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WOMEN TRADERS IN
SAINT VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES

by

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The views expressed in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the view of the ECLAC Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. THE TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE	2
Background.....	2
Extra- and Intra-regional export of agricultural produce	3
Means of transportation	4
Exporters of agricultural produce	5
Women's participation in the intra-regional trade in agricultural produce.....	6
3. THE TRAFFICKERS OF ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES.....	9
General description of the work.....	9
Geographical movements of the traffickers.....	9
Size of the trading population.....	10
Socio-economic characteristics of traffickers.....	11
Level of formal organisation among traffickers.....	12
4. THE TRADERS ACTIVITY CYCLE.....	14
Background.....	14
Activity 1: Making arrangements for the overseas trip...	14
Activity 2: Purchasing and collecting the produce	16
Activity 3: Preparing the produce for shipment: sorting, cleaning, crating and packaging....	18
Activity 4: Transporting the produce to port.....	19
Activity 5: Documenting the export produce.....	19
Activities Loading the produce into vessels, 6 and 7 : Transport of produce overseas.....	19
Activity 8: Travelling trafficker to oversea market....	20
Activities Off-loading the produce; 9 and 10: Transporting produce to market site.....	20
Activity 11: Selling the produce.....	20
Activities Night storage ; 12 and 13 : Overnighting by the trafficker.....	21

	page
Activity 14: Securing foreign exchange for return to home territory.....	21
Activity 15: Purchasing commodities for resale in home territory.....	22
Activities The return trip; 16,17 and Transport of purchased commodities overseas; 18 : Off-loading the produce	22
5. CONCLUSIONS.....	22
6 RECOMMENDATIONS	24
Notes	24
Bibliography.....	27
Annex.....	29

1. INTRODUCTION

This document is based on a study executed in St. Vincent and the Grenadines in 1987 as part of the project "The Establishment of a Data Base on Women's Participation in Social and Economic Change". The Women in Development Unit (WID) of the Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), initiated activities on the subject of women traders in the Caribbean in 1984. The project is regarded as a priority area in the work programme, and has been endorsed by the member Governments of the Caribbean Development and Cooperation Committee (CDCC) at its eighth session held in 1984, and further supported at its ninth and tenth sessions held in Trinidad and Tobago in 1985 and 1987.

The document responds to subregional concerns about lack of data on women's economic contribution to development by examining women's share in the marketing and distribution of agricultural produce in the region. The research was concentrated on the traders of St. Vincent and the Grenadines, usually referred as "traffickers", who operate in the informal sector¹/.

The data contained herein are based on information collected from:

1) Interviews with traffickers and farmers and a wide range of persons in St. Vincent and the Grenadines at the Ministry of Agriculture and Trade, the Statistical Department, the Women's Bureau, the Customs and Excise Department, the Quarantine Department, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Traffickers' Small Business Association; 2) Meetings with traders held in South River and Victoria Village; 3) Secondary sources such as shipping bills and phytosanitary certificates of agricultural produce exported from St. Vincent and the Grenadines to Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados during the period January -May 1987; 4) Entry certificates from agricultural produce imported into Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados - the main countries where St. Vincentian traders market their produce and, 5) Literature on the inter-island trade.

Organised in four sections, the document provides 1) a broad outline of the intra- and extra-regional trade in agricultural produce; 2) a detailed description of traffickers' work operations; 3) an overview of traffickers' efforts to organise themselves into formal associations, and; 4) a final outline summarising the findings of the document and suggesting recommendations for strengthening the position of women traders.

2. THE TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

Background

Trade in agricultural commodities among the Caribbean islands dates back to the pre-colonial period when the Amerindians inhabited the region. The Caribs in St. Vincent and the Grenadines used to trade ground provisions and tobacco to Martinique before the end of the seventeenth century, and later on to different British islands ^{2/}. Following discontinuation of the practice during the period of enslavement, trading activities resumed with varying degrees of intensity and continue up to the present time.

The latter part of the 1960's saw a rapid growth of the inter-island trade. Between 1967 and 1971 total Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA) intra-regional imports rose from EC\$95 million to an estimated EC\$188 million - representing an average increase of 19% per year. This increase is especially significant in light of the fact that prior to CARIFTA the average annual growth rate was less than 6% per year ^{3/}.

Acceleration in the growth of inter-island trade was mainly due to regional government policies which promoted the establishment of regional integration schemes such as the Agricultural Marketing Protocol, the Guaranteed Market Scheme, the Caribbean Free Trade Area, and the Customs Union which subsequently evolved into the Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM).

By the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, however, inter-island trade experienced a drastic decline. A number of factors contributed to this decline, among them:

a) Problems in regional co-operation

In July 1983 an agreement was signed to abolish the Agricultural Marketing Protocol as a mechanism for facilitating intra-regional trade in agricultural produce. The gains from thus liberalizing the trade were primarily beneficial to the more developed countries (MDCs) ^{4/}. The original guaranteed minimum price set by the Agricultural Marketing Protocol (AMP) stimulated greater production in the MDCs, thereby further weakening the position of the lesser developed countries (LDCs) ^{5/}. These policies had the effect of undermining regional co-operation - a situation further compounded by the unsettled political climate accompanying the gaining of independence by virtually all the Eastern Caribbean territories in the early 1980s.

Recent (1988) agreements among Caribbean countries aiming to eliminate intra-regional trade restrictions are intended to reactivate Caribbean economic integration.

b) The economic crisis

The inflation that had begun in 1972 continued to accelerate and was compounded by an energy crisis that saw a fourfold increase in the price of oil and a food crisis which resulted in a rapidly growing regional food import bill. The LDCs were hardest hit: consumer and other import prices increased

dramatically, and primary exports were subject to the usual unstable conditions 6/.

c) The decrease in agricultural production

Higher wages in the extractive, industrial and tourist sectors as compared with the lower earnings in agro-industry, together with the traditional disdain for agricultural work, have led to a significant decrease in the total amount of land under cultivation, and a movement of population away from farming areas.

Furthermore, the division of holdings by inheritance and parcelization has resulted in inefficient small-scale farming and low land productivity.

d) The increased international competition

International trading companies increased not only their exports of agricultural produce to the Caribbean region, but also their imports of agricultural produce from the region. Thus, trade in agricultural produce was more and more directed to extra-regional markets.

e) The development of traditional export crops

Historically, emphasis by governments in the region has been placed on the development of traditional primary agricultural crops such as bananas, coconuts, citrus, mangoes, cocoa, arrowroot and nutmeg, to the detriment of the small-farmer cultivated foodstuff, such as ground provisions, fruits and vegetables which constitute the prime export goods within the intra-regional trade. Yet the majority of farm holdings in the Commonwealth Caribbean - an overwhelming 95% of the 350,000 farm holdings - are under 25 acres in size, and amount to less than 30% of the total acreage of farmland 7/.

Extra- and intra-regional export of agricultural produce

St. Vincent and the Grenadines exports agricultural produce both extra- and intra-regionally. Its largest markets for primary agricultural crops such as bananas, coconuts and arrowroot are the United Kingdom and Canada.

Intra-regionally, St. Vincents' and the Grenadines' exports are limited to ground provisions, vegetables and fruits produced by small farmers. Ground provisions - eddoes, followed by tannias, sweet potato, dasheen and yams - account for most of the intra-regional exports.

Production of agricultural produce increased between 1980-1985 (see table 1 below). 46,521 metric tons were exported intra-and extra-regionally in 1985 though the overwhelming majority was marketed regionally.

Table 1

ESTIMATED PRODUCTION OF SELECTED COMMODITIES (1981 -1985)
(Unit= metric tons)

Commodity	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Sweet Potatoes	1,369	1,450	1,084	2,317	8,529
Yams	696	929	1,251	3,773	3,262
Tannias	1,743	2,067	2,959	6,512	9,354
Eddoes, Dasheen	4,322	5,443	8,428	16,068	25,376
Bananas	33,221	31,752	34,921	33,556	41,922
Plantains	5,080	1,988	1,473	3,099	4,222
Mangoes	1,731	2,727	2,273	2,273	2,273
Limes	159	159	159	159	159
Oranges	212	212	212	212	212
Grapefruit	121	121	121	121	121
Avocados	159	219	219	316	316
Coconuts	9,924	415	9,475	10,564	7,940

Source: Agricultural Statistical Unit, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, 1987

Means of transportation

Transportation for the marketing of agricultural produce is mostly by sea. Since emphasis has been placed in the region on the extra-regional export of agricultural produce, extra-regional shipping links are more developed than intra-regional ones.

