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WOMEN TRADERS  
IN  
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

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

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## FOREWORD

This pilot study "Women Traders in Trinidad and Tobago" has been carried out as an initial activity of the subject "Women and Trade" in the Women in Development Work Programme (E/CEPAL/CDCC/G.115/Add.1) endorsed by CDCC VIII 6-12 June 1984.

Furthermore, the study responds to the emphasis made in the Regional Plan of Action on the importance of research into economic activities of women, "in order to gain a better knowledge of the situation, importance and true participation of women in productive activities". (Regional Plan of Action for the Integration of Women into Latin American Economic and Social Development, United Nations, November 1977, pp. 31.)

The objectives of the study are to produce data which will

(a) Increase the visibility of women's contribution to trade through their self-created income generating activities.

(b) Provide some insights into the higglering and huckstering activity and thus facilitate the identification of needs for women engaged in this sector, such as for management training, marketing skills and other social needs.

(c) Contribute to the assessment of the social and economic impact of trading activities in the so-called informal sector from its contribution to regional integration and local employment to its repercussion on income distribution and cost of living.

On the one side the study capitalizes on and complements other research efforts in the field of women's trading activities in the region, and on the other hand it focusses on aspects of geographical movements within the region and beyond regional boundaries of women who trade in Trinidad and Tobago, so as to enable an assessment of women's contribution to trade from the point of view of stimulating regional economic, social and cultural integration.

The methodological approach has been primarily quantitative, through interviews, participant observation and review of articles scarcely published in journals, magazines and newspapers. A sample survey was completed, and provides quantitative data on traders' geographical movements, items of trade and exchange, age structure, level of education, type of domestic arrangements, union status and family composition, hours of work, additional productive activities, and levels of income generated.

This pilot study indicates geographical areas of concentration for women who trade in Trinidad and Tobago. With collaboration of national machineries, local academic and other appropriate institutions, similar research can be carried out in other CDCC Member Countries in order to allow for a regional assessment of women's integration into trade and the self-propelled development of skills, income generation and other survival strategies.

The Secretariat has been fortunate in securing the Consultancy services of the sociologist Daphne Phillips, to undertake the study and wishes to express its gratitude to the consultant. The study is being circulated to the governments of the Caribbean Development and Co-operation Committee (CDCC) through their national bodies concerned with the Integration of Women in Development and to other institutions and individuals engaged in research in related fields.

The Secretariat would appreciate receiving comments and suggestions for improving the implementation of its work programme aimed at enhancing the integration of women in development.

## INTRODUCTION

This study concentrates on an examination of the activities and features of women in the (informal) trade sector in Trinidad and Tobago. The research has been conducted in Trinidad and Tobago August-September, 1984, and is intended to contribute to a wider study on Women Traders in the Caribbean.

The objectives of the study were to:

- (a) Obtain an understanding of the geographical movements of women who trade in Trinidad and Tobago;
- (b) Identify the social and economic characteristics of female traders in Trinidad and Tobago; and
- (c) Identify the problems envisaged by female traders in the course of their work.

For the purpose of this study, the term 'traffickers' is used to mean small traders who move goods from one country for sale in another. This is the term the women trading in agricultural goods use to define themselves. Since all of the members of the sample were 'traffickers' in this respect, the words 'traders' and 'traffickers' are used interchangeably.

## METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The approach to the study has been through an overview of the economic, social and political structures of the society which define the limits of human action. Within this context, the overall conditions of trade in the country (as well as in the region) are understood in order to locate the reason for certain trade emphases by women.

The techniques of data collection used, involved seeking the conditions of trade from officials in trading agencies and government departments, as well as gaining knowledge on local issues (such as clearing the streets of vendors in Trinidad and Tobago) related to trade. From these officials direction was obtained concerning who was involved and how they were to be identified. Once identified, these individuals were subjected to a structured interview. Observation techniques as well as participant observation were also employed. The sample size was 97. See Appendix 1 for sample interview schedule.

## OVERVIEW

The presence, and perhaps predominance, of women in small-scale trading activities has been observed in several areas of the Third World and has been examined and commented upon by many theorists and analysts concerned with the informal sector. Peattie (1975) Bogotá; Colin Leys (1973) Africa; Helen Icken Safa (1974) Puerto Rico; Hart 1978 Ghana; Gerry (1975) Dakar; Leeds (1974) and Moser (1976) in describing urban poverty in Latin America; Bose (1974) Calcutta and Eckstein (1975) Mexico. E.B.A. St. Cyr's paper (1976) on the growth of the service sector in the English-speaking Caribbean, examines the phenomena of the preponderance of services as a feature of plantation-based economies with small domestic markets and high levels of imports. Reports (ICRW, 1980), (AID/WID G 1593) indicate that census and labour force survey data in third world countries have consistently undervalued women's economic participation by the failure to record or count the contribution of particularly rural women to domestic economies through non-market production, and by undercounting women's participation in the market economy. It appears also that throughout the developing world, sex segmented labour markets predominate and operate to restrict the demand for female labour to precisely those sectors with low status, low paying jobs and low levels of mobility.

### The Caribbean - A Brief Overview

Caribbean societies spawn the Caribbean sea, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico in the North West to the tip of Venezuela in the South East. They include Spanish, French and English speaking territories which reflect centuries of colonization by relevant metropolitan powers.

The present and/or post-colonial status of the island territories of the Caribbean has inevitably resulted in their being underdeveloped and dependent economies and societies. The agriculture based economies in the smaller territories are mainly centered on sugar plantation production (a legacy from the slave plantation era), banana or other mono-crop production, which provide insecure or seasonal incomes since they are directly influenced by the fluctuations of the international markets. In addition, the small manufacturing sectors in most of the

islands are unable to provide substantial employment for labour, so that much of available labour exists within a peasant-type subsistence production economy, and depend on money transfers from abroad sent by those who migrated previously. The overall conditions of poverty in many of the islands and the general unavailability of jobs have resulted in massive migration on the one hand, and in high degrees of self employment in service oriented ventures on the other experienced by those who remain at home.

Women tend therefore, when employed, to predominate in low paying low status service occupations, or in self-employed higglering activities where these can be created.

#### Bibliographic Overview - Women in the Caribbean

Previous studies carried out on the activities of women in the Caribbean have focused on their economic roles in agriculture (Springer, 1982) or in higglering (Durant-Gonzales, 1976; Fisher, 1971, Witter, 1984) or on their participation in the general labour force (Cuper, 1961). The role of Caribbean women in "mothering" has also been widely studied, (Blake, 1961; Clarke, 1957; M. Smith, 1957; R.T. Smith 1962).

