

Issues of Difference in Contemporary Caribbean Feminism

Author(s): Rawwida Baksh-Soodeen

Source: *Feminist Review*, No. 59, Rethinking Caribbean Difference (Summer, 1998), pp. 74-85

Published by: [Palgrave Macmillan Journals](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1395724>

Accessed: 10/07/2011 14:29

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=pal>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Palgrave Macmillan Journals is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Feminist Review*.

Issues of Difference in Contemporary Caribbean Feminism*

Rawwida Baksh-Soodeen

FEMINIST REVIEW NO 59, SUMMER 1998, PP. 74-85

Abstract

This paper interrogates Caribbean feminist theory and activism in relation to the Euro-American experience and to challenges emerging from the Third World discourse. The author argues from the standpoint position that second wave Caribbean feminism has been largely Afro-centric and simultaneously interlocked with processes of independence and national identity struggles. She suggests that there is a need for the movement to reflect the experiences of women of other ethnic groups in the region. In this regard, in Trinidad and Tobago the Indo-Caribbean voice has been emerging and broadening the feminist base. In more recent years also the divisions between feminist and non-feminist groups are subsiding, strengthening the ultimate capacity of this movement for change in the region.

Keywords

Caribbean feminism; race; class standpoint; identity; networking

This paper carries out two main tasks. First, where applicable, it links the issues of difference in Caribbean feminist politics to the Euro-American experience, and in particular those related to race and class. Second, it argues that in the discussion of race and class differences within Caribbean feminism, there is the need to distinguish: (i) the different (objective) reality from the Euro-American experience; (ii) the link between feminism, nationalism, and anti-imperialist struggles in the Caribbean. The latter is similar to the struggles of Third World women internationally (including those located in the First World); and (iii) the ultimately embracing rather than divisive nature of Caribbean feminism. I begin by examining the concept and experience of international feminism in the contemporary period. Then I turn to the Caribbean experience of feminist organizing from the late 1970s to the present, and discuss the movement, its attempts to transform, change and transcend internal differences.

The universal and the particular

The 'second wave' of the feminist movement which began in the USA and Britain in the late 1960s took for granted that 'there was a potentially unificatory point of view on women's issues which would accommodate divergences and not be submerged by them' (Delmar, 1986: 10). Underlying this was the assumption of the universality of women's subordination and its corollary, the possibility of a global sisterhood which could challenge patriarchal power and dominance. The buzz-word 'sisterhood' and its related slogan 'sisterhood is global', actively felt and used in this early period of euphoria, characterized the prevailing consciousness.

In addition Delmar noted that:

in spite of the success of women's liberation in bringing to the fore and reinforcing feelings of sympathy and identity between women, political unity (another of the meanings of 'sisterhood') cannot be said to have been achieved. Unity based on identity has turned out to be a very fragile thing.

(Delmar, 1986: 11)

Differences within the Euro-American movement in the 1970s were based on different explanations of women's subordination, and hence different proposed strategies for change. The f(r)actions resulting from this split were liberal feminism, marxist feminism, radical feminism, and socialist feminism (Jagger and Rothenberg, 1984, cited in Ollenburger and Moore, 1992: 17). These schools of feminist thought and action emerged at different historical points, but, by the 1970s–80s, they co-occurred as different strands of the movement. They also provided the ideological frameworks for analysing the causes of women's oppression within the Euro-American feminist movement. Apart from these four frameworks, race/ethnicity became the key platform for exposing differences in women's lived experiences of subordination, resulting in feminists defining themselves as 'black', 'native American', 'Asian', 'women of colour' and so on. It is, however, important to establish that the latter groups were themselves not monolithic in their ideological position on the causes of gender inequality. In her paper, 'Cartographies of Struggle: Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism', Chandra Mohanty states that in a collection of writings by black and Third World women in Britain entitled *Charting the Journey* (Grewal *et al.*, 1988), the editors 'are careful to focus on the contradictions, conflicts, and differences among black women, while simultaneously emphasizing that the starting point for all contributors has been "the historical link between us of colonialism and imperialism"' (Mohanty, 1991a: 8).

