reddock et al., 1999).

More recently, a gender perspective has been useful in understanding this 'instability' of unions. Sociologists Giraud (1999) and Mulot (2000) both draw on Wilson's analysis of the construction of gender roles and differing behaviour of men and women towards partner choice (1973). Distinguishing

between adherence to a model of ‘respectability’—women’s domain—and ‘reputation’—an important strand of the construction of masculinity based on competition for prestige—Wilson gave an important pointer towards the mechanisms behind sexuality and partner choice, and ultimately family forms, in some sections of Caribbean society.

Missing from much of the postwar discussion of ‘the Caribbean family’ was the sheer range of family forms that existed and the importance of parameters such as ethnicity, class, age, and/or stage in the life course of the household head. It is, therefore, very unrepresentative of the region to discuss ‘*the Caribbean family*’ given the range of family outcomes (Smith, 1988, 1996; Reddock et al., 1999). The family types that dominated early studies on Caribbean families have, almost exclusively, represented working-class, African-origin groups descended from the slave population. As we outline below, this group, who constituted the majority within society, were famously classified into family types by Simey (1946). Later analyses of Indian Caribbean families during indenture and beyond, an essential element of Caribbean society, emphasise the importance of ethnicity and developments in historical time to understanding the evolution of family forms (Reddock et al., 1999; Smith, 1996). Formal unions were the norm in Indian society and these were usually set within a close extended family that, even when not living with the couple and children from a union, had close influence on their decision making.

Caribbean family types have also differed by class position. Yet the Eurocentric assessment/characterisation of the family focused almost exclusively on low-income, working-class family forms. Analysts of postwar Caribbean society seldom explicitly included class as an issue, thus bypassing middle- and upper-class Caribbean families, presumably because they resembled, to a large extent, the European nuclear family. R. T. Smith (1988, 1996 [Chapter 5], 2001) was an exception here, emphasising the relevance of class. In what he termed the ‘dual marriage system,’ he observed that middle-class men in the region often maintained extra-class, extramarital relationships with working-class women. Smith has located the origins of this system in the period of slavery and indenture in the Caribbean. While legal unions were permitted only between status equals in the complex social hierarchy, non-legal unions between free white men and women of lower socioeconomic status, including slaves, proliferated. By focusing nearly exclusively on the working classes, inter-class relations were ignored (Smith, 1988, 1996, 2001). Moreover, we may add here the dimension of class, gender, and race intersectionality to which his analysis pointed.

Another influential contributor to this literature, Clarke (1957, 1970), sought explanation of the family structures she observed in Jamaica in the community organisation of her case study sites. Long-established communities gave rise to a higher rate of marriage and nuclear-family households as opposed to the temporary communities that grew up on sugar estates during the harvesting seasons. Clarke’s preoccupation with the nuclear family and spatial stability, and the extent of deviation from this in the contexts observed in Jamaica,

meant that she failed to observe and value the adaptability of the institution of the family per se within a variety of contexts, including migration.

Unlike Clarke, explicit in whose conclusions were her assumptions of the nuclear-family ideal as a context for raising children, R. T. Smith's analyses (1988, 1996) are more open and less judgemental, focusing on how specific family structures worked and adapted to cater for the functional needs of society. There is a tendency in this work to avoid absolute generalisations and he aims to account for the inevitable permutations of family types that emerge within any one community. Family characteristics discussed within Smith's work include 'matrifocality.' This concept is considered here specifically within the context of the migration process. Smith (1996) observed that among the 'lower' classes, women in their role as mothers come to be the focus of relationships in the family and household, as opposed to 'head of household' per se. Smith further stressed that matrifocality is a key aspect of the family relationships of male- as well as female-headed households. This is a particularly important concept for this discussion, partly due to its widespread adoption by commentators on the Caribbean family (Barrow, 1996) but specifically due to the apparent ebb and flow of the phenomena within the migration cycle discussed here.

Clarke and Smith have particular relevance to this analysis of the family in Caribbean migration. First, they highlight common forms that Caribbean families have taken over the post-emancipation period. Second, they exemplify the potential of such perspectives to limit or to enhance productive analysis of the role and function of family forms. While Clarke's analysis exemplifies the tendency to compare these forms unfavourably with the 'European norm' and attribute value on this basis, Smith sows the seeds of a more progressive and flexible interpretation of Caribbean family forms.

Examining Caribbean family forms from a different viewpoint, French demographers Leridon and Charbit demonstrated the relevance of a life course perspective on family forms. Their representative survey in the French Caribbean described the multiplicity of family forms and the extent to which women's histories included periods in one or another family form during their adult life (Leridon and Charbit, 1980). Charbit's later study extended to the Caribbean region investigated the link between slavery and 'specific Caribbean family forms' and concluded that this link was highly tenuous, stressing the importance of post-slavery changes in society and notably the role of migration (Charbit, 1987).

The Notion of 'Disorganisation' Applied to Families in the Caribbean and Abroad

Resulting from the Eurocentric, nuclear-family ideal outlined above has been the assumption by social scientists that its absence indicated lack of 'order' in Caribbean societies. Consequently, studies of Caribbean family structure that emerged during the postwar years concluded that, given the widespread

absence of the nuclear-family form, 'lower-class life' in the Caribbean would exhibit high levels of social disorganisation. The regular deviation from the nuclear-family norm thus 'threatened the whole social and moral fabric of society' (Barrow, 1996, p. 24). Not only was anything non-nuclear seen as disorganised and inferior, but the very concept of organisation was closely linked to Christian values. Consequently, when Simey (1946) constructed a hierarchical typology of household composition in the 1940s, his 'top' status was the 'Christian family'—patriarchal domestic units based on legal, Christian marriage—and the bottom unit consisted of 'disintegrate families': households containing women, children, and grandchildren. The dismissal of anything that was not modeled on the male-headed, nuclear family meant that the various forms of family and households that did exist were generally not recognised as viable, functioning units in their own right.

Early studies of postwar Caribbean migration to Britain, which took place at the peak of postwar discussions of the family structures of the Caribbean working classes, also problematise and pathologise family units. In discussing the labour migration from the West Indian colonies to Britain, R. B. Davison (1962, 1966) places great emphasis on the 'disorganised' nature of family life in the Caribbean territories and argues that the migration to Britain served to exacerbate the problem: 'The complex pattern of marital and non-marital relations observed during this enquiry reinforces what has been stated many times about the general disorganisation of family life in Jamaica, to which this recent migration to Britain has added further confusion' (R. B. Davison, 1966, p. 118). This perspective misses the role of highly cohesive kinship networks in organising and sustaining a migration (Philpott, 1973; Byron, 1994; Olwig, 2001, 2005). Davison's (1966) assessment of Jamaican society closely parallels the 'theory of social breakdown' that many adherents of the Chicago school of sociology used to argue that industrialisation led to the breakdown of traditional family structures and patterns through rural to urban migration of individuals (Hareven, 2000). Hareven argues that, at the time, the theory 'misguided' sociological research on the family and the process of industrialisation. It was decades later that the theory was effectively challenged by studies such as that of Anderson (1971), which documented the continuation of key kinship functions amongst workers in industry and, importantly, family connections in the migration process itself.

More than a decade on from R. B. Davison's work, the application of a 'pathological' approach to analyses of Caribbean lower classes was still evident. In Pryce's (1979) study of Caribbean migrants in Bristol, the nuclear, middle-class British and Caribbean family was implicitly assumed to be the norm as the sociologist attempted to account for the lack of this formation in the working-class, migrant community. Evident in Pryce's approach is the impact that the hegemonic, colonial, social welfare interpretations of the evolving Caribbean society had on middle-class values and understandings in the newly independent Caribbean states of the 1970s.

A not dissimilar tendency to focus on a stereotypical image at the expense of inevitable variation is observed in the case of Mexican families. Hondagneu-Sotelo's study of Mexican experiences of migration to the United States criticises 'Anglo-observers' for confusing an 'ideal family type where patriarchy and pathology reign' with the complex and varied reality of Mexican families (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, p. 9) Our comparative study of Caribbean families in the migrations to Britain and France goes beyond a blanket acceptance of homogeneity. Through a gender-sensitive approach to family and migration, a variety of power distributions and challenges to patriarchy are revealed. Such an approach is far more likely to lead to a thorough understanding and, indeed, appreciation of Caribbean family forms and their role and flexibility in the migration process. Migration provides just such a fluid medium in which to assess the versatility and strength of Caribbean family structures. The research findings discussed below add to the evidence that, between emancipation and the present, migration has pervaded Caribbean life as a survival and improvement strategy.

POSTWAR MIGRATION TO BRITAIN AND FRANCE: THE FAMILY AS CO-ORDINATOR, FINANCIER, AND HOME SUPPORT SYSTEM

Within post-emancipation Caribbean society, social mobility for the 'lower' classes has been attained through access to education and migration (O. Patterson, 1978; Thomas-Hope, 1978, 1993). While the middle classes in the Caribbean have also been significantly involved in major postwar migrations, particularly to the United States (Thomas-Hope, 1993; Olwig, 2001), the majority of migrants to Britain and France were from working-class backgrounds. Migration of family members was an investment in the future and was usually perceived as a family venture. The institution of the family was as integral to this post-war migration process as it was to the basic security and functioning of Caribbean life as a whole. The family assisted financially with the move, raised or otherwise supported dependants remaining behind, and, in Britain and France, received migrants and assisted them in their adaptation to the new destination. During the postwar era Caribbean society became increasingly reliant on migrants abroad for financial assistance and, indeed, remittances became a major element of the national incomes of the region (Frucht, 1968). There are clear parallels here with Hareven's historical studies of migrant industrial workers in New England (Hareven, 1982, 2000), which revealed the vital links across space between kin at all stages of the life course and the interaction between these networks and the wider socioeconomic context.

Unlike most of the earlier labour movements out of the Caribbean territories in which men dominated the migrant gender distribution due to the nature of employment and the requirements of the recruitment agents

(Richardson, 1983; Newton, 1987; Thomas Hope, 1978), the migration to France and Britain was, after the first few years, increasingly gender-balanced (see Chapter 2, Tables 2.2a and 2.2b). During the first few years of the migration to Britain, which consisted mainly of men at that stage, women in the Caribbean adjusted to the absence of younger men in their households. This depletion of the young, adult, male population triggered further migration, as service providers such as skilled tailors and barbers opted to migrate to Britain due to loss of custom at home (Byron, 1994). Soon, however, men arranged for their girlfriends or wives to join them and, in addition, single women joined the migration flow as independent wage seekers. By the mid-1960s, there were nearly as many females as males among Caribbean migrants in Britain and metropolitan France.

As British and French cities became significant locations in the spatial network of Caribbean families, individual roles, household organisation, and childcare distribution among family members had to adjust accordingly. For some women, the move to Europe presented higher-paid and more secure employment prospects and hence an improvement in their ability to provide for their families. Critical to such a move was reorganisation of childcare, including the shifting of children to other households (Soto, 1987; Senior, 1991; Barrow, 1996). Child fostering is a common phenomenon in the Caribbean and is itself an important and discussed aspect of family life in the region (Attias-Donfut and Lapierre, 1998). In a study of 1,600 homes in the Eastern Caribbean, it was revealed that over 50 percent of children were raised by family members other than the mother, mostly to enable the mother to work outside the domestic sphere (Women in the Caribbean Project [WICP], cited in Senior, 1991, p. 10). Such work often involved short- or long-distance migration. Her mother and/or other blood relatives, and, less frequently, the child's father's family took responsibility for raising the child/children in her absence (Senior, 1991).

This domestic reorganisation that accompanied migration of parents, particularly women, illustrated the resourcefulness and flexibility of the extended Caribbean family. Many children who were left in the Caribbean when their parents migrated later traveled to be reunited with them (Byron, 1994; Urunuela, 2002; Condon, 2004). Nonetheless, as demonstrated by Byron (1994), some children never joined their parents in Britain but were raised by their relatives in the Caribbean instead. Of the sixty-eight households (forty-five couples and twenty-three single people) interviewed in that study, nineteen had left children in the Caribbean when they migrated. Of these seventy-four children, only twenty later joined their parents in Britain. In some cases, children were raised by grandparents in the island and remained there. Others were teenagers when their parents left and later migrated separately to nearby migrant destinations such as the U.S. Virgin Islands after 1965. Some of these young migrants were sponsored by siblings of the migrants to Britain who had by then migrated to alternative, usually U.S. territories in the region.

Importantly, the children left behind were usually early children of the woman in the household. Very often these children were left with grandparents. Reunion with parents in Britain was more likely to occur when the mother actually joined the child's father in Britain. However, in this sample there were several cases of the mother's children who had joined her household formed with a new partner in Britain. More rare but also present in this sample was the case of the father bringing a child he fathered during an earlier relationship in the Caribbean to join his household in Britain. Some cases also arose of children of both partners in a migrant couple who were left with grandparents in the Caribbean and did not later join their parents. While there are clear categories and trends here, each case is unique and produces specific outcomes.

Coming through in these cases, where such short- or long-term separation of parents and children occurred, were: the conflict of loyalties to grandparents versus parents, resentment of children born and raised in Britain by those who arrived much later to join the household and vice versa, the rejection of parents who had awaited the reunion for several years, the sense of loss of grandparent's love and similarly the loss felt by grandparents when the children left for Britain, and not least the inevitable feeling of rejection by the child or children left to grow up in the Caribbean when the other children and their parents were far away in 'paradise.' The latter image was reinforced by the remittances of foreign clothes, food, and money by their parents at intervals. Similar psychological impacts of long-term separation of parents and their first children were revealed during interviews in the Paris region. These findings support the view that this is an area of family dynamics linked to migration that deserves more attention, as it may throw light upon the different outcomes amongst groups of siblings whose parents migrated.

Family Networks and Migration

Family networks are very often important mechanisms in the migration process (Boyd, 1989; Hareven, 1982, 2000; Massey, 1987). While recognising the varying structural environments that encompass migrations, Boyd (1989) is particularly concerned with the integration and evolution of migrant social networks within such contexts. In the absence of a formal labour recruitment system, as was the case in most of the postwar migration from the Caribbean to Britain (Byron, 1994), the migration arrangements for individuals were made by family members and friends of potential migrants resulting in the classic 'chain migration' pattern (Macdonald and Macdonald, 1964).

Interviews with Nevisian migrants in Leicester revealed how the migration process was dependent on well-organised interaction between family members (Byron, 1994). During the first three years of this transatlantic movement the migrants were mainly males and, importantly, the contact who received them in Leicester was usually a friend. Once this pioneer group established

itself in the city, however, they became the starting points for migration networks that were mainly kin based. Subsequent Nevisian networks that developed in Leicester are illustrated in the following case studies.

Unlike the case of the United States as destination, on which most of Boyd's analysis (1989) is based, the postwar migration from the Caribbean to Britain was curtailed and effectively ended as a labour movement by the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act (Peach, 1968). Consequently the network links between migrants in Britain and relatives in the Caribbean did not serve to maintain a significant level of migration beyond the early 1970s (Peach, 1982). They did, however, remain important channels for remittances to the Caribbean and have enabled visits in both directions by relatives over the following decades (Byron, 1994, 1996, 1999).

The continuous flow of migrants between the French Caribbean islands and metropolitan France has meant that these family networks supporting the migration process have become complex and multi-generational. An important feature from early on was the existence of female migration chains, as women migrants who were keyed into the metropolitan labour market became rapidly aware of the opportunities for employment for their sisters, cousins, and village friends (Condon, 2004). Later on, women settled in Paris or other major cities provided an initial base for young men decommissioned from military service and wishing to stay in France. Illustrations of these processes will be given below.

Age, Generation, Family Networks, and Migration

The study of migration from Nevis to Britain illuminates the interaction between age, family structure, and family and household needs within the migration process. While the majority of migrants were young adults, the migrant spectrum also included older and younger individuals. The modal age group of twenty to twenty-four years among the sample of migrants from Nevis to Leicester who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s was fairly typical of this postwar movement of labour (Byron, 1994; Byron and Condon, 1996). In this survey of 113 Nevisians², more than two-thirds of the total fell into the fifteen to twenty-nine years age group and most of these migrants left for England from within a household headed by parents or grandparents. Residence in the parental home meant that migrants were not financially independent and were subject to a high level of parental advice and control.

Importantly, at this time, few of this age group held the capital necessary to raise funds for the passage to Britain or had cash to establish themselves there. Most of the younger migrants were therefore dependent on their families for the organisation and funding of the migration to Britain. Parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts or elder siblings were frequently cited as financiers of the trip to Britain and, indeed, many migrants were actually nominated by older family members. While no interviewee reported being

coerced into leaving, several mentioned initially rejecting the idea when it was proposed by family members.

The following case studies illustrate some of the roles played by family members in migration histories, as well as the maintenance of family relationships throughout the process.

*Esther Was a Nineteen-Year-Old When She Migrated to Britain*³.

‘My mother said that she was going to send me to England to help the family. I am the eldest of her children.’ In Nevis, her main role had been that of childminder for her shopkeeper mother who had several young children. ‘Mum had a brother in Leicester so I came here to him. He helped my mother with the money to get me here. I suppose it was how he helped out his sister once he got to England.’

‘When I was sent to England, I had a young baby at that time and I left her with my mother’. While she lived with her uncle’s family, Esther saved much of her income to provide the passage money for her mother, stepfather, and two of her siblings to come to Britain. Her other siblings and her young daughter were left with her maternal grandmother in Nevis until the family had adequate accommodation in Leicester, England, and could afford to pay for the children’s passages to Britain.

Irma’s Family Migration

All of ‘us’ came in the end. In 1956 my mother came first to a friend in Leicester. A year later her husband came to her and they sent for my brother a year after that. Back at home there was myself, my sister and my Grandmother who was in charge. . . . I had two children after my parents left home and they were with us in Nevis. . . . We looked after the land with my grandmother.

In 1961 my parents sent for all of us: me, my sister, my grandmother and my two young children . . . They [the parents] had bought a house in Leicester and we all lived there for several years but I moved into a council house with my three children for more independence and more room in the end.

We stayed close to the older folks till they passed on though. I am very close to my sister still. My brother died one year ago and his wife and some of their kids and grandkids live nearby.

Irma’s sister and her Antiguan husband have since returned to the Caribbean but they visit Britain every year and, intermittently, form part of Irma’s household. Irma’s British-born niece also migrated to the Caribbean following her parents’ move and she regularly returns to Britain from Antigua with her two young children.

In each of these cases, the young migrants were integral parts of what they frequently referred to as a 'close' family, which was organiser and source of finance for their migration. Some migrated as dependants. Others were imbued with far more responsibility to make a success of the move and contribute to the transatlantic family. While some were 'pioneer' migrants for their families providing the base and contact abroad for further family migration, others migrated to relatives who provided important early hospitality in Britain. Many of the younger migrants saw their position in the family hierarchy shift dramatically from that of dependant whose older family members made decisions to the responsible and daunting role of family pioneer in a 'new' country. These excerpts from migrant biographies indicate the changes in family roles during the migration process as well as through the life course. While the majority of this young-adult cohort did not hold central organisational roles within the household and family system in Nevis, their departure altered the levels of production within the domestic and national economies. Households, often containing elderly and very young family members, became less reliant on cash crop and vegetable production and increasingly dependent on remittances from family members abroad (Momsen, 1986).

When, older, more senior family members migrated, it was usually perceived as a short-term measure to improve the standard of living for the family left behind. Migrants were more frequently men who left their partners and their children in the Caribbean in anticipation of a relatively early return. As in many contemporary labour migrations, this did not always become reality. Some migrants never returned. Others found new partners in Britain or were joined by their Caribbean partners after a period of time.

James, Who Migrated in 1960⁴

I was a tailor in Nevis. . . . when people started to emigrate to England, I realised that all my customers were leaving. . . . only kids were left there! I couldn't earn enough from sewing for kids to support a wife and eight children. . . . I decided to pack up and come.

We used to do some farming too. I sold some of our livestock and used some of the money from the last year's cotton crop for my passage. . . . The wife joined me a year later and she brought the two smaller children with her. She left the other six with her mother in Nevis. We returned there with the four children who were in England with us in 1968. We had saved enough to build a 'wall house' on the land.

This migrant then re-migrated to Britain in 1977 to help their last four children (two of whom were born in Britain) to resettle there. The parents finally retired permanently to Nevis in the early 1990s.

Benson

Benson came to Britain in 1958 to his eldest son who had arrived a year earlier. Benson and his wife were small farmers in Nevis and when he migrated to Britain, she remained there with the other children. At fifty, he was significantly older than the typical Nevisian migrant. His aim in migrating was to help his other children in Nevis to establish themselves in England and to save as much money as possible to return to Nevis with. He paid the passages to Britain of twin sons in 1959, a daughter in 1960, and his youngest son in 1961. Having fulfilled the first of his aims, he could then work at saving to improve the structure of his home in Nevis. Upon retirement in Britain in 1970, he returned to Nevis with a small pension and some savings. In addition to assisting his children with the migration to Britain and seeing them settled there, he was able to pay for his elder daughter, who was successful at school in Nevis, to undertake teacher training at a college in the Caribbean. She later became a head teacher in a neighbouring island. While in England, he hosted his nephew from his brother's household next door in Nevis. This nephew subsequently assisted two sisters, his brother, and his brother-in-law with their migration to England.

Occasionally, the migration of senior family members resulted in the establishment in Britain's Caribbean community of three or more generations of a family. Irma's case study provides an example of four generations of a family who migrated to Leicester between 1956 and 1961. It is likely that the migration of the grandmother, her grandchildren, and great-grandchildren in 1961 was accelerated by the imminent Commonwealth Immigrants Act, which would have denied right of abode in Britain to the grandmother. A more common, 'family adaptation' pattern would have involved the grandmother remaining in Nevis with at least one grandchild and or great-grandchild. Remittances from family members in Britain were a major source of the income of such a household. In this case, the four-generation family settled in Britain, initially in one domestic unit until the young adults moved out with their young children to establish separate households. More common within the Caribbean community in Britain during the 1960s were two-generation households, consisting of one or more couples and their young children. The importance of migration as a family improvement initiative is very evident here. The individual mover usually appears to be part of a greater whole, elements of which provided assistance that was later reciprocated.