Major internationally-owned ships operating in the agricultural trade are:

1) The Booth Line which employs two ships, "Benedict" and "Boniface", on a monthly service from Liverpool via Dublin discharging at Barbados and Trinidad.

2) The Booker Line which operates out of West Europe calling at ports in Curacao, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados.

3) The Caribbean Overseas Lines (CAROL).

4) The Geest Line which operates out of the United Kingdom with destinations in the Windward Islands and Barbados.

Within the Caribbean region, the West Indies Shipping Corporation (WISCO) ^{8/} serves Trinidad, Miami, Jamaica and Barbados. The absence of a St. Vincent and the Grenadines-Grenada-Trinidad and Tobago run represents a noticeable weak link in the service, especially as it is from St. Vincent and the Grenadines and Grenada that the majority of the fresh food trade within the Eastern Caribbean is conducted. Thus there is a gap left in the intra-regional shipping route that schooners and other small ships are virtually duty-bound to fill.

The CARICOM Inter-island Shipping Survey, 1977, reveals that the small vessel fleet was responsible for 55% of the inter-island sea-borne freight trade. The ships of WISCO carried 25%, and the international ships the other 20%. The small vessel fleet consists of privately-owned vessels. Three of those small vessels - "Dolores", "Persia II" and "Perica" - operate on a weekly basis from St. Vincent and the Grenadines to Trinidad and Tobago, and two to Barbados - "Alli C" and "Simone V". Of these "Simone V" is the smallest with a 35 ton cargo capacity, and "Persia II" the largest with a 200 ton cargo capacity.

The exporters of agricultural produce

Extra-regional Exporters of Agricultural Produce

Exporters of agricultural produce in the extra-regional markets operating in St. Vincent and the Grenadines are:

1) The United Kingdom-based Geest Line which monopolizes the trade in bananas.

2) The Caribbean Agricultural Commodity Trading Company (CATCO) which is based in Barbados and purchases produce in St. Vincent and the Grenadines, St. Lucia, Grenada, Guyana and Dominica. CATCO shifted its emphasis from the intra-regional trade to extra-regional markets such as the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and the United States.

3) The Eastern Caribbean Agency (ECA) a private company based in St. Vincent and the Grenadines. It exports mainly to Canada and the United States.

4) The small private organizations and individuals in St. Vincent and the Grenadines, viz. Gunsan and Sons Ltd., Square Deal, and Mr. Antrobus. Their share in the extra-regional market is small.

5) The St. Vincent and the Grenadines Marketing Corporations (SVMC) which export mainly to the United Kingdom. Their share in the extra-regional market is very small.

Intra-regional Exporters of Agricultural Produce

At present, exporters of agricultural produce in intra-regional trade may be categorized in three groups: 1) Marketing Corporations of Governments, 2) private organisations or individual exporters and 3) inter-island traders also referred to as "traffickers".

The St. Vincent and the Grenadines Marketing Corporation has been since 1982 virtually non-operational in the intra-regional trade having limited its operations to the domestic market (see table 2).

Table 2

QUANTITIES OF SWEET POTATOES AND CARROTS EXPORTED
TO TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO BY THE MARKETING BOARD
OF ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES
(in lb.)

	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Sweet Potatoes	1,636,240	2,005,945	2,269,400	629	?
Carrots	389,200	312,100	128,250	264,078	5,550

Source: Data collected at the Agricultural Statistical Unit, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, February 1987.

The private organizations and individual exporters comprise a small sector accounting for not more than 2% of the inter-island trade flow. The individuals involved are men who, there is reason to believe, are also involved in the extra-regional market.

The inter-island traders dominate the intra-regional trade. Numbering approximately 462, their share of the inter-island trade is estimated between 80% and 90%. They purchase agricultural produce in their home territory to export to markets within the Caribbean, primarily Trinidad and Tobago and to a smaller extent Barbados, Martinique and St. Martin, transporting their produce by schooners and other small ships (see table 3).

Table 3

ANNUAL TRAFFICKERS' EXPORTS BY WEIGHT
(in lb.)

	1978	1979	1980	1981
Ground Provisions	5,199,470*	5,365,916	7,033,110	11,575,085
Plantains	1,547,262	2,047,200	1,889,628	3,917,039
Other Provisions	1,201,512	1,488,131	1,320,184	1,260,038
TOTAL	7,948,244*	8,901,247	10,242,922	16,752,162

*/: excluding sweet potatoes

Source : Report of the Central Planning Unit: "A storage facility for the traffickers of St. Vincent and the Grenadines", 1985

Women's participation in the intra-regional trade in agricultural produce

The participation of women in the St. Vincent and the Grenadines Marketing Board (SVCM) and the private organisations involved in the intra-regional trade in agricultural produce is small. Women are, however, over-represented in the largest group of exporters in the intra-regional trade:

"the inter-island traders".

Women's participation in the intra-regional trade in agricultural produce is a recent phenomenon in St. Vincent and the Grenadines. In the first half of the century men controlled the inter-island trade. During the second half of the century, however, women's participation increased significantly 9/.

Factors which prompted the entry of women in the regional marketing of agricultural produce were the following: a) the surplus of agricultural produce, b) the limited employment opportunities for women, c) the improved travelling facilities, d) the existence of established social networks among territories and e) the withdrawal of male traders from trafficking.

a) The surplus of agricultural produce.

Agriculture production was tremendously stimulated by the Government of St. Vincent and the Grenadines in the 1970s. Production increased from 8,025 pounds in 1969 to 7.4 million pounds in 1976 10/. Much of this produce was marketed by Governmental Marketing Boards but in the beginning of the 1980s these Boards drastically reduced their marketing activities. Thus a surplus of produce became available to traffickers. While internal marketing of agricultural produce in St. Vincent and the Grenadines has traditionally been undertaken by women, the surplus produce, together with the increased demand for agricultural produce in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1970s, acted as catalysts for women's trafficking beyond national boundaries.

b) The limited employment opportunities for women

There is insufficient stable wage employment to absorb the high population growth in St. Vincent and the Grenadines (see table 4). The most disadvantaged group in such an environment are older women with minimal educational qualifications. Some of these women found it expedient to remain in agriculture. Others, because of the vacuum created by male withdrawal from the sector, returned to agriculture .

Table 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC
INACTIVITY BY BROAD AGE GROUP AND SEX
IN ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES

Age	M	F
15 - 19	4.9	42.9
20 - 24	2.5	44.1
25 - 44	2.1	49.0
45 - 64	8.3	59.4
65+	45.3	87.9

Source: Preliminary analysis of the 1980 Census Data, Table C4.

Although official statistics indicate that there has been a decline in the female agricultural labour force there is some evidence to show that many women are still actively involved in agriculture. Le Franc (1980) found that women formed 47% of the unpaid workers and 41% of the paid workers in the agricultural sector in St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Chaney (1983) noted trends in the Caribbean towards both the feminisation of farming with women taking more and more responsibility for food and cash crops, and the growing marginalisation of the female rural population 11/. In this context, it is not surprising that women, usually the older ones, with dependent offsprings and little economic support seek additional or alternative forms of income. Some entrepreneurial rural women in the second half of this century looked towards the inter-island trade as offering this opportunity.

c) The improved travelling facilities.

Technological improvements such as motorized vessels and the introduction of airplanes, made it relatively safer and more convenient for traffickers to travel overseas to conduct their trade. The reduced period of time spent on travel for purposes of trading has made it easier for the women to combine income generating activities with household and child-rearing activities - activities for which women still feel responsible.

d) The existence of established social networks among territories .

Massive seasonal and permanent migrations to Trinidad and Tobago during World War II and the oil boom years increased the populations on which the traffickers could rely in the oversea markets, thereby facilitating the traffickers' operations. Research indicates that traffickers tend to rely exclusively on family members residing in Trinidad and Tobago for assistance in conducting their trade 12/.

e) The withdrawal of male traders from trafficking.

Several factors seem to have contributed to the reduction of the male population in the intra-regional trade. Firstly, the modernization of the means of transportation changed the trafficking lifestyle of traders completely 13/. Traffickers, the majority of whom were men in the first half of this century, used to sail for 2 weeks to Trinidad and Tobago. An important feature of their travel was the camaraderie that existed between the menfolk 14/. New means of transportation changed this lifestyle drastically.

A second factor contributing to the withdrawal of men from the inter-island trade was the very poor returns realised in the late 1960s 15/. It is generally observed that men tend to withdraw much sooner than women from activities with negative growth potential. With regard to the inter-island trade the following findings support such observation:

1) While male traders stopped trading in ground provision they remained in the more profitable trade in livestock, - mainly sheep and goat - to Trinidad and Tobago 16/.