In *Charting the Journey*, the editors' state:

This book is about an idea. An idea of 'Blackness' in contemporary Britain. An idea as yet unmaturing and inadequately defined, but proceeding along its path

in both 'real' social life and in the collective awareness of many of its subjects. Both as an idea and a process it is, inevitably, contradictory. Contradictory in its conceptualization because its linguistic expression is defined in terms of color, yet it is an idea transcendent of color. Contradictory in its material movements because the unity of action, conscious or otherwise, of Asians, Latin Americans and Arabs, Caribbean and Africans, gives political expression to a common 'color', even as the State-created fissures of ethnicity threaten to engulf and overwhelm us in islands of cultural exclusivity.

(Grewal *et al.*, 1988: 1)

Mohanty links the feminism in the advanced industrialized countries based on race/ethnicity to the emergent Third World feminism. In fact, she geographically re-orientates the discussion of Third World feminism to include immigrants and subjected peoples of colour in the North. In summarizing the construction of Third World feminism in the discourse, she arrives at four main commonalities:

- 1 The idea of the simultaneity of oppression as fundamental to the experience of social and political marginality and the grounding of feminist politics in the histories of racism and imperialism;
- 2 The crucial role of a hegemonic state in circumscribing Third World women's daily lives and struggle;
- 3 The significance of memory and writing in the creation of oppositional agency; and,
- 4 The differences, conflicts, and contradictions internal to Third World women's organizations and communities (1991: 10).

In 'Concepts in Feminist Theory: Consensus and Controversy', a paper presented initially in Trinidad and Tobago at the inaugural seminar in Women's Studies of the University of the West Indies, Amrita Chhachhi (1988: 76-9) attempts to answer the question of whether feminist *theory* is 'white' or 'black'. She argues that feminist theories, like all other social theories, are expressions of two factors: the social, economic, and political context in which they emerged; and a synthesis of past intellectual traditions. From Chhachhi's point of view, the rejection of all feminist theory as 'western', 'Eurocentric', or 'ethnocentric', results from a failure to distinguish between the application of feminist theories to the historical, political, and socio-cultural specificities of black/Third World women, and the notion of all theory as 'white'. Chhachhi argues that at the level of basic conceptual analytical tools, there is little disagreement among black and white feminists. She suggests:

most often the limitations of Euro-American feminist studies lie at the second and third levels of analysis in that abstract concepts are imposed mechanically and ahistorically and hence become a substitute for an historically specific analysis which takes into account the complexities of social reality.

(Chhachhi, 1988: 79)

The current postmodernism stream within philosophy has had a profound impact on the social sciences, humanities, and feminist theory. Two key concepts developed by the Frankfurt School are 'critical theory' and 'standpoint epistemology', both of which have influenced feminist politics. Critical theory challenged the use of the scientific method for social enquiry, rejecting the idea that there can be 'objective' knowledge altogether. Standpoint epistemology is the concept that less powerful members (individuals and groups) are potentially capable of a more complete view of social reality than the privileged, precisely because of their disadvantaged position(s). In order to survive, they have a 'double vision', a knowledge or awareness of and sensitivity to both the dominant world view and their own minority perspective (e.g., female, black, and poor) (Nielsen, 1990: 10). Feminist standpoint epistemology(ies) focus on the specificity of women's oppression, linking this to women being able to see the viewpoints of both women, and men (the dominant group), and hence having an understanding that is potentially more complete, deeper, and sensitive than men's (Nielsen, 1990: 24–5).

Critical theory and standpoint epistemologies speak to the notion that there is no single truth, that the location of individuals and groups in the social structure determines their construction/interpretation of truth or reality, and that the oppressed have a more powerful claim to a complete understanding than dominant groups. These concepts have contributed to providing the theoretical space for the challenge to white feminists posed by Third World feminists (whether geographically located in the North or South). And further, they help to explain the present movement of Third World feminism's standpoints of race, class, and nation from the periphery to the centre, the so-called cutting edge of the discourse.