The character of migration to Britain, standing in contrast to the largely state-sponsored migration to France at that time, meant that a considerable amount of planning with the family was entailed. The family strategies outlined above tend to suggest a continuation in the migration process from pre-1940 movements. However, with the closing of the gates to Britain imminent, family strategies veered towards reuniting members in Britain for a longer-term settlement. The way in which migration from the French

Caribbean was encouraged and organised, from direct recruitment into postal communications or hospital work, to a passage through national military service, or to the placing of young men and women in jobs or on training schemes via the BUMIDOM, meant that young individuals were being appealed to, advising them not to seek work locally in the islands but rather to take up the offer of free transport and guaranteed employment in metropolitan France. At the outset, a minority of these migrants already had relatives living in France (Condon and Ogden, 1991a). During the first few years of the organised movement, migrants were aged in their early twenties, most often single, with little education and from what were described in the BUMIDOM archives as poor backgrounds (Condon and Ogden, 1991a), revealing the role of this state action in enabling the migration of people who otherwise could not have raised the funds to do so. Around one-fifth of the men in the sample studied were married and had left a family behind in the islands. By the late 1960s, it was clear that the BUMIDOM was enabling the migration of women who were not living with a partner, with one or more children who, according to the archives, they had left with a grandparent. At the same time, the introduction of national service in the *départements d'outre-mer* in 1960, which led to a sizeable proportion of the annual contingents being sent to metropolitan France, meant that very young men, around eighteen to nineteen years of age, left the islands.

As we discussed in Chapter 3, since the beginning of the organised movement, many young people left the French Caribbean to follow vocational training courses. Whereas some had already worked since leaving school, this was more characteristic of the earlier generations for whom school-leaving age had been at eleven to twelve years. As secondary education became more widespread, many people leaving the islands for training and work had not yet entered the labour market. Furthermore, it became quite common for sixteen- to seventeen-year-olds to finish their secondary education in metropolitan France and take their *baccalauréat* there. The family reunion facility offered by the Bumidom enabled many young siblings, nephews, nieces, or cousins to migrate for this motive.

Direct recruitment into the public services or nationalised industries and job placements organised by the BUMIDOM meant that a new generation of young people could expect stable employment rather than unemployment or underemployment, which had become a common experience in the islands. Moreover, many could acquire skills through vocational training courses that were not available in the Caribbean and the cost of these be covered by the state. The benefits to the whole family seemed evident, particularly as the migration of several members could thus be sponsored, and also return visits made possible and transfers of money within national space reasonably simple.

Thus Jeanne's parents' strategy to improve the opportunities of their eight children, by selling up their bakery and gradually reuniting the family in France from 1956⁵, contrasts with the family stories of those who traveled

through direct recruitment or via the BUMIDOM. These stories are told as individual decisions rather than as part of a family strategy: 'Work was being offered in France, jobs were lacking in the islands, so we went . . .'. Through the 1960s, dense family networks soon developed providing an adequate system for receiving, supporting, and giving advice to new arrivals. Brothers and cousins found lodging together after military service, uncles and aunts received nieces and nephews, sisters and female cousins encouraged one another to join them in France.

Lydia⁶ went to join her brother in Paris in 1964. She stayed with him and his wife for a few months before returning to Martinique since she was not happy in the job he had found for her in the electronics firm for which he worked. She returned to Paris in 1966, this time staying with an elder sister and taking up a job at a post office. She settled into life there and, once she was in her own flat, she took in successively her younger sisters when they migrated, then cousins, nieces and, later, two nephews when they had finished their army service. As she described her role: 'I was the point of anchor. There was always at least one relative or another living at home with me.'

This also reveals how relatives in the destination country could encourage emigration. Just as Lydia's brother was instrumental in her leaving Martinique, so was Josette's aunt in her migration. Through this case, family ties are shown to be a strong force in shaping the destiny's of young people. Josette⁷ arrived in the western suburbs of Paris in 1973 at the age of twenty-one years. Her mother's sister, the only member of the family to have migrated, had obtained a sponsored migration through the BUMIDOM (family reunion). After leaving school, she had followed a one-year secretarial course in Fort-de-France paid by her parents and then she went of a state-funded sales course for six months. When she arrived in France, her aunt encouraged her to take up a job at the hospital in which she herself worked. There were no secretarial posts available so, as a temporary measure to be able to begin refunding her parents for the secretarial training, she accepted work as a domestic. A few years on, then a nurse's aide and living alone with her young daughter, she began taking in younger relatives: her brother, who had left the army (after experiencing problems related to racism), two younger siblings who had since returned to Martinique, a sister 'who I brought over and found a job for, and who stayed'; and, at the time of the interview in 1993, her nephew was living with her as he wanted to train in catering and had moved up from Bordeaux (where her brother then lived) to work in a Parisian restaurant. Her mother, she said, was 'a real mother hen, she rings me up regularly, she's always worrying about everyone.'

As time went on, widowed or lone grandmothers were 'sent for' to join their migrant sons or daughters, sometimes bringing with them the grandchildren they had raised. For example, once Gabrielle, her husband, and three children had been transferred to eastern France through his job as a

customs officer, thereby being allocated a large house, she asked her mother to bring her first two children to France and stay with the family for a while. In fact, her mother, aged fifty-six and widowed two years previously, decided to stay on and found a job at a school helping out at the canteen and during break-times.

Non-Migrant Family Members as Facilitators and Co-ordinators

Non-migrant members of the family are important contributors to the migration process. Despite this, non-migrants have mainly featured in the literature as recipients of remittances. As the actors who maintained and indeed constituted the material and symbolic home of family origin in the developing transnational family and society, the non-migrants are a vital part of the migration dynamic. While the non-migrants benefit from the very significant financial assistance and status improvement received from their migrant relatives, the very success of the migrants abroad is dependent on the presence of a reliable non-migrant relative. This could be perceived as being 'at the expense' of the relative who does not migrate thus being denied consequent gains Basch et al. (1994).

For many women, migration was possible only if their children could be left behind with relatives. It was often decided to leave the children in the Caribbean, either because the migration was anticipated to be a short-term arrangement of three to five years, or because they would be temporarily better off in the home environment until adequate accommodation had been found by their parent (or parents) in Britain or France. As discussed above, for the society and family, the reallocation of children to enable parents to migrate was not an unprecedented development. Many children never joined their parents abroad, through parental choice, or a wish expressed by the child, or, importantly, due to the wishes of the non-migrant carer, remaining part of a relative's household. From the perspective of the carer, while altruism and genuine attachment to the child/children were evident aspects of the relationship, the regular remittances of cash and a range of household goods was assured only if their young charge remained with them (Philpott, 1973; Soto, 1987; Aymer, 1997).

Discussions with non-migrants threw further light on the family as a resource in the migration process. Importantly, it also showed how commitment to older family members often prevented individuals from themselves embarking on a migration route at critical points in their life histories. We have seen above how important the family unit was in financing the migration of younger family members to Britain. This evidence is supported by the interviews with non-migrants. Several non-migrants stated that it was the inability of their families to pay for the migration of members that prevented them from migrating to Britain. This was different then to the French case, where the state played a strong role in financing migration.

*Eulalie*⁸

‘My mother could not have sent me: she was poor and had to care for her own mother. She had no “house papers” or “land papers” to carry to the bank to borrow money. I had nobody in England to send for me either so there was no way for me to go there.’ In this case, relative poverty and lack of migrant relatives excluded migration from potential family improvement strategies. In a number of other situations, the successful migration of some family members clearly committed other family members to the status of non-migrant.

*Sidney*⁹

I thought about leaving, especially as the others [siblings] were all going, one by one. Six went to England and then the other two went to Canada and the USA. What kept me back from going to England was the home here. My father had died several years before and my mother and Auntie [her paralysed sister] were here. I could not have left my mother on her own to care for Auntie. My wife was happy to stay. . . . All of her brothers and sisters, eight of them, and her mother went to England. . . . I was very close to my parents and I inherited my father’s trucking business.

Sometimes family members beyond the immediate household could be instrumental in supporting migration. Gabrielle’s aunt—who had a shop in the Martinican capital, Fort-de-France—was the person who lent her money to travel to Paris to join her cousin in 1959 (before the BUMIDOM era). Gabrielle¹⁰ had gone to work as a domestic servant in the main town and was sending half her salary back to her parents to help support her younger brother’s education (he was training to be a school teacher). Her cousin had written to her on several occasions telling her about life in Paris and saying that she could come to stay with her whilst looking for a job. Gabrielle’s parents were against her going but Gabrielle eventually persuaded them saying that she just wanted to go for a year, to see what it was like. In the meantime, she had discovered that she was pregnant and was afraid of her parents’ reaction; in particular, she did not want to marry the father of the baby. Her aunt’s support of the journey to Paris was crucial in enabling Gabrielle to make a stake for more independence. Once she had found a job as a live-in domestic and had the baby, and after her aunt had spoken to them on her behalf, her parents agreed to look after the child (despite her employer’s offer to keep the baby with them) since she had found a good post and could send them sufficient money.

Since the migration has continued in the case of the French Caribbean, the opportunities for family exchanges in both directions have continued.

From the late 1980s, as job openings, particularly in the public service sector, began to rapidly diminish, the role of non-migrant family members increased in importance. Young people traveling to France for university studies or other vocational training are given considerable financial support by parents and other relatives. For example, Séverine¹¹, who was in her first year on a business studies course when she was interviewed in 1996, was sharing a room in a hall of residence at her university in southern Paris. There was no similar course at the campus in the islands. Although her father had a stable job and her mother some income from the village shop, she was well aware of the sacrifices made to enable her to study at university. Since the price of a return ticket to Guadeloupe during the university holidays came to less than the rent for accommodation outside halls, her parents paid for her to spend the time with them and find temporary work in Pointe-à-Pitre. Thus the relative importance of flows of money now would appear to be greater towards metropolitan France from families in the Caribbean than the reverse, as had been the case before the 1980s (Urunuela, 2002).

These cases of migrants and non-migrants illustrate that the individual's migration developed in the broader context of family needs and family support for the move. These cases also expose the superficial and prejudiced views of Davison (1962, 1966) who dismissed the viability of Caribbean family life. This research reveals a supportive, extended family structure that permitted migration to occur and has been, generally, adaptive and resilient enough to withstand the inevitable difficulties that accompanied the exodus. This migration revealed the strength and extent of family ties in the Caribbean and their capacity to extend across the Atlantic.

Networks and Settlement in Britain and France

Beyond the organisation of the migration process, family networks were central to the provision for new migrants in urban Britain and France (Byron, 1994). Family members commonly co-operated to ease the housing difficulties they faced. These networks have played a key role in the spatial concentration of Caribbean migrants in these two states, as well as in occupational groupings, extending and reinforcing the recruitment policies within the state sectors and industry. Thus, as we described above, both Lydia and Josette went to work alongside or with the same employer as their relatives (Lydia, with her elder sister for the post office; Josette, with her aunt at the hospital) and they, in turn, later received younger relatives, newcomers to the city, providing accommodation and advice. As the migrations matured, such new migrants came to rely on family networks in their search for employment and accommodation. As well as established migrants receiving newcomers, young migrants, siblings or cousins, often grouped together to get an easier and more comfortable start on the housing market; for example, Claude joined his brother and a friend in sharing a house after they finished their military service; Lucy and her younger brother joined

their sister in Paris, who had been living in one room for the previous six months, and found a flat to share. Identical processes were at work in British cities, as the following cases illustrate.

Beryl

When we came, myself, husband and the two youngest children, we lived in one room my brother found for us. Then he managed to buy a house. . . . Before he moved to that house they were living in a little flat at the top of a big house in the same area. He asked me if I wanted to get this flat. I was so happy to get out of the one room!¹²

Peggy

At the age of seventeen, Peggy came to Leicester to live with her older sister and brother-in-law. Her first job was found for her by her brother-in-law in the electronics assembly plant where he worked. Peggy worked there for two years during which she married and had her first child. She looked after the baby at home for a few months but returned to work when she found a nursery place as she and her husband were saving to buy a home. Her network of female relatives in Leicester found her a job as mender in a hosiery firm that was near to her home and the nursery. Although the birth of a second child within a year of her first caused her to stop work for a few months, she later returned to this job. In all she worked for this firm for over twenty years as it suited working mothers, permitting part-time schedules and paying well. She felt that this was the reason that she and the ten other Nevisian women worked there for so long.¹³

There are close parallels between this use of family networks by Caribbean migrants to procure employment and the strategies of migrants to the textile mills in New England a century earlier, described by Hareven (1982, 2000) where new immigrant workers were recruited in family units. In Leicester, London, Paris, Lyons, and other British and French cities, migrants who were employed sought jobs for their relatives, acting in the interests of their families while simultaneously assisting the industries by undertaking the function of labour recruitment.

This introduces a further dimension to the different experiences from one generation to another. Early migrants had to fend for themselves, whilst later migrants were helped by siblings, cousins, uncles, and aunts. This has been so particularly in the French case, as migration has continued. However, such co-operation is not without conflict or severe tensions. These are described both by people having received newcomers and by those who had stayed initially with relatives. Urunuela's research amongst Guadeloupean migrants in the late 1990s echoes interview evidence gathered a few years before by one of the present authors. It reveals

the deterioration of relationships, guests overstaying their welcome, and misunderstandings of what was expected of 'invited' relatives (Urunuela, 2002). Frequently, the spouse of the migrant receiving a relative may put pressure to shorten the stay. At the same time, both housing and labour market conditions may have an impact on the amiability of the arrangement. For example, Laure¹⁴, who had been invited by her sister, who was then sharing a two-room flat with her husband, was asked to leave after only two days.

Reduced opportunities in the labour market were certainly responsible for Joseph's experience¹⁵: he arrived in Paris in 1980, had difficulty in finding employment, and was turned out of his brother's flat one month later as his sister-in-law believed he was not making sufficient an effort to find work. From the point of view of the receiving family, whilst visiting relatives often helped out by looking after young children or housework, not everyone pulled their weight in the household. Conflicts could sometimes degenerate into more dramatic circumstances, either between the host family and the newcomer or within the host household itself.

A key mechanism in maintaining migration flows and assisting newcomers during the early months of immigration, the lodging of relatives thus frequently placed demands on all the parties concerned. Translated into demographic terms, this process had an impact on household forms. The reception of individuals from outside the nuclear family meant that, at various stages of their trajectories, Caribbean immigrant households became a 'resource' very similar to that described by Hareven (2000) for immigrant and working-class households in nineteenth-century America. Importantly Hareven notes that changes in the composition of the household occurred under the impact of 'external conditions such as migration, labour markets or housing markets.' For Caribbean households, this is often described as a characteristic of the earlier stages of the migration cycle and this has been noted in earlier analyses of household forms (Anderson, 1971; Briggs, 1978). However, constraints in the housing and labour markets can mean that this form of accommodation can remain important in some contexts. The continuation of migration from the French Caribbean, after the period of assured, stable employment offered to migrants from the 1950s to 1970s, has meant that family networks continue to play a key role in receiving newcomers and giving them advice in their search for work. Moreover, the location of the metropolitan branches of these networks being focused on Paris, where housing costs have risen substantially since the early 1990s, implies that the networks' role is further reinforced. Thus a range of household forms still typifies the Caribbean population in France. In parallel, although immigration has been much less a feature of the period after the early 1970s, the Caribbean population in Britain also displays a variety of household forms, also reflecting the particular family forms characteristic of both these migrations.

CARIBBEAN FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD FORMS WITHIN THE UK AND FRANCE**The Early Years: From Multi-Occupation to Marriage and Nuclear-Family Households**

In the first decade of this migration, the process of chain migration led to the concentration of extended family members and friends within households. This was intensified by a lack of housing in urban areas and what was often a hostile, urban host population (Byron, 1994; Condon and Ogden, 1993). Meanwhile, the predominantly young, gender-balanced characteristics of the migrant population reflected both the presence of couples, who had either migrated together or been reunited at a later date and also individuals without a partner at the time of migration and who developed new relationships in the place of settlement. As a direct result of the group demographics and the societal pressure to conform to the norms of the British context, one of the striking features of Caribbean families in Britain by the mid-1960s was the high proportion of nuclear-family households and the tendency towards marriage.

Much debate has surrounded the differing trends in relation to marriage and family formation in the Caribbean (Roberts 1975; Leridon and Charbit, 1980; Senior, 1991; St Bernard, 2001; Gautier, 2004). As we discussed earlier, from the 1940s to 1970s, attention focused largely around the social phenomenon, presented as contrary to Western norms, of households in which no father was present and the proportion of 'illegitimate' births. The negative perception of consensual unions meant that this form of couple was discounted as a viable unit for raising children. For example, the demographer Roberts (1975) gave figures of 70 to 75 percent of children in Jamaica and St Vincent born outside of marriage and a range of 40 to 60 percent for other islands in the region. Here the data used to characterise the stability of Caribbean family relationships is not the most appropriate. Equating marriage with stable couple relationships and implying that births within marriage are those most likely to benefit from a sound family environment has led to a warped or partial image of the functioning of families in the region. Not only were consensual unions ignored, even when recorded in census statistics (Charbit, 1987), but also the role of the wide range of actors involved in the upbringing of children, whether 'legitimate' or 'illegitimate', has generally been overlooked (Attias-Donfut and Lapierre, 1998).

Supporting the view of the presence of a strong-marriage model in these societies, some contemporary observers such as Roberts concluded that the consensual union represented a stage prior to marriage. For observations showed higher rates of marriage among older women; for example, at the 1970 census, half of all women aged thirty-five to forty-four in Jamaica were married and around one-quarter were in co-resident consensual unions (Charbit, 1987, p. 356). However further studies, based on retrospective

surveys, mitigated Roberts's thesis and showed that consensual unions were often long-lasting and that many did not lead to marriage. A main conclusion is that the increased stability of unions is correlated with age. A second finding is that relating to education levels, an indicator of social background, for it had generally been shown that marriage rates were very low in the poorer sections of Caribbean societies (Senior, 1991). Results of the World Fertility Surveys and other studies showed a greater tendency towards marriage the higher the schooling level (Charbit, 1987, p. 197). As Charbit highlighted in his conclusion to the cross-Caribbean comparative study of family forms, the prominence of marriage as a norm in colonial societies depended greatly on the presence of a white minority constituting a reference group in the social order, on the effort of churches and other religious missionaries to Christianise the local populations, and on the colonial status of the territory (Charbit, 1987, p. 324).

Most of the migrants to Britain and France during the 1950s and 1960s were descendants of the African slave populations, had working-class backgrounds, and had a low level of schooling. Many had certainly interiorised dominant Western representations of 'natural' sexuality and family forms in the Caribbean, which contrasted those portrayed as symbols of Victorian morals, of Catholicism/Christianity or the republican tradition, and what constituted 'respectability' in terms of family status (Charbit, 1987). For these migrants who, by migrating, aspired to improve their social status, the equation between marriage and upward social mobility was clear. Yet after their arrival in British and French cities, they became aware that marriage was also the norm in the working classes. Thus relationships that may have begun or lasted as consensual unions were made more socially acceptable through marriage. One Nevisian woman explained it thus: 'Over here [in England] it was what you do. Even those girls who were not married, when you go to the school for your kids, you make sure you wear a ring. All the mothers wanted to look married.'¹⁶

Thus many young Caribbean migrants conformed to British working-class norms, and married. Although the 1974 and 1982 PSI surveys showed that Caribbeans were less likely to be in formal marriages than white people (Brown, 1984), the rate of marriage was still relatively high compared to their cohort in the Caribbean. Data from the 1991 census (see Table 5.3) reveals a relatively high proportion of married people among those Caribbean people in the sixty to sixty-four age group, 56 percent of women and 68 percent of men. A further 31 percent of women and 19 percent of men were either divorcees or widowed. So marriage had certainly been embarked upon by the members of that postwar immigrant cohort.

In France too, in the 1960s, there was a high proportion of married couples in the Caribbean population. As shown in Table 5.1, almost half the men were married, the difference for women mainly being accounted for by widowhood. Most other women and men were registered as single (see Table 5.1), these comprising roughly two-thirds of the population. Yet, a

minority of these people was living alone, since only around a quarter of Caribbean households¹⁷ were made up of one person. Some migrants were young people living in 'non-family households,' that is, a group of siblings, other relatives, or friends; some were people who were living temporarily with more established families; others were perhaps couples (married or otherwise). Unfortunately, the published census tables do not allow us to distinguish the relationship of other household members to the head of household. However, households are classified by number of children present. Three-fifths of households were composed of parents and children: 37.3 percent percent of these family units comprised three or more children, 9.7 percent percent five or more.

As regards single-person households, although one-fifth of these were aged fifty-five years or over (most of whom had migrated prior to 1945), the bulk were younger people: 37.5 percent fell within the twenty-five to thirty-four year age bracket and 19 percent were under twenty-five years of age. With respect to the last group, clearly a substantial number of young migrants were not or no longer living with relatives.

By the 1975 census, household size differed very little. Larger households in metropolitan France were still numerous: 22 percent of households contained five or more people (for 1968, the proportion was 23 percent). It was during the latter half of the decade, with the slowing of the migration flow, as well as smaller numbers of births, that the proportion of larger households fell; these accounted for only 6 percent of total Caribbean households in 1982. Meanwhile, average household size remained similar throughout the period 1968–1982, at around three people, the proportion of families of two or three children increasing and compensating for the reduction of larger family units (Charbit, 1987b). The 1982 average remained a little higher than that given for the whole of metropolitan France (2.7) but substantially lower than the averages for Portuguese or Moroccan residents (3.6 and 3.9, respectively; Charbit, 1987b, p. 58). Single-person households had diminished in relation to nuclear households by 1982, now accounting for 21 percent of the total; extended and augmented households had declined only slightly (Charbit, 1987b, p.55).

Table 5.1 The Civil Status of Caribbean Migrants in France Aged 16 Years or Over, 1968 Census (Percentages)

	<i>Single</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Widowed</i>	<i>Divorced</i>	<i>Total Population</i>
Women	51.,4	41.,1	5.,1	2.,3	28,556
Men	50.,9	46.,7	0.,9	1.,5	32,604

Source: INSEE, 1970.

Within a short period of time therefore, the youthful migrant population was adapting to what they perceived as local social and family norms in Britain and France. These perceptions were based upon what they observed in their neighbourhoods—mostly urban and working class—or in the social context of the workplace. Despite a lack of adequate housing, the new couples tended to set up nuclear households as soon as possible. Initially this was in one room in a multi-occupied house. Couples stressed the sense of isolation that they experienced as a nuclear family in contrast to the type of family environment in which they were socialised. Women spoke of the extensive help that was available in the parental home in the Caribbean with first children, particularly when these were born outside a stable union, for additional strain was imposed by the absence of a ‘grandparent generation’ at that time. This was partly an outcome of Britain’s Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 and subsequent legislation, which significantly reduced further family reunion. The following extract captures the sense of isolation from the wider family:

Here we were all on our own. When we had Jasmin, our third child, Robert and I hardly knew what to do. We coped with that one on our own. Imagine, I felt lost and I already had two children. But then I lived with my mum, back home and she did everything. For the second one, Rob’s parents took her when she was one year old. Now we have six children and seven grandchildren. The eldest daughter has gone back to live in Nevis, she married someone there, but the rest are here. We will most likely go back once these here are sorted out. My mum is still out there, now over 90 years old. (Deborah)¹⁸

This extract also highlights the central role of women in caring and supporting for family members, even after daughters had in many ways reached ‘adulthood’ by becoming mothers. Elder sisters often substituted mothers in this role, particularly in cases where there were many offspring or in those where the mother was severely ill or had died. In turn, the responsibility of caring for ageing parents emerges as a role often played at the same time as supporting the younger generation. We will return to this point later.