The Cuper study (1961) focuses on the family in two communities in Jamaica: a peasant village and a sugar estate. This important study shows that various differences in the structure and functioning of the family in Jamaica, give rise to different degrees of the extent and form of female participation in the labour force.

Durant Gonzalez's Study (1976) which looks at the ways in which the rural Jamaican woman integrates her two basic roles of higglering and mothering, clearly demonstrates the relations of production and the relations of gender which determine women's labour force participation.

On the one hand, the mothering role is highly valued throughout the society, where age as well as child bearing/rearing afford women high status and where few non-maternal roles are available to the rural woman.

The economic role of higglering - in this case distribution of farm commodities to the nation either directly through the market or through a series of middle-men - is carried out by rural women as well as by men. This economic role of women is defined as supplemental to that of men (in the same occupation) and afforded differential status in the local and wider communities.



Thus the inferior structural relationship of the rural economy to that of the city, dominated by large business enterprises with strong international links, is reflected in cultural practices which determine higglering a low status occupation, for which low monetary returns are gained by those who carry out this important task. The structurally weak position of the rural Jamaican women is defined both by less involvement in the rural economy, as well as by cultural practices (derived in the main from the overriding socio-economic circumstances of underdevelopment) centered around the general unavailability of non-maternal roles to the woman. Thus the major role of the woman is envisaged as that of child caring/rearing, and her economic role, forced upon her by the poverty of rural existence and her responsibility in the family, is defined as supplemental to that of the man.

Margaret Fisher's Study (1971) on "The Business of Higglering in Jamaica" also emphasises the important link between the urban and rural economies. It demonstrates as well, the significant role played by the predominantly female rural higglers in devising a system of marketing which functions mainly through "middle men" - nearly all women. The woman buys almost everything that she sells, and her trade purchases are made for resale ultimately in urban markets. The direct producer in the rural community is therefore least rewarded in this system, and the chain of connection can be identified between him/her and the urban consumer.

The author cautions that if government policies are introduced which provide for another marketing system, without creating alternative employment opportunities for displaced women, the number of unemployed women would multiply.

Another way in which the informal and formal sectors are closely integrated in some underdeveloped societies, including the Caribbean, is in the organization of production which incorporates the households the so-called putting-out system. In this system, women produce for a firm in their homes. Materials to be assembled or processed are distributed to the households by agents of the firm.

In addition to the above bibliographical data, regional institutions have conducted important studies in the area of women's work in the Caribbean. CARICOM's "Job Creation and Employment Strategies for Women"

(1982), conducted in conjunction with the Commonwealth Secretariat, looks into the creative ways in which women have designed their own income generating activities, and suggests areas where formal agencies can expand and/or assist in the job creation exercises.

The Population Council, in co-operation with WAND and CARICOM has carried out an assessment of the impact of development projects on rural households and on the role of women, using data from Dominica, St. Lucia, and Jamaica. Generally, it was found that participation in these projects have tended to increase rather than reduce women's total responsibility in the home, as was also reported in Cuales' (1980) study on women in Curaçao. Finally, Massiah's (1982) study on Women Who Head Households and ICRW's<sup>\*/</sup> (1978) study on Women-Headed Households in the Commonwealth Caribbean, suggest that female leadership is an "adaptive mechanism" that permits families to survive extreme social and environmental pressures (such as poverty), which are especially prevalent in underdeveloped societies. Further, the authors suggest that the living arrangements among these families are "adaptive strategies" created in response to "fluctuating conditions". Households which are headed by females and which are within the lower income groups, tend to be among the poorest in the Caribbean and women heads of households have fewer market opportunities than men and experience greater difficulty in competing with men for higher paying jobs. The data also show that more female heads of households work outside the home than do women in general, and earn relatively less than do their male counterparts.

#### Summary

Studies carried out in the Caribbean show the existence of two sets of factors which affect women's roles:- relations of production and relations of gender. The first is a function of the underdeveloped status of the societies and their accompanying 'dependent' features, which limit the range and number of economic choices available. The second, related to the first, confines the domestic role to the women.

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<sup>\*/</sup> ICRW - International Centre for Research On Women.

In most instances, family structures and the heavy responsibility placed on women as singular heads of households determine that they must participate in income-generating activities to provide for their families' basic needs. However, their additional role in child bearing/caring limits their mobility and the range of economic activities in which they can participate. Their economic role is also 'conveniently' defined as supplemental to that of the man (even if he does not exist as a permanent member of the family) and is thus reflected in cultural practices and values - and in their pay packets.

The high degree of participation by women in trade, the cottage industry or the putting-out system is not usually recorded in official statistics, and the contribution which poor women make under tremendously harsh circumstances remains invisible - and silent.

#### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

In investigating the reality of women's participation in trade (at the informal level) it is to be noted that women's work in the labour force requires analysis of two sets of relations:- relations of production and relations of gender, at specific historical conjunctures. These have implications in terms of the categories and types of activities in which women are engaged.

In this context, the following dimensions would be taken into consideration in this study:

- (a) The societal factors which determine the nature of tasks allocated to women and the value placed on female labour;
- (b) The nature of the conjugal contract and the constraints placed on women's economic choices; and
- (c) The close correspondence between the domestic role of the woman within the household and women's position as specific kinds of income generating workers.

#### Women in Trinidad and Tobago

##### Historical Overview of Trinidad and Tobago

Trinidad and Tobago is a twin island state which gained political independence in 1962 and Republican status in 1976. Trinidad is situated in the south-eastern Caribbean Sea and Tobago is just thirteen miles away from its north eastern end. Though politically tied since 1889, both islands have different economic bases and social structures.

Emerging from a relatively short period of British slavery which lasted approximately 50 years, Trinidad's economy has centered around the development of its oil reserves and sugar plantation production. The Petroleum industry, controlled at first by British and later American interests, has been the chief source of foreign exchange and has contributed the bulk of exports. A fairly intensive industrialization programme has been instituted since 1950 under the provisions of the Pioneer Industries Act based on industrialization by invitation policies. The development strategy has been modified over time emphasising expansion of infrastructure and attraction of investors after 1956; from 1963-1967 the emphasis shifted to diversification via import substitution. By the end of the 1960's the State was promoting joint ventures and greater state participation in the economy. After the 1973/74 energy crisis, further expansion of the state sector involved the development of energy-based industries. However, even with a rapidly expanding industrial sector and a wealthy petroleum industry, the largest section of Trinidad's population is supported by the construction and service sectors. (See Table II).

#### SITUATION OF WOMEN IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

##### Employment

The following statistics in table I compare levels of labour force participation between males and females in Trinidad and Tobago up to October-December, 1983.