2) Male traders who traded agricultural produce to St. Maarten became involved in a profitable reverse trade in electrical appliances.

- 3) Only men enter the extra-regional markets for agricultural produce.

It is as well probable that male participation decreased because of women traders' relative success in trafficking. Both male and female traders indicated that women were better able to cope with trafficking insofar as patience, ability to attract buyers, ability to reduce overhead costs during business trips and to economize, all were coping mechanisms advantageous to marginal circumstances.

3. THE TRAFFICKERS OF ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES

General description of the work

After purchasing and, or, collecting their goods - mostly ground provisions (tannias, yams, sweet potatoes, dasheens, eddoes, etc.), fruits and vegetables from small farmers - the traffickers transport them for further handling, and then ship them to the country of dispatch where they are marketed. In the performance of this economic activity traffickers make use of the services of carriers, truck drivers, crate makers, brokers, shippers and other technical intermediaries, most of whom are men. Because of the individualized nature of the trade the working relationships established to facilitate the activity are very personalized.

The traffickers' work schedule is very heavy. Those interviewed estimated that on an average they worked at least 10 hours a day. The periods October - November and June - August are peak seasons for the trade.

Geographical Movement of the traffickers

One of the characteristics of traffickers is their flexibility and their capacity to adapt themselves to new situations. The availability and routes of ships restrict and determine, in part, the geographical movements of the traffickers. In the 1950s when the Federal boats operated within the region traffickers from St. Vincent and the Grenadines used to go to islands as far north as Jamaica. Trading is also restricted by the distance of the overseas markets as the boats generally lack proper storage and refrigeration facilities.

Currently most of the traffickers go to Trinidad and Tobago. Barbados takes the second place (see annex, map 1). A small group of traders goes to Carriacou, Martinique and St. Martin. Some traders embark on small vessels going to Martinique from the Grenadines, in that way bypassing Customs. Usually they return by boat to St. Vincent and the Grenadines at the Leeward side.

Size of the trading population

The size of the trading population grew from about 30 in the 1940's to over 400 in the 1980s. The current trend, however, is towards a decline in this number. Research carried out in two villages suggests that a younger

group entered the trade in the 1980s replacing the group of older traffickers operating up until that time.

In 1987 there were at least 462 traffickers in St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Research data indicate the existence of 322 traffickers who shipped agricultural produce from St. Vincent and the Grenadines during the period of research 17/. This group is referred to in this report as "active" traders (see table 5).

Information provided from lists of members of the Traffickers' Small Business Association and of traders attending meetings with the Ministry of Agriculture 18/ revealed the existence of an additional 140 traffickers. It is as yet not clear whether these traders are still active as they did not ship agricultural produce in their own names during the period of research. This group will be referred to as "non-active" traders.

Table 5

NUMBER OF ACTIVE AND NON-ACTIVE TRADERS
OF ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES BY SEX

	Female	Male	Unknown	Total
Active traders	213	99	20	322
Non-Active Traders	84	38	18	140
Total traders	297	127	38	462

Source: Information collected at the Excise and Customs Department, Ministry of Agriculture in St. Vincent and the Grenadines, May 1987.

It is important as well to distinguish the trading population as comprising the following categories:

1) Those traffickers shipping produce out of St. Vincent and the Grenadines and themselves collecting it in the ports of dispatch. It is estimated that 73 % of the traffickers fall in this category 19/.

2) Those traffickers shipping the produce from St. Vincent and the Grenadines using agents to collect and market the produce overseas. An estimated 27% of traffickers fall in this category, though the number is on the increase since poor financial returns from the trade militate against regular overseas business travel.

3) Full-time and part-time traffickers. A sample from all the traffickers shipping agricultural produce in the month of January 1987 indicated that women generally operate more as full-time traders - that is, those who make shipments practically every week - than their male counterparts. The research revealed that 9.8% of the traders shipped only once, 39.3% shipped twice, and 50.9% shipped every week in that month (see table 6). This breakdown represented a recent shift in shipping trends, since in the past traders shipped less often.

The above categories are by no means rigid. Any trader, during her trading career, may move from one category to another according to the economic climate. She might even leave the trade for a period only to resume at a later date.

Table 6
NUMBER OF TRADERS IN ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES
BY SEX AND BY NUMBER OF SHIPMENTS IN JANUARY 1987

Sex	Number of shipments		
	1	2	3
Female	59 (48.8%)	48 (39.7%)	14 (11.6%)
Male	21 (47.7%)	20 (45.5%)	3 (6.8%)
Unknown	8 (100.0%)	-	-
Total	88 (50.9%)	68 (39.3%)	17 (9.8%)

Source: These data are based on all the shipments made on the 12, 19 and 26 of January 1987 to Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago.

Socio-economic characteristics of traffickers

No records exist in which traders are specified as male or female. Information derived through investigating the names of traders appearing in various documents indicate that approximately 70% are women 20/. Men seem to have re-entered the trade in the 1980s.

A small ECLAC Pilot Study (1984) 21/ revealed that of the 20 respondents the age range varies between 35 and 59 years with 45 being the average age. Recently there has been a trend towards younger people entering the trade. The women traders' visible success caused by the oil boom in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1970s was instrumental in attracting others -mostly younger women - to the trade. These younger women eventually superseded, in part, the older established group of women traders.

The ECLAC Pilot study also revealed that of the 20 respondents, 4 were married, 8 had common-law relationships, 5 visiting relationships, and 3 had no male companion. The average 45 year old trader had about 10 children. The same study revealed that the formal educational attainment of the traders was low though the younger ones tended to have had more exposure to formal education.

Information on the residence of all the traders is not available in St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Information gathered on the members of the Traffickers Small Business Association indicates that the majority of them reside in the parishes of St. Georges and Charlotte (see annex, map 2).

What the economic position of the traders is, and more specifically what the revenues of the trade are, are not known. Estimates of the Ministry of Agriculture in St. Vincent and the Grenadines suggest that the traffickers incur per pound of produce 10 cents for local handling and 20 cents for shipping inclusive of cost of air ticket. The following costs are incurred in

the trade: Packaging; Transportation of produce (from the farm to Kingstown and from wharf to ship); Loading and off-loading of the goods ; Shipping freight; Transportation to market; Transportation of trafficker from port to market and back; Documentation charges; and Market fees. Pilot research in Barbados indicated that the profits of traders vary between US\$17.50 and US\$35.00 per week 22/.

The devaluation of the Trinidad and Tobago dollar in 1980 reduced the incomes of the traders by 43% 23/. Despite this the image persists that traders earn substantial amounts. While it is true that some traders seem to have expanded their operations, the success stories are limited to merely a few. There are indications that the majority of traders face financial losses and that, as a consequence, the numbers of dropouts have been extremely high. Those traders that have remained in the trade can be considered a marginalized group.

Level of formal organization among traffickers

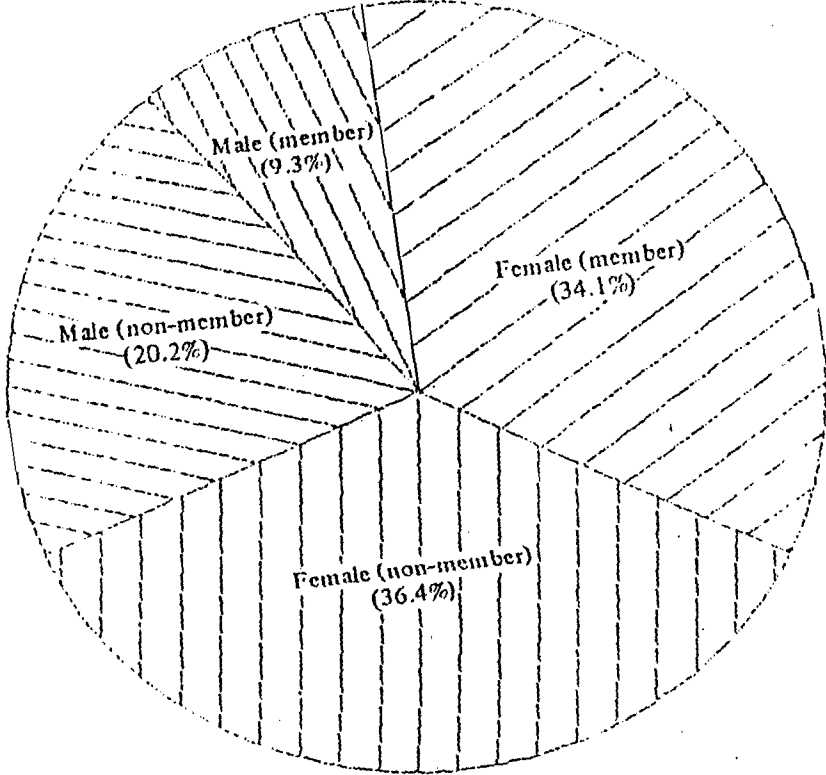
It is obvious from the practices of the traders that they often work together in groups to maximise benefits from the trade and to protect themselves and their merchandise. Collaboration occurs, for example, in the filling out of official forms for processing the produce, in arranging accommodation, and in supervising goods while the traffickers are engaged in port procedures and marketing.