Considerations on race and class

The Caribbean has arguably been the site of the greatest colonial penetration internationally since Europe began its mercantilist expansion in the fifteenth century. In no other region were entire peoples wiped out and artificially replaced by hundreds of thousands of people from other continents for the sole purpose of serving European economic interests. In the contemporary period, European colonialism has been replaced by US imperialism, most starkly seen in Puerto Rico and the US Virgin Islands which are American colonies. But the rest of the Caribbean territories are perceived by the US as its satellites, and are hence the target of aid and trade arrangements. The Caribbean has also been the focus of US military aggression through a protracted war against Cuba, and against Grenada during its period of revolutionary government in 1979–83. It further controls, puppeteers, and destabilizes Caribbean governments to serve its

capitalist and geo-political interests. In the most recent period, the Caribbean has also been a willing market for US goods and services, including satellite TV, and television evangelism.

The history of the Caribbean territories as colonies of European imperial powers has been one overshadowed by African slavery. Resulting from this is the present-day demographic landscape in which Africans predominate, except in the Spanish Caribbean and in Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, and Suriname. The post-colonial discourse, which has emerged since the Independence movement of the late 1960s and 1970s,¹ has attempted to grapple with the experience of colonialism from an anti-imperialist framework, which included the perspectives of race and class. If, in the pre-Independence period, the major impetus was the struggle for nationalism, in the post-Independence period, the key issues have been structured race and class inequalities, their alleviation by state intervention, and the continuing existence of colonial economic and political forces which perpetuate these social structures. In the Caribbean, the post-Independence discourse has been one of reclaiming identity. The reclaimed identity has been predominantly African. Images of 'shipwreck' and 'exile' are common to the literary work of post-Independence writers such as Derek Walcott, Vidia Naipaul, George Lamming, Wilson Harris, and Samuel Selvon. Naipaul has been the only well-known literary voice speaking to the Indo-Caribbean experience of indentureship and exile.

The issue of race

The 'second wave' of the feminist movement in the Caribbean in the 1970s intersected with this post-Independence discourse in interesting ways. Issues of race and class were almost exclusively about the experiences of the 'creole'² or black/white/coloured populations of the societies. There was no multicultural framework (despite a sociological theory of 'cultural pluralism' developed by M.G. Smith in the 1960s) within which the specific experiences and interests of non-African women could be viewed or contextualized. In fact, this has only begun happening (specifically in Trinidad and Tobago) since the mid-1980s, and interestingly, it has its roots in the assertion by the Indian population of their distinct racial and cultural identity. I would hence define the dominant discourse within Caribbean feminist politics (theory and practice) as Afro-centric, as opposed to either a Euro-centric or multicultural paradigm.

Caribbean feminist historiography inherited from the post-colonial studies on African slavery such sociological concepts in relation to the African slave woman as 'matrifocality', 'male marginality', 'female-headed household' and so on. In the Caribbean, there is a well-established view of the

African woman as a slave, as a symbol of strength and power holding the family together under slavery. Edith Clarke wrote *My Mother Who Fathered Me*; Lucille Mathurin wrote *Rebel Woman in the British West Indies During Slavery*; Sistren Theatre Collective of Jamaica wrote about Nanny, the Maroon slave who led her people to rebellion against the white planter class. Rhoda Reddock's PhD thesis, 'Women, Labour and Struggle in 20th Century Trinidad and Tobago', presents the African slave woman as worker compared to the European bourgeois ideal of the woman as housewife. The notion of the woman as worker was also true for the Indian woman under the system of indentureship. Hence, the bourgeois housewife ideal was only practised among the white planter/merchant class during the colonial period, and was adopted by the African and Indian middle classes (although not entirely) in the post-colonial period. Since the dominant discourse within Caribbean feminism is Afro-centric, what this means is that feminist analyses of Caribbean society have tended to focus on the black and coloured populations and 'creole' culture. Hence the lower-class family is always discussed in terms of the female-headed household despite the fact that among Indians (in societies with significant Indian populations), the lower-class family shows forms ranging from the joint Indian family, the three-generation extended family, the nuclear family, to the female-headed household.