TABLE I

Labour Force by Employment Status and Sex

Trinidad and Tobago Oct-Dec. 1983

	Males	Females
Population 15 yrs and over	369,200	379,000
Total Labour Force	300,100	142,400
Persons With Jobs	273,000	120,000
Total unemployed	27,100	22,000
Total seeking	17,500	9,800
Others unemployed	9,600	12,200
Not in labour force	69,100	236,700
Labour Force as % of population 15 yrs and over	81%	38%
Unemployed as a % of labour force	9%	15%

Source: Quarterly Economic Report, Trinidad and Tobago, Central Statistical Office, Oct-Dec 1983.

The table reveals that:

- (a) There are higher labour force participation rates for men (81%) than for women (38%) in Trinidad and Tobago although there are more adult females than males in the population;
- (b) There are higher unemployment rates for women (15%) than for men (9%); and
- (c) The percentage of women not in the labour force (62%) is more than three times that of men (19%).

It may be that many of those women, considered not to be in the labour force, engage in self-employed trading or other income generating activities. Table II identifies areas in which female employment is concentrated by sector.

TABLE II  
Female Employment By Sector

	June 1981	June 1982	June 1983
Agriculture Forestry Hunting and Fishing	12,000 (43,000)	9,000 (38,200)	7,700 (35,900)
Mining, Quarring and Manufacture	16,400 (70,600)	19,000 (75,600)	17,800 (72,700)
Construction including electricity, gas and water	13,200 (106,600)	18,000 (106,500)	14,100 (104,900)
Commerce	42,700 (18,000)	46,000 (88,000)	48,400 (95,600)
Transport and Communication	3,800 (33,800)	4,000 (28,600)	3,900 (29,300)
Services	42,300 (96,400)	46,100 (97,300)	46,100 (98,400)

Source: Quarterly Economic Report Oct-Dec 1983. Central Statistical Office.

\*/ Figures in brackets relate to total labour force by sector.

Women therefore represented 21% of agricultural workers, 24% of mining workers, 13% of construction workers, 57% of commercial workers, 13% of transport workers and 47% of service workers. Female workers are therefore concentrated in the commercial and service sectors of the economy where they are employed in low paying clerical or garment manufacturing jobs, or in low status services jobs.

TABLE III

Female Labour Force Participation By Age And Employment Status

Trinidad and Tobago

July-December 1982

Ages	Labour Force 147,900	Employed 127,900	Unemployed 20,000	% Unemployed 14%
15-19	16,100	11,400	4,700	29%
20-24	32,600	26,300	6,300	19%
25-34	42,700	38,600	4,100	10%
35-44	27,200	25,000	2,200	8%
45-54	17,700	15,900	1,800	10%
55-59	5,800	5,400	400	7%
60-64	3,300	2,800	600	18%
65+	2,600	2,600	- -	-

Source: Labour Force LF 1-24. July-December 1982,  
Central Statistical Office, Trinidad and Tobago.

The table shows that, given the low degree of formal force participation by females, the lowest levels of unemployment are experienced among the age cohorts 15-19, 20-24 and 60-64. The general unemployment levels among women have, however, been relatively high for all age groups.

Declining revenues from the lucrative oil industry in the 1980's the effects of the international economic recession and the resultant inflationary trends, have cumulated in retrenchment and even higher unemployment rates for 1984;

### Household Type

In the decade 1973-1983, the Central Statistical Offices' Household Budgetary Surveys have consistently identified between 25% and 30% of households in Trinidad and Tobago to be female headed. This is also reflected in ISER's Woman in the Caribbean (1982) study. As studies previously cited have pointed out, households with female heads tend to be among the most poor in the society. Given that the majority of female household heads have low access to education and/or skill training, they tend to predominate in low income jobs in the commercial and service sectors; and

### Education

The low overall participation rates of women in formal sector employment are not due to lack of education. There is no relative difference in educational attainment between males and females in the labour force, except with respect to those with no formal education, where the number of women is larger than the number of men for selected years. This is especially so among older women. Figures of educational attainment over the last 15 years show comparative male and female levels. At the highest levels, education has afforded women posts in the upper echelons of the Civil Service, the various professions and the various branches of science; but at the lower levels males tend to be selected before females with the same educational attainment. In recent years, completion of secondary education and the attainment of 'O' and 'A' levels is no guarantee of securing satisfactory employment in Trinidad and Tobago.

From preliminary examination and careful observation it is evident that women are engaged in a series of economic activities, including the commercialization of domestic production, ranging from home confectionery, drinks, baked foods, home services of sewing, laundry, child care, hair-dressing and plant arrangements etc. on an individual basis; the selling of imported goods (clothing, appliances, cosmetics etc.) through middlemen; the selling of goods obtained directly from factories, market selling of farm products wholesale or retail; and the selling of products obtained directly through individual travel to metropolitan countries. There is also street selling, concentrated in larger towns of Port of Spain and San Fernando, of imported fruit in street stalls as well as a substantial degree of combined activities, and part time engagement in both formal



sector and self employed activities. There is, in addition, a substantial degree of inter-island petty trading through the CARICOM agreement especially between Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

Women in the Petty Trading Sector in Trinidad and Tobago\*

The Ministry of Industry and Commerce was set up, principally, to examine and monitor the importation of negative listed goods which constituted most of the items imported. Negative listed goods are those being subsidised, those in short supply, or seasonal goods. These require import licences.

The goods which at any time appear on the negative list may be removed through government policy or otherwise, giving rise to the need for periodic modification of these lists which are prepared by Government Printers and more recently, by the Chamber of Commerce. A change in the list has been experienced, for example, among subsidised goods - flour, sugar and meat products which now have a reduced subsidy or no subsidy. Garments were once allowed in freely, but recent restrictions have been imposed to protect manufacturers who have been complaining about the impact of competition resulting from imported garments. Negative import lists cover mainly subsidised goods, whereas negative export lists are constructed to protect local entrepreneurs, especially garment manufacturers against the foreign market, and to protect jobs, although prices in Trinidad and Tobago are relatively high. Lately, trade in electronic goods has also declined because of the recent imposition of import licences on these items.

The two categories of traders - business industrialists and individuals - are treated somewhat differently by Ministry officials though it is claimed that no one is really denied import licences. These are approved in relation to the price factor. For example, although garments are negative listed, the Mall Vendors Association has been given licences to import clothing in relation to certain conditions.

Customs officers, by Customs Law Nos. 39 and 40, are empowered to impose fines, to confiscate unlicensed goods or to detain goods until licences are obtained. The main duties of the Customs department relate to the collection of duty as revenue, the control of smuggling and the protection of human,

\* Based on interview data obtained from officials in Government Departments and other Trading Agencies, Trinidad and Tobago, August 1984.

animal and plant life. The last stated duty is achieved through overseeing that the regulations of other departments are carried out. The customs department falls under the administration of the Ministry of Finance.