In 1983 some traders organized themselves into an association: The Traffickers Small Business Association. This came about as a result of the many problems the traders were facing at that time. The Association joined the Chamber of Industry and Commerce in 1984 and has attempted to bridge the gap between traders and farmers by including both in their Association.

The Association's main concern has been to secure a profitable income for the traders. To this effect it has addressed the problem of the weekly flooding of the Trinidad and Tobago market by trying to restrict the number of traders and the quantity of goods shipped to that country. Initially some success was recorded, but this attracted newcomers, and the resulting increased competition caused a decline in the revenue of each trader.

The Association started with 143 members and in 1985 membership had grown to 173. It is estimated that there are now some 250 members. Records of registration of new members are no longer made available. The female - male membership ratio indicates a predominance of women: 77% of the member traders are female and 23% are male (see table 7). From a small survey in 1983 23/ it was estimated that 72% were members of the Traffickers Small Business Association. Since then the trend towards a reduction in membership has accelerated thus reinforcing the idea that the Association remains non-operational (see figure 1). Of all the female traders operating in the month of January 1987, 34% were members of the Association, and of the active male traders only 9% were members. It should be noted that it is only recently that male traders have re-entered the trading business, and as the Association does not keep proper records, male membership is probably under-recorded in the figures above.

Figure 1
TRADERS OF ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES
(Breakdown of active traders, 1987)



The Association has not been able to unify all the traders and represent their interest. Of special significance is the fact that the majority of the traders are young and female, but are represented by an Executive Committee of mostly elderly men. The nomination of a younger male president in 1988 raises hopes for a re-activated Association.

Table 7

NUMBER OF ACTIVE AND NON-ACTIVE TRADERS OF ST. VINCENT AND
THE GRENADINES BY SEX AND MEMBERSHIP OF
THE TRAFFICKERS SMALL BUSINESS ASSOCIATION

	Female	Male	Total
Active member traders	103 (79%)	28 (21%)	131
Non-active member traders	30 (71%)	12 (29%)	42
Total member traders	133 (77%)	40 (23%)	173

Source: Information collected at the Excise and Customs Department and the Ministry of Agriculture, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, May 1987.

4. THE TRAFFICKERS' ACTIVITY CYCLE

Background

Action is initiated on Saturdays and concluded on Fridays. The produce which is purchased on Saturdays and Sundays is collected, transported to the wharf at the port in Kingstown and shipped on Mondays. The vessel takes approximately 10 and 14 hours to arrive at its destinations in Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago respectively. After making arrangements for the care of their children the traffickers board an airplane bound for the market destination, arriving there on Tuesday, that is, the same day on which the sea-borne goods arrive at the port. Marketing takes place on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday and the traders' return leg of the trip usually takes place on Friday afternoon. The activities are carried out or supervised individually by the trader. These activities are repeated in virtually the same order, thus constituting a cycle (see figure 2).

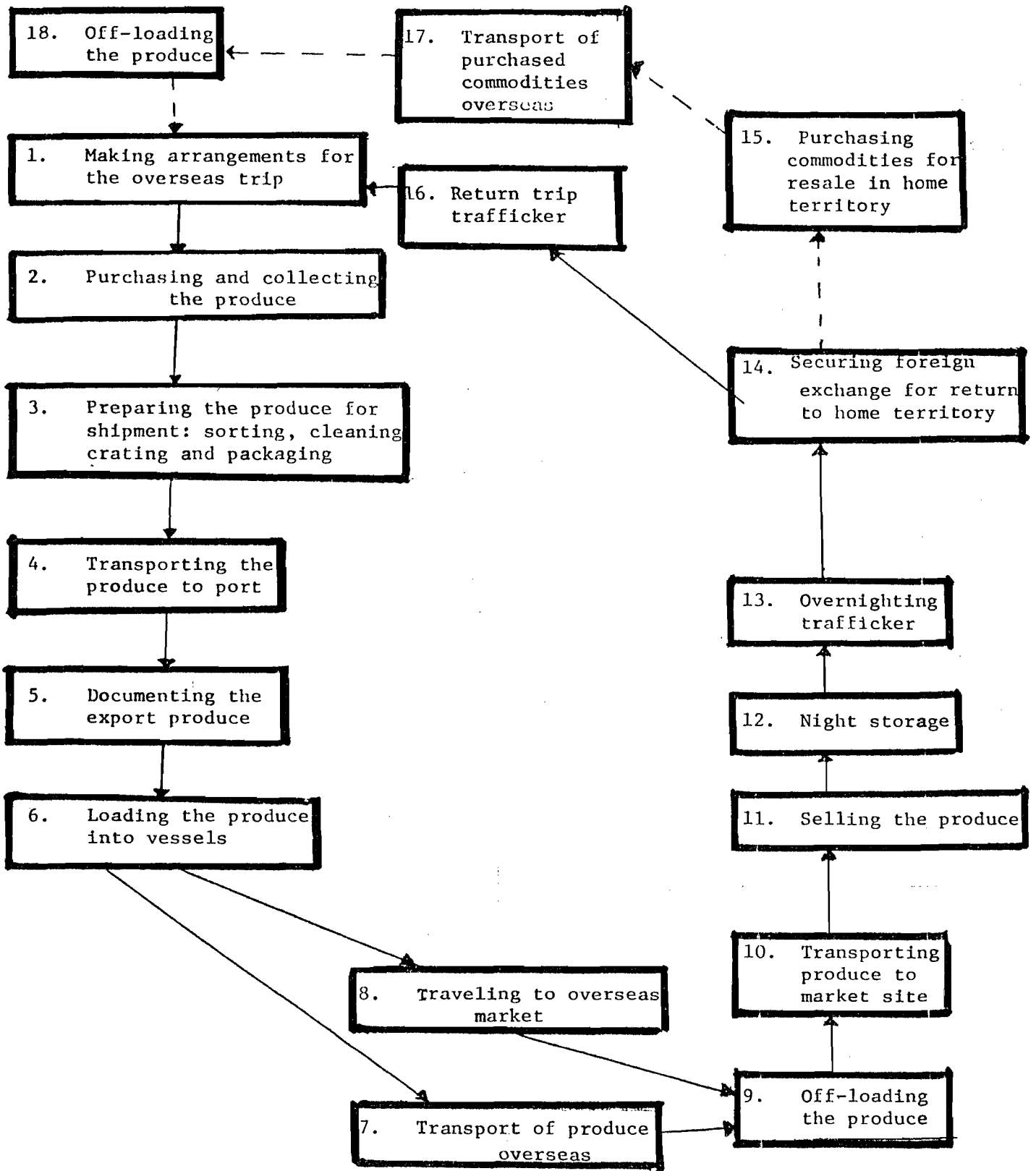
Activity 1: Making arrangements for the overseas trip

These arrangements are made with a) suppliers, for the supply of produce; b) helpers, for collection and transport of produce to the port; c) family members and others, for the care of the traders' children while the traders are on a trip.

For each trip, the traffickers have to make arrangements with different farmers, carriers, truck drivers and crate makers. Communication with them has to be nurtured in order to promote good business. Since traders have no

Figure 2

THE TRADERS' ACTIVITY CYCLE



formal working relations with these people they are powerless when they deviate from informal agreements or when they do not adequately fulfill their tasks. To renege on any of these informal agreements might mean for the trader that her goods are not supplied, that the quality falls below standard, that the truck driver damages or steals some of the produce or does not deliver. For this reason personalized contacts must be nurtured to ensure that the required services are performed.

A large group of traffickers are the sole supporters of their children and dependants, and often have to arrange for their care during the traders' absence. Often they must pay for such service. Personal and family problems, physical or otherwise, always bear upon the female trader. As the trafficking business thrives on special arrangements and personalized relationships which the trader cannot jeopardize, she cannot easily delegate work. Postponing a business trip is difficult, or often impossible, since she trades in perishable goods.