The migration experience induced seemingly profound changes in gender relations and roles taken by family members changed also as a result of the new family structure. Domestic work was shared by men and women compared to the Caribbean context where domestic labour is largely left to women to perform. This shift occurred during the early years of settlement in Britain and France when couples had young children but the household and family economy necessitated that all adults contributed an income (Foner, 1977; Stone, 1983; Byron, 1994, 1998). During the 1970s, Foner (1977) predicted that as children grew older they would assume many of the father’s domestic jobs and that he would revert to undertaking minimal responsibilities for household chores. This trend did seem to have developed

in a case study of Leicester, but there were several exceptions where household tasks were regularly shared between men and women (Byron, 1998). For instance, as we mentioned in Chapter 3, it was often the case that couples in which the man and the woman worked on shifts based their household organisation on co-ordinating the shift of each in order that one parent be present in the evening whilst the other worked. This trend reflected both a family strategy to provide a comfortable home and offer the best support to children during their schooling, and a need to maximise income in order to maintain links with family in the islands through return visits and sending remittances. At the same time, norms relating to family roles were changing: the 1970s heralded an age in which women were to become more demanding of their independence and claim control over their bodies and their daily lives. This was to have an impact upon family and household forms. Meanwhile, a number of other mechanisms fed into these changes: the legal status and rights of both single and married women were improved; procedures for divorce were simplified.

The Later Years, in a Rapidly Changing Demographic Context

The households set up by Caribbean migrants established in Britain or France by the turn of the 1980s existed against a backcloth of numerous demographic developments over the previous decade. The social function of the 'nuclear family' rapidly began to shift, ceasing to be the main unit of kinship in Western Europe and North America, a process central to what is often referred to as the 'second demographic transition' (Van de Kaa, 1987). A number of clear transformations have been measured and interpreted within a framework of changing socio-cultural attitudes (Ogden and Hall, 2004): declining household size, a trend towards living on one's own, the postponement of marriage, rising divorce rates, increases in average child-bearing age, declining fertility rates, the institution of same-sex couples. These transformations are seen by some as the 'destabilisation' of (traditional) family structures whilst others see the new forms of kinship and friendship networks that are emerging (Leridon and Villeneuve-Gokalp, 1994; Villeneuve-Gokalp, 1997). The family and household experience of Caribbean people in Britain and France thus must be analysed within this changing context, taking into account the role of social class, generation, and gender relations and also looking at trends in the Caribbean.

Lone-Parent Families

At the beginning of this chapter, we discussed the notion of the 'Caribbean family,' as portrayed by anthropologists in the 1950s and 1960s. The central feature of this family type was the absence of stable relationships between men and women, notably between fathers and mothers. Whilst academics since have highlighted other dimensions of family relationships (Goulbourne

and Chamberlain, 1999, 2001) or have shown the (predominantly female) experience of living alone with children often to only be one stage during a life course of relationships (Leridon and Charbit, 1980; Charbit, 1987), the representation of the single-parent or one-parent family has remained strong and this type of family—or rather household—unit is recognised as a population category by social services, housing authorities, government departments, and other bodies. The ‘specificity’ of the daily lives of such households within the general population has been studied in relation to educational outcomes of children (Archambault, 2002; Berthoud, 1999, 2000), access to housing (Lefaucheur, 1987), and work patterns and poverty (Duncan and Edwards, 1997, 1999; Family Resources Survey, 1994/1995). The association between Caribbean families and lone parenthood has remained particularly strong, often with discriminatory consequences, for example in the sphere of public-housing allocation (Peach and Byron; 1993; Condon, 1995). Whilst it is an increasing reality for hundreds of women and children, the actual content and contours of ‘lone parenthood’ are rarely given attention (Reynolds, 2005). For example, wider family and social networks are not always considered, the focus being placed more on the existence or absence of contact with the father or the marginalisation of mothers and children. In parallel, explanations are sought for this ‘social/cultural phenomenon,’ of which teenage pregnancy and the irresponsible behaviour of young men are seen as prominent dimensions, in an endeavour by the state and its representatives to maintain nuclear households as the desirable norm.

In his study of Caribbean households in metropolitan France in the early 1980s, Charbit compared their characteristics with those of other population groups. He also located trends in comparison to those for the population remaining in the islands. In terms of household size and type, French Caribbeans were closest to those French households whose head was in the low-skilled white-collar (*employé*) category (see Table 5.2). This indicated that social and lifestyle factors could be more important in influencing family structures than ‘cultural’ background or economic circumstances (Charbit, 1987b, pp. 63–65).

Female Caribbean heads of households in metropolitan France were proportionately less common than in the islands (27.5 percent compared to 34.5 percent). Charbit’s analysis revealed an over-representation of these households amongst the low-skilled white-collar (*employé*) group (39 percent compared to the metropolitan average of 22 percent), a contrast to the level for household heads in the industrial worker category (5.3 percent). A high proportion of these households in the low-skilled white-collar group were women living alone (21 percent of total households for this group), a much higher rate than for Caribbean migrant households (11 percent were lone women). An analysis by age and marital status would certainly have revealed structural factors accounting for differences in rates: many of the women in the ‘*employé*’ group living alone were older, divorced or separated women whose children had left the parental home, or otherwise widows. What was particularly striking in

Table 5.2 Distribution of Household Types* by Birthplace of Reference Person Within Household (Comparison with Selected Social Groups), France 1982 (Percentages)

<i>Head of household:</i>	<i>Lone Person</i>		<i>Non-Family Household</i>	<i>Lone-Parent Household</i>		<i>Couple With/ Without Children</i>
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>		<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	
Born in Guadeloupe or Martinique	10.3	11.0	4.9	0.9	13.4	59.4
Living outside metro-pole in 1975**	14.0	13.5	7.8	0.6	12.4	51.6
Resident in the French Caribbean	24.9			2.7	18.0	54.4
Total French living in metropole:						
Industrial workers	8.4	2.3	4.1	0.8	2.0	82.2
Low-skilled white-collar	7.9	20.7	6.8	0.5	13.2	50.8
TOTAL	8.1	16.7	4.0	0.6	3.8	66.8

* Row totals 100 percent. **heads of household born in the French Caribbean.

Source: Table adapted with recalculations from Charbit, 1987, p. 62.

the comparison was the similarity between the rates of 'female lone-parent households' in the Caribbean migrant population and the low-skilled white-collar social group (see Table 5.2). This household type was quite rare in total foreign population (2.7 percent) as well as within the industrial worker group (2 percent), both rates being closer to the national rate of 3.8 percent (see Table 5.2). The data certainly supports the argument of the proximity between Caribbean migrants and the socioeconomic group within which most of them were located, a group at the forefront of changing marriage behaviour.

If we are to understand the background to these distributions of household type, an examination of individual trajectories is required. Some of these women 'heads of lone-parent households' never lived as a couple with the father of their offspring, whilst others did so until separation, divorce, or bereavement left them alone with their children. Hence examination of household patterns must be accompanied by a look at other trends such as those of divorce.

Separation and Divorce

Separation and divorce within the Caribbean populations of both Britain and France should be interpreted at least partially within the light of household and family forms and patterns in the Caribbean and its diaspora. From

Table 5.3, it is clear that divorce levels over the past two decades have been particularly high in the older age groups within a population of whom the majority is now approaching retirement or already at this stage of the life course. In 1991, over 60 percent of the 264,591 Caribbean-born in Britain were in the forty-five-plus age range, with 11 percent already pensioners (Byron and Condon, 1996). At the 1991 census, 12 percent of Caribbean-born men and 16 percent of Caribbean-born women were divorced compared to a total UK rate of 4 percent and 5 percent respectively (OPCS, 1993). Berthoud and Beishon (1997), citing the 21 percent divorce rate of the Caribbean population aged over sixty compared to the rate of 5 percent for the white group in their survey, argue that Caribbean marriages were likely to have been ending in separation long before the trend in recent decades of rising divorce rates affected the white population in Britain. By 2001, 33.1 percent of Caribbean-born women and 26.7 percent of Caribbean-born men were retired. Table 5.3 compares two age groups representing Caribbean-born and largely British-born members of the Caribbean ethnic group with their white British counterparts. The younger age groups had lower levels of divorce, similar to the white population of that age group. However we cannot glean from these data what proportion of the married groups were remarried divorcees, meaning that the apparent stark differences between the retired white British group and the retired Caribbean group are less straightforward. Furthermore, the separation of unmarried couples is not visible in the census statistics, but as Berthoud (2000) notes, one should be aware of the importance of past cohabitation and also consider the presence of 'visiting unions' re-created within the European context.

Prior to the 1980s, divorce rates were much lower in France than they were in Britain. The number of divorces for 100 marriages in France was less than two-thirds of the British level in 1980; but by 2003, French rates had caught up with those in Britain (Prioux, 2006). However, this longer tradition of divorce is accompanied by a higher proportion of people experiencing several cohabiting partnerships. This is the case for 25 percent of women in Britain compared with only 13 percent of women in France (Prioux, 2006; Kiernan, 2002). Census data on civil status distributions within the population do not reveal such trends. However, they are useful here for an overall comparative view of changes in proportions of divorcees within the Caribbean populations.

Analysis of marital status data for the French Caribbean-born population in metropolitan France revealed striking similarities to the British distribution. By 1990, divorce rates were considerably higher than two decades previously: 4.9 percent of men fifteen or over in 1990 compared with 1.5 percent in 1968 and 7.5 percent of women compared with 2.3 percent. In terms of age, the same trend was found as in Britain, with higher rates in the older age group (see Table 5.4). These rates were higher than those in the islands at that time (around 2.8 percent of men and 4.0 percent of women in 1990 were divorced; Domenach and Picouet, 1992). Likewise, fewer women and men

Table 5.3 Marital Status of Selected Age Groups of the Black Caribbean Ethnic Group in Britain, 1991

<i>Ethnic Group/ Gender</i>	<i>Single</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Divorced % percent</i>	<i>Widowed</i>
White Women				
35–39	10	77	12	1
60–64	6	70	6	18
Caribbean Women				
35–39	42	44	13	1
60–64	13	56	18	13
White Men				
35–39	17	73	9	< 0.5
60–64	9	81	7	5
Caribbean Men				
35–39	36	54	10	< 0.5
60–64	13	68	14	5

Source: OPCS, 1991 Census, England and Wales, Ethnic Group, Age, and Marital Status, Table 6.

were married: around 35 percent of women and 37 percent of men, compared with the proportions of 39 percent and 43 percent respectively amongst the French Caribbeans living in metropolitan France (see Table 5.4). The data suggests that the marriage norm spread within this population during the period of the labour migration and the relatively easy entry to public service employment. A counterpart to higher marriage rates is thus the recording of a higher level of separations of couples, as we will expand on below. We may also add that, as interview evidence revealed, within the continuing migration from the islands there were numbers of women arriving who were already divorced (or separated from a cohabiting or visiting partner).

While the strains of dealing with a new climate, cramped accommodation, heavy workloads, and financially assisting distant Caribbean relatives undoubtedly affected marriages, there is not sustained evidence that adversity necessarily undermines marriage as is argued by Plaza (2001). In fact the process of coping with difficult conditions have, in other contexts, been said to bring migrant couples closer (Hareven, 2000).

Georgette, whose case we referred to earlier, in Chapter 3, had married in Guadeloupe and her husband left for Paris shortly after to look

Table 5.4 Civil Status of Women and Men Aged 15 or Over: Comparison of Caribbean Migrants and the Total Population, France 1990 (Percentages)

	<i>Single</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Divorced</i>	<i>Widowed</i>
Total women	28.2	52.9	5.2	13.7
35–39	14.2	75.5	9.1	1.2
55–59*	7.0	75.1	6.0	11.9
French Caribbean Women	50.1	39.4	7.4	3.1
35–39	34.6	54.5	10.3	0.6
60–64	21.6	49.7	15.1	13.6
Total men	35.4	57.8	3.9	2.9
35–39	19.6	73.5	6.6	0.3
55–59*	9.8	82.6	5.0	2.6
French Caribbean Men	48.3	42.8	4.9	0.8
35–39	30.8	62.8	6.3	0.1
60–64	11.6	73.3	11.1	4.0

* Published census 1990 figures for civil status by age group of the total population do not provide a breakdown for the sixty to sixty-four age group, but for the sixty to seventy-four age group. Divorce rates for the latter were 4.4 percent for women and 3.5 percent for men. Figures for the French Caribbean group were produced for a separate publication (Marie, 1993).

Sources: INSEE, 1992, Recensement de 1990. Population-Activité-Ménages. La France et ses régions, Table POP4DET, p. 15; Marie, 1993.

for work. She joined him in 1957 and they lived for four years in the furnished-room sector in northern Paris. Their first two children were born whilst they were living in a one-room flat. The couple had saved enough to buy a two-bedroom flat in 1961. Two more children were born. ‘Things were difficult, but we struggled along together.’ During this time, her husband had over one hour’s journey to work in a factory west of Paris. Georgette, in between maternity leaves, worked in the neighbourhood as a hospital domestic. She had ‘brought over’ her younger sister to help out with the children. After the birth of her fourth child, Georgette began night shifts so that she and her husband could relay each other in taking care of the household (her sister had by then moved out to her own flat). Other relatives, nieces and nephews, were taken in whilst they familiarised themselves with Paris, but they ‘tended not to pull their weight’ as Georgette’s sisters had done. Georgette explains how the tensions arising from these obligations, the promiscuity, and the fact that the couple did not spend much time together ended in them becoming distant. He met another woman and the couple separated in 1966.

Discontent and frustration could lead to a man abandoning the family in search of what he perceived to be a more comfortable situation. This could combine with aspirations of upward social mobility, the woman from 'back home' being abandoned for a more 'modern' woman. Victoire's 'fancé' invited her to join him in France in 1964.¹⁹ She left her first child with her mother in Guadeloupe and they were reunited in the small room he had rented. She describes this as a very romantic period, when she was very happy. A second child was born less than a year later; and when the third arrived one year on, the social worker recommended he be sent to a child nurse. Victoire recounts her distress during this period when the baby was sent into care in a far suburb of Paris. Meanwhile, her partner was less and less present in the home—and despite her being pregnant again. Before the birth, her partner left her 'for a light-skinned Martinican woman who worked for Air France . . .'. She had never married and so, of course, this break-up would not have been recorded in the divorce statistics.

From knowledge of family forms in the Caribbean, it would follow that the relatively high divorce rates of the migrant generation in Britain are linked to the uncharacteristically high rates of marriage that developed shortly after migration of this group (Driver, 1982). In adapting to the norms of the European context of the 1950s and 1960s, Caribbean migrants adopted a status that was artificial for many. It is perhaps unsurprising that a relatively high proportion of marriages ended in divorce (see Table 5.3). In Byron's study (1994) of Nevisian migrants in Leicester, 11 percent of the interviewees were divorced. This imposition of a status for which many were unprepared, the absence of support from the extended family, and the new financial independence of migrant women, combine as contributory factors to the divorce rates for this group. Women interviewees regularly pointed out that they worked, that they had their own money, and that women did not have to tolerate as much from their spouses 'here.' The 'intolerable behaviour' was usually defined as excessive drinking, gambling, and infidelity. One woman referred to her ex-husband as 'a chauvinist pig who wouldn't even let [her] learn to drive.' These views mirror those of Jamaican women in New York who, given the greater financial independence after migration, were more likely to demand assistance from men in the domestic sphere and to be less tolerant of their infidelities (Foner, 1997). Such attitudes have influenced many women with regard to return migration plans, resulting in a reticence to go back to live in the islands (Condon, 2004). The issues raised here are similar to points raised in a survey of a large number of women from a range of Caribbean territories as reasons for their decisions not to enter marriages (WICP survey cited by Senior, 1991). Thus, among women of the migrant generation there developed an increasing recognition of their economic independence and with it a refusal to accept the principal responsibility for housework and the raising of children while tolerating *de facto* polygamy and other pressures on their marriages (Giraud, 1997). Here one should re-emphasise the range of family forms that developed in the British context.

Hidden from the statistics therefore are the trajectories of individuals. People registered as single may have had one or more lasting partnerships, married people may previously have been divorced or widowed. As had now been shown from studies in France, Britain, and elsewhere, remarriage is more common for men than for women after both divorce and widowhood (Festy and Valetas, 1987; Delbès and Gaymu, 2004). In terms of contacts maintained with children of a previous marriage, this has an impact on who remains the parent central in the family network. In an age in which blended families have become a focus for analysis of intra-family relationships, the prevailing image of a consensual arrangement towards bringing up the various offspring does not always reflect realities (Meulders-Klein and Théry, 1993). A number of factors come into play such as the circumstances of the parental separation, quality of parent-child relationships, geographical location of the various actors, financial means, and so on (Martin, 1997). Gender also appears to be a determining factor. Following the separation of parents, children's main residence has tended to be principally with the mother (Villeneuve-Gokalp, 1999). This survey evidence from the mid-1990s showed that contacts and stays with the father were more frequent when the father had not established a family with a new partner.

Of the small sample of divorcees in Leicester, all bar one of the men now had another partner while only one woman was in a relationship. The divorced women were the focal point for the children in these relationships. While some divorced men saw their adult children regularly, the mothers were critical nodes in the family networks and 'going home' meant going 'to Mum's.' In the following two case studies,²⁰ this gender divide is very evident.

Doreen's children were always around her home. Both adult daughters were still living with her when the parents divorced and helped her to get a housing association flat. Finally, with the help of all her children, she was able to purchase a little home of her own. She minded the preschool children of her two daughters while they worked and the sons dropped in regularly. Interviews with her were always busy occasions with one or more children dropping in. The children certainly cared about their father. During this interview, one daughter and her new husband brought their Caribbean honeymoon photographs to show him. It was, however, a very different and more formal occasion to the almost daily noisy gatherings at the mother's home. By contrast the neat, rather spartan flat of the father was a relatively depressing place.

Marcus and his wife divorced ten years ago. As he remarried, there is some reluctance on the part of the children to frequent his home. They remain very close to their mother, who assists with childcare for her grandchildren and sees all her daughters regularly. The presence of Marcus's new family to some extent absorbs the loneliness that would result from the absence of his children as a daily feature of his life.

The potential for loneliness among divorcees, particularly as they age, seems to be greater for men who have not formed new partnerships as they are less tightly networked within the family and beyond. This is supported by Plaza's (2001) observations on Caribbean elders in Britain. He found that women do not seem to experience the isolation that older Caribbean men expressed to him and linked this to the very important role that they as grandmothers played in the family. He even refers to women who have adapted into 'transnational flying grannies' (Plaza, 2001, p. 229) who spend much of their time traveling between children, grandchildren, and other relatives in the international, Caribbean diaspora.

Over the period of the 1970s and 1980s, there were growing similarities in such demographic trends between the two states. Whilst at a lower level in France than in Britain, increasing rates of divorce, of women living alone with children, and also of blended families occurred at the same time as a rising proportion of people living in cohabiting unions or otherwise alone in one-person households (Ogden and Hall, 2004; Lefèvre and Fillion, 2005). We have also observed similar trends within the two Caribbean migrant populations in relation to divorce and to the proportion of lone-parent households headed by women. By the mid-1990s, the Caribbean-born population in Britain had spent a fair proportion of their lives in that country, both the older group, either retired or approaching retirement, and the younger group who left the Caribbean during childhood. The Caribbean-born population in France at that time comprised both a group who had spent thirty or more years on the mainland and younger elements who had recently migrated from the islands. These people had left societies in which marriage behaviour and trends in family formation had evolved since the 1960s and various models coexisted (Gautier, 2004). In the next section, we will give a brief presentation of trends in the 1990s before going on to discuss the impact of these processes upon the various generations of migrants and descendants present in terms of family networks, at the same time as highlighting the transnational dimension of these networks. It is important to note beforehand that the British data describes the Caribbean ethnic group including those born in the Caribbean and their British-born descendants, whereas the French data is limited to those people born in the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. Nonetheless, since a sizeable proportion of this population actually migrated during childhood and was brought up in metropolitan France, the data is in many ways comparable to the British data set.

Trends in the 1990s: From Smaller Households to Extended Transatlantic Families

The characteristics of Caribbean households in Britain are changing. In 1991, lone-parent households made up 42 percent of all Caribbean one-family households (OPCS, 1993), and by 2001 this figure was even higher at 44.4 percent.

This compares closely with the figures for the Caribbean area (Senior, 1991; St Bernard, 2001). Interestingly, the British-born generations today exhibit household and family structures that more resemble those of the Caribbean their parents left than they do those of their parents' generation or the wider British context (Berthoud and Beishon, 1997; Berthoud, 2000; Chamberlain 2001). In a recent paper, Berthoud (2000, p. 9) noted that while the proportion of Caribbean mothers who were single among those born in Britain or who had arrived as children was 48 percent, among Caribbean-born mothers or those who arrived after the age of sixteen, it was 24 percent. This further supports the argument that the migrant generation tended towards marriage and nuclear-family forms once in Britain. Their children, however, seem to have re-created, in the multicultural British context, family forms more common in the Caribbean.

From the 1970s, the children of the Caribbean migrant generation were reaching adulthood and starting to form households and families of their own. This was increasingly reflected in the household and family structure and the marital status of the Caribbean ethnic group as a whole, as is evident from the 1991 census, the 1994 PSI study, and beyond. Marriage rates were relatively low when compared to their parents' generation in Britain and also when compared to the white British population of comparable age. Accompanying these low marriage rates has been an increasing trend

Table 5.5 Caribbean Ethnic Group: Household and Family Structure, 1991 and 2001

<i>1991 Household Type</i>	<i>Percentage of all Households: Black Caribbean</i>	<i>Percentage of All One-Family Households: Black Caribbean</i>	<i>Percentage of All Households: White British²¹</i>	<i>Percentage of All One-Family Households: White British</i>
	One person	27.7		26.6
Married couple	32.7	47.3	55.3	79.8
Co-habiting couple	7.4	10.7	5.4	7.7
Lone parent	29.0	42.0	8.0	12.5
2001 Household type²²				
One person	38.0		30.4	
Married couple	19.3	36.6	37.0	57.3
Co-habiting couple	7.1	13.5	6.5	13.4
Lone parent	23.5	44.4	9.2	14.4

Source: OPCS Census of Great Britain 1991²³ (Table 18); ONS, Census of England and Wales 2001, Table s106.

towards lone-parent households among the Caribbean households in Britain; by 2001 this was nearing 45 percent of all one-family households (see Table 5. 5).