Further, feminist organizing has also been largely viewed as the domain of African women, rather than as a space in which women of different racial/cultural identities and experiences interact. Women who have been 'left out' in this process include the remaining indigenous inhabitants, Indian, Chinese, and other groups such as the Indonesians. The experience of the white woman has also been left out, deliberately I think, because the discourse has emerged from the standpoint of people who have been brutally enslaved by Europeans. The white woman is hence perceived as belonging to the oppressor race, class, and culture, despite the fact that a few white women have also been part of the feminist movement in Caribbean. Indian women, like myself, who are actively involved in the movement have ourselves come to an analysis of colonialism largely through the Afro-centred discourse developed at the University of the West Indies. It is only during the 1990s that I have personally begun to grapple with the specificity of Indo-Caribbean women's experience. Evidence of this is, however, beginning to emerge, both in the discourse³ and organizationally. In the latter, the Hindu Women's Organization (HWO) was formed in Trinidad and Tobago in the mid-1980s.

The issue of racial difference within the Caribbean feminist movement is, however, distinct from that experienced in the USA and Europe. In the first place, it may be said that the post-colonial Caribbean has a majority

African population who are politically, if not economically, in control. Thus the bitterness of the Afro-American/European feminist struggle is not evident in the Caribbean. Since colonialism both past and present is a major force at work in the Caribbean, Afro-Caribbean women have (in reaction to the sexism of the left political groupings to which they belonged) asserted an autonomous space for struggle, but continue to collaborate with Caribbean men in left political parties, and the labour and NGO movements, particularly on political and economic issues. I think that the possibility of a multi-cultural feminist platform exists because, while African and Indian women, on the one hand, have distinct cultural identities and experiences of oppression, on the other, they share a common experience of plantation slavery and indentureship. In Trinidad and Tobago, for instance, it would be difficult for an Afro-Caribbean feminist to argue that her oppression has been greater than mine, when slavery was abolished in 1838, but indentureship almost a century later in 1917. My father was among the last children to have been brought from India as an indentured labourer in 1912.

The issue of class

There are three main aspects of the 'class issue' within Caribbean feminism, which may be broadly related to its emergence and subsequent development in the 1970s to the present.

The first few women to define themselves as feminists in the 1970s came to their analysis largely through their involvement in nationalist struggles, left political groupings, trade unions, the black power movement, and so on. Although their self-definition as feminist was in reaction to the sexism of the men in these movements, their feminism did not assume the radical form of white feminists in the US and Britain in a similar situation. This can only be explained by the fact that they saw themselves first and foremost as black women living in societies which were in early transition from colonial rule, where race and class were still inextricably linked to the political/economic/social hierarchies, and where black men obviously also belonged to the oppressed group. It needs to be pointed out, however, that these women often belonged to an emerging black (including Indian) educated middle class. They could be defined as 'black socialist feminists', who would have empathized with the writings of Angela Davis, for example, and with the general struggle by black women of the Euro-American feminist movement.

The second aspect of class is apparent in the subsequent development of the movement. Feminist debates in the media, public fora, demonstrations, coincided with the UN Decade for Women and a raised consciousness

internationally on 'the issue of women', which led to a new group of women joining the movement. Differences, related to the class status of individual women, became apparent. In Trinidad and Tobago, for example, differing class interests led to the split in 1984 of The Group, a small consciousness-raising group which had included women from the 1970s. On the issue of violence against women, there was general agreement. However, whenever national issues relating to class inequalities arose, there was a decided withdrawal on the part of the new 'middle-class' feminists, who could perhaps be characterized as having a radical feminist approach.