The Customs department defines a trader as an individual identified with a commercial house which is registered and documented as a business company which pays taxes etc. Conversely, traffickers are seen as those individuals who enter and leave the country with goods for sale, but who do not have the above criteria for classification as traders. They operate what is termed 'a suitcase trade' which typically follows routes established by travel agencies which promote travel to various countries.

Customs officers claim that in Trinidad close to 90 percent of traffickers are women who come from all ethnic groups and social classes. They claim that further trafficking has become a trend in Trinidad - a device to beat the system. The reasons they give for this 'trend' developing in Trinidad range from fashion and fad to the 'normal' attitude of the Trinidadian to be 'copy cat', the opportunity to make a quick dollar tax free and, lastly, a genuine economic need brought about by the high prices of goods in Trinidad and the general high cost of living. Trafficking is, they say, a regular activity engaged in by women in recent times, travelling beyond national boundaries. It is said that on such flights seven out of every eight passengers are female. Trinidad, Margarita (Venezuela), Panama, Miami and Curaçao compose the major geographical arena for the current trade in clothing and apparel. Trade in these items tends to imply less hardships than trade in other articles.

Women are said to use a number of "tricks" in order to enter the country with unlicensed goods - they smile, wear "appropriate" clothing (such as very short shorts) when their luggage is being examined, or they place false names on luggage and collect them later. At times, a so-called "organized arrangement" is said to be detected when men travel, put female names on luggage, leave these at the airport until the shift (of Customs Officers) change then send the women to collect the baggage. Others (men) reportedly pay the passage of the women who bring in luggage for them, using their sex appeal in order to have their luggage passed by male custom officers. If these interpretations of female behaviour at the

airport are in fact correct, it is disconcerting to note that women perceive it necessary to behave in such manner in order to carry out their economic responsibilities in the society.

#### Legal Restrictions

Trading in clothing and other manufactured goods on the streets is illegitimate in Trinidad and Tobago. The market place, for which a licence to sell must be obtained, is the only legitimate place. The police are therefore instructed under the Highways Act 50 (IE) to impound peddlars without licences, persons engaged in 'wilful obstruction of the passage-way', those guilty of 'vending on the footpath' and of arranging clothes on railings or buildings of the city or littering the streets.

In this context, the Mayors of both Port of Spain and San Fernando undertook campaigns (in May 1984 in Port of Spain and January 1984 in San Fernando) to clear the streets of vendors. The San Fernando Mayor explained that the campaign was undertaken because street vending was becoming a nuisance to pedestrians, people complained of being molested they refused to purchase goods, there was congestion of sidewalks, pick-pocketing and unfair competition with store owners whose show windows were obliterated because of the use of the street for vending. Over 75 percent of those who engage in street vending in San Fernando were reported to be women.

The Port of Spain Mayor's department had undertaken a similar campaign for the same reasons but, in addition to the control of street vending, the Port of Spain Borough Council has also had to administer the inter-island trade granted through the CARICOM Agreement. In this regard, concessions were given to regional traders to dispose of their goods on specific days per week (Wednesdays-Fridays) at the Central Market. This arrangement offers neither ample space nor hygienic facilities for traders. Inadequate vending was also observed at schools where women took their home prepared foods for sale. Problems of hygiene were said to be becoming more problematic. Congestion of the sidewalks was also observed.

CARICOM Trading - An Overview

The CARICOM Wharf in Trinidad is considered a free port for agricultural and light industrial products from the region. Trade in light industrial products is dominated by the male, while that in agricultural products is dominated by the female.

Of all the trade conducted between Trinidad and Tobago and the rest of the world, CARICOM trade comprises about ten percent. Within the region, Trinidad and Tobago concentrates on light industrial products and trade in agricultural products with Grenada and St. Vincent and the Grenadines particularly through the direct participation of women traders from these territories. Trade with the other islands - Jamaica and Barbados especially - is carried out by larger companies and dominated by men. For Trinidad however, the largest companies tend not to be involved in the CARICOM trade. In general, CARICOM trade is synonymous with 'small' trade. This is because the cost of production for the large trader in Trinidad is said to be greater than that for any other CARICOM country. The prices are not competitive nor are the goods in great demand.

The CARICOM market affords the trader the benefits of special concessions and freedom from Customs duties. In Trinidad, agricultural (female) traders are permitted to use a specified area in the Central Market for three days weekly. They make their own private arrangements for sleeping and personal care; some have relatives or friends with them they stay, but others use the limited facilities for hygiene available and sleep in the open market.

Goods, brought in by schooners from St. Vincent and the Grenadines and from Grenada, are offloaded and inspected then transported by jitneys to the Central Market. After sale the traders apply to the Central Bank to get their currency converted EC currency. They use the same documents which accompanied the goods, so that strict control is kept on the amount of money obtained. CARICOM trade between Trinidad, St. Vincent and the Grenadines and Grenada permits ground provisions and fruits only. Pirogues from Venezuela also trade with Trinidad on a daily basis; these bring in specific goods, such as corn flour, and they trade with a few individual agents. This trade is quite small compared with the island trading, and is conducted by men.

Other merchandise such as clothing, mattresses and towels from Barbados are also traded with large firms. Trade with Guyana is carried out through State Enterprises. Walaba poles, timber and rice are the imports which predominate here. They are not areas in which women are to be found. Guyanese women, however, have been observed displaying their wares of clothing, gold, baskets etc. on the streets of Port of Spain and Scarborough.

#### TOBAGO - Special Arrangements with CARICOM Traders

Three types of traders in agricultural goods could be identified in Tobago. Firstly, those who grow products for market sale (on Thursdays and Fridays), secondly, those who buy farmers' products for sale in the market, and thirdly, those who trade with CARICOM traders in Trinidad. The Tobago traders travel to Trinidad by boat on Tuesday nights to sell local agricultural products such as plantains and pigeon peas, since these fetch high prices in Trinidad. On Wednesdays, they buy similar products wholesale at cheaper prices from Grenadian and Vincentian traders whom they meet in Trinidad and return on Thursdays to sell these products in Tobago markets especially in Roxborough and Scarborough. Very often, they buy the same kind of products as they brought in from Tobago, but benefit from the price differential of these goods.

Between 85 to 90 percent of Tobago traders are women. They sell green vegetables from Trinidad, ground provisions and fruits from St. Vincent and the Grenadines and Grenada and carrots from Barbados imported through Trinidad.