The relatively large proportion of the British-born/raised Caribbean group that remains single contrasts significantly with the older Caribbean group and with the two age groups of white British women (see Table 5.1). This pre-empts the high sole-parent household figures for the Caribbean group that is discussed below. Another noticeable trend in Caribbean households is the rise in single-person households. While this is comparable with the national trend, these households include a significantly smaller proportion of Caribbean-born pensioners than the white British population, with the former having a ratio of 1:3 pensioner to non-pensioner single-person households compared to the latter's 1:1 ratio. Single men make up the majority of the non-pensioner component of this group, complementing the large proportion of female lone-parent-headed households. This is one striking permutation of the single-person households that form the focus of recent demographic trends in Britain (Ogden and Hall, 2004).

At the turn of the century, the largest household type represented within the French Caribbean-born group remains the nuclear household. Couples with children represented over two-fifths of households (42.9 percent), three-quarters of these having fewer than three children. A further 13 percent of households were composed of a couple without children. One-person households were much fewer than in the British case: 16 percent of households were single-person units, 50 percent of these were women and less than one in ten (6 percent) of the total were retirees. This was roughly half the level found at the national scale (31 percent), of which the elderly count for a considerable proportion. The younger age structure of Caribbean one-person households in part reflects the continuing migration of young, single people.

The category of lone-parent households steadily increased from the 1960s. In 1975, these comprised 11.5 percent of households, rising to 13.4 percent by 1982 and then to 16.2 percent in 1999. Some of these households included a relative outside the nuclear family unit (accounting for 2.8 percent of the proportion in 1999). This rise was in parallel to that found generally within the French population and, most notably, within the low-skilled white-collar group as Yves Charbit discovered in the 1980s. In 1982, 13.2 percent of all households classed in this social group were lone-parent households headed by women. By 1990, the proportion had risen to 20 percent and by 1999, to 22 percent. Thus whilst a comparison with the national-level distribution of household types shows the proportion of female-headed lone-parent households to be twice as high amongst the French Caribbean-born as for all households (16.2 percent and 6.8 percent, respectively), the argument that dynamics other than 'cultural' are at play in the shaping of norms and practice holds strong.

The Caribbean population in Britain today extends beyond the original migrant population. While most of the Caribbean migrants formed relationships with people from the Caribbean, a small proportion found partners in the host, white British population. Among the descendants of the Caribbean migrants, mixed-ethnicity partnerships are much more common. Peach (1996) from an investigation of the 1991 census sample of anonymised records (SARs) noted that there was a significant proportion of mixed black Caribbean and white households. A significant difference is found between the proportion of Caribbean-born men and women with British-born white partners: 18 percent of partnered men against 8 percent of women in couples. A similar difference is found for the descendant generation: 40 percent and 24 percent, respectively. Meanwhile, Berthoud and Beishon's (1997) discussion of the PSI survey of ethnic minorities found that of all Caribbean adults with partners 20 percent were in mixed-ethnicity relationships. From recent analysis of data from the labour force survey, Berthoud (2000) notes that among British-born Caribbeans, half of men with a partner live with a white woman while a third of women with a partner live with a white man. A further indicator of the evolving complexity of the Caribbean family is the number of children of mixed black Caribbean and white ethnicity recorded in the 2001 census (ONS, 2003). In the age groups zero to nine years, there were more children recorded as mixed white and black Caribbean than there were recorded as black Caribbean.

This level of integration of the white British population into Caribbean family structures and vice versa has significant implications for the concept of the Caribbean transnational family. Through the migration process, the family has incorporated extra-Caribbean elements that themselves mould the development of the family's structure and function within the wider British society and the Caribbean communities. Due to the tendency for daughters to remain closest to their parents and the higher incidence of mixed-ethnicity relationships between Caribbean-origin men and white women to date, the current generations of mixed-ethnicity children are probably more closely connected to white British family forms and functions than those brought from the Caribbean with the postwar migrants. However, the importance of family to the Caribbean migrant generation means that descendants are sought out and contact maintained, frequently against many odds as the following case²⁴ demonstrates:

Our Stephen's daughter was the apple of my eye in Leeds. He left the mother, a white girl, Sarah, long ago but when I asked she still brought the daughter to see me each Saturday. She is ten now. I helped with her upbringing as much as I could, even getting her into the church school as I always go to church when I was in Leeds. Now we live back at home [Nevis] I do not see her. The mum (Sarah) is afraid to send her to us for a holiday, in case she never comes back!! We are trying to solve the problem by helping with the tickets to Nevis for both of them. I

can't wait to see them and the mum will see how we live here and that her daughter will be safe.

Location of residence is certainly associated with the level of mixed-ethnicity relationships. Different contexts may shape the extent of daily contact between various groups. As Nancy Foner observed from her comparative study, there was a much higher degree of interaction between London's Caribbeans and whites than there was for Caribbeans in New York (Foner, 1998). At the same time, the cosmopolitan characteristics of major cities provide a plethora of other groups and, therefore, a variety of potential partners (Model and Fisher, 2002). Although we do not have similar data at our disposal for the French case, analysis of the Family History Study (1999) indicated that around half the couples resident in metropolitan France in which at least one partner was born in the Caribbean were composed of two Caribbean-born partners and that the proportion of men in unions with non-Caribbean-born partners was higher (Condon, 2004). However, amongst these 'metropolitan' partners are an unknown proportion of people with Caribbean-born parents. Several such cases were found during fieldwork in the Paris region. Nevertheless, the results indicate that within this population, largely resident in the major cities and, although concentrated in certain areas of these agglomerations, not segregated from other groups, a high level of mixed-ethnicity partnerships exist.

Many Caribbean families in Britain and France are now three or four generations strong. This creates an extensive, metropolitan-based family network that differs greatly from that which greeted the mainly young migrants in the 1950s and 1960s. The locally-situated, extended family, similar to the family structures left in the Caribbean, has now evolved within the two countries. Although few households are actually of the 'extended household' type frequently recorded in the Caribbean region (St. Bernard, 2001), several generations tend to live in close proximity to each other in British and French cities. This permits frequent contact and exchange between members of the extended family, a phenomenon that has evolved over the past three decades.

In the French case, where young people continue to leave the islands to study or train on the 'mainland,' support is given simultaneously at both ends of the transatlantic family link. Given the increasing costs of housing and living costs in the major cities, parents and other relatives pay for travel and send money to the young migrants and, at least for short periods, relatives settled in the Paris agglomeration or other cities give them lodgings.

The extended-family system provides particular support for the lone-parent families in a context of inadequate and expensive childcare arrangement. Like their mothers before them, young women of Caribbean origin have high employment rates (Phizacklea, 1983; Holdsworth and Dale, 1997; Dale and Holdsworth, 1998; Duncan and Edwards, 1999; Reynolds, 2001). Despite Plaza's (2001) assertion that Caribbean grandparents in

Britain are less likely to provide the role of childminder for their grandchildren than counterparts in the Caribbean did, there is increasing evidence of retired Caribbean grandparents in Britain playing exactly that role. As the grandparents from the migrant generation retire, there is evidence that many provide very valuable childcare for working mothers. In Leicester, Caribbean grandparents, particularly grandmothers, are a vital element of the network of carers needed to raise the third and fourth generations of Caribbean-origin children.

‘You know what my children say to me. “I never got to see my Nan on a Saturday because she was all the way in the West Indies.” They want me to be here for them and I have to help them with the kids. I pray I get to live to help them out while my ‘gran’ are small. He [the grandfather] does not say much but he will have her [the grandchild] any time the mum drops her at our house and he is the only one in.’ (Carmen)²⁵

Furthermore, the presence in Britain and France of grandchildren and the need of their help as grandparents constitute a major deterrent to returning to live in the Caribbean. Whilst research has shown that such a motive may only be one of a complex interplay of factors working against return migration—and for women, a readily given motive obscuring others relating to gender (Cribier, 1992; Condon, 2004)—many people find fulfilment in caring for and helping to bring up their grandchildren. In an increasingly insecure, economic environment, the assistance with childcare while parents work is invaluable in many cases today. We move on to discuss return in some detail in the next chapter. The Caribbean family forms shown here are clearly not limited to a nuclear unit, nor is the ‘household’ the extent of the active family unit.

CHANGES AND CONTINUITIES IN FAMILY ROLES

Throughout this study of postwar migration to Britain and France, the importance of family in the process was evident. As the central organising and stabilising element in Caribbean society, it inevitably became significantly involved within this development in the region’s history. As Caribbean society is literally a product of migration, the institution of the family has developed within this framework. For all sectors of society, but particularly for the labouring classes, migration was an accepted route to socio-economic advancement. As in migrations the world over, individual migrations usually became family projects. There is a plethora of evidence, from the study of Caribbean migration to Britain and France, of the family’s contribution to this transatlantic movement of individuals. Family members played their roles at key points ranging from financially underpinning the move and assuming responsibility for the migrant’s offspring and property

in the Caribbean to providing accommodation and employment assistance in the metropole. The migrant reciprocated in this network of relatives as a source of remittances and as a link in the chain that would support subsequent migration of individuals from the Caribbean.

Generational change is evident as in some dimensions, descendants of Caribbean migrants seem to show household pattern trends that are more similar to those of their forebears in the Caribbean than to their parents' generation. However, there is also a more general trend in French and British societies towards increasing levels of lone parenthood and children born outside marriage. The very high proportion of lone-parent households within the Caribbean population in contemporary Europe is more typical of the Caribbean itself than of patterns set by their parental generation within the wider context in France and Britain. Single parents receive substantial support from the now re-established Caribbean extended family in this European setting; of particular importance is the critical role in childcare provided by the retiring, migrant generation.

The divorce rate is anomalous in the migrant generation, indicating a reaction to the huge stresses of imposed nuclear-family life and the ability of women to exert their economic independence within the urban context. Younger generations of women are more commonly adopting non-marital partnerships, or living alone, and hence are less exposed to divorce. Throughout the migration experience and the establishment of Caribbean populations in Europe, the family as an institution has remained a major feature. While ever flexible and at times criticised, it remains the central support system for this population. It is clear that the future will continue to present challenges to the populations in Britain and France and to test the role and strength of the family as a force for both cohesion and wider integration.

6 Transatlantic Lives, Transatlantic Social Fields

Circulation and Return to the Caribbean

CIRCULATION AND RETURN AS TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES

A common feature of most migration flows is the continued contact between migrants and their place of origin. A substantial literature bears witness to this phenomenon (Charbit et al., 1997; Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991; Massey et al., 1987) and reveals how, after emigration, links are maintained more or less intensively, via remittances of money and goods and often through short visits to the 'home country.' Generally such links have been seen to indicate attachment to the place of origin and understood to demonstrate that return remains an option. This is one of the explanations of return that has been explored throughout migration literature. However, more recently other approaches to the function of such links, emphasising the 'single social experience' (Basch et al., 1994, p. 6) that they depict, explicitly embrace the increasingly popular term 'transnationalism' to analyse and interpret their observations (Basch et al., 1994; Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2003; Vertovec, 2003). Transnationalism is defined by Basch et al. (1994, p. 7) as 'the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement.' Individuals are thus seen to participate simultaneously in two societies, in the process crossing cultural geographical, cultural, and political borders, rather than in each in turn according to the place of usual residence. The form of participation may of course differ, as one place, for example, may be the principal location of work and bringing up offspring, the other being the location of housing investment, of care for older relatives, or of assisting a relative in setting up a small business.

This literature has in some respects built onto the notion of the social field of migrants, a social and geographic space encompassing the various relationships and locations making up a network of relatives, friends, and acquaintances (Manners, 1965). The Caribbean experience has exemplified such extended socio-cultural systems (Byron, 1994; Philpott, 1968; Sutton and Chaney, 1987; Western, 1992). Migration then is viewed as a form of 'relocation' within a social field (Olwig, 2003). With such a perspective we

can no longer consider return to be a discrete part of the migration cycle but an intrinsic element of a migration history linking individuals, families, and places. Nor is return a necessary part of the process, implicit in the circulatory model of migration; and the absence of this step in the migratory experience does not mean that people should be perceived as in some way 'stranded' at their destination, disconnected from their country of origin and attempting, with varying degrees of success, to make their permanent home within the 'host' society. Much of the debate on transnationality has evolved since our earlier analysis of return migration from the Caribbean (Byron and Condon, 1996), opening up the migration cycle perspective.

Nonetheless, as some observers have remarked (Foner, 2001; Laguerre, 1998), many aspects of transnational practices are not as new as they are presented. Indeed, Laguerre traces the term 'Trans-National America' to Bourne who in 1916 questioned the accuracy of the assimilation perspective given the 'actual patterns of adaptation by immigrants' (Laguerre, 1998, p. 6). Italian migrants settled in France in the early twentieth century, for example, and traveled back and forth across the Alps; for some women, return trips were made for childbirth (Condon, 1987; Blanc-Chaléard, 2000). Longer-distance migrants in the United States, as Foner (2001) highlights, also made return trips. Seasonal migrants in many cross-border contexts during the last century were also early transnationals. These and more recent transnational practices are linked to age and life course stage. This perspective, often overlooked in debates, will be given particular attention here; as will the impact of gender in shaping norms and practices (Pessar and Mahler, 2003).

Other dimensions the transnational debate has tended to overshadow include not only important aspects of social and political context—such as assimilation policy of the 'receiving' state (Nagel, 2002), particularly relevant in this comparative study—but also the relevance of examining the consequences of return in terms of financial costs, economic development, and social change (Muschkin, 1993; Thomas-Hope, 1986, 1999). Here, by focusing on return trends and experiences of return migrants, we redirect our attention towards the regions who have seen thousands of their inhabitants emigrate. While consciously examining the return movement, we are very aware of its place within a now much wider sphere of activity, contributed to by the migration process and further enabled by the globalisation of life in the past few decades—the huge technological shift that permits individuals simultaneously to participate in activities and enterprises located thousands of miles apart but contacted within seconds.

Return from Myth to Reality

The nostalgic representation or 'myth' of return has been a strong force in shaping strategies of migrants in numerous contexts (Anwar, 1979; Cerase, 1974; Sayad, 1977). The migration project, in so many instances short-term,

becomes long-term and nostalgia increases during prolonged stay (Poinard, 1979; Charbit et al., 1997). At the root of the term 'return migration' relayed throughout the literature is the idea of the sending nation, 'home,' as a place to which the individual is primarily attached. However, as Western (1992) showed through a study of Barbadians in London, considerable investment, both economic and social, may be made both in the migration destination and in the country of origin: 'home' thus has various meanings within the extended social field.

Return migration has been a central element, material and myth, of the post-emancipation migrations from various Caribbean territories (Byron, 2005). Return to the islands was a crucial strand of the migrant ideology described by Philpott (1968). Studies of Caribbean migrants have shown the various dimensions of the return legend both those related to the success and enhanced status of migrants who returned in the past and those emerging from the continual postponement of return projects of many migrants (Byron, 1994, 2005; Gmelch, 1992; Thomas-Hope, 1986; Western, 1992). Recent investigations strongly suggest that the symbolic and material content of the return ideal has changed and that the dreams of migrant parents have often been transmitted to offspring, through talk of 'home,' idealised images of social relations and family, and references to an overall quality of life (Byron, 1999, 2000, 2005; Condon, 1996, 2005; Potter and Phillips, 2006). As we will reveal below, it is thus that some young Caribbeans return to their parents' island with the intention of starting a new life, some despite their parents giving up hope of returning or making new plans. Many of the 'new-generation returnees' choose to relocate in the Caribbean after the return migration of their parents. Meanwhile, for those migrants who retain a strong attachment to the Caribbean but who have abandoned hope of returning there to live, there is often the project to return at the time they are taken to their final resting place (Pourette, 2002).

Return migration is nonetheless a reality for thousands of individuals and households. A growing proportion of the population of the Caribbean territories have lived for several years or decades in European towns and cities (Byron, 1994, 2000; Domenach and Picouet, 1992; Potter et al., 2005; Thomas-Hope, 1986). Returnees of various ages, living alone or with family members, retired or in work, make up this population. A body of academic research has sought to understand factors influencing the return decision (Bovenkerk, 1974; Cassarino, 2004; King et al., 1983). Questions of 'who returns and who stays' are seen to be determined by considerations of age, socioeconomic status, family circumstances, and maintenance of links to the place of origin. Other factors have emerged as being important, such as the policies of migrant-receiving states, as well as of the countries to which migrants return (Thomas-Hope, 1999; Diatta and Mbow, 1999). As we shall discuss below, our research confirmed that gender relations undeniably influence attitudes to return (Byron, 1999, 2000; Condon and Ogden, 1996;

Condon, 2004). Changing relationships, evolving social and economic contexts, life events such as births and deaths, all affect migration outcomes. These aspects of the context of return migration will be dealt with in detail in our discussion. We will explore the meaning of return for migrants living in the metropolises or in the islands, as well as the extent to which return has become a reality for Caribbean communities in Britain and France.

TRANSATLANTIC CIRCULATION AND RETURN

Return Migration Trends

Statistical data has helped us to describe trends in the scale of return and circulation. Although figures are often approximate, they can assist us in identifying the age groups principally concerned by the movement as well as other social characteristics¹. Most data presented here was produced in censuses. Interest, both political and academic, has given rise to the gathering of statistics on return migration and research based on questionnaire surveys has been supported. While unable to accurately predict the volume of future return movements through direct questions on plans to return, such surveys have generated information on identity, on feelings of belonging, and on attachment (Condon, 2004).

Until the 1990s, studies of return migration from Britain were small-scale, often consisting of ethnographic evidence of the process (B. Davison, 1968; Nutter, 1986) due to the lack of large-scale survey data on such flows or of questions relating to return within social surveys such as the national census. Estimates of the scale of return movements began with Peach's (1991) use of the decline in the Caribbean-born population registered in the British census and other major national surveys to assess the approximate level of return to the Caribbean. British censuses of 1991 and 2001 have enabled further estimates from within Britain while the inclusion of questions examining periods spent abroad in the Caricom Population and Household Census since 1990 has enabled a more accurate estimate of the level of return to each Caricom territory (Byron 2000; Goulbourne, 1999).

From the Census of Great Britain, it is apparent that the Caribbean-born population peaked around the 1971 census. In subsequent censuses, this population has declined. (See Table 6.1.) This trend would be explained by a combination of emigration and mortality rates. While there is evidence that some Caribbean-born people re-migrated from Britain to other destinations such as the United States and Canada, most of this outflow is believed to be return migration.

It does seem that for the cohort of postwar Caribbean migrants in Britain, the decline in absolute population was at its highest in the decade leading up to 1991. There was evidence of a significantly lower population loss by

Table 6.1 Decline in UK-Resident Caribbean-Born Population, 1981–2001

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Decline in Caribbean-Born Population of UK</i>
1971–1981	8,891
1981–1991	30,588
1991–2001	10,786

Source: OPCS, Census of Great Britain, 1981, 1991, Country of birth tables for England and Wales; ONS, Census 2001, England and Wales, Country of birth tables

the census of 2001. However, we must note that the impact of return flows on the size of the Caribbean-born population in Britain is countered by the recent inflow of migrants who form part of a wider, global labour movement in which Britain is a major receiver nation since the 1990s (Rendall and Ball, 2004; Salt and Millar, 2006). Indeed, Salt and Millar (2006, p. 340) estimate that 33, 000 Caribbean nationals were living and working in the UK in 2005². A more direct measure of emigration from Britain of Caribbean-born people is the International Passenger Survey³ used by Rendall and Ball (2004) to estimate that 23,000 Caribbean-born immigrants who came to Britain before 1977 emigrated from Britain between 1977 and 2001.

Further examination of this return trend is possible through census results for the individual Commonwealth Caribbean territories (Byron, 2000; UNECLAC, 1998). The tradition of labour migration is reflected in the range of destinations, some regional and others much further afield, from which migrants have returned to these countries. The four major destinations were the U.S. Virgin Islands, the United States, Canada, and Britain. (CCPHC, 1996). These destinations were of varying importance to the sending countries. If we take the examples of Barbados, Antigua, and St Kitts/Nevis we see that, while Britain was by far the most important source of returnees to Barbados, in the cases of St Kitts/Nevis and Antigua in the northeastern Caribbean, the U.S. Virgin Islands (USVI), a short distance away, proved more important. For Barbados and St Kitts/Nevis, many more people had returned from Britain than from the United States by the Caricom Census of 1990.

This return of postwar immigrants reflects two main factors in the migrations. First was the timing of the migrations. The movement to Britain peaked when the flow of labour to the United States was severely curtailed (see Chapter 2). By the time that restrictions on migration to the United States were lessened in 1965, the movement to Britain had been cut by the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act. So the cohorts of emigrants who left for Britain in that postwar era are older. As the trend has been for most returnees to wait until their retirement to undertake this move from Britain,

the older returnees in the region are more often from there (see Table 6.2). Movement to the USVI and the United States itself has increased over time and Caribbean people have settled into immigrant communities there (Foner, 2001; Sutton and Chaney, 1987). The retirement return from the United States is far less of a demographic phenomenon up to the 2001 census (St Kitts Census Office, 2004) but it may yet occur. However the second important factor affecting return trends is the nature of migration to the USVI and North America. Many traveled to the United States, USVI, and Canada on short-term contracts, for example to work on seasonal agricultural contracts in the United States or Canada⁴, and expected to return after a relatively short stay. Others went on visitor visas intending to stay if possible. Many succeeded but others were found and deported by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The proximity of the USVI and the United States to the Caribbean also encourages shorter-term work sojourns there. There is much evidence here of the coming and going that is described for many French Caribbeans, to and from France. Britain, on the other hand, became for many a lifetime experience.

Statistical evidence of return migration⁵ to the French islands shows that substantial numbers have returned as the figures indicate (see Table 6.3). Analysis revealed the importance of different age groups in the flows, including that of preretirement migration, and the extent of gender balance. Comparing the periods prior to 1975 and 1975–1982, Domenach and Picouet (1992) reveal an increase in the number of returnees, the proportion of younger returnees having grown (twenty- to thirty-nine-year-olds increased between the two periods from one-third to 60 percent of returnees) and a

Table 6.2 Age Groups of Returnees to St Kitts/Nevis from Britain and the United States, Census 1991 and 2001 (Percentages of Total Returnee Count in Each Group)

<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>Britain</i>	<i>United States</i>
1991		
15–44	18	61
45–59	27	16
60+	55	23
2001		
15–44	14	66
45–59	23	17
60+	63	17

Sources: CCPHC, 1991, 2001.