Thirdly, the Caribbean feminist movement is argued (by its detractors) to be comprised mainly of articulate, well-educated, middle-class, urban women. This suggests, among other things, a static European concept of class as a status ascribed at birth, and hence which governs and makes possible (or not possible) certain opportunities and experiences. This notion of class does not speak to the often very rapid social mobility which was typical of some Caribbean societies in the post-Independence period. In a single generation, it has been possible for many women to move out of their class of birth through education. Marriage has not been as important an agent of social mobility for women in a post-colonial context where the majority of the population belonged to the working classes, or where, among the African working-class population, the female-headed household model predominates. If I may use my own experience as a concrete example, I have moved from the indentureship of my father to post-doctoral education in a single generation. So while it may be argued that my current status is middle class, this says nothing of my personal history of poverty, of being defined and defining myself as a lower-class woman and, further, it says nothing of the contradictions I faced both in the (objective) opposing polarities of the different classes which I encountered (in the education system for example), but also of my own contradictions and ambivalence. Finally, in relation to my experiences, it says nothing of the political, social, and cultural choices I have made and continue to make.

There are varying dynamics regarding class within the Caribbean feminist movement. Cecilia Babb, a Rastafari woman from Dominica who lives in Barbados, whose class position would be very hard to define and who also defines herself as a lower-class woman, said at a CAFRA meeting in 1990 that for 'grass roots' women, the issue is survival, that of putting food on the table for their children, often in situations where they are the sole breadwinners. And that, 'until this survival is managed it is very difficult for grass roots women to engage in theoretical debate, mobilization, lobbying and group demonstrations, on issues which impact on the very survival we are trying so hard to ensure' (1991: 9).

I conclude this section by pointing out two more factors which account for the specificity of Caribbean feminist politics.

The first is the issue of scale. Caribbean countries are usually small island states (except for Belize, Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana), with relatively small populations ranging from a couple of hundred thousand to a few million. At its peak, the Caribbean feminist movement has never included more than a few hundred self-defined feminists. The impact of small groups of women in these societies has to be understood in the context of the size of the societies; the groups' outreach through the media and public fora; their coincidence with the international feminist movement and the UN Decade for Women; and the presence of organizations and institutions with regional outreach such as the Women and Development Unit (WAND) in Barbados, and the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (CAFRA).

The second factor is related to the transition which is observable within Caribbean feminist organizations from the early period of the 1970s and mid-1980s to the late 1980s-1990s. In the 1970s to mid-1980s, the self-defined feminists tended to see themselves as distinct from institutionalized women's organizations, which they perceived as traditional, as serving to maintain the status quo regarding women's place in the society through welfare-oriented outreach. These organizations included the Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the Soroptomists, the Lionesses and the Mothers' Unions of churches. The current period of the 1980s-1990s has, however, seen the active building of bridges across this divide and also linking with the Gender and Development Studies Centres at the university campuses, and women's machineries in the various governments of the region, and inter-governmental institutions such as the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), UNIFEM and UN/ECLAC. This networking is related, on the one hand, to the increased awareness of feminist concerns by the traditional women's organizations and, on the other hand, to a general shift away from ideological dogmatism on the part of self-avowed feminists.

Conclusion

It is possible to identify a number of unique features based on the Caribbean's experience of feminist organizing. First, Caribbean feminist politics may be located at the intersection between two separate discourses. The one is the post-Independence discourse which has been grappling with the past and present experiences of colonialism and neo-colonialism, from an anti-imperialist framework which includes the perspectives of race and class; and the other is the feminist discourse(s) which originate(d) internationally. The dominant stream within Caribbean feminism may be said

to make the connection between race, class, and nation in its theorizing, its vision for change, and its practice. Second, however, is the fact that the Caribbean post-Independence and feminist discourses gave pre-eminence to the historical experiences and present-day situation of African-Caribbean people, leading to an Afro-centric rather than a multicultural paradigm. I contend that this is an area requiring discussion and action in the future. Third is the tendency towards networking and coalition-building, between (i) feminist, 'traditional' women's organizations, women's machineries in the various governments of the region, women's studies groups/programmes in the universities, and inter-governmental organisations; and (ii) the feminist movement and the left political parties, the labour movement, and the NGO movement.