Activity 2: Purchasing and collecting the produce

Although a large number of traders are small farmers themselves, they still need to purchase additional produce since their production capacity is too limited to supply market demands for all the trips they undertake. Not all the produce marketed by the traffickers is available in each part of the island. At the Leeward end, for example, eddoes are available that are not available in the parish of St. George where the majority of the traffickers live. Of necessity the trafficker must cultivate personalized relationships with suppliers in order to secure supply of marketable produce.

Research findings indicate that traders keep secret the names of their suppliers and prices of their produce in order to safeguard against unnecessary competition.

Occasionally, traders buy from the Organization of Rural Development (ORD) or from farmers at the port in Kingstown. The overall majority, however, travel to remote areas of the islands to purchase the produce by the bag or sack directly from farmers.

Name-labelled sacks or bags are deposited with the farmer with whom the trader has made prior arrangements for collection of the produce. Some traders assume responsibility for carrying the produce from the farm to the main road. More often than not, however, farmers or middlemen perform this duty.

Time constraints often prevent the traffickers from checking the produce's quality after it has been collected. Larger companies such as the Eastern Caribbean Agency (ECA) pay the supplier only upon completion of the checking exercise. It is therefore not uncommon for traffickers to end up with poor quality produce. There are complaints that they pay more than the larger purchasing companies in return for less quality, and that there is no guarantee of reimbursement from the supplier for poor quality goods.

Choice of Produce

Choice of produce depends upon availability, market demands and hardness of the produce and whether or not there are trade restrictions governing entry into the import market. Some traders, for example, avoid eddoes for marketing purposes because it is considered difficult to handle. Mostly, the goods marketed are ground provisions : eddoes, sweet potatoes, dasheen, tannias and yams; but traded also are christophenes, golden apple, plantains, avocado pears, coconuts, fresh ginger, limes, plums, pawpaw, oranges, grapefruits, pumpkins, mangoes and bananas 25/.

The traffickers trade in a variety of produce and do not specialise in any special product. Each trafficker trades 5 to 6 kinds of produce on an average. Those who trade in only 2 or 3 kinds are traders operating on a very small scale.

Quantities of Produce Purchased

Figures on the volume of the trade are not reliable. The export figures to Trinidad and Tobago are inflated. Inflated amounts imply inflated proceeds which means that more currency can leave Trinidad and Tobago than is actually received there by the traders. In the case of Barbados the opposite occurs: export figures are deflated as traffickers attempt to escape burdensome taxation. As well, the figures on exports registered at the Customs and Excise Department in St. Vincent and the Grenadines do not always correspond with those registered in Trinidad and Tobago. Figures on quantities shipped per trader have to be looked at with care as some traffickers ship in collaboration with other travelling traders, or on behalf of non-travelling traders.

Research conducted during October 1988 in Trinidad and Tobago revealed that each trafficker makes shipments of between 20 and 210 bags per trip. Interviews revealed that in better times the more successful traffickers would export up to 400 bags per shipment. A sample of traders going to Barbados over a two-month period showed that the quantities traded currently fluctuate with each shipment but that an average of 2,298 kilograms of produce were transported per trader to Barbados in January 1987, as compared with an average of 5,168.4 kilograms in February 1987.

Prices of and payment for produce

The purchase price of produce fluctuates a great deal and is determined by various factors such as the degree of competition, the quantity of supply, and the retail market price of the produce 26/.

Often farmers extend credit to traders, but this service depends entirely upon the farmers' willingness to undertake such risks. Delays in repayment by the traffickers, due to the low prices received in the overseas market, have affected the credit ratings of the traffickers. Whatever the price conditions, traders are prepared, because they have no bargaining power, to pay higher prices for the produce than the larger export companies.

Traders seem to make practically no use of formal credit facilities. Commercial banks are viewed suspiciously particularly by the older generation, as alien institutions not catering to their needs 27/.

Activity 3: Preparing the produce for shipment: sorting, cleaning, crating and packaging

Upon receipt of the products which have been packed by the farmer, the trafficker cleans and sorts them in inadequate accommodation at home or at the port. Poor sorting practices whereby goods often are not graded by size or levels of maturity and are usually sorted in the open air, damage the produce and lead to poor presentation and to spoilage, which further restrict the markets available to the traffickers. In addition, traders in carrying out this activity in the vicinity of the port cause congestion on the roads and shopfronts.

Table 8

TYPES OF PACKAGES USED BY TRAFFICKERS OF ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES EXPORTED TO AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS FOR BARBADOS AND TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Product	Bags	Boxes	Cartons	Sacks	Crates
Apples (mamey)	o	o	o		o
Bananas		o +	o		
Christophene		o +	o	o	
Coconut		o		o +	
Dasheen	o			o +	
Eddoes	o			+	
Ginger			o	o +	
Golden apple			o	o	
Grapefruit		+		+	
Limes		o		+	o
Mangoes		+			
Nutmeg				+	
Oranges		+	+	+	
Pears (avocado)	o	o	o	o	o
Plantain */		o +	o +		
Plums		o			
Pumpkins				+	
Spices				+	
Sweet potatoes	o			o	
Sugar apple	o	o			
Tangerines		+		+	
Tarnia	o			+	
Yams	o	o	o	o	o

o = Consignments to Trinidad and Tobago + = Consignments to Barbados
 */ Plantain is often transported by stem.

Source: These data are based on a survey of the produce carried on all the ships from St. Vincent and the Grenadines entering Barbados in January 1987 and in Trinidad and Tobago in October 1987.

Packaging itself is non-standardised. Traders use poorly-made, non-standard wooden crates and baskets, bags and sacks, usually second hand, all of which are unsuitable for transport and create handling problems in the

loading and off-loading of the goods (see table 8).

Since freight charges are not standardized traders tend to commit irregularities such as under- or over-packing of containers, which practice is perceived as advantageous in terms of reduction in taxation and maximising of income for the trader.

Activity 4: Transporting the produce to port

Very few farmers assume responsibility for transporting the produce from the farm to the trader. Most traders have no transport facilities, hence the need to contract middlemen to transport the produce to the port.

Research suggested that traders often collectively make arrangements for transportation of their produce. The produce is transferred many times to different packages and vehicles before reaching the port for final shipment. Poor conditions of roads and vehicles, as well as irregularities occurring during transportation of the produce, result in damaged or stolen goods.

Activity 5: Documenting the export produce

Each trafficker must incur additional costs in applying for many of the numerous documents such as shipping bills, invoices, CARICOM and phytosanitary certificates, before shipping can take place. The process of application for documents is usually lengthy, incurring delays, and requires the help of brokers and checking by government officials such as customs and phytosanitary officers. Documentation requirements and checking procedures usually take an entire day to complete. There is no formal provision for the safekeeping of the goods while traffickers proceed with the requisite formalities. Often the trader must wait till late evening because their produce, arriving from different locations, is late in reaching the port. It is not unusual for produce to arrive after the Customs Office is closed.

Activities 6 and 7: (6) Loading the produce into vessels (7) Transport of produce overseas

Upon payment of freight charges and approval of shipping bills, traffickers take the produce to the vessels, where it is loaded - usually manually and roughly - by crew members. Vessels are poorly ventilated and unsuitable for the transportation of fresh produce. They are also unreliable as sea carriers and offer no insurance against damage or loss of goods. Sometimes constraints of space on the boat make it necessary for the trader to use more than one vessel to transport her produce. She is as well subject to other vagaries such as the loss of produce at sea, owing to malfunctioning boats or bad weather conditions.

Proper stacking of the produce is often not possible because of the non-standard packages, and as a result goods are often damaged by top pressure. Some traders use wooden crates in an attempt to minimize damage to the produce, though research found that their construction and size were such as to encourage rougher handling hereby causing damage to the contents 28/. Traffickers often delay loading in order to secure preferred storage positions

on the top of the boat and to facilitate quicker off-loading at the market ports. Baskets are frequently stored on the open deck, thereby exposing their contents to sun and salt spray.

Activity 8: Travelling trafficker to oversea market

Traditionally, traffickers accompany the cargo on the vessel to the ports of entry. Because of safety reasons, Trinidad and Tobago prohibited the traffickers from accompanying their produce on the boats. A few traders travel as "crew" on the boats which are generally ill-equipped for passenger accommodation. Most, however, travel by plane to the overseas market.

There are no special arrangements with airlines for travel of this nature. Traders complain that despite having to pay regular passenger fares they are treated disrespectfully and with discrimination by airline personnel.