Table 6.3 Number of Residents in the Islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique Having Moved from Metropolitan France During Each Intercensal Period

<i>Intercensal Period</i>	<i>Number of Individuals</i>
1969–1974	3,542
1975–1982	29,786
1982–1990	25,018

Sources: Estimations from census for 1969–1982, Domenach and Picouet (1992); for 1982–1990, Guengant (1993), Condon and Ogden (1996); for 1990–1999, Marie and Rallu (2004).

decrease in the proportion of men, reflecting the feminisation of migration to the French metropole in the 1960s. These trends continued, although at a lower level, and 9 percent of the thirty- to thirty-nine-year age group in the Caribbean in 1990 was made up of people who were living in France in 1982. It is from this age group upwards that the net migration rate in the French Caribbean becomes positive and for both women and men (Rallu, 1997, p. 711). Throughout, flows to each island are remarkably similar.

In the 1980s, in addition to the continuing return flow for retirement, a considerable proportion of people in the twenty-five to forty age group were returning (Condon and Ogden, 1996; Rallu, 1997). Between 14 percent and 17 percent of the twenty-eight to thirty-two age group were estimated as having returned between 1982 and 1990 and 12–13 percent of thirty-three- to thirty-seven-year-olds, in contrast to 8 to 9 percent of fifty-three- to fifty-seven-year-olds (Rallu, 1997, p. 709). By the 1990s, whilst return flows of the young age groups remain similar, those of the retirement age group have increased considerably: around 14 percent of fifty-nine- to sixty-three-year-olds returned between 1990 and 1999 and 16 to 18 percent of sixty-four- to sixty-eight-year-olds (Marie and Rallu, 2004, Table 3). Return trends do display gender differences, although this does not appear in the retirement age groups. Interestingly, however, the younger age groups up to thirty-nine contain proportionally more women returning than men. This trend was already apparent in the 1980s and, despite continuing high rates of unemployment in the islands, is a likely reflection of more job openings for women, in what have become ‘female employment sectors’ (secretarial, retail, tourism) in the Caribbean. It has been observed that, whilst job instability and frequency of part-time work prevail in some sectors, women have higher rates of employment, especially among those over the age of forty (Marie and Rallu, *op.cit.*). Also, as is the case of return from this generation in Britain, women of this generation have often tended to have higher qualifications than men and thus are more likely to find employment in the emerging service economies of the Caribbean.

The returnees ‘captured’ at each census may be long-term returnees planning to stay in the islands definitively; they may be at the beginning or the end of a short stay before migrating again to metropolitan France. A strong feature of the post-1980 period is the increasing complexity of migration biographies.

Circulation: From Visits to Longer Stays

Over the last thirty years, the annual exodus from French cities and towns to southern European countries such as Italy, Spain, and Portugal exemplifies important material and symbolic aspects of the notion of circulation. Less visible on the roads but highly visible nowadays in the arrivals zones of airport terminals are the transatlantic movements of Caribbean people. This form of circulation, defined as back and forth journeys between the migration destination and the place of ‘origin’ (where birthplace and early childhood was spent), tends to occur at key times during the annual calendar: during the summer months and around the Christmas period. In addition to the role of such movements within migration systems, they constitute a new tourist phenomenon known as ‘visiting friends and relatives’ (Duval, 2002; R. Butler, 2003). In the French case, the return trips made by Caribbean migrants are a principal component of the tourist industry in the islands (Urunuela, 2004).

Return visits—when affordable—had occurred from the early days of these economically motivated labour migrations; by individuals or whole families. The motives for such visits ranged from holidays, family events, fetching offspring left with parents in the initial stages of migration, and sending offspring to grandparents for holidays or longer for schooling in the Caribbean, to return visits to search for jobs, land or housing (Byron and Condon, 1996). Modernisation of transport, with the introduction of commercial air travel, greatly facilitated journeys across the Atlantic from the 1970s (Atchoarena, 1992; Nicolas, 2001). A number of factors made this back and forth circulation easier in the French case than, for example, British experiences: small financial advantages for workers in some public services and the possibility of grouping together annual holidays over two or three years; plus cheaper travel⁶ opportunities on the national airline for Air France employees. Such short stays are not included in return statistics yet they are important to examine since they represent a crucial part of the transnational process of maintaining links and perpetuating information flows. Analysis of a survey question put to 1,112 Caribbean-born migrants living in metropolitan France in 1992 gives a strong indication of the volume of short return visits (Condon, 1996). Around one-third of interviewees stated that they returned once every three or four years, while a further 30 percent said they went back every two years. A particularly privileged group (16 percent) went back to the islands every year (with the proportion being 38 percent amongst the higher socioeconomic groups), whilst 13 percent said they had never returned.⁷

The climatic and environmental advantages of the islands make them attractive places for holidays for metropolitan-born offspring of migrants—and not purely a visit to grandparents and other relatives. It is thus that Jacqueline⁸ talks of the arrangements she has made so that her children can maintain a link with family in Guadeloupe. Her partner was born in French Guyana, but his parents were Guadeloupean. He has been quite happy to spend a holiday in Guadeloupe with Jacqueline and the two boys every three years and, since the boys were aged around seven, to send them to stay with their grandparents. According to Jacqueline, the boys (then aged thirteen and fifteen) enjoy their stays there, going to the beach and other outside activities. She is really happy about this, as she feels it is important for the family to be able to see the boys grow up and, she hopes, it leaves the option for one or both of them to settle in Guadeloupe one day: ‘They need to go regularly to keep up with local life, to make friends, to be able to speak Creole. That way, if they want to go back, there would be no problem.’

Meanwhile, Francine talks of her physical need to return as often as possible: ‘I’m a Caribbean plant, I need the sun, the food. I need to see my brother.’ She and her husband have taken their four children with them often in the past: ‘They like going for holidays but, for the moment, none of them would want to go back to live there.’ Holiday lifestyle is thus differentiated from living in the islands on a permanent basis, working, integrating into local networks, and so on.

Regular visits to the Caribbean developed at a later stage for Britain’s postwar Caribbean community. During the 1960s and 1970s, for most people visits were precluded by the high cost of travel, financial commitments to relatives in the Caribbean and young families in Britain, and, often, the huge financial outlay of purchasing a home due to intolerable conditions in the private rental sector. However from the late 1970s, visits became more common as people came to accept that their originally planned sojourn in Britain of five to ten years was not feasible, strengthening the urge to retain contact with home via such visits. In addition, their economic situation in Britain was stabilising by then. Once regular visits did develop as a trend the range of travel options did likewise. Over the 1980s and 1990s and into the twenty-first century, the number of air travel options between Britain and the Caribbean has mushroomed. From having no option beyond flying with then national British airline BOAC, later British Airways, Caribbean people now have much choice via British airlines, Caribbean national airlines, and charter airlines from a number of airports across the UK. There are also travel agents who deal exclusively with Caribbean travel, providing a key operational element of the now transnational existence of this community. The liberalisation and privatisation of the travel industry since the 1980s has provided the British Caribbean community with a far wider range of travel options than exists today between France and the Caribbean. Visits are often timed to coincide with the various national festivals held in the islands during the year ranging from the famous carnival of Trinidad and

Tobago in February to the Culturama festival in Nevis in late July. Special sporting events such as cricket test match series and the 2007 Cricket World Cup series also increase Caribbean visits 'back home.'

Visits to the Caribbean played an important part in the decisions by migrants to return from Britain to settle in the Caribbean. Interviews with 100 returnees to the Eastern Caribbean islands of St Kitts/Nevis and Barbados revealed that all had paid at least one visit to the region before returning, most having returned on holiday at least four times⁹. Indeed, some migrants told of the very visit in which they decided that they would come back for good: 'I came a lot on holiday but always had to go back to the kids . . . In 1986, when I was here on holiday, I decided to give it two more years and return to live in 1988'¹⁰.

Mirroring these movements are the visits to metropolitan France made by individuals permanently residing in the Caribbean. Such visits are made for health reasons (visit to a specialist, hospitalisation for an operation), for holidays, and for visits to relatives. Returned migrants also make these types of visits. Marie, who returned somewhat reluctantly to Guadeloupe in 1994, after her daughter decided to study at the French Caribbean university (see below), saves up for return visits to Paris and northern France to see friends: 'And I also miss walking round Paris, looking at the shops, and the countryside outside the city.' These movements too are important links in the transatlantic social field and contribute to shaping the context of emigration and return.

While for many returnees trips to Britain are rare now that they are settled back into life in the Caribbean, similar to the French case, other people with sufficient means travel regularly to see relatives and friends and to receive health care. Most returnees sold their homes in Britain before returning but a minority left the property for one or more of their children. This also leaves a place for sojourns in Britain whenever they wish to return. Two of the returnees interviewed in Barbados had retired from jobs with a British airline and the British Airport Authority. As part of their pension schemes, both were entitled to a return trip to Britain annually for life. One of these returnees spoke fondly of the coat she leaves hanging behind her daughter's front door in West London 'for when I get there!' This was the personification of a transatlantic existence that has evolved over time from the rather discrete spaces of activity that characterised the postwar migrant situation. The main factor here is the rapid and far-ranging expansion in communication services from transport to telecommunication.

As in the French context, visits are made not only by returnees but also by non-migrant Caribbean people to family and friends in Britain. The concept of the 'transnational family' (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002) is particularly relevant to this context. In the following example, the once distinct boundaries between Britain and the Caribbean islands have become blurred through the formation of a family-centred, transnational, social space.

Mrs James and her husband left Nevis in 1960 leaving behind four children with her mother. Three of these children joined them within the next six years but the youngest, a baby girl called Mavis, remained as company and support for her grandmother. This child was supported financially by her parents and from the 1970s regularly came to Britain on visits to stay with her parents and siblings. She runs a thriving business in Nevis that is owned by a relative in Britain who commutes up to five times a year to the Caribbean and back. During the summer months, Mavis's three children often travel to Britain to spend time with their grandparents, uncles, aunt, and many cousins there. One of the points that emerge here is the increased living standards and expectations that have developed largely as a result of the migration process.

While for some decades it has been common for relatives abroad to fly 'home' to the Caribbean to attend and indeed finance the funeral of a close relative, today the movement is frequently in the opposite direction with sisters, brothers, and children flying in from the Caribbean to assist and attend funerals. At a recent funeral in a city in Britain, it was observed that, in addition to the relatives based locally and hundreds of Caribbean people from the city and across urban Britain, also present were a brother and sister who had flown in from Antigua and Nevis respectively and another sister who had arrived from Canada two days before. Within hours of the funeral, pictures and other details had had been e-mailed to a sister in Nevis who had been unable to attend. Increasingly the interaction seems to occur in a common space despite the continuing transatlantic distance.

THE SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF RETURN MIGRATION

In many discussions of return migration, the necessity of being able to show proof of a certain material success, of having 'bettered oneself' after years away, is advanced as an important factor in the decision to return (Byron, 1994; Thomas-Hope, 1982; Gmelch, 1980). In the case of return from metropolitan France to the Caribbean departments, the numbers of recorded returnees testify to the fact that the criterion of achieved success may be measured in various ways : for example, the fact of having traveled, learnt a foreign language, set up an association, or helped one's offspring to continue into further education. The capital acquired may be social rather than financial. Furthermore, the imperative of having achieved or surpassed the aims of the migration project may no longer be valid: so many people have left, come back to the islands, left again. Perhaps the proof of material success—the building of a spacious home and acquisition of modern commodities—has been perceived as a prerequisite for return, according to the model set in 1970s and 1980s by many couples returning in their fifties, the classic return for a comfortable

retirement in a 'dream home' (cf. De Villanova et al., 1994; Bonnin and De Villanova, 1999).

Since the 1980s, people have been traveling to and fro, visiting relatives, spending holidays in the islands. The advantages and disadvantages of living in the metropole are discussed, the wish to return to enjoy the 'good things in life' (warm climate, beach, being close to family, relaxed environment) is justifiable, whether a substantial rise in income or capital has been obtained or not. There is also the advantage of remaining socially part of the island community, maintained by frequent visits or telephone contact, when there is no ostentatious display of success. For jealousy, outwardly expressed, is common (Bougerol, 2002) and can lead to ostracism or acts of violence. Success can also be measured now by the ability to spend time in both places, as well as to be able to travel to other destinations for holidays. For Juliette, this is how she spends her retirement. Each year, she saves money to be able to travel, sometimes to Martinique, otherwise to other islands in the Caribbean.

The critical difference here is that in the French case, people moved within a national space to fulfil one of any number of agendas ranging from military service through working in public services to further education whereas the migrants to Britain were, in general, continuing a tradition of labour migration to improve the individual or family economic situation across borders, at home. As opposed to the French situation, from 1962 there was no common territory. Having ventured abroad, it was seen as very important, if returning, to do so as a success. The more time spent abroad the more substantial the evidence required.

Given the variety of age groups concerned, returning migrants are positioned differently in relation to the labour market as well as the housing market. Age, combined with a number of other factors, influences their ambitions in the return move. We can examine the various factors intervening in the decision to return to the Caribbean by grouping them into three broad categories: economic, socio-demographic, and socio-cultural (Thomas-Hope, 1993; Byron, 1999). Gender relations intersect with most of these issues relating to return.

The Economics of Return: Income, Housing Options, and Life Course Stage

Major among economic considerations are those of having a source of income in the Caribbean (earnings or pension payments) and possessing a home or having the resources to acquire one in the Caribbean. There are two broad categories of returnees: those who return for retirement and those who return at working age. For both groups, the different costs of living in the metropole and the islands are an issue. In several respects the cost of living is higher in the islands, owing to the cost of imported goods¹¹. The benefits of being able to reintegrate into a network of close relatives and

long-standing friends within which services can be exchanged (for example, assistance in building a home), being able to grow one's own fruit and vegetables, or no longer having to pay for heating are weighed against the high cost of manufactured goods and much imported food. Other costs involved in return are, of course, those incurred during the move (transport of possessions, insurance, legal fees, among others).

Generally, migrants interviewed in the Paris region are of the opinion that life after a return to the Caribbean will be less costly—as long as a satisfactory pension or a reasonably stable job can be procured—since there are various ways of supplementing one's formal income and benefiting from services within one's networks. Those migrants most in favour of returning have continuously participated in their social network, sending money or gifts to family in the Caribbean, offering lodgings to siblings, cousins, or their offspring, and making return visits to attend christenings, weddings, or funerals. They thus feel at liberty to ask for lodgings or other assistance during the first months after return. Nor do they expect their needs to be overlooked when family land is shared out following the decease of a parent or grandparent (Urunuela, 2002).

Housing intervenes in the return decision depending upon the possibilities and ideals of migrants. Migrants who have inherited or purchased a small plot of land may have been able to start building a home over the years, working on the project during holidays in the island.¹² Some stay with relatives on their return while completing the building work. Such was the case for François who, together with his wife, bought a piece of land in the late 1970s in their village of origin (they had been childhood friends) and had begun building for their retirement. When François moved back to take up his post in Guadeloupe, he occupied a room at his parents' home. This house had been extended and improved over the years with the help of François, his sister who also had migrated to Paris, and the two sisters who had remained in Guadeloupe. Since the offer of the transfer was made after the couple had given up hope and thought that they had several years ahead of them to complete the construction of their house, building was still in its early stages.¹³

Relatives cannot be imposed upon for accommodation indefinitely, of course. Many people refuse the idea of returning without minimal preparations: 'I wouldn't want to be dependent on my brother's family. It would cause problems,' stated Francine. Others plan to purchase a house after a short period in rented accommodation. However rising land prices and rents, in addition to social housing being a scarce resource, particularly for returnees, mean that many are not able to save the capital necessary to achieve their objective.

For returnees from Britain too, housing is a critical issue. Most returnees had put into effect their housing strategies well prior to their actual return: 'Every chance we get. . . Everything we had, we invest here. From the age of fifty, I started to prepare for this. . . . ' This man returned at sixty-five

after working in Britain for thirty years¹⁴. In islands where land was available for purchase, migrants had often acquired land during the 1960s and 1970s when prices were relatively low. This returnee to Nevis discussed their purchase decision: 'Even before we knew when we could go, we tried to get a piece of land there. In the sixties we heard of some land going in this area. We sent down the money and a lawyer did it for us. . . . ' This couple had a house built on the land in the 1980s and returned to Nevis in 1994¹⁵. Others inherited land and later had homes built on it: 'I was left some land here. In 1992, I came out before the wife to supervise them building the house'¹⁶. His wife joined him in 1993.

In the case of St Kitts and Barbados, land was not readily available for purchase and there were fewer accounts of inheritance of plots of land or houses. Indeed, until the 1990s (Potter, 1997) plantation owners had significant control over land tenure in Barbados. In general, returnees were restricted to purchasing land or houses from developers of ex-plantation land that has now been re-zoned for residential use. Consequently, there is a distinct pattern of returnees being located in modern housing estates in parishes such as Christ Church, St Phillip, and St James in Barbados.

Once land was acquired, either inherited or bought with savings, the cost of constructing a home was a further major financial undertaking. Some migrants waited until they retired and sold their home in Britain in order to fund the new house. Indeed it was a minority who were able to keep their property in Britain, usually leaving at least one of their children living in it, while building a second home in the Caribbean. In those cases, the second home was built while they worked in Britain, often funded by an extension of their mortgage on their property in Britain coupled with careful saving. Indeed some of these second homes have remained just that: holiday homes for the extended family now resident in Britain, which enable the migrant owners to spend winter months in the Caribbean while remaining for a substantial part of the year in Britain, near to their British-born descendants. Whereas the general trend for returnees from Britain has been to invest in residential property, more recently, particularly in the cases of younger 'returnees,' who may not necessarily be committing to a permanent relocation, rental has been a preferred strategy.

When return to the French Caribbean occurs at *retirement age*, the fact that movement takes place within the same national space is important.¹⁷ Nonetheless, the diversity of pension levels means that some migrants have more choice of where to spend their retirement than others. The level of pension is of course related to employment experience in metropolitan France, its stability and level of remuneration. Public-sector workers, whatever the grade, thus are assured of a regular pension. Outside this sector, only the minority of people falling within the upper socio-economic groups benefit from substantial occupational pensions. As a group, amongst the older generations, many women have been less financially secure than have men, owing to interrupted working careers or to

not having benefited from social security cover (particularly in domestic employment).¹⁸ In retirement, they will be particularly dependent upon their partner's pension. Women who are separated from their partner or single may have considerably lower household pensions and find themselves dependent upon relatives should they wish to return. Unlike the British case, where men bore the brunt of mass redundancies in industry (see Chapter 3), Caribbean men in metropolitan France have been largely protected from redundancy as a majority worked in the public sector or nationalised industry, which have been less affected.

The majority of returnees from Britain to the Caribbean territories are retired (Byron, 1999, 2000; Goulbourne, 1999). Once it became evident to migrants that their original goal of a return within five or ten years was not viable, most postponed their plans until retirement. This section of the life course would bring some degree of income security in the form of a pension. The degree of pension received varied depending on the pension arrangements of their occupations. All workers had contributed to a basic state pension via national insurance contributions. In addition, public service workers such as nurses and public transport employees were members of reliable occupational pension schemes. The pension arrangements for private-sector employees, particularly the manufacturing sector, were more varied. Some firms offered occupational pension schemes while others did not. From 1978, employees who were not contributing to an occupational pension scheme were able to contribute to a State Earnings Related Pension Scheme (SERPS), changed to the Second State Pension scheme (SSP) in 2002. The latter is particularly directed at low- and middle-income earners. Levels of contribution to schemes depended on the nature of the employment contract and the number of hours worked.

Casual labourers or part-timers seldom made enough national insurance contributions to build up significant pension entitlements and, as is the case of Caribbean women in France, migrant women in Britain were also likely to be at a disadvantage with regards to national insurance contributions due to periods out of work in their child-bearing and -raising years. However, Caribbean women of this postwar generation are less affected by this than other ethnic groups in Britain as they maintained a high presence within the labour force even when their children were very young (see Chapter 3, this volume; Holdsworth and Dale, 1997). In general, those migrants who had accumulated fewer material assets in Britain, particularly in terms of housing wealth, and had small pension entitlements tended to remain in Britain as additional income and housing support would be available there. Relocating beyond the borders of the state would end access to benefits beyond pensions, and some sickness and permanent disability benefits. In addition, the proximity of immediate family—children and grandchildren—friends, churches and associations, working men's clubs, and senior citizens associations all militated against a decision to travel to the Caribbean for more than a holiday. Women have been more explicit in declaring the logic of this

decision but over time, men have also, albeit often reluctantly (Plaza, 2001), accepted that a 'complete return' would not be feasible (Byron, 1999).

From the perspective of Caribbean economies, retirees from Britain boost the construction industry as their new homes are built and their regular pensions bring in a welcome flow of foreign currency to the countries involved. As consumers with a regular income, they also contribute to the local economy. Policy makers are increasingly aware, however, of the implications of an influx of this particular age group for the already stretched health and social services (Goulbourne, 1999; Byron, 2000).

The issues raised here highlight the differences between these two migrations at the point of return. For the French migrants and descendants, it is relocation within a national system. Rights to health care, education, and welfare benefits extend to the Caribbean and combined with the superior climate, more open space, and, in many cases greater access to family and friends, make a residential return a feasible prospect. Those returning from Britain enter the jurisdiction of another nation state. Many of the benefits they received in Britain do not extend beyond the borders of Britain. All their health care locally has to be paid for; most do not have private health insurance (unlike their contemporaries returning from North America; Goulbourne, 1999) as they were contributors to the National Health Service in Britain. For those who return to Britain for health care as British citizens, a network of close friends and family members on site in Britain is an essential element of overcoming the barriers to the transnational existence. Overall, return migration requires a leap of faith as, in the process, key elements of the security that migrants have accumulated over their years abroad are significantly reduced.

The process of *pre-retirement return* includes people at various stages of their working life: young people who have completed their studies, couples with young children, single parents who have spent fifteen or twenty years working in the metropole, and, in the French case, public-sector employees who have obtained a transfer to the Caribbean in the latter stages of their career. Problems arise for some couples employed in the public sector when one partner obtains a transfer and not the other. For public-sector employees not having obtained a transfer, there is the possibility of requesting a release from duties for a period up to three years, which some use to seek employment locally in the islands. Outside this sector, returnees may attempt to find work in the tourism industry or in other services. Interviewees spoke of relatives or friends who have become self-employed, for example, working as taxi drivers or in the building trade (usually men), or setting up a small restaurant (often women). In addition to the necessity of skills and social networks, a certain amount of savings are necessary for setting up a small business. Younger people returning from metropolitan France having completed studies in medicine or law are fairly numerous among those setting up private practice. However, they face competition from metropolitan French doctors and lawyers who choose to settle in

the Caribbean (Urunuela, 2002). Those migrants trained in fields such as computing, business studies, or languages are well received in firms in the Caribbean and are seen by some to be at an advantage over people who have not left the islands (Chanteur, 2002). They are better protected from unemployment than are their compatriots who have not migrated. Both young and more mature migrants thinking of a return move are aware that finding stable employment and an adequate salary will not be easy in a context of persistently high unemployment.¹⁹ Those who return with skills or experience, have a reasonable knowledge of local labour market changes, and are linked into a strong social network have been more successful in securing satisfactory employment (Urunuela, 2002).