This latter aspect of Caribbean feminism is ultimately embracing rather than divisive. It is, in my view, a product of factors such as Caribbean peoples' collective resistance to colonial forces past and present, the creation of a culture of sharing/caring in the face of scarce resources and deprivation evident in Caribbean family/household forms; economic institutions such as the 'su-su', the 'gayap';⁴ strategies for childcare and care of the sick and elderly in societies when most women have always been workers inside and outside of the home.

Notes

* The views expressed in this essay are my personal perspectives and analysis and not necessarily those of the Commonwealth Secretariat, the organization in which I am now employed.

1 I include here the academic disciplines of history, sociology, politics, government, literature, and linguistics; artistic expression such as novels, poetry, plays, painting, theatre, music (including the steelband and calypso which are indigenous forms), dance, and Carnival; and journalism through the media of radio, print, and television.

2 'Creole' society and culture was first defined by M.G. Smith as follows:

The creole complex has its historical base in slavery, plantation systems and colonialism. Its cultural composition mirrors its racial mixture. European and African elements predominate in fairly standard combinations and relationships. The ideal forms of institutional life such as government, religion, family and kinship, law, property, education, economy and language are of European derivation; in consequence, differing metropolitan affiliations produce differing versions of creole culture. But in their creole contexts, these institutional forms diverge from their metropolitan models in greater or lesser degree to fit local conditions.

(Smith, 1965: 5)

- 3 The history and different struggles of Indo-Caribbean women of Trinidad have been substantively researched by Rhoda Reddock in *Women, Labour and Politics in Trinidad and Tobago* (Ian Randle Publishers, Jamaica, 1994) and by Patricia Mohammed in *Gender Negotiations Among Indians in Trinidad 1917-1947* (forthcoming 1999).
- 4 The 'su-su' is a group practice of pooling money over a specified period, the sum of which is given to each donor in turn; it is a mutual saving system. The word and the concept are thought to originate from the Yoruba 'susu' (Hancock, 1980: 82; Warner-Lewis, 1991: 31; cited in Baksh-Soodeen, 1995: 155). The 'gayap' is defined as 'co-operative group labour given by neighbours and friends in some private undertaking such as farming or house-building, in return for food and drink'. The word has a possible multiple etymology, originating either from the form 'gayap' from the Amerindian language, Cumanagotan (Winer and Aguilar, 1991: 182), or from the Wolof form 'gaa nyep' meaning 'all the people; a collective' (Warner-Lewis, 1991: 169, cited in Baksh-Soodeen, 1995: 167). While these two words are specific to Trinidadian usage, other words signifying the same activities and concepts are to be found throughout the Caribbean.

References

- BABB, Cecilia (1991) 'Empowering Grass Roots Women' *CAFRA News*, Vol. 5, No. 1: pp. 8-10.
- BAKSH-SOODEEN, Rawwida (1995) 'A Historical Perspective on the Lexicon of Trinidadian English', Ph.D. Dissertation, St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: University of the West Indies.
- CHHACHHI, Amrita (1988) 'Concepts in Feminist Theory: Consensus and Controversy' in Mohammed and Shepherd (1976), pp. 76-96.
- CLARKE, Edith (1957) *My Mother Who Fathered Me*, London: George Allen and Unwin.
- DELMAR, Rosalind (1986) 'What is Feminism?' in Mitchell and Oakley (1986), pp. 8-33.
- GREWAL, Shabnam, KAY, Jackie, LANDOR, Liliane, LEWIS, Gail, and PARMAR, Pratibha (1988) editors, *Charting the Journey: Writings by Black and Third World Women*, London: Sheba Feminist Publishers.
- MATHURIN, Lucille (1975) *Rebel Woman in the British West Indies During Slavery*, Kingston: Institute of Jamaica.
- MITCHELL, Juliet and OAKLEY, Ann (1986) editors, *What is Feminism?* London: Basil Blackwell.
- MOHAMMED, Patricia (1999) (forthcoming