Tobago has not recovered from the decline in agricultural production which it suffered as a result of the hurricane damage in 1963. Since then, government has introduced subsidies, especially for pigeon peas farming, and this resulted in high levels of production. However, severe marketing problems have contributed to reinforcing the agricultural decline. In addition, the general change in government's policy for Tobago where tourism is more seriously emphasised and the fact that agricultural producers are part-time farmers, contribute to low levels of production in agriculture. There are high levels of female unemployment, and strong competition for the jobs available under the Government's Special Works Programme (DEWD).

Some of the younger Tobagonian women have taken to selling in boutiques. They travel outside the region to obtain clothing and electronic equipment and set themselves up in makeshift structures from which they sell. However, in keeping with the recent campaign against illegal street selling, eviction notices and demolition of sellers' shacks have taken place resulting in loss of income for these women.

A few of the female Tobago traders were successful in setting themselves up on secure, stable positions in lower Scarborough. Three of them occupy premises in the new mall there. But they related histories of petty trading in addition to using marketable skills (such as hairdressing, dressmaking, and handicraft) in order to attain their present status.

Food grown in Tobago is seasonal and is similar to that grown in Trinidad. Both these factors force prices down and cause farmers to leave the land. In addition, the recent upsurge in the popularity of backyard gardening also contributes to reducing the prices farmers get for their produce. The guaranteed price paid by the Government is reported to be inadequate. East Indian farmers from Trinidad travel to Tobago to sell vegetables when there is a glut in Trinidad. Green vegetables are not produced on a wide scale in Tobago, except for cabbages, which have recently been on the increase. The problem identified in Tobago in relation to trading in agricultural products is the lack of an adequate market. On the whole, Tobagonians are said not to need to buy agricultural products. In addition, the availability of produce from other CARICOM countries is said to be another factor responsible for 'killing' agriculture in Tobago. The solution envisaged was a streamlining of production and the control of farming.

Tobago traffickers also engage in the buying and selling of clothing, soft drinks, home prepared goods as well as parlour vending. Those engaged in selling clothing in Tobago get their supplies from outside the region; the others are generally supplied from Trinidad.

## FINDINGS

### Structure of the Sample

A total of ninety-seven (97) women traders were interviewed in Trinidad and Tobago for this study. Twenty five (25) of these were Trinidadian and twenty (20) Tobagonian, twenty (20) Guyanese, twenty (20) Vincentians and twelve (12) Grenadians. This small sample is represented in Table IV.

TABLE IV

#### STRUCTURE OF THE SAMPLE/COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Total Traders Interviewed	Country of Origin				
	Guyana	Trinidad	Tobago	Grenada	St. Vincent
In Trinidad - 65	8	25	-	12	20
In Tobago - 32	12	-	20	-	-
TOTAL - 97	20	25	20	12	20

The Grenadian and Vincentian traffickers sell their goods in Trinidad, but the Guyanese can be found in Trinidad as well as Tobago. The Tobagonians who trade with the CARICOM traffickers do so in Trinidad.

### Social Factors

Age structure of traders by Country of Origin.

Table V shows the age structure of traders in the sample by country of origin.

TABLE V

AGE STRUCTURE OF SAMPLE/COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Age Groups	Country of Origin					
	Guyana	Trinidad	Tobago	Grenada	St. Vincent	Total
20-24	4	4	-	-	-	8
25-29	8	6	-	-	-	14
30-34	8	10	-	2	-	20
35-39	-	5	3	5	3	16
40-44	-	-	7	5	7	19
45-49	-	-	7	-	5	12
50-54	-	-	3	-	3	6
55-59	-	-	-	-	2	2
TOTAL	20	25	20	12	20	97
Mean Ages	28	30.2	44.5	38.25	45.5	36.6

The table shows the mean age of the Guyanese trafficker to be 28 years followed by that of the Trinidadian 30.2 years. The Vincentian and Tobagonian traffickers register the highest mean ages of 45.5 years and 44.5 years respectively. The mean age of the Grenadian, 38.3 years, was the median age for the sample with the mean for the sample just below that, i.e. 36.6 years.

The age characteristics of the sample are reflective of the type of trade engaged in. The younger women from Guyana and Trinidad trade in manufactured goods, while the older women from Tobago, St. Vincent and the Grenadines and Grenada concentrate their efforts in agricultural products. This age feature was also seen in Tobago (as a whole) where the young women tend to travel outside the region to obtain manufactured goods, whereas the older women traded in agricultural products between Trinidad and Tobago.



Traders' Education Levels

All the traders in the sample had been exposed to some type of formal education but tended to cluster around primary levels and incomplete secondary education. The older women from St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Tobago and Grenada tended to have only primary education while higher levels were observed in the Guyanese and Trinidadian samples as Table VI outlines.

TABLE VI  
EDUCATION OF TRADERS/COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Highest Education Attained	Country of Origin					TOTAL
	Guyana	Trinidad	Tobago	Grenada	St. Vincent	
Primary incomplete	-	-	5	4	4	14
Primary completed	6	5	11	6	10	38
*1/ Sec. no Cert.	10	12	-	2	5	29
*2/ Sec. Cert. 1-4	4	4	-	-	-	8
*3/ Sec. Cert. 5+	-	2	-	-	-	2
Skill training	-	2	4	-	-	6
Higher Cert.	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	20	25	20	12	19	97

It may be noted that 15 members of the sample (approximately 16%) had obtained GCE "O" levels or some form of skill training. They were mainly Guyanese, Trinidadians and Tobagonians. However low education levels predominated among the sample as a whole.

- 
- \*1/ Attended secondary school but obtained no certificate.
  - \*2/ Obtained between 1-4 passes at 'O' levels (GCE).
  - \*3/ Obtained 5 or more passes at 'O' levels (GCE).

Union Status

Table VII demonstrates the Union Status among the sample by country of origin.

TABLE VII

UNION STATUS/COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Union Status	Country of Origin					Total
	Guyana	Trinidad	Tobago	Grenada	St. Vincent	
Married	8	5	6	6	4	29
Common Law	2	4	6	6	8	26
Visiting	2	2	1	-	5	10
No longer with husband/partner	3	13	7	-	3	28
Never had a husband/partner	3	1	-	-	-	4
TOTAL	20	25	20	12	20	97
% in Union	60%	44%	65%	100%	85%	67%
% in Marriage	40%	20%	30%	50%	20%	29.9%

Over 70% of the women in the sample were outside of a marriage union although 67% of them were in some type of union. The highest percentage of divorce and separation was found among the Trinidadian sample. In Grenada, 50% of the women were either in a marriage or a common law union. These figures show that the women are largely responsible (70% of them) for their own upkeep and that of their children. Those in the sample who had never had a husband or partner (3 Guyanese and 1 Trinidadian) were young women with no children. They were assisting their family through trade.