Returnees from Britain to the Caribbean prior to retirement can be separated into three categories based on the timing of the return. The first two relate to the generation of labour migrants. A minority of people actually did return to the Caribbean within ten to fifteen years. These were often older people who left partners and children at home and had a clear project to achieve. Several of these people had previously migrated elsewhere for a short stay.

Mr Jones was, as he described himself, 'already an ageable man' when he went to England to earn some cash to help four of his children, the youngest of whom was sixteen, with their passages to Britain. One by one, he brought them over to Britain and then he remained for a few years longer and saved to take home some money to 'fix up,' or to renovate, the house.' In 1970, he returned at the age of sixty-five after spending eleven years in Britain and received a small pension for the rest of his life based on National Insurance contributions paid while he worked in Britain. While his occupation after return was similar to the pre-migration era, he returned to farming, had increased security due to his small British pension, and with his wife received regular remittances from their children in Britain. Their standard of living had been improved by structural repairs to their house and the construction of a water cistern that provided a supply of clean water to the home, a project funded by the savings he accumulated while working in Britain.²⁰

The second category, 'long term returnees,' includes the majority of returnees to date who have returned after spending between twenty-five and forty years in Britain. While most of these are pensioners, some returned to specific jobs or to seek employment in the region. Others returned to establish small businesses using skills learned abroad or based on investing in capital such as taxis or buses to start a transport company. In several cases, returns often planned for retirement were brought forward when contraction of the manufacturing sector led to redundancy for many migrants in the late 1980s and early 1990 (see Chapter 3). Several migrants turned the redundancy to their advantage using the redundancy compensation payments to invest in a new occupation in the Caribbean.

A third and much smaller category of returnees are highly skilled migrants who have been encouraged to return under the 'Return of the Talent' programme jointly organised by the International Organisation for Migration

and sending country governments. This programme's impact in Jamaica has been examined by Thomas Hope (1999).

Finally, and not unrelated to the above group, is a 'new' category of returnees: those who were either born in Britain or came to Britain as children who have made the decision to try out life in the Caribbean. This category is increasing in size as the Caribbean economies evolve into service-oriented industries requiring increasing numbers of skilled and efficient workers.

Age and Socio-Demographic Considerations

Age, along with marital or family status, is a key socio-demographic factor in the return decision. It of course influences a range of characteristics: as well as the distinction of being of working age or retired, age also conditions the likelihood of having dependent children or not, of having ageing parents in the Caribbean, and has a bearing on health status. Combined with household structure in the European metropolises, age is a key determinant of having adequate savings for return (Byron and Condon, 1996). Finally, age is also linked to the generational experience of migration, since labour market opportunities have varied over time, education levels have improved, means of communication and transport across the Atlantic have increased, and their costs have dropped. So, as the older generation with lower levels of education moved into a labour market with fairly abundant low-skilled, often stable jobs, the younger generations who have benefited from a longer time in the school system, have been moving into a labour market where jobs are more unstable, many requiring high-level qualifications, and where the number of lower-skilled jobs in the public services is decreasing. This has been accompanied, particularly in Britain, by the rapid privatisation and deregulation of services (see Chapter 3). In response, an increased number of younger Caribbean people, migrants, and European-born descendants consider taking the risk of this novel employment experience in the Caribbean context where they anticipate some benefits, not least a reduction in perceived discrimination in the labour markets of Britain and metropolitan France.

With regard to 'marital' and family status, if a migrant has a partner, return plans have to be negotiated between partners who may have conflicting interests (professional, family, or social) or have a more personal feeling of attachment either to the Caribbean or to metropolitan France. Although many people in earlier generations may have sought to marry a partner from the same island, precisely to simplify return plans (Philpott, 1968), for couples where each partner originates from a different island, which island the couple returns to is an important question. If one partner is metropolitan-born of non-Caribbean origin, a decision for the couple to settle permanently in the Caribbean will depend very much on the relationship this partner has built up with the Caribbean as well as the degree to which the Caribbean partner has maintained links with his or her place of origin. Generally, as found for other migrant groups (Cribier, 1992; Leite, 1997),

interview and survey evidence tends to suggest a weaker desire amongst women—and often those who are married to Caribbean men—to return permanently to the Caribbean (Condon and Ogden, 1996; Byron, 1994). Although those who do not live as a couple and wish to return may not have to negotiate with a partner, the presence of close relatives in either metropolitan France or Britain or in the islands may be a decisive factor in their residential choice. Young women raising children alone may choose to return to be close to parents or siblings and become more involved again in their family network of exchange of services; widowed or divorced people may move for similar reasons. In recent research on return from Britain to Barbados, the following case was one of two mothers who fell into this category of returnee.

Davina joined her parents in England in 1968 at the age of fourteen. She returned to the Caribbean to her sister's wedding in 1985 and really liked the place. When her own marriage broke down in Britain a few years later, she considered a return more seriously. Then she was made redundant. She used her redundancy payment combined with her share of the sale proceeds from the marital home in London to purchase property in Barbados and decided to establish her own business there. She had two sisters in Barbados and her mother was preparing to return once she retired in the early 1990s. Davina returned with her two young daughters of three and eight years in 1992. Her mother returned in 1993. She gets a lot of support from her mother (with the children) and her sister. She finds the cost of living very expensive and struggles financially. She does some freelancing as project manager for state and private enterprise projects and also does some sales activity for insurance companies. In an interview undertaken four years after her return, she was ambivalent as to whether, with hindsight, she would make this decision. 'Perhaps I would have tried to get professional qualifications. . . . Barbados is very dear. . . . It really is a tourist country.'²¹

If there are children who are still dependants, the question of schooling—in addition to their own feelings toward return—has to be taken into consideration. Older children may be left in the care of an uncle or aunt in metropolitan France in order to complete their education and join their parents during the summer holidays. When relatives are not available, parents may find lodgings for offspring until they are financially independent. It was thus for François when at the age of forty-five he unexpectedly received the long-awaited offer of a transfer of his job as postman to Guadeloupe that he had been waiting for. Prior to this, he had been resigned to finishing his working life in metropolitan France and to remain there while his daughters completed their training. He arranged the rental of a small apartment for the girls, in the eastern suburbs of Paris near an aunt. His wife, a school canteen assistant, obtained a transfer six months afterwards.

Meanwhile, for some parents, the education of their children was a major factor in their decision to return to the Caribbean. Of seven parents in a sample of interviewees who returned to Barbados with primary-school-age

children, six felt that they had given them a better chance in the school system in Barbados than they would have had in Britain²².

Finally, preretirement return may be precipitated by the ill-health of older relatives in the islands. This point we will return to later. Clearly, much will depend upon the number of siblings in the family, the role played by those who have not migrated, and other obligations these may have to fulfil. French state employees have had the option of taking unpaid leave to care for their parents or other close relatives; others without the option of keeping their job position and who cannot share the care load within the family are faced with relocation on a longer-term basis or paying for local care whilst visiting as often as possible.

Of course, several such considerations may combine to spur the return decision. Thus a difficult personal experience, for example, redundancy or widowhood, may coincide with the illness of a relative or with the decision to return of offspring to determine the timing of a move back to the Caribbean. In parallel, a number of social and cultural factors intervene in the preparation of return plans or, on the contrary, on such plans not being drawn up at all.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF ATTACHMENT TO THE CARIBBEAN AND ATTITUDES TO RETURN

Gender Relations and the Prospect of Return

Two principal dimensions of a social or cultural nature will be examined here: gender relations and the social field. This is not to overlook the articulation between the two, as gender plays a role in maintaining and developing the social field and, at the same time, relationships within the social field contribute to defining gender roles.

The social construction of gender roles, opposing masculinities and femininities, shapes attitudes, values, hopes, fears, and the sense of duty of men and women. The range of life options open to women and men thus are perceived as different, and by both groups. The growing literature on gender relations in the Caribbean attests to the different opportunities and constraints experienced by men and women from childhood (Senior, 1991; Alibar and Lembeye-Boy, 1981; Barriteau, 2001; Mohammed, 2002; Tang Nain and Bailey, 2003). In some respects, as widely explored in the gender-sensitive literature since the 1980s, migration can bring about increased power for women within the couple or the family. After having gained independence through regular, waged work, control of their earnings, and more equally shared domestic duties (Foner, 1975; Byron, 1998), some women fear a decline in their independence once they return to the Caribbean.

Such a reticence to returning to the Caribbean to live is reflected in statistics. In our studies of Nevisian, Kittitian, Barbadian, Guadeloupean,

and Martinican migrants, evidence of gender selectivity was sought in the responses to questions about potential return. In Byron's research on Caribbean migrants in Britain in the late 1980s (Byron, 1994, p. 175) of a sample of fifty-seven men and fifty-four women, similar proportions, around 50 percent, declared an intention to return; but almost twice as many women as men, 35 percent compared to 19 percent, declared themselves uncertain about return. Statistical survey results for the French case give varying support there too to the qualitative findings of a lesser inclination of women to return permanently than men (Condon, 1999, 2004).

As will be discussed below, much reticence to return migration stemmed from feelings that lifestyle and attitudes had changed too quickly for migrants to readjust. In contrast, other migrants, particularly women, see little deep-rooted change in the island societies, and it is precisely this perceived lack of change that dissuades them from returning (Condon and Ogden, 1996). From the male point of view, such disinclination to return on the part of women was quite unreasonable; as one man quoted in Paris in the early 1980s stated, 'Generally, it the man who wants to return and the woman who creates problems' (Alizés, 1983). Such differences in attitude have also been shown in studies of provincial migrants who have returned from Paris to their region of origin (Cribier et al., 1989). Contented in their urban way of life and, above all, in the relative freedom of choice this has given them (being freer to organise their use of time and space within and outside the home; cf. Foner, 1986), many Caribbean women have not wanted to return to what they see as a society that has fixed views on the status and place of women and accords real freedom only to men. Although many women initially give the principal reason for their hesitancy in returning as 'my children, my family are here now,' often hidden behind this statement, and revealed sometimes later in the interview, is the fear of returning to a more restricted lifestyle.

There is a practical dimension to this loss of independence. Their access to public transport in British and French cities has enabled Caribbean women to take up work where they wish, to participate in activities outside work, and to travel to large shops and public amenities. Within the labour migrant generation, considerably fewer women than men hold a driving licence²³ and those in this position fear that they will be dependent on others in their daily activities if they return. As Véronique said, 'I'm used to moving around a lot, I don't like to feel stuck in a place and since I never took my driving test, I'd have to rely on other people for taking me to places'. This feeling combines with a certain reluctance among women to leave behind other convenient public amenities shown to be important factors in the return decision within metropolitan France (cf. Cribier, 1992, pp. 95–96). During visits to the Caribbean for holidays, people thinking about return take note of such restrictions on their access to services and amenities and these observations are often passed on to other Caribbean migrants living in France.

Out of necessity, the gendered division of labour in the domestic sphere altered quite significantly for Caribbean migrants in metropolitan France and

in Britain. As migrant couples strived to meet the obligations of supporting young families in Europe while assisting extended family members in the Caribbean, both men and women worked outside the home. Within the home also, resulting from both partners being in paid work, the gendered division of chores was far more equal than it had been in the Caribbean. Observing this in the 1970s, Foner (1977) predicted a reversion to the pre-migration domestic division of labour once children reached an age where they could fill the roles in domestic chores played by the man. Yet many men have continued to contribute within the home to a far greater degree than they did in the Caribbean context (Byron, 1998). Women expressed the fear that this would not be the case if the men returned to the Caribbean context where it would seem odd for men to contribute to this extent at home. Nonetheless, in both Nevis and Barbados amongst returnees there was evidence of men assisting in the home more than was common for this generation. One woman who had returned told of her husband being teased weekly because he went shopping with his wife every Saturday and failed to join his friends for a drink until after he had taken her home and helped her put the groceries away.²⁴ This was seen locally as ‘women’s work.’

As women and men debate the return issue, they often focus on their perceived obligations to their children and, in turn, the assistance and company of their children and grandchildren that they would forfeit by leaving. In general, women express more openly their closeness to and reliance on their children and, increasingly, as they retire from the labour force they provide free or cheap childcare for their working children. Whilst men may not express their attachments so openly, conforming with gender role expectations, increasingly over the last two decades grandfathers (and fathers) have been taking on many childcare jobs, such as fetching children from school, shopping with them for school equipment and clothes, and taking them to leisure activities whilst the grandmother (or mother) is at work. During these activities, very much located in the public sphere nonetheless, strong bonds often develop. The active grandparenting role is now a critical element of the household survival strategies of the Caribbean communities in both European countries and even holidays in the Caribbean are now tailored to fit in with the children’s leave from work or the grandchildren’s school holiday. Return for many of these grandparents seems increasingly unlikely.

In addition, an aspect of gender relations in the Caribbean mentioned by women in Paris, an aspect seen by many as a cultural norm—and a highly resistant one—is the tendency for some men to have relationships with more than one woman at the same time and for such behaviour to be considered as an acceptable facet of masculinity. One preoccupation that emerged from interviews was a deep concern for the stability of couples’ ties on return. As Rosette (aged forty-seven) stated, ‘Many women I know say that they are afraid that their husband will be tempted away once they are back in the Caribbean. I know a few couples who have split up after returning’²⁵. It is not that such separations did not happen in metropolitan France and in Britain

but that she felt that the risk of marital break-up would be increased once the couple were 'back' in Martinique. This indicates how receptive are women, and also men (who often allude to this 'male promiscuity' with a smile), to the enduring representations of sexuality and family forms in the Caribbean.

While issues such as these may appear relatively minor at the individual level, they accumulate to impact upon the return decision, particularly of the postwar migrant generation. Nonetheless, although these factors may interrupt, delay, or even pre-empt the return move amongst older migrants, younger women living in the metropole—particularly those who migrated at an early age, as well as the metropolitan-born—have had a different experience of gender relations. Although inequality between women and men persists in many aspects of work and home life in France and Britain, norms of what is acceptable behaviour within couples are changing. These women have also had access to higher levels of education than their mothers' generation and have enjoyed relative freedom of movement within the urban environment. In addition, many have had the opportunity of acquiring a driving licence. Those who wish to return and perceive openings in the job market corresponding to their skills see themselves as playing an active role in all realms of the island society when they return. The reality upon return has seldom been as rosy as perceived from urban Europe. Attitudes of resentment, petty jealousy, 'anti-British,' or 'anti-metropolitan' prejudice directed toward returnees²⁶ include a specific gender dimension in relation to skilled women returnees, who have encountered gender discrimination upon entering the labour markets of the Caribbean islands (Potter and Phillips, 2006). It is in such a context that family and social networks can both help prospective 'returnees' to prepare for such hostility and act as a screen to lessen its impact after arrival.

The Central Role of the Social Field

A central consideration in the decision to leave the European metropolises to settle in the Caribbean is the presence in the islands of family and friends; that is, being able to access this major node in their *social field*. Family networks are usually central to the social field and contribute to the transatlantic identity and experience of many individuals. The strength of links maintained by migrants with the Caribbean are largely based on continued participation in family affairs and on strong emotional attachment(s) to individual members (Philpott, 1977; Chamberlain, 2001; Olwig, 2001). The networks are the theatre of various dynamics: real or perceived obligations, loyalties, conflicting positions or roles in their network, emotional proximities, and preferences (Byron, 1994; Olwig, 2001). The presence of ageing and indeed ailing parents or other relatives in the Caribbean may encourage return migration. Women tend to be the ones generally considered to be at the centre of such decisions, given their ascribed roles of caring for children as well as older relatives. However, Caribbean men also have been shown to play an active

role in the 'pivotal' generation between young adults and retired parents, supporting the former and caring for the latter (Attias-Donfut and Lapierre, 1998). This was the case for François, who had been very involved in helping his parents in Guadeloupe, including improving their house over the years and with repairs to the home after Hurricane Hugo damage. Being close to his parents in their old age was one of the main factors in his desire to return. Similarly Rudy, who left the Caribbean at the age of nineteen, remitted money whenever he could to his parents. When land on an estate they sharecropped became available for sale, he set the money for the purchase of his parents' house lot, and a second, adjacent lot for himself. Once his immediate family was established in England and he had purchased a family home there, he started to make visits to the Caribbean every three or four years, paying for improvements to his parents' home and finally having one built on his lot next door. Although both parents have now died, Rudy, now retired, makes annual or biannual trips to the island to spend time in his house there. He is often accompanied by his wife, whose extended family live close by on the island, and sometimes his British-born children and grandchildren, keeping them all rooted in both Britain and the Caribbean.

On the other hand, concerns regarding one's own welfare in old age negatively influence the decision to return, especially when no close relatives are present in the Caribbean and the familial support networks are thus more French metropole oriented. Many migrants hope—or even expect that those for whom they have cared and often made sacrifices will in turn assist them after their retirement (Byron, 1999). Even with close relatives in the Caribbean and having established a second home there, most migrants opt to remain in their base in urban France or Britain due to the proximity of the now most familiar element of their social network. Visits, telephone calls, and even the Internet make the distance from other network members almost irrelevant.

An important component of the migrant's life world, encompassing the place lived in during childhood and youth and the one in which she or he has elected residence—as well as, often, other places—is the flow of information across borders, between places, and among those involved (Basch et al., 1994). These flows acquaint migrants with minute changes in the organisation of the daily lives of friends and family, with opinions about such changes and proposed solutions to problems. Information circulates, influencing migrant decisions on both sides of the Atlantic. It is thus that an accumulation of knowledge is built up, with the metropolises becoming less and less unknown societies for individuals thinking of emigrating, and eventually moving off the island.

For the person contemplating return migration, such flows informing her or him of changes in norms and practices in the islands 'back home,' can influence the decision to return or indeed may provide an alternative to the finality of a 'return.' This 'migration knowledge' takes the form of experiences of return recounted by individuals concerned or those close to them, or is a

transfer of knowledge about, as well as stories of, the behaviour of returnees and reactions towards them. Thus concerns about being able to 'reintegrate' into the local community are very often expressed. Those who feel that they have acquired what they consider a more 'modern' way of thinking, different values and attitudes to life, feel that they will no longer be able to communicate. As Rosine explained, 'We've got used to doing things differently here in France. We hurry more, we work more quickly. They don't understand why.' And Lucy: 'I'm no longer used to that mentality, jealousies and so on, everyone knowing everything about you.' Many also fear that envy will be expressed toward them. Some migrants have direct experience of relations with kin becoming strained on later visits. Many talk of having left a society that was generous and sharing, but that now people had become 'selfish and individualistic.' Largely owing to their status as French DOM, standards of living—and the cost—have evolved rapidly. Thus although labour migrants in France adjusted to an urban lifestyle and become more demanding in relation to services and consumer items, many continued to expect and want their home society to remain as it was when they left. Such information, ideas, and beliefs were commonly circulating amongst migrants in metropolitan France by the turn of the 1990s (Condon and Ogen, 1996).

For migrants thinking of retiring to the islands, but who have not been able to return frequently and feel out of touch with changes—similar to the circumstances of most migrants of the older generations in Britain (Thomas-Hope, 1986)—there is the fear of not being able to adapt. This is a process made all the more difficult because they are that much older and such attitudes towards adaptation problems are shared by men and women.

Such pro and con issues are weighed, debated, and negotiated within families, when plans to return to the Caribbean are being drawn up. What some see as an insurmountable obstacle to return, others will judge as an 'inconvenience' compared to the advantages they see in such a move. Sylviane had heard people who had returned talk of problems with settling back into Guadeloupe, and of the reactions of colleagues who felt that they were trying to impose metropolitan working habits. She had been given the impression that it took longer to adapt 'back' into Guadeloupean society than it had been for her to adapt to life in metropolitan France:

Of course it's difficult to begin with, the time to realise that you're no longer on holiday and for people to get used to your ways. . . . I was happy, always busy in Paris but the weather, I was often ill during the long winter months . . . and my family and friends were here. So when the children were coming to the end of their schooling, I came over on a period of extended leave but three months after arriving, I organised a detachment to another post here.²⁷

Overall, it must be noted, especially in the context of a transnational/transatlantic existence, that such flows of information relating to the return

experience and societal change not only influence the ‘return process’ positively or negatively but in themselves support a transnational existence regardless of whether the physical relocation of the migrants occurs. Flows have increased in volume and speed by the time-space compression that has characterised the world over the past twenty years. There has been a revolution in communication and not only is it very easy to cross the Atlantic physically but telephone, fax, and Internet access has brought the rest of the world into everyone’s home should they want it. Urry’s shift in focus from the study of social institutions to the study of physical and virtual mobility (2000, 2006) is a helpful approach to understanding the functioning of contemporary Caribbean societies.

DISCOURSES OF BELONGING AND RETURN

Throughout the history of migration between the Caribbean islands and the European metropolises, the representations and experiences of return have changed. It has become a collective experience, insofar as it is commented upon within the family and social networks, assessed, criticised, and reappraised. The return migration narrative, as we may call it, is often represented as fixed, yet the study of successive generations of migrants and returnees at different points in time reveals a dynamic system, constantly nourished by information flows through the social field (Byron, 2005).

The place held by the return project in the hearts of Caribbeans living in the metropolises has changed throughout their stay there and discourses are evolving throughout time. In France, both young and older migrants talk of returning to their roots, in various ways—Yvonne, Elise, Laure, Gilberte, François. Concomitant with the expression of this desire is the need to be able to defend their ‘right’ to return—encompassed for the French Caribbeans in the word *rentrer* (to go back). Continuous contact and regular visits to the islands are necessary to keep up with family and friends—local knowledge of current events and affairs and familiarity with the Creole language, for example (Condon, 2004). What is clear from the migrant stories is that whilst the return project is realised for many, it remains a dream for others, or is renounced, rejected, or was never considered. Survey results on the attitudes of migrants to return migration generally produce a majority of respondents in favour of return—for example, in the 1999 French Family History Study, which showed that 60 percent of Caribbean-born residing in metropolitan France wished to return to their island of origin, the proportions rising for both groups between the ages of thirty-five and fifty—yet the results belie a number of different attitudes to return and ways in which factors interact in the decision (Condon, 2005). Furthermore, an expressed wish to return does not always lead to such a move and, conversely, migrants may suddenly see the advantages of such a return after previously having been against the idea. In the first

instance, dreams may have to be relinquished because of an unexpected family crisis, health problems, or as a compromise to a partner's wishes, for example. In the second, an opportunity to return may be seized as new circumstances arise.