Activities 9 and 10: (9) Off-loading the produce (10) Transporting produce to market site

At the port of entry the trader assumes the role of importer. As the consignees of the goods, traffickers must meet the necessary payments and legal obligations before they can off-load. These procedures often require the services of brokers and take as much as half a day for each trader to complete.

Grossly inadequate docking and off-loading facilities encourage stealing. Out of 25 traders operating in Trinidad and Tobago and interviewed in an exploratory survey executed in 1988, approximately 60% reported that they suffered theft of their produce. The traders stated also that these thefts were often accompanied by violence 29/.

From the wharf traffickers hire trucks to transport goods to the market site. Sometimes they have prearranged agreements with the drivers, and assistance with transportation is usually forthcoming from the many "hands" milling around the wharf seeking casual work.

Activity 11: Selling the produce

Market penetration by traders is restricted not only by government regulations of each importing country but also by the poor product presentation. Traders in Trinidad and Tobago are bound by law to market their produce wholesale.

Before February 1984 traffickers sold produce alongside vendors at the Central Market in Port of Spain. They were subsequently prevented by Government regulations from continuing this practice, and were provided alternative market facilities which remain inadequate. Although the traders pay fees for the use of market accommodation, they have to market their perishable goods on the ground in the open air fully exposed to sun, rain and wind. They themselves have no protection against the elements; it is not uncommon to hear complaints of illnesses resulting from the lack of proper accommodation.

In Barbados the traders frequent the Fairchild Street Public Market. There are indications that in Barbados the trader is venturing in the supermarket sector.

The prices the traders receive for their goods are determined by the interaction of demand and supply. On rainy days the demand is low. At present the economic crisis and the increase in backyard gardening have reduced the demand for agricultural goods from the traders. When supply is great the competition among traffickers increases. Undercutting each other is not uncommon as there exists no arrangements among traffickers for fixing of minimum prices. There are rumours that those traders who use the trade as cover for other practices dump their produce at low prices thus putting the bona fide trader at a disadvantage.

The prices of the produce fluctuate from trip to trip but also from day to day. The Trinidad and Tobago buyers - wholesalers and retailers - often buy on the last day the traders are in the market, in an effort to get cheaper prices. By counting all the trading boats at the wharf they are able to determine whether or not they can haggle to their advantage.

Activities 12 and 13: (12) Night storage
(13) Overnighting by the trafficker

In contrast to the case of Barbados, where storage facilities are available for produce, no such facilities are provided in Trinidad and Tobago for traders.

At nights traders in Trinidad and Tobago are forced to leave their goods unprotected at the market which is inadequately provided with security. Reports of traders being assaulted by robbers as they leave the market at the end of their workday were not uncommon.

The traders operating in Barbados seem to pay more for accommodation (US\$6 - US\$25 per month) than their counterparts in Trinidad. 6 of the 16 traders interviewed reported that they grouped together to rent cheap accommodations - mainly in the Laventille, Port of Spain or Carenage areas - during their stay in Trinidad and Tobago. Still others make use of accomodation provided by relatives and friends 30/.

Activities 14: Securing foreign exchange for return to home territory

Since Trinidad and Tobago currency is not legal tender in St. Vincent and the Grenadines, traders must make the necessary conversion to the home currency in preparation for the return leg of the trip. Often the traders use brokers to fill out the forms required by the Central Bank. The conversion transaction is in two parts since the Central Bank distinguishes between the so-called CIF value (the cost of Goods, Insurance and Freight) and the profit value. Processing time for foreign exchange approval for profits ranges anywhere between 1 and 8 weeks. This has direct bearing upon the traders' credit rating with farmers and middlemen in St. Vincent and the Grenadines, since prompt repayment of loans cannot be guaranteed.

The abolition of the two-tier system of exchange 31/ in Trinidad and Tobago has negatively affected the traders' earnings.

Activity 15: Purchasing commodities for resale in the home territory

Reverse trading activities are not undertaken on any substantial scale as prices of the commodities in Trinidad and Tobago are relatively high. It is not known if the Central Bank's operations have direct bearing on the perceived increase in the reverse trade as traffickers seek to avoid the clumsy processing mechanism.

Traders do, however, purchase items for personal use upon return to their territory. These include shoes, clothes, cosmetics, soft drinks in cans, foodstuffs, plastic household accessories which they carry as hand luggage in the plane. Sometimes manufactured goods such as steel doors and mattresses are shipped to St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

- Activities 16, 17 and 18: (16) The return trip
(17) Transport of purchased commodities overseas
(18) Off-loading the produce

The return trip by plane, usually on Fridays, marks the end of the activity cycle. Upon arrival in St. Vincent and the Grenadines some traders meet the boats that very day or the next morning and proceed with off-loading and processing of the imported goods. This often leads to conflicts with the authorities since traders are not always able to produce bills for goods purchased abroad and, in estimating their value for tax purposes, the customs officers' actions do not always meet with the traders' approval.

5. CONCLUSIONS

1. The inter-island trade can be characterised by the following:

a) The trade takes place in the informal sector and is conducted largely more by women than by men.

b) The trade is carried out by a very independent and outspoken group of traffickers, who travel outside their country to market their produce.

c) The traffickers operate on an individualistic basis. They organise and supervise their trade. Trafficking is time and energy consuming and implies often the absence of the trafficker from home for at least 3 days for each business trip. It, therefore, cannot be easily combined with household and child-rearing activities.

d) The traffickers have to rely on temporary unskilled labour, frequently contracted under informal arrangements, when they need additional labour. Children and other family members are relied upon for assistance. The working relationships established are very personalized.

e) The traffickers make no use of formal credit facilities, employ

simple technology, use rather small amounts of diversified produce in order to minimise their risks, and suffer high percentages of produce spoilage only to realise rather small and insecure profit margins .

f) The traffickers have ineffectual or no bargaining mechanisms. They have little access to economic and political power.

2. The informal inter-island trade in agricultural produce is of economic importance for the Caribbean.

The traffickers are the major exporters of agricultural produce in intra-Caribbean trade. They provide a significant service to the small farmers by marketing, and to the receiving countries by supplying, fresh produce.

Trading offers an opportunity for self-employment and for the development of entrepreneurial skills to 462 traffickers, the majority of whom are women with dependants and small chances on the job market. Traders provide work for farmers, harvesters, carriers, truck-drivers, crate makers, custom brokers, and shipping and airline personnel.

3. The work that the traders perform is physically heavy and the work pressure is high.

The working conditions are deplorable: the traders have to work many hours in uncovered areas exposed to dust, sun and rain and without adequate security. The marginal traders work especially long hours.

The marginal and often fluctuating income derived from the trade, and the constant threat of loss of produce without insurance coverage, are other factors which heighten the pressures under which traders operate.

4. The situation of the traders is steadily deteriorating.

The revenues of the traders have decreased as a result of the shrinking markets in the food importing countries, the increase in competition in the agricultural exporting sector and the unprofitable exchange rates due to the devaluation of the Trinidad and Tobago dollar. This has serious consequences for the female traders who have very limited employment opportunities outside of the trade and who are often solely responsible for the maintenance of their children.

5. The traders are less able than before to adjust and adapt themselves successfully to the hostile trading environment since national and regional trading requirements have become more restrictive.

The traders, and especially the women, face severe difficulties in penetrating new markets. The poor quality of the produce, the high percentage of spoilage, the poor product presentation, and the small and fluctuating quantities the traders are marketing make it difficult to compete with the exporters in the formal sector.

6. The services and facilities provided for the trade and the traders are inadequate.

Facilities at the wharves, on the boats and in terminal markets are inadequate and there are few incentives to improve the working conditions and the trading practices of the traffickers.

7. Without incentives and government support to upgrade the trading sector, the process of marginalisation of the traffickers will continue.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are made with a view to reversing the pattern of decline in the inter-island trade in agricultural produce:

1. Efforts should be made to support the establishment and growth of trader's associations. The full participation of women traders in this formation process should be actively encouraged.

2. Training programmes should be provided to the traders in order to to upgrade their trading practice and marketing skills and to facilitate their access to market information, advisory services and credit.

3. Credit schemes should be developed to facilitate trader's access to credit.

4. Facilities to improve the working conditions of the traders such as sheds at the ports and markets, sanitation, and child-care facilities should be provided to the traders.

5. Further research into the operations of traders and the impact of the trade on their family life should be undertaken in order to determine remedial measures to address the existing problems.

Notes

1/ The informal sector is that sector which comprises all unregistered commercial and non-commercial enterprises or economic activities which are usually family owned, small scale and labour intensive, and which rely heavily on indigenous resources.