Number of Living Children

The women traders in the sample tended to have a high average number of children, higher than the mean parity for the region. Table VIII demonstrates this. The mean parity for the region is 6.

TABLE VIII

NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN/COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

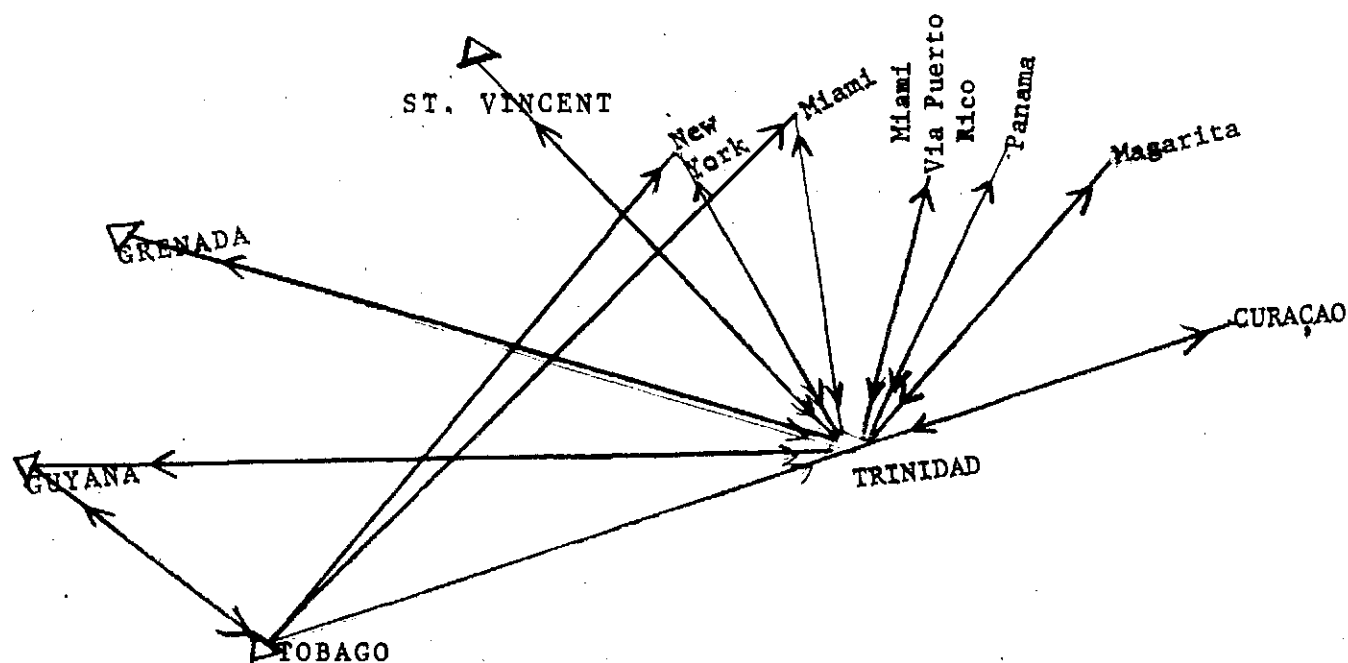
Number of Living Children	Country of Origin					Total
	Guyana	Trinidad	Tobago	Grenada	St. Vincent	
None	2	2			-	4
1-3	2	12	2	2	-	18
4-6	10	8	4	-	-	22
7-9	6	3	8	6	7	30
10-12	-	-	6	4	10	20
13-15	-	-	-	-	3	3
TOTAL	20	25	20	12	20	97
Mean Parity	5.1	3.5	7.3	8	10.4	6.68
Rounded	5	4	7	8	10	7

Mean parity among the Trinidadians in the sample was lowest, rounded upwards to 4; that among the Vincentians was highest, rounded to 10. The average mean parity of the sample was 7, one higher than the mean for the region. These data indicate that women with large numbers of children and little support from husband/partner engage in trading as an income earning activity.

Geographical Movements

The data suggested that Trinidad forms a nucleus or focal point for the movement of women from those countries in the region where trade activity within Trinidad is high; that is, Grenadians, Vincentians and Guyanese travel to Trinidad (and Tobago in the case of the Guyanese) and then return to their countries. Trinidadians, however, travel out of the region to obtain goods and return home to dispose of them. Diagram I demonstrates this.

DIAGRAM I. GEOGRAPHICAL MOVEMENTS OF TRADERS WHO SELL GOODS IN TRINIDAD



### Frequency of Travel

Table IX gives a breakdown of the frequency with which women traders travel and the means of transport by country of origin.

TABLE IX

### FREQUENCY OF TRAVEL/MEANS OF TRANSPORT/COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country of Origin	Frequency of Travel	Means of Travel
Guyana	2/wk	Air
Trinidad	2/year	Air
Tobago	1/wk	Boat
Grenada	1/wk seasonal	Boat
St. Vincent	1/wk seasonal	Boat

A significant difference between the Trinidadian traders and the others is the frequency of travel for whereas all the other traders travel every week, the Trinidadian in the sample tended twice yearly. A few of the Tobagonians who trade in manufactured goods also adopt this pattern. The greater frequency of travel, observed among the Grenadians, Vincentians and most of the Tobagonians is related to the type of goods traded-: agricultural products deteriorate very rapidly

and are not easily stored. These women who trade in agricultural products also prefer to travel along with their goods since there is said to be pilferage both on the boat and on the docks.

### Types of Goods Traded

Here reference is drawn to the types of goods which the traders take out of their countries to sell in Trinidad and, in the case of Trinidadians, to sell in the countries to which they go to obtain goods. Below, items are arranged in a scale of importance determined by the frequency with which these goods are observed. See Table X (Scale 1=most frequent, scale 5=least frequent).

TABLE X

#### TYPES OF GOODS TRADED/COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country of Origin	Scale of Importance				
	1	2	3	4	5
Guyana	Clothing	Gold/ Jewelry	Baskets	Tooth Paste	Ferrol
Trinidad	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil
Tobago	Plantains	Yams	Pigeon Peas	Other Ground Prod.	Fruits
Grenada	Fruits	Fruits		Ground Prod.	Lambie
St. Vincent	Plantains	Ground Provisions	Fruits		Small Animals

The female Trinidadian trader is observed to take nothing from her country for sale outside, while all other traders do. The Guyanese also differs in the unique types of goods traded in Trinidad and Tobago, especially gold. The similarity of goods brought to Trinidad by the other regional traders is also outstanding especially when considering that St. Vincent alone sells over 400 tons of this type of food to Trinidad every week. If it is understood that Trinidad absorbs such large quantities of food from these CARICOM neighbours, their mutual importance is better appreciated.