The Desire to Return to Work

A desire common to several disparate migrants returning from Britain and France was to work in the Caribbean, making an economic/social contribution there while also often realising personal dreams of sustainable self-employment. People who had obtained professional qualifications in Britain—nurses (the majority), teachers, lawyers, and medics—often worked in the public or private services practising their professions.

As in the case of Laure, who had trained as nurse's aide and felt her duty was to return to Guadeloupe, 'I've had my training; I've worked in the hospital, now I want to go home to care for my own people'.²⁸ Frustrated with her housing conditions and problems with the schooling of her daughter, she did put in a request for a transfer to the island and was still waiting for positive response five years later. Meanwhile in the eastern Caribbean, returnee nurses from Britain found work easily in the public and private hospitals where their skills were valued.²⁹

Research in 1996 also revealed two cases of teachers who had returned to the eastern Caribbean with a wish to contribute to changing the methods and materials used in the primary and secondary education system in the region. One had started a private secondary school while the other had established a consultancy offering materials and advice for innovative teaching methods and alternative professionals. Both argued that before leaving England, they felt that they could make a greater contribution in the Caribbean than in Britain. While the former considered his venture a success, the latter was very ambivalent about the attitude to change in educational methods in the region.

For others, return remains a vague plan and can occur when an opportunity arises. For example, Jacques took up the offer of work from the local mayor in his home town in Martinique, made while he was there on holiday. He had recently changed jobs in Lyon, following his divorce and health problems associated with being a lorry driver. In his spare time, he had trained as a lifeguard and swimming instructor and this was the post offered to him. 'So in 1988, I packed my bags and came home after twenty years in France.'³⁰

Students at the end of their studies in France increasingly consider the option of seeking work in the islands. Séverine, from Guadeloupe, was in her second year at a Parisian university, the same one at which her boyfriend from home was studying; 'He really wants to come back when we've finished our studies; he's ready to try anything. But I don't know . . .'. Séverine was dubious about returning without any work experience and

to a far less varied labour market. She was afraid of not finding work that would correspond with her degree in business studies. She hoped to be able to start up her own business linked to the tourist industry. However, given her evident attachment to her boyfriend, she was likely to be influenced by his decision.

There was a strong desire on the part of several potential and actual returnees from Britain to establish their own enterprises: 'I always say that if I go back there I will never work for anyone again, I spend too many years doing that here in people's factories! No, if I go back I must work for myself . . . set up a little business.'³¹ Return would free him from membership of the proletariat. Ironically, for several returnees the capital investment essential for this major shift in their employment trajectories came in the form of redundancy packages as the secondary sector, which had employed thousands of Caribbean immigrants, restructured and downsized (see Chapter 3). With small populations and thus markets, the potential for small businesses is limited in the region and returnees have to avoid saturation of the market. The more diversified the economy, the better the chances for returnees. In Barbados, returnee investment projects included nursing homes for the elderly, a bookshop, an estate agency, a small roofing tiles factory, an electronics installation firm and upholstery factory, and condominiums for rental (Byron, 2000). Such businesses serve as evidence of success that strengthens the desire of those thinking of such initiatives on the other side of the Atlantic.

Desire to Return for Retirement

As discussed earlier, retirement evolved into the most likely point at which a return would be feasible for most migrants from the British Caribbean and for many from the French territories as well. The delay until this stage of the life course was not the initial choice of migrants but was an accommodation, as they realised that they would not 'get rich' during a short stay. Returning to retire allowed migrants to keep a dream alive, while dealing with the present context of surviving and raising children in a relatively marginal position in Britain's socioeconomic structure. For the more flexible French migrants, retirement was one possible point of return. However, like the migrants to Britain, most migrant parents preferred to allow their children to complete much of their education before either leaving them to continue their lives in metropolitan France or accompanying them to the Caribbean to seek out possibilities there. By that stage of their lives, migrants often preferred to complete their working lives in France. Whilst the desire still remains strong, for example, as Gilberte³² says with a smile, 'And when I've finished here, I'll go back home to retire under my coconut trees,' return remains a dream for many. An absence of parents or other relatives of that or their own generation may weaken ties. As Lucy said in a resigned way, worried about her

father's failing health, 'When he is no longer there, everything important, my life will be here.'

Separation from children and grandchildren remains, however, an issue. Sylviane's aunt was faced with this dilemma as retirement approached and her husband went ahead with his plans to return and live in the house they had built there. 'She said though that her place was not in Guadeloupe, that her children and her grandchildren were in France. So she goes back and forth now, to see her husband. She stays in Guadeloupe from December to March. He wanted peace and quiet on retirement, and now he lives alone most of the time!'

'Return' of Young People Who Migrated at an Early Age or Who Were Born in France or Britain

Not having grown up in the islands does not preclude an ambition to 'return.' Some young people, albeit a minority, consider life in the slower lane provided in the islands of the Caribbean. The shift to the region seems a much more natural step for young people of Caribbean origin in France who have roots in the region and can receive unemployment benefits there while they seek employment, or can attend university or college there instead of in France. In addition to significant state and family support systems, the favourable climate and more relaxed, cultural environment attract many young people away from perceived discrimination and other pressures of metropolitan France, as the following cases illustrate.

Elise M was determined to pursue her further education in the Caribbean with a view to settling permanently there again. She had migrated to Paris at the age of seven. Her mother had left her with her own mother while she followed a training course, her parents' expectation being that she would then work in Guadeloupe. After deciding to change sectors and to look for a job in Paris, Elise's mother went to fetch her daughter. Eleven years later, when Elise told her mother of her desire to go back to Guadeloupe, her mother, who had a permanent post at a Parisian hospital, arranged to take unpaid leave for a maximum period of three years. Elise then registered at the university faculty in Martinique.³³ Since she settled successfully into her degree course, her mother found work in a private clinic and, two years later, obtained a post; having also found that living back in Guadeloupe suited her. Elise had no wish to return to the metropole.

Yvonne migrated to France at the age of eight with her four sisters. Her parents had left six years previously; the youngest sister was born in the metropole. Yvonne was brought up by her grandmother from the age of two; leaving her was a traumatic experience. She says that all her good childhood memories are those in Martinique. Her parents had made one attempt of settling back in the island but had returned to western France. For Yvonne, the desire to go back to the island increased as the years went

by. Partway through her university course, she decided to return and try her luck in Martinique.³⁴

Home Is in the Caribbean, and in France

The attachment to the Caribbean can remain strong, whilst at the same time the desire to remain in metropolitan France can outweigh any future return intention. Gabrielle had no intention of returning to Martinique when preparations were being made; it was only her husband who was so set on the idea: 'Here is where my friends are, I've got my routine. Then there are my grandchildren. But my husband thinks about nothing else.' He accepted a transfer of this customs officer's post to French Guyana three years before retirement, after which they would move back to Martinique. Gabrielle conceded, since her youngest son, who had experienced difficulties during schooling and was keen on training in forestry, was prepared to move with them. Gabrielle firmly intended to go back to France each year to see friends—particularly one best friend—and family.

Whilst such a return project is realised by many, it remains a dream for many others. In some cases, it is renounced following changed circumstances or a family crisis. In others, where emigration was enacted to make a clean break with the past, and leave the island 'once and for all,' return was never considered from the outset. It was thus for Sophie, who left after she was abandoned by her partner for another woman. He was the father of her baby and had also been her employer. She left Guadeloupe in 1977 with her child and declared having no intention of ever returning.

Back home, *chez nous*, remains in the minds of most Caribbeans (Gmelch, 1992; Western, 1992). It's the place in which they grew up: familiar spaces, relatives, and friendship networks. It's the place to which they feel loyalties, to the history and sufferings of their ancestors; the place that symbolises many aspects of their identity (Chivallon, 2004). Regular communication with people 'back home' and visits have been used in numerous migration studies as an indicator for predicting the likelihood of (permanent) return. Although these aspects are important in preparing a future resettlement, they can coexist with a plan to stay in the place to which they have migrated and settled, their 'new home'. 'Home,' then, is a complex concept (Western, 1992; Byron, 2005; Olwig, 2005) and should be qualified particularly when discussing migrations that have proved as intractable to define and pigeonhole, as these have. It is important to examine all the ramifications of assigning the title 'home' to a fixed place, indefinitely.

Over time, the transatlantic existence has been characterised by various kinds of movement: intertwined, shorter and longer stays at each side of the Atlantic, shorter stays that are prolonged, stays that were planned as long-term which are foreshortened, and visits for special events or holidays. At the same time, these movements maintain, feed into, and develop the social field of individuals and families.

Implicit in these 'narratives' of Caribbean migrants and their descendants in the metropolises, as well as people in the islands, is their status as transatlantic citizens (the French case) or transnational citizens (the British case) with dual or multiple affiliations. As opposed to imposing a state of conflicting identities and loyalties to place, the existence across space can compensate for the often oppressive experience of less powerful immigrant communities within the labour-receiving society (Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc, 1999). Racism and related discrimination affects Caribbean migrants and their descendants in Europe, increasing their insecurity. The image of a 'home' beyond this context where migrants could eventually escape such conditions was a major pillar of their survival strategy. In the 1980s as the decline in the British manufacturing industry affected the immigrant minorities, the relevance of a migrant-centred analytical framework was in fact debated. Critics of this framework for interpreting the behaviour and strategies of young black British descendants argued that it was an inappropriate tool for this generation (Phoenix, 1988). However, Westwood (1984) found that Caribbean migrants *were* including migration among a range of future options for their children:

Tula sought consistently to expand the vision of the future beyond manual work, perhaps beyond the UK, because, having moved once, she knew that mobility and migration might be necessary again Tula knew just how difficult it was going to be for the next generation who would have to wage a struggle against racism and unemployment as Black Britons, divorced from their Caribbean roots in a way that she was not. (Westwood, 1984, p. 227)

In this example, although 'transnationality' and 'transmigrant' are not yet explicit in Westwood's narrative, she is using a transnational, conceptual framework to understand the strategies of Caribbean migrant women in Britain who, having experienced economic insecurity in the Caribbean and having migrated in consequence, worried for their children³⁵. In fact the expression of transnationality varies significantly across the Caribbean younger generations. Some move easily between Britain and the Caribbean finding jobs and family support in both contexts. Some young Caribbean people who are disillusioned with life in Britain, often closely related to their experience of unemployment and consequent marginalisation, accompany or follow their returning parents to the Caribbean, some finding work there. However, most young, unemployed Caribbean people in Britain would be neither financially able, nor have the confidence, to relocate abroad to a Caribbean country. British unemployment statistics indicate that there is considerable gender inequality for Caribbean people in Britain with young men particularly highly represented among the unemployed and it is these young people who have been less represented among the new generation of normally well-qualified returnees from Britain (Potter and Phillips, 2006).

For French Caribbeans, choosing to relocate between the metropole and the Caribbean is less complicated. The lack of national boundaries and single-citizenship status means that the negotiation of this transatlantic, national space and its resources is fairly straightforward for young people. Unemployment, for example, a major constraint to moving abroad, is far less of a barrier if unemployment welfare benefits can be received in the Caribbean as an extension of French national space. As in the British case, the extended social field plays an important part in the decision to relocate as family and friends provide essential support in terms of accommodation and networks into employment and other routes to survival in the Caribbean

SOME CONCLUSIONS

The socioeconomic context of migration and the return decision in the late 1990s and early 2000s is radically different from that prevailing in the 1950s and 1960s when significant Caribbean communities began to develop in metropolitan France and Britain. In the immediate postwar years, communication was a slow process. While the connection with the Caribbean remained strong, those in Britain or France seemed very far away. A return seemed a very final move in this context and had to be fully prepared for as a change of mind seemed unfeasible. Phenomenal changes in communication technology have been accompanied by changes in the nature of movement across the Atlantic by the Caribbean diaspora with shorter-term circulation now a common pattern in migration trends and a willingness to move without the once 'essential' security of a post transfer or a retirement pension. Even for those who would have been economically secure to move back permanently to the region, there is now the added option of spending a 'bit of time there and a bit here' due to cheap air fares and more flexible planning of retirement.

In the French case, mass unemployment has remained a characteristic of the economy of the DOM but unemployment also is high in certain sectors and for certain age groups in metropolitan France. Migration decisions are taken in a rapidly changing technological context. Retirement migration strategies are constructed with more knowledge about opportunities and drawbacks. Many skilled young people try out both labour markets before making longer-term location decisions. Similarly, parents may accompany children back to the Caribbean for a time before returning to mainland France. Being able to obtain extended leave from a job makes return for a trial period possible for some. Factors other than employment, for example, unexpected life events such as marital breakdown, family illness, and the decisions of offspring or other close relatives, may influence the choice between the two places. At the same time, there is a population of women and men, not necessarily unskilled but often marginal to mainstream society, circulating between Paris and tourist areas in the French Caribbean.

Young or old must evaluate the usefulness of their individual skills or of their networks in relations before moving from one place to the other in the hope of improving their living standards and quality of life.

Commentators on French Caribbean migration agree on the increasing importance today of the phenomenon of circulation—the back and forth movement—rather than the migration cycle of long-term emigration and return. Circulation has been less the case for the British Caribbeans due to the changes in the political relationship between Britain and the British territories in the Caribbean nature of the relationship. As most migration ended by the early 1970s, the continuous renewal of the population and the development of the coming and going flows that have prevailed in the French case did not occur. Migration and return have thus come to be conceived of as much more long-term stints in either place with circulation in this case the behaviour of the privileged. Interestingly, even as the transnational communities in the United States and Caribbean territories evolved in a context of growing economic insecurity in both the sending and the host countries (Basch et al., 1999), not dissimilar trends are developing within the French Caribbean social field. In the British case, there is a growing interest by young people raised in Britain within transnational households and families to include the Caribbean within their options. However, there are forces that limit this development to date and determine who has access to this wider range of options. Mobility is clearly an emerging indicator of societal relations, of social and economic inequalities, of levels of technological development, and, critically, of the extent of the social field of individuals, households, and families.

Concluding Thoughts

The Caribbean in Twenty-First-Century Britain and France

In the process of arriving in Britain and France and their subsequent engagement with the struggle for accommodation, employment, and the right to participate in the wider society and culture as equal citizens, certain novel realities hit Caribbean migrants. They became conscious, first of their 'unequal position' within the majority society and second of their shared ethnicity as Caribbean people, Caribbean communities. That sort of unity emerged, sporadically and in specific circumstances, after they encountered their island neighbours as migrants within majority societies that perceived them as all the same: black immigrants.

For both groups of Caribbean migrants to Europe, a similar relationship existed with the motherland until the 1960s. At that point, in contrast to the decolonisation process that began with the formation of the West Indies Federation in 1958 and accelerated with the Independence of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago in 1962, the French state sought further incorporation of its Caribbean territories. This meant the creation of a black French population that, whether in the islands or in mainland France, could not be conceived of as an entity in its own right. Yet there were experiences, cultural and socioeconomic, common to Caribbean migrants, that rendered them discrete from the white majority French population.

SHIFTING CONCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY

A dynamic approach to understanding 'community' has been essential as the initial, self-help community support networks that were typical of the early decades of Caribbean migration to Britain and France have evolved. Change has occurred over time: as the migrants gradually settled and formed links with other Caribbean people and with the wider community via approachable neighbours, workmates, and members of church congregations, for example. As the labour migrants were joined by their European-born and -raised descendants, the boundaries of the original communities were challenged and the role of this bond of common origin was questioned. Young people of Caribbean origin saw their ethnicity/race

as the target of many inequalities they experienced and their mobilisation in response to injustice is often articulated through an ethnic community banner. Later generations are more ambivalent, less accepting of the colonial past, likely to confront atrocities of the past and to link contemporary attitudes and prejudices to this legacy. There is wide variation in levels of consciousness, in the nature and extent of identification as Caribbean or even as African in origin. Not only have these generations been born and raised in Britain, many of them have partners or indeed parents who are white British, or another ethnic group in origin, and the issue of ethnicity becomes increasingly complex. There has also been a temporal element to this. The 1970s and 1980s were decades of protest and demonstration in Britain by discontented, arguably dispossessed, descendants of Caribbean migrants. In France, meanwhile, a later, emerging consciousness has been especially evident since the 1980s. This has been articulated through the increasing visibility of Antillean associations with varying levels of militancy and demands for recognition of their identity, of cultural plurality, and of existing racism and its impacts on French citizens. The forms of political mobilisation and cultural expression have emerged in different ways in the two contexts, but in both cases have been in response to the realms of experience analysed in the foregoing chapters.

Continuities and Change in Employment Experience

Within the spheres of production, specifically within the employment and housing markets, Caribbean experiences have also changed over time and across generations. While there have been continuities in relation to class divisions in particular, there have been significant shifts across generations linked to both dynamics of the wider economy and changes in the education levels and access to the employment spectrum of the British and French economies. In Chapter 3, on the work trajectories of Caribbean people, there was a clear departure for the descendant generations from the group employment profiles of their migrant parent generation. Doors to the professional and management categories and indeed some technical categories, which had remained largely shut to the migrants, were slowly opening and there was a greater proportion of Caribbean-origin people in these categories in the last decade of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. This reflected the greater proportion of Caribbean people, particularly those who were born in Europe or who arrived as children, who accessed higher levels of education than earlier generations. However, this has been a distinctly gendered process, and in recent decades Caribbean women have been achieving better qualifications at the end of their school careers and continuing into further education in greater proportions than men.

Shifts in employment trends closely followed major structural changes in the British economy. The concentration of their parents' generation in the public services and in the manufacturing sector (state and private) was

far less the case for later generations. Many of these manufacturing jobs no longer existed in Britain and the privatisation and deregulation of the public services had also changed the relations of employment in this sector. Employment in the British economy now consisted of skilled and generally well-paid work within the largely privatised, corporate 'knowledge economy' and low-paid jobs in the wide-ranging, deregulated service sector. Finally, there are those in later generations who never acquired the qualifications to access the higher-paid levels of the economy but, unlike their parents' generation, also face an economy with far less secure opportunities in a low-skilled, manufacturing sector. For this group, the future seems to hold formal economy employment at low wages in insecure conditions, unemployment, or a combination of the former with employment in a parallel, informal economy that carries significant risk. Within the new, knowledge-led economy, the Caribbean population has experienced increasing polarisation along axes of gender and class.

For the French Caribbean population, there was the cushion, at least until recently, of strong state involvement in the employment market and of almost guaranteed positions for many Caribbean migrants and their descendants. With the erosion of those certainties, it is highly probable that a similar outcome may develop in France. At present, however, there is less evidence of the gender divide emerging in Britain and also, in the French Caribbean population, unemployment levels among the later, younger generations are lower than in Britain. However, their invisibility within census statistics and the option, for many, of returning to the Caribbean to seek work there, presents a further dimension of difference between the contexts. With rising unemployment and associated disenchantment among young French Caribbeans, it is possible that they will increasingly identify with young people of North and West African descent with whom they share the suburbs or '*banlieues*.' The economic position of the latter has been peripheral for a significant period. As the young French 'Antillaise' identify anew with their Caribbean roots, they also increasingly empathise with their neighbours together with whom they are at times ascribed a common identity. The popular T-shirt with the emblem '93,' the post code for the inner-city suburb of Seine St Denis, indicates a growing sense of a shared, locality-based community.

Communities of Place? Housing and Location Outcomes for Caribbeans in Britain and France

At a national scale, Caribbean immigrants were heavily concentrated in the capitals and other large urban conurbations in Britain and France, their location largely determined by labour shortages in specific industries. The ensuing European experience of these communities was fundamentally urban in nature. Here, they followed a range of housing trajectories, many settling long-term in urban Britain and France, raising European-born generations.

The conditions under which people migrated significantly affected their initial and often long-term housing outcomes. In the French case, recruitment into state-run services or industries often included assistance with housing. The housing histories were in many ways gendered, as men carrying out their military service in metropolitan France were housed in army barracks before seeking lodgings in the city; and many women of the early generations of migrants worked in domestic service and were lodged in the homes of their employer. People recruited directly from the Caribbean into the public services or sent to training schemes through the BUMIDOM were lodged in single-sex hostels. But most migrants, up until the late 1980s, spent some time in the poorly maintained, privately rented, furnished-rooms sector. Dispersal from the city centres came largely through access to public housing; access to this accommodation was facilitated for state employees, who readily accepted the opportunity to occupy more spacious dwellings with modern amenities. Most often these flats were located in suburban estates or, in the case of Paris, in New Towns, such as Evry, just outside the boundaries of the agglomeration. Then from the 1970s, wider access came for low-income households, notably one-parent families. From the 1990s, the decline of the cheap private-rental sector coincided with the expanding of family networks in metropolitan France, relatives constituting a major source of early lodgings for young migrants. Yet this is only a temporary solution and, in a narrower housing market, finding lodgings is increasingly arduous for young people with unstable incomes.

There are many parallels in the housing experience of Caribbean migrants within the two contexts. Britain too was faced with a severe postwar housing shortage. Migrant workers constituted a highly exploitable, captive market for landlords who sought quick profit from old property that was condemned in the longer term. In the unregulated conditions, there was no incentive to improve the conditions of the housing. In Britain, many Caribbeans resorted to purchasing inner-city terraced houses, as an escape from such conditions in the private rental sector. Ironically, many then became landlords, letting rooms to other Caribbean migrants at least temporarily, to finance the investment. Some housing trajectories ended here, with structural and superficial improvements over the years. Others invested in superior property over time, often moving further out of the inner city in the process. Access to state-sector housing was far more problematic in the British case, with no facilitated access via employers and clear discrimination prevailing during the 1950s and 1960s. From the late 1960s, access to this sector became easier for Caribbeans in Britain; accommodation became more widely available as other groups moved into home ownership and as flatted estates were built on slum clearance sites. In many cities, this also involved dispersal from the inner-city areas of initial concentration. Generations of descendants have moved further afield, led by employment demands, networks that extend beyond kin and ethnicity, and a desire for superior housing that is outside their parents' original settlement area.

As the labour migrant generation has aged, housing need has again become a focus with the issue of community a growing consideration in the British case. This is more so than in the French because of the longer history of the migration flow, the lesser opportunity to return to the Caribbean, and, also, the accepted idea of specific needs for particular groups of the population under multicultural policies. As social housing schemes for the elderly have expanded and evolved, the multicultural ideal has influenced design and allocation. Today, increasingly older Caribbeans can choose to live in sheltered housing where there is significant presence of their minority group. As their children and grandchildren become increasingly dispersed across the city, the elderly can, in some cases, be seen regrouping closer to others with a shared history. In France, locality-based Caribbean associations, situated in the districts and suburbs where Caribbeans are most numerous, fulfil a similar role. Members of the older generation can meet up regularly, share meals and listen to music, and partake in handicraft or other creative activities. This generation also includes people who migrated in the 1980s and 1990s to join offspring and grandchildren.