2/ Kirby and Martin, St. Vincent, The Rise and Fall of the Black Caribs of St. Vincent, p.18, 1872; and Shephard, An Historical Account of the Island of St. Vincent, p.32, 1971 quoted by A.St.A. Frazer in: Development of a Peasantry in St. Vincent, 1846-1912, page 70.

3/ W. Andrew Axline, Agricultural Policy and Collective Self-Reliance in the Caribbean, p. 24, 1986.

4/ The following countries are considered MDCs: Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Guyana, Barbados and the Bahama's.

5/ The following countries are considered LDCs: Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Christopher/Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines and Belize.

6/ W. Andrew Axline, Agricultural Policy and Collective Self-Reliance in the Caribbean, pp. 33-34, 1986.

7/ W. Andrew Axline, Agricultural Policy and Collective Self-Reliance in the Caribbean, p. 51, 1986.

8/ WISCO is owned by the Governments of the English speaking countries in the Caribbean (CARICOM) but recently Belize, Dominica and St. Vincent and the Grenadines decided to withdraw.

9/ The few women involved in the inter-island trade in the first of this century were mainly buying fabrics and dresses in Trinidad and Tobago for resale in St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

10/ W. Andrew Axline, Agricultural Policy and Collective Self-Reliance in the Caribbean, p. 75, 1986.

11/ Chaney, E.M : " Migration, Decline of Smallholder Agriculture and the Feminization of Farming in the Caribbean", paper presented for the Conference on Women in Development: A Decade of Experience, Association for Women in Development, Oct. 14, Washington, D. C, 1983.

12/ Consultant Report, " Exploratory Research of the Activities and Experiences of the Inter-Island Traders Operating in Trinidad and Tobago", prepared by Rajack T.A, p.17, 1988.

13/ This is based on open interviews with male traders.

14/ The Government of Trinidad and Tobago prohibited passengers on the boats for safety and security reasons. Traffickers had to travel by air.

15/ The restriction imposed by the Marketing Boards at the end of the seventies on traffickers to trade in certain commodities such as sweet potatoes has partly contributed to the decline of the trade.

16/ Since 1984 regulations enforced in St. Vincent and the Grenadines have restricted the livestock trade.

17/ This was based on shipping bills of all the boats leaving St. Vincent and the Grenadines to Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados with agricultural produce over a four month period (January 1987 - May 1987).

18/ Meetings held with the Ministry of Agriculture from 1981 onwards.

19/ According to rough estimates provided by travel agencies in St. Vincent and the Grenadines, 176 traffickers travelled by air in January 1987 to Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados. In that same period 5 traders travelled by boat to the importing markets. A comparison between this figure (183) and the total number of traders making shipments in January 1987 (250) suggests that 73% of the traders actually travel to the importing markets.

20/ Shipping bills, phytosanitary certificates, list of members of the Trafficker's Small Business Association, lists of traders attending meetings with the Ministry of Agriculture in St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

21/ Phillips, Daphne, "Women Traders in Trinidad and Tobago", (LC/CAR/G.151), Port of Spain, ECLAC, 1985.

22/ Consultant Paper, "Women and Inter-Island Trading with Barbados", pp. 17-23, prepared by Christine Barrow, 1988.

23/ Before the devaluation of August 1988 the traders received 1.13\$EC for 1\$TT. After the devaluation they received 0.64\$EC for the same amount of money, which reduced their earnings by 43%.

24/ Report by the Central Planning Unit St. Vincent and the Grenadines, "A Storage for the Traffickers of St. Vincent and the Grenadines", appendix 5, 1984.

25/ The bananas marketed in the region are usually rejects from the GEEST Company. The fruit cannot be marketed in the United Kingdom. In the winter months when the U.K banana market is very slow, the regional banana market picks up.

26/ The information on the farmgate prices of ground provisions in 1986 was retrieved from the files of the phytosanitary officer in St. Vincent and the Grenadines:

Produce	Low season	High season
potatoes:	35\$EC a bag	100\$EC a bag
eddoes:	60\$EC a bag	130\$EC a bag
tannias:	60\$EC a bag	180\$EC a bag
dasheen:	70\$EC a bag	100\$EC a bag

27/ Barrow, C, "Finding the support: A study of strategies for survival" in: Social and Economic Studies, Volume 35, No 2, pp. 131 - 176, 1986.

28/ Hughes, P. A. and J.H.New, Report on a Fruit and Vegetables Packaging and Handling Development Project in Dominica and the Eastern Caribbean, Tropical Development and Research Institute (R1173), London, 1983.

29/ Consultant Report, "Exploratory Research of the Activities and Experiences of the Inter-Island Traders Operating in Trinidad and Tobago", prepared by Rajack T.A, p.6, 1988.

30/ Consultant Report, "Exploratory Research of the Activities and Experiences of the Inter-Island Traders Operating in Trinidad and Tobago", prepared by Rajack T.A, 1988; Consultant Report, "Women and Inter-Island Trading with Barbados", prepared by Barrow, Christine, 1988.

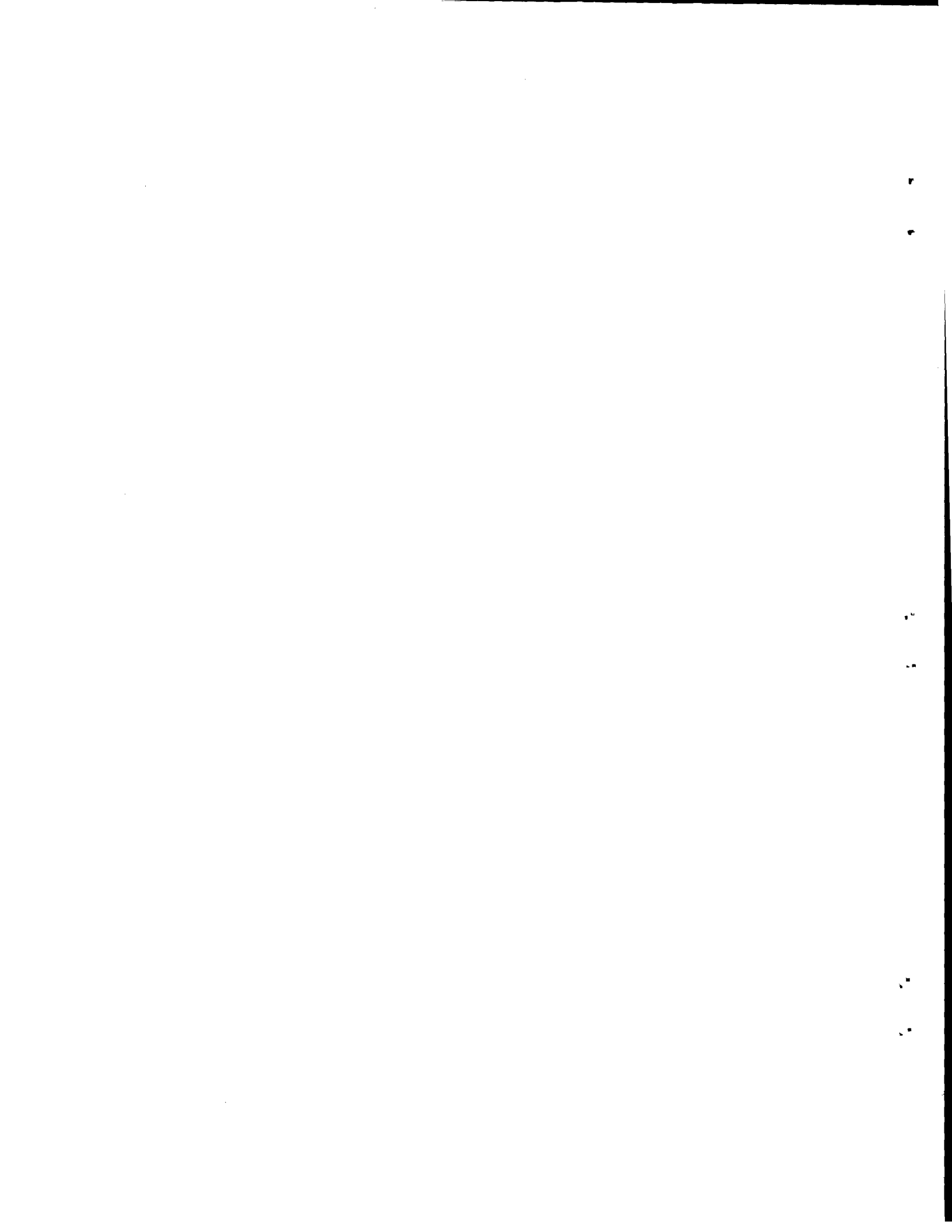
31/ At the time of the Trinidad and Tobago devaluation in 1985, traders were allowed to buy out both their CIF value and their profits. After the devaluation the Trinidad and Tobago Government introduced the two-tier system which has functioned till January 1987: the traders were allowed to buy out their CIF at the old rate (1\$EC = 1.12\$TT) but required then to use another exchange rate for the profits they made in Trinidad and Tobago (1\$EC = 0.75\$TT).