Goods Taken Back to Country of Origin

TABLE XI

GOODS TAKEN BACK TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN/DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE

Country of	Scale of Importance				
	1	2	3	4	5
Guyana	Food	Drugs	School Items	Luxury Items	
Trinidad	Clothing	Shoes/ Handbags	Electronic Items	-	
Tobago	Grocery Items	Fruits	Vegetables	Ground Provisions	
Grenada	Hardware	Lumber	Building Materials	Steel	Store Items (Mattresses etc)
St. Vincent	Hardware	Lumber	"	"	"

The range of goods taken to the country of origin is an indication of the perceived needs of the people in those countries. This also indicates that these women have selected avenues profitable enough to meet these needs.

Average Number of Working Hours per Week by Country of Origin

The women in the sample tend to work longer hours than workers in various categories of employment as recorded in official statistics. 'Own account' workers in Grenada and St. Vincent and the Grenadines work 54.4 hours per week, but women from these countries in our sample reported that they worked 12 hours per day for six days a week in their business. See Table XII.

TABLE XII

AVERAGE NUMBER OF WORKING HOURS/WE/COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country of Origin	Average Hours per Week
Guyana	60
Trinidad	50
Tobago	72
Grenada	72
St. Vincent	72

It may be that these women include in their working hours those spent in travel and in preparation; whereas the working hours of the formally employed are computed from the time they get to work to the time they leave the job. However, the hours these women perceive of themselves as working are (except from Trinidad) quite high.

Engagement in Economic Activity Other Than Trading

When asked whether they are usually engaged in any other form of economic activity other than trading, that is, whether they have a job or do any other business, only the Guyanese women answered negatively. All other women perform other economic activity in addition to trading, however, for the Tobagonians, Grenadians and Vincentians, the work is related to their trading activities. Table XIII explains this.

TABLE XIII

OTHER ECONOMIC ACTIVITY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country of Origin	Other Economic Activity in which Traders Engage
Guyana	Nil
Trinidad	Office work, hairdressing, boutiques
Tobago	DEWD work, farming, higglering
Grenada	Farming, huckstering
St. Vincent	Farming, huckstering

Average Weekly Income From Trading

The sums reported are quoted in the local currency of the territory.

COUNTRY	WEEKLY INCOME
Guyana	\$ 600
Trinidad	\$1,000 (inconsistent)
Tobago	\$ 500
Grenada	\$ 800 )
St. Vincent	\$ 900 ) (seasonal)

When compared with profitability, that is, income obtained after the purchase of goods, and deductions made for travel and other expenses, the amounts were drastically reduced as shown below:-

COUNTRY	NET INCOME
Guyana	\$200
Trinidad	\$600
Tobago	\$200
Grenada	\$300 )
St. Vincent	\$300 ) (seasonal)

Household Arrangements

Enquiry into the means by which women traders combine their domestic work with trading activities, the extent of their contribution to the family income and in general how they cope with their conditions of existence, revealed their use of a series of adjustment mechanisms. The following responses indicate various degrees of profitability among the traders interviewed as well as their heavy responsibilities in the support of their families.



TABLE XIV

DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENTS AMONG FEMALE TRADERS

Category of Response	Number of Responses
Employs home help	4
Supported by daughters abroad	2
Household is supervised by older children	20
Receive social assistance for 1 child (or 2 children)	6
Child's father contributes a sum of money per fortnight	2
Occasional help with the gardening from children	10
Neighbours, sisters or grandmothers help with child care	15
Teach in adult education classes	1
Have the sole responsibility for upkeep of family	45

Discussion

The majority of female traffickers who operate openly in Trinidad are non-Trinidadians from neighbouring Caribbean territories. They are mainly engaged in the sale of agricultural products under the CARICOM Agreement. By this activity they supply the Trinidad and Tobago market and benefit economically from the arrangement. The Tobagonian trafficker is the most hard pressed of all agricultural traders and carries out the most complex system of relations in this respect. She does farming as well as higglering but, in addition, buys from the CARICOM traders for sale in Tobago the same types of products which she takes to Trinidad from Tobago for sale.

The Guyanese traders are the least numerous in Trinidad and Tobago. They sell whatever would fetch a price and find the cheap prices which they offer for their gold jewelry attractive to Trinidadian and Tobagonian buyers. They buy hardware, clothing and food with the surplus from trade. The Guyanese traders expressed their fear of police harassment in the streets of Port of Spain which may account for their presence in what appears to be larger numbers in Tobago. They tend to be younger than the average trader; many were in their early twenties. Reports have been published in the local newspapers of Guyanese girls who have found themselves being used as prostitutes by pimps who promise

them jobs in Trinidad. In addition to trade in various types of merchandise therefore, these young women sometimes find that they themselves become the merchandise.

The characteristics of the Trinidadian trader/trafficker are reflective of the economic process currently taking place in Trinidad where, in the last decade, emphasis has been placed on the development of the petroleum industry and on high levels of importation of goods and services. In 1982, for example, the food import bill for Trinidad and Tobago was close to TT\$900m. The Trinidadian trader is also better off economically compared with the Caribbean neighbours but in real terms, the high cost of living in Trinidad compared with that in the rest of the region, renders relative income surpluses negligible. Trinidad and Tobago caters to the 'western' acquired tastes of the local public and the traffickers therefore travel outside the region to acquire the goods to satisfy these tastes.

Whatever their differences in types of goods exchanged, in standards of education, age, or the social, political and economic differences in the territories which dictate the type of economic activity in which they become engaged, the overwhelming majority of these women are similar in that the economic burden of support for the family rests with them either solely or with little other support. They all respond to the pressing economic needs of low income groups and of the poor in underdeveloped areas of the world and, in particular, to the increasing economic role which is demanded of the woman in contemporary society. The mothering role is relegated to a paid employee, a member of the family or community while the mother travels.

#### Conclusion

The study of women traders in Trinidad and Tobago has become a study of some of the CARICOM traders as well. It reveals the existence of two types of relations which determine that women become engaged in trade: relations of production and relations of gender. The former is defined by the economic relations between individual Caribbean territories and the developed world. The latter - the specific type of relations of gender - is hinged to the former and results from the relative poverty of people in low areas of the stratification system. In the case of the Caribbean women in low income (or no income) groups, their lack of financial and other support from the male determines that they must go out to try to "make ends meet".

The study has revealed that in Trinidad and Tobago, there is the existence of two types of trade in the informal sector: (i) that which is envisaged and created by the women themselves out of economic and other needs; and (ii) that which is permitted and controlled by the parameters of the CARICOM Agreement. The former is conducted by the Guyanese, Trinidadians and Tobagonians to some extent, while the latter is particularly participated in by the Vincentians and Grenadians. The former is fraught with problems of legitimacy while the latter is not.