Family, Transnationality, and the Transatlantic Outcomes of These Postwar Labour Movements

Well over fifty years since the postwar migration from the Caribbean, the importance of family to the Caribbean community in Britain remains central. Recent focus in the British media on the importance of the grandparent generation in providing childcare in Britain, where affordable childcare remains in short supply, is particularly applicable to Caribbean families there. The three- and four-generational family structure, so missed by the labour migrant cohort, has reformed in the European context and performs critical functions of assistance, cohesion, and stabilisation. The lack of immigration restrictions, combined with the technological revolution in transport and the relative lowering of cost, has allowed greater fluidity in the French Caribbean case. Consequently, the three-generational structure has been a long-existing phenomenon for this Caribbean population in Europe, as parents have moved between the Caribbean and France when logistically possible, and their assistance was needed in the metropole, and as children traveled to spend the summer holidays with their grandparents.

Caribbean families in Britain have, over generations, increasingly included members of the wider British society. Although the majority of these family members have been from the white British group, white Irish, and to a lesser extent, African- and Indian-origin people are partners to those of Caribbean origin. While undeniably British, the diversity and cultural richness of that label is undeniable and is well illustrated by modern Caribbean families. Since to date the French state has not used ethnicity as a means of categorising the population, the extent of mixed ethnicity relationships and families is less clear.

The terms transnational and transatlantic are understandably conflated when examining the socio-geographical field of contemporary Caribbean families in Britain and France. Political independence in almost all of Britain's former Caribbean colonies and the loss of entry rights to Britain introduced in the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act has placed international borders between this state and the Caribbean. As discussed earlier in Chapters 5 and 6, over time the frequency of contact has increased exponentially due to revolutions in communication technology and the proliferation of airlines and cheap travel options. In the French case, this travel is in fact within national boundaries and families evolve within a national context despite members being separated by the Atlantic Ocean. In both cases, contact is today regular and family members travel thousands of miles to attend events such as funerals, weddings, and simply to celebrate the unit at family reunions. The geographical extent of the social field is very evident at such occasions, for example, a funeral in Manchester which one of the authors attended recently. In addition to relatives and friends from cities across Britain ranging from Leeds to Leicester, Ipswich and London, relatives from Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx in New York joined their cousins from the home island in the Caribbean to celebrate the life of their father and uncle.

In addition to transnational/transatlantic events, individuals, usually migrants who have reached retirement age and have chosen to spend most of their time in homes carefully built in the Caribbean, find themselves integrated into a transatlantic space. The Internet, telephone, and transport systems enable regular contact and visits to spend quality time with their grandchildren and great-grandchildren who remain in Britain or France. It is, indeed, a transnational existence. Similarly, the presence of a grandparent in the Caribbean or regular trips with them to visit 'home' introduce and generate a sense of belonging for European Caribbean generations that extends beyond the shores of Britain and France.

Negotiating Local and Global Integration

From their arrival in Europe, Caribbeans have struggled to integrate into societies that failed to acknowledge them as equals. During this process, they developed a clearer consciousness of their Caribbean roots, in some cases even their wider African origins. Their descendants, meanwhile, demand their share in the resources of the European societies of their birth while challenging accepted boundaries in novel ways. Young French people of Caribbean origin are officially French; because not to be French is to be foreign. In Britain, there is the option of self identification using one of a range of census categories relating to the origins of their parents. The British categories do not go unchallenged but the process of challenge and negotiation exists within the wider framework of a multicultural society. Meanwhile, on walking through the Gare du Nord in

Paris one regularly encounters youngsters wearing urban casual outfits with the characters 971 or 972 emblazoned on their backs. The numbers are those allocated to the postal districts of Guadeloupe and Martinique, indicating and identifying them with their Caribbean origins. Such attire, which includes pendant necklaces with a medallion in the shape of the island to which they feel most attached, has proliferated over the past five years. Rather than necessarily constituting in all cases the rejection of the republican ideal, this is a means of becoming less 'invisible' French people, 'entirely a part' of the nation rather than 'entirely apart' from the rest of the French population.¹

Negotiation is an ongoing process. Caribbean communities in Europe are dynamic phenomena that, while giving material forms to shared origins and common experiences, are continuously reinvented and renegotiated in relation to local, national, and transnational conditions. This comparison of migration histories, with its close examination of employment, housing, and family experiences over time and between generations, provides a necessary backcloth to these processes.

Notes

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. For example, the recent ‘network of excellence,’ Imiscoe—funded by the European Commission (FP6) or the ESRC—funded the Transnational Communities Programme in Britain.
2. New migration questions, particularly related to the field of population geography, are reviewed in R. King, M. Thomson, A. Fielding, and A. Warnes, *Gender, age and generations. State of the art report*, Cluster 8, SCMR, University of Sussex (www.imiscoe.org/publications/workingpapers/documents/gender_age_and_generations.pdf).
3. The agency was set up in 1982, after the dissolution of the BUMIDOM. Its role has been to assist the integration of migrants and their descendants, fund travel to metropolitan France for vocational training (although at a smaller scale than previously), and support initiatives to maintain links with the island populations (including associations).
4. For example, on the choice of a national day for the commemoration of the ending of slavery.
5. Translation by Stephanie Condon.
6. The mass migration from the French Caribbean occurred at a time when relations between Algerians in metropolitan France and some French political factions were explosive, in the context of the Algerian war.
7. The complexities of the differences between sections of British and French societies in relation to gendered socialisation, the construction of masculinity, and how these processes shape social interaction, manifestations of group identities in relation to gender and class, and so on, deserve serious examination and would provide keys to understanding differences between the two countries in a number of spheres, including violence in public space.
8. In several instances during the book, for stylistic purposes, the term ‘metropole’ will be used as a shorter equivalent to ‘metropolitan France’ and also as a reference to the status of the two former colonial core states.
9. Recent publications by established migration specialists indicate a wider recognition of the need to integrate gender issues into migration theory: Massey et al. (2006); King et al. (2006).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. The DOM, départements d’outre-mer, included from 1946, Guadeloupe, French Guyana, Martinique, and Réunion island (Indian Ocean). They became full administrative regions of France. The TOM, territoires d’outre-mer,

- although their populations have French nationality and are considered part of the French nation, have the status of ‘overseas territories’ and the status of each, from French Polynesia to St-Pierre et Miquelon in North America, has evolved considerably and at different levels over the last five decades (Aldrich and Connell, 1992; Faberon and Gautier, 1999; Doumenge, 2000; Espace, Populations, Sociétés, 2004, ‘Regards vers l’outre-mer français’).
2. Charles de Gaulle, quoted in Giraud and Marie, 1987, p. 32; quote translated by Philip E. Ogden and used in the introduction to the article by Condon and Ogden (1991a, p. 505).
 3. See also Table 2.2a, which provides data on the size of the Caribbean-born population over time. N.B. given the data are only provided for England and Wales from 1981, the table gives figures for this unit and not Britain.
 4. From 1967, the state agency produced detailed annual reports on policy, migration channels, training and placement, social assistance, housing, and support of cultural activities, as well as of return trips to the island of origin.
 5. An exception is Bernard Granotier’s study of the immigrant workforce, which includes several paragraphs on the workers from the Caribbean and Reunion Island recruited into industry (1973).
 6. This special issue of the *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* included a paper on household structures of Caribbean migrants by Yves Charbit (whose work will be extensively referred to Chapter 5), articles on the Dutch case by W. Koot and H. van Amersfoort, and an article comparing Caribbean migration to Britain and Canada by A. Richmond.
 7. Another group of ‘invisible’ citizens, who have little benefited from their settlement in France, are the *harkis*, the Algerians who, during the civil war, defended the cause of Algeria remaining French and whose emigration to France was organised when independence was proclaimed.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Owing to the lack of availability of employment data for Britain by birthplace, published PSI data for 1974 and 1982 were used. These cover a similar period to that described by French census data for 1968 and 1982.
2. Statutory exams taken at the end of the fifth year of secondary school up until the 1980s, when they were replaced by exams set internally by the Caribbean examinations Council (CeXC).
3. Women principally from Portugal, Spain, and Italy; economic activity rates of North African women remained low at this time.
4. Interviewed by M. Byron in Leicester, 1989, 2006. One of the 113 Nevisians interviewed during a study in Leicester, 1988–1989 some of whom were contacted again in recent years and reinterviewed. Pseudonyms are used throughout in the interview extracts.
5. Interviewed by M. Byron in Leicester in 1995, then in Nevis in 2000.
6. Roger and Jeffrey were interviewed by Margaret Byron in Barbados, 1996.
7. Interviewed by M. Byron in Leicester, 1989
8. Vincent was interviewed by M. Byron in Leicester in 1988; Benjamin was interviewed by Margaret Byron in Barbados in 1996.
9. Interviewed by M. Byron in Barbados, 1996.
10. Interviewed by M. Byron in Leicester, 1988, 2006.
11. Interviewed by M. Byron in Oxford, 1991.
12. Migrant files consulted in 1989–1990 before the partial dismantling and transfer of the archives to the Archives de France in Fontainebleau.
13. Interviewed in the Paris suburbs by S. Condon in 1992.

14. Interviewed by S. Condon in the Paris suburbs between 1989 and 1992. Pseudonyms are used throughout.
15. Interviewed by M. Byron in Leicester 1989, 2006.
16. The widening distribution of Caribbean men across the occupational spectrum is mainly due to the entry to the labour market over the past thirty years of the British-born and -educated descendants of the Caribbean migrants; age is included in the analysis of the occupational and industrial distribution data for the Caribbean 'ethnic group.'
17. Interviewed by M. Byron in Leicester 1989, 2004.
18. Interviewed in the Paris suburbs by S. Condon, 1992.
19. These figures include both migrants who had previously worked and those still looking for a first job, and adult migrants as well as migrants having arrived in metropolitan France as children.
20. Interview by M. Byron in Leicester, 2000.
21. Interview by M. Byron in Nevis, 1990.
22. Interview by M. Byron in London, 2003.
23. Unemployment rates are calculated as a percentage of the economically active population who are unemployed.
24. Discussion with leaders of a Caribbean association in the Paris suburbs in March 2004.
25. Ginette was interviewed in the Paris suburbs in 1989, Georgette and Mireille in 1991; they were recontacted in 2002.
26. Linda and Marc are two of a group of young people interviewed in 2005 by Célia Aubourg, a research assistant who worked with S. Condon on a project investigating language and identity amongst young Caribbeans in metropolitan France. Claudia was interviewed by S. Condon in Paris in 1997.
27. Calculations from the 1999 census database conducted by S. Condon.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Discussed in LAB 26/226, p. 2.
2. Andrea Lévy's award-winning novel *A Small Island* presents a rich and vivid portrayal of living conditions in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, as well as the hopes and expectations of Caribbean men and women arriving in urban Britain at that time (Lévy, 2004, p. 21).
3. Interviews with Georgette and Gilberte in the Paris suburbs by S. Condon, 1991.
4. Interview with Henrietta in London by S. Condon, 1991.
5. Interviews with migrants from Nevis in Leicester by M. Byron, 1988.
6. Interviews with Liliane, Gabrielle, and Elise, in the Paris suburbs, by S. Condon, 1990–1992.
7. Race Relations Act 1968, Part I, sub-sections 1, 2 & 5.
8. Interview in Oxford, by M. Byron, 1990.
9. A postal survey that generated around 250 responses.
10. Interview with migrant returnee in Nevis, by M. Byron, 1989.
11. This and the following case, interviews in Leicester, by M. Byron, 1988 and 1989, respectively.
12. The sample of migrant files from four one-year periods spanning the BUMIDOM's existence (1962–1981), yielding 200 cases, contained various documents including questionnaire forms filled in before departure, information to migration candidates, and so on (see Condon and Ogden, 1991a, 1991b). Information on housing trajectories was limited to those elements recorded by the BUMIDOM, when the agency was contacted by a migrant after a first job or training placement or when help with access to public housing was sought.

13. Interview in Paris, by S. Condon, 1990.
14. Interview in Leicester, by M. Byron, 1989.
15. BUMIDOM migrant files.
16. Interviews with Lucienne Liliane, Marie, Victoire, and Sophie, conducted by S. Condon in the Paris suburbs, 1990–1992.
17. Special tabulations for the Paris Region were purchased from INSEE during a research project conducted by S. A. Condon and P. E. Ogden, 1988–1991.
18. ONS, 2001, Census of England and Wales, London and Birmingham tables for black Caribbean ethnic group.
19. In France, the existing anti-discrimination law (1974) only covers direct discrimination.
20. Interview in Birmingham, by M. Byron, 1991.
21. Interview in Leicester, by M. Byron, 1988
22. NS-SeC
 - 1.1 Employers and managers in large organisations
 - 1.2 Higher professionals
 - 2 Lower managerial and professional occupations
 3. Intermediate occupations
 4. Small employers and own account workers
 5. Lower supervisory or craft and related occupations
 6. Semi-routine Occupations
 7. Routine Occupations
 - 8.1 Never worked
 - 8.2 Long- term unemployed
 - 8.3 Full- time students
 - NC Not classified
23. Special tabulations prepared by M. Ramsden (2007).
24. In tracing the changes in housing status of Caribbean households in the 1990s, we are confronted with two new problems for direct comparison. From 1991, the British definition of ‘Caribbean’ is one based on ethnicity (self-reported), whereas the French census continues to use place of birth as the means of differentiating populations. Thus French Caribbean households are those in which *personne de référence* (head) was born in one of the islands. Furthermore, by the 1990s, the Caribbean household population was composed largely of people who had arrived in Britain before 1970 and British-born descendants of migrants; whilst the French context differed substantially, as we described in Chapter 2. In the 1970s and 1980s, migrants continued to arrive and settle in metropolitan France. Thus younger households in the 1990s were comprised of both recent migrants and descendants of earlier migrants. Thus there are several layers of housing experience in the French case and this will be explicated below.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. We use ‘nuclear family’ here in the sense that Senior (1991, p.8) defines it: ‘with mother, father and their children under one roof.’ Note the difference between this definition and that of McIlwaine (1999), who even in a critical feminist context extends the definition to ‘a male breadwinner with dependent wife and children,’ which automatically excludes even most families fitting Senior’s definition as Caribbean women are remarkable in their high representation in the workforce.

2. Nevisian migrants were interviewed in Leicester by M. Byron in 1988–1989. All the names used in the text are pseudonyms.
3. Esther and Irma interviewed by M. Byron in Leicester, 1988.
4. James and Benson interviewed by M. Byron in Nevis, 1989.
5. Interviewed by S. Condon in the Paris region, 1990.
6. Interviewed by S. Condon in the Paris region, 1989.
7. Interviewed by S. Condon in the Paris region, 1990.
8. Interview by M. Byron with a non-migrant, Nevis, 1989.
9. Interview by M. Byron with a non-migrant, Nevis, 1989.
10. Interview by S. Condon in the Paris region, 1991.
11. Interview by S. Condon in Guadeloupe, 1996.
12. M. Byron interview with migrant from Nevis in Leicester, 1988.
13. M. Byron interview with migrant from Nevis in Leicester, 1989.
14. Interviewed by S. Condon in Paris, 1993.
15. Interviewed by S. Condon in Guadeloupe, 1996.
16. Interviewed by M. Byron, Leicester, 1988.
17. Defined as households in which the head is Caribbean-born. Using the contemporary definition, household heads being male unless the women lived alone, this then excludes any households in which a Caribbean-born woman has a non-Caribbean-born male partner.
18. Interviewed by M. Byron, Leeds, 1990.
19. Interviewed by S. Condon in the Paris region in 1991.
20. Interviews by M. Byron, Leicester, 1989, 2003.
21. For convenience we have used ‘white British’ here as a category for 1991 and 2001. In fact the category only emerged in the 2001 census when the blanket ‘white’ category was subdivided into three groups : white British, white Irish, and white other. Ideally we would compare the Caribbean group with the white British group in both censuses but as a compromise we use the broader ‘white’ category for 1991.
22. For the 2001 data, the total of all one-family households presented here does not add up to 100 percent as the census presents all pensioners as a separate category. This is only likely to affect significantly the ‘married couple’ category. Similarly, ‘all household’ data excludes non family households.
23. The 1991 household type data by ethnicity is from a 10 percent sample of the census.
24. Interview by M. Byron in Nevis, 2000.
25. Interview with Nevisian migrant in Leicester, M. Byron, 2000.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. Despite specific survey data on the French case, from the 1992 INSEE survey (Migrations des populations des DOM), measurement of return for settlement has been complicated by intentionally temporary returns of young men after completing their national military service in metropolitan France. First analysis of the survey data uncritically showed a high level of return for young men (Aziz and Lavertu, 1994).
2. The clue to the recent arrivals compared to the post war Caribbean-born population in Britain lies in their nationality. All postwar New Commonwealth immigrants from the Caribbean carried or soon obtained British citizenship and passports. Recent arrivals in general hold foreign nationality. The Labour Force Survey is the only source of information on foreign nationals living and working in the UK.

3. The International Passenger Survey is a continuous port survey that is the main source of annual estimates of immigration into and out of the UK.
4. St. Kitts-Nevis Department of Labour (1998) Annual Report 1997, Basseterre, St. Kitts-Nevis, Department of Labour.
5. Note however that we must view the census figures with a degree of circumspection: first, they rely on respondent's reporting of place of permanent residence at the previous census; second, children's places of residence may be recorded as that of their parents (whether or not this is accurate); third, other movements may have taken place in the intervening period.
6. Note, however, that the high cost of air travel to the Caribbean via the national airline during holiday periods for other employees, particularly since the 1990s, is a major point of contention. Furthermore, the holiday benefit (*congés bonifiés*) is under threat. Protests have been organised since 2001, led by the Collectif des Dom association. Migrants from the French Caribbean and other Dom and their families refuse to be treated as if they receive undue benefits and seek to remind the nation that they were brought over to the metropole as much-needed labour, thus being obliging to live at a great distance from 'home' (Karam, 2005).
7. This survey was conducted by the national statistics institute (INSEE), using the 1990 census as the sampling base. The interviewees were of all age groups and various lengths of stay. Thus this last group included both very recent migrants and people who had lost contact with the islands. Analysis presented here was conducted by S. Condon.
8. One of the forty in-depth interviews gathered in the Paris Region during ethnographic research conducted between 1990 and 1996. Several interviewees have been re-contacted a number of times since. Twenty-five further interviews were conducted in Guadeloupe and Martinique in 1996. Translation of interview extracts was done by S. Condon.
9. Research on return migration done by M. Byron in 1996 consisting of ten weeks of fieldwork in St Kitts, Nevis, and Barbados, during which 100 returnees from Britain and several government officials were interviewed.
10. Interview July 1996, Nevis.
11. For example, in the mid-1980s, prices in the French Caribbean (excluding rent) were over 16 percent higher than prices in the metropole (Domenach and Picouet, 1992, p. 124).
12. Interviewees for the 1992 INSEE survey who said they wished to return to live in the islands were asked about the type of housing envisaged on their return. Only one in ten already owned a home (most were aged over fifty), 14 percent owned a plot of land and 11 percent were saving to buy a plot. One-quarter planned to rent lodgings. Over one-third planned to stay with their family, this rising to over 40 percent for the younger age groups (results of analyses by the author published in S. Condon, 1999, 'Politiques du logement et migrations de retour. Retour des migrants antillais de la France métropolitaine' in J. d'Armagnac et al., *Démographie et aménagement du territoire*, 10th CUDEP National Demography Conference, Paris, PUF, pp. 297–305).
13. S. Condon, interview with François in Guadeloupe in 1996. He had been first interviewed in the Paris suburbs in 1992, when he had given up hope of a job transfer to the islands; but this came two years after this interview. In 1996, the house, which S. Condon was taken to visit, consisted of the outside and inside walls plus the roof.
14. M. Byron interview with return migrant in Nevis 1996
15. M. Byron interview with return migrant in Nevis, 1996.
16. M. Byron interview with return migrant, Nevis, 1996

17. As French Caribbean migrants returning to the islands remain within the same national boundaries, they do not lose any pension rights. This would contrast somewhat with migrants returning from Britain to those Caribbean countries that have not negotiated reciprocal pension agreements with Britain and who consequently fail to receive inflation linked rises to their pensions over time (Byron, 1999). Moreover, retirement pensions in the French overseas départements (DOM), in line with the cost of living allowance initially introduced for the benefit metropolitan state employees posted in the islands, are at a higher level than in the metropole. Unfortunately, this topic is scarcely documented.
18. In comparison to many other migrant women in France, Caribbean women are currently in a more favorable position as retirement approaches since they have more often been in stable, full-time work (particularly in the public sector). Thus trends are similar to those observed in Britain (see Holdsworth and Dale, 1997, "Ethnic differences in women's employment, *Work, employment and society*, 11(3), pp.435–457). However, pension prospects of the younger generations are less optimistic.
19. Returnees to the French Caribbean who do not find stable work after resettlement can claim unemployment benefit.
20. M. Byron interview with return migrant, 1989.
21. M. Byron, interview in Barbados, 1996.
22. M. Byron, interviews with returned migrants in Barbados, 1996.
23. Furthermore, military conscripts had the opportunity of taking their driving licence.
24. M. Byron interview with return migrant in Nevis, 1996.
25. S. Condon interview in Paris suburbs in 1995.
26. S. Condon was witness to two heated discussions on this topic during fieldwork in Martinique and Guadeloupe in 1996; competition between non-migrants and returnees remains a topic of debate in the islands and within communities in France and Britain (cf. Urunuela, 2002).
27. S. Condon interview in Guadeloupe, 1996.
28. S. Condon interview in Paris, 1993.
29. In Barbados, 20 percent of the working women in the sample of returnees interviewed were employed as nurses (M. Byron, fieldwork in Barbados, 1996)
30. S. Condon interview in Martinique in 1996.
31. Nevisian in Britain contemplating return—M. Byron interview, 1988, Leicester.
32. S. Condon interview in Paris, 1991.
33. S. Condon interview in Guadeloupe, 1996, during university holidays. The French Caribbean campus is split between the two islands.
34. S. Condon interview in Martinique, 1996.
35. Westwood does however later examine this framework explicitly as, with Phizacklea, she discusses the nation state, national identities, cross-border migration, and the politics of belonging (Westwood and Phizacklea, 2000).

NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

1. A translation of the expression used to describe of the growing sentiment among Caribbean people in metropolitan France from the 1980s used as a slogan by many associations: their wish to be 'Français à part entière' rather than 'entièrement à part.'

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