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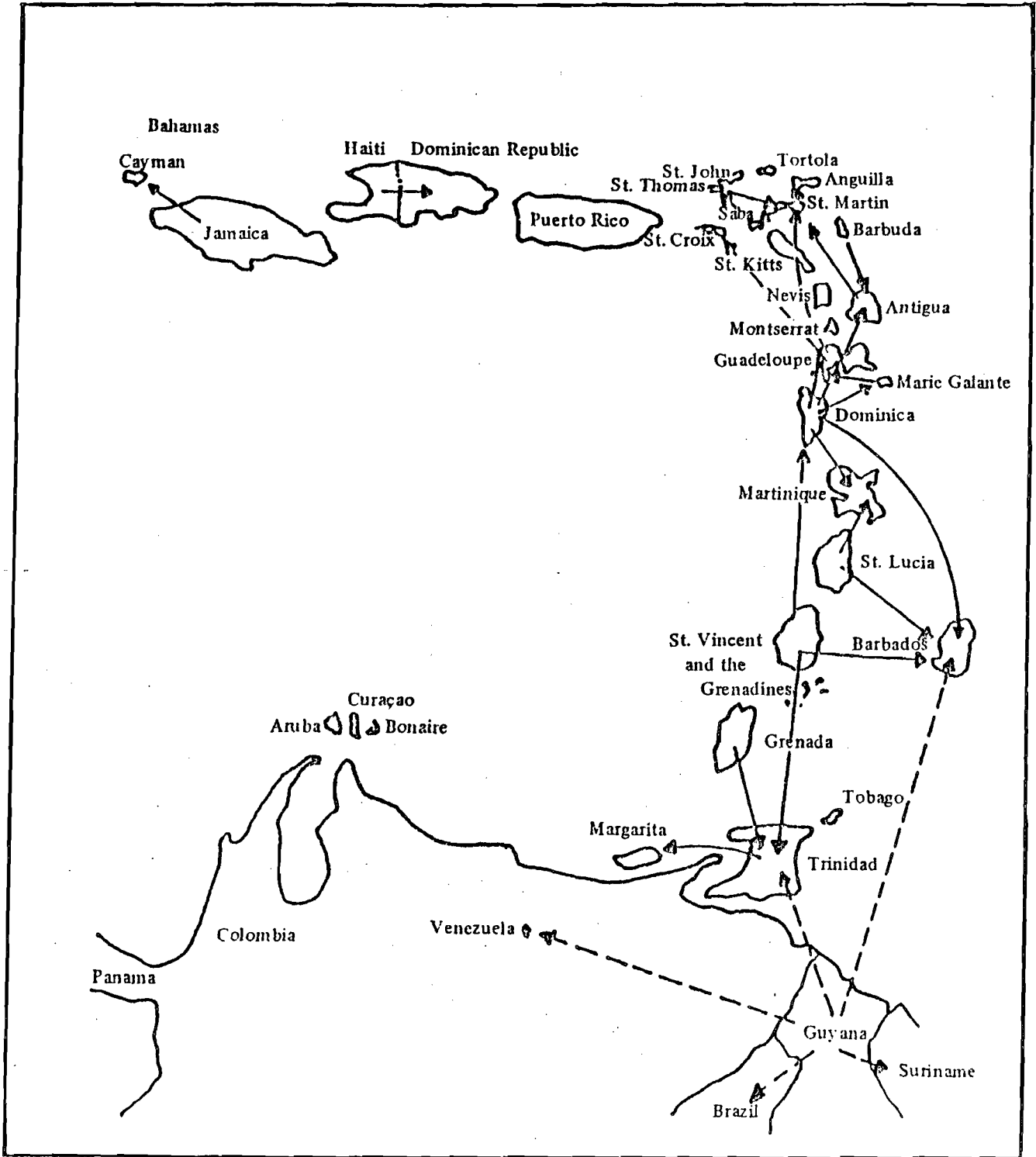
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ANNEX



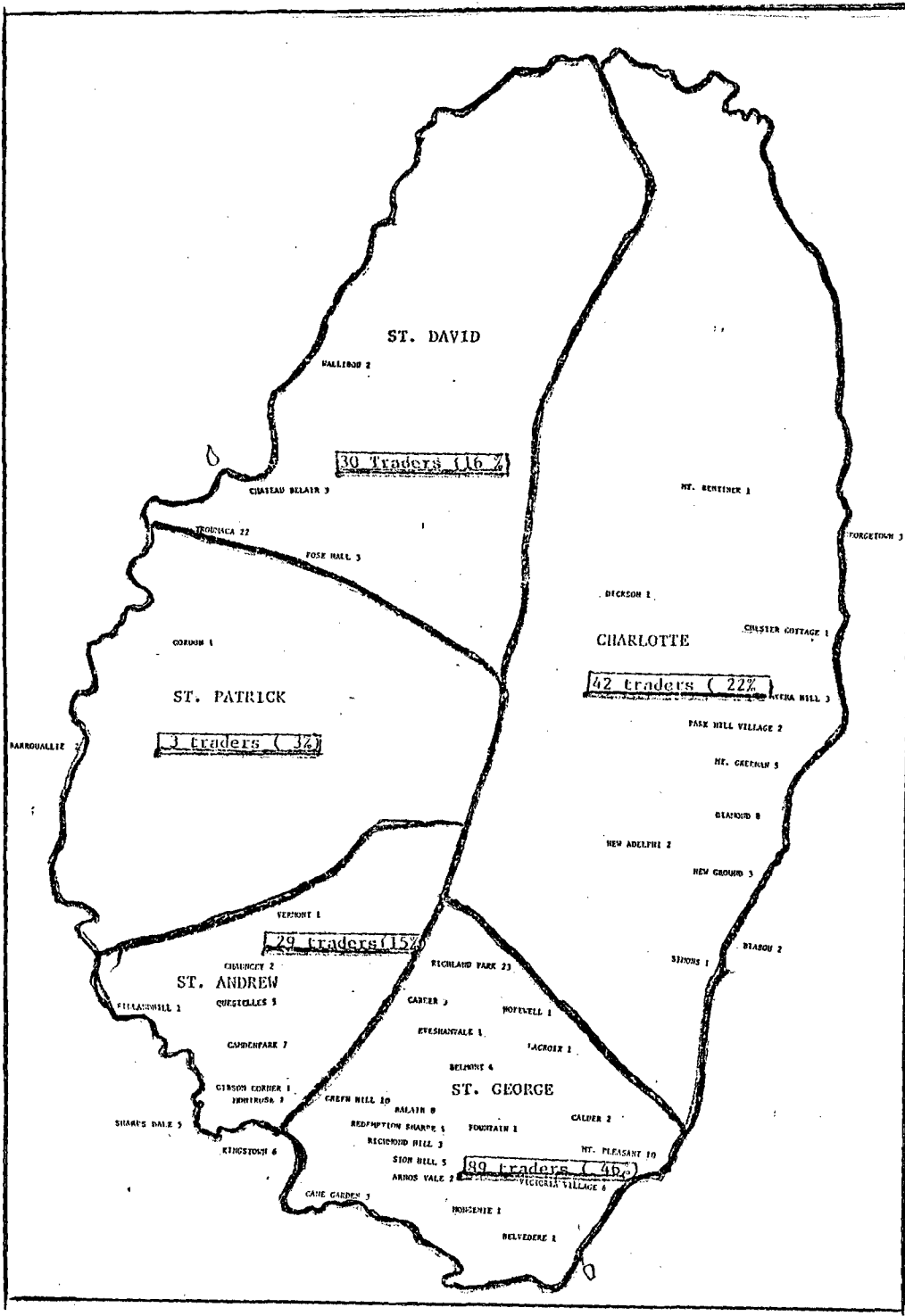
Map 1
GEOGRAPHICAL MOVEMENTS OF THE INTER-ISLAND TRADERS IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE



The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Secretariat of the United Nations concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

Map 2

ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES:
RESIDENCE OF TRAFFICKERS



Source: These data are based on on 173 members of the Traffickers Small Business Association and 20 non-member traffickers, St. Vincent and the Grenadines 1987.

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