The study also reveals that Trinidad is the nucleus of economic activity involving a group of islands in the region with close linkages among the people; for although the CARICOM Agreement includes all 13 territories, Trinidad and Tobago seems to relate more closely with St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Grenada and Guyana than with Dominica, St. Lucia, Antigua, Barbados and Jamaica. This also indicates that there may be other 'nuclei' countries in the region with their group of territories with which they are in a particularly close economic and social association. The linkages between Trinidadians and Tobagonians and the rest of the Western World are also evident through the enormous level of self-initiated travel outside the region which occurs on a regular basis.

The capacity of the women (and men) who are not well placed in the stratification system to create their own 'employment' is also evident as is the tendency for the specific type of 'employment' to be determined by the wider socio-economic and political circumstances of their countries.

Even for those women whose activities are 'protected' by the CARICOM Agreement, the conditions of their work and the facilities for carrying it on are inadequate. Some of the women noted that they sell in the open air - whatever the weather conditions - while others identified disadvantages such as poor facilities for domestic care, personal hygiene and overnighting, as well as limited space. Marketing was not generally identified as a problem, except for the Tobago traders who noted that there is no market for agricultural products in Tobago because of the popularity of back-yard gardening.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Based on the above data, it is evident that co-ordinated planning in agriculture and trade needs to be undertaken. Backyard gardening, as practised in Tobago, serves to augment the food supply of households and reduce expenditure on some food items and should therefore be encouraged, but the Tobago traders should be able to offer the buying public goods which are not traditionally grown in Tobago. Such goods include green vegetables of all types for which there is a need in Tobago. These could be readily obtained from Trinidad.
2. Related to the above recommendation is the notion of zoning of industries. If the Trinidadian farmer is encouraged (through positive incentives) to produce green vegetables - cabbages, carrots, cucumbers, tomatoes, cauliflowers, christophenes, etc. - for the Tobago market as well as for the wider CARICOM region, production would increase several times over its present levels, thus creating employment opportunities, and the Tobagonian traders would have both easy access to required goods and a reliable market. Conversely, the Tobagonian trader could offer ground vegetables, plantains, green peas, etc. for which there is a viable market in Trinidad.
3. The facilities at the Central Market could be expanded to include: (a) Trinidadian traders who could offer their green vegetables for sale to Tobagonian, Vincentian and Grenadian traders at the times coinciding with the periods when the latter groups are allowed use of the market, i.e. Wednesdays-Fridays weekly; (b) the improvement of facilities for hygiene and over-nighting at the Central Market in Port of Spain (for which governments in the region may contribute) would go a long way to lessening current inconveniences suffered by the traders and contribute to a more efficient and vibrant trading system while contributing to a lessening of a potential public health hazard.

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WOMEN TRADERS IN THE CARIBBEAN  
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR WOMEN TRADERS  
IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO: (1984)

1. What is your nationality? (explain if necessary)
2. How old are you?

EDUCATION

3. How far did you reach in school?
  - a. Incomplete Primary
  - b. Completed Primary
  - c. Secondary (incompleted)
  - d. Secondary no certificate received
  - e. Secondary with 1 - 4 'O' levels
  - f. Secondary with 5+ 'O' levels
  - g. Secondary with 'A' levels
  - h. Post Secondary.

(b) Skill training (please state)

UNION STATUS

4. Are you living with a husband or partner at present?

Yes	No	If no, go to question 7.
		If yes, go to question 5.
5. Have you ever married?

Yes	No
-----	----
6. If no, do you live together or does he visit. (go to question 11)
7. Have you ever lived with husband or partner?

Yes	No	If yes, go to question 8.
		If no, go to question 9.
8. How long have you been without husband or partner?
9. Have you ever had a husband or partner?

## FAMILY LIFE

10. How many living children do you have at present?
11. Are they all at home?      Yes              No              Other.
12. If not all at home, where are they?
13. How do you cope with housework as well as your work as a trader?
14. Who helps you with support for the family?
15. Do the children help in any way?

## ECONOMIC FACTORS

16. How often do you travel?
17. Please describe your travel movements.
18. What types of goods do you take out of your country?
19. From where do you get them?
20. How do you transport them before travel?
21. How long do you stay in Trinidad? (CARICOM TRADERS)
22. Are all the goods sold by the time you leave?
23. What types of goods do you take back to your country?
24. Do you sell these goods at home?
25. How many hours do you work per day?
26. How many days do you work per week?
27. Is all this time spent on activities related to trading?
28. Do you have any other job or do any other type of work?  
Yes No
29. If yes, please state type.

30. What is your average income per week from trading?
31. Is this figure what you get before or after expenses are deducted?
32. What is your average income after expenses are deducted?
33. What do you do with the surpluses?

Thank you for your co-operation.

LIST OF OFFICIALS INTERVIEWED

<u>Name of Officer</u>	<u>Designation/Organization</u>	<u>Date Interviewed</u>
Ms. Cressida Reyes	Advisor, ILO	25.7.84
Mr. Victor Grossman	Advisor, Man Power Plann- ing ILO	27.7.84
Ms. Myrtle Bishop	Research Consultant CARICOM	28.7.84
Mr. Peter Mason	Supervisor, Export Promo- tion Division. POS	13.8.84
Mr. Ramesh Sookhai	Accountant/Assistant to the General Manager, Port Authority, POS.	14.8.84
Ms. Davis	Trade Officer III, Ministry of Industry and Commerce	14.8.84
Ms. Phyllis Augustus	Officer, National Commis- sion on the Status of Women. POS	14.8.84
Mr. R. Hosein	Mayor, Borough of San Fer- nando	15.8.84
Mr. Hassan	City Engineer, POS.	16.8.84
Mr. Joseph	Assistant Superintendent of Police, POS.	20.8.84
Mr. Marcano	Supervisor of Customs Piarco International Airport	21.8.84
Mr. Roe	Administrator, Central Market. POS.	20.8.84
Mr. Reginald Phillips	Technical Officer/Agricul- ture Tobago House of As- sembly	27.8.84
Mr. Hilton Sandy	Supervisor, Central Marketing Agency, Tobago	27.8.84
Mr. Stewart	Supervisor, Port Authority Tobago	29.8.84
Mrs. Jack	Proprietor, Jack In The Box Scarborough Mall, Tobago	29.8.84
Mrs. Merle Archer	Proprietor, Merle's Paradise Scarborough Mall, Tobago	29.8.84
Ms. Magda Pollard	Women's Desk CARICOM Secretariat	29.8.84
Mrs. Peggy Antrobus	Director, WAND, Barbados	29.8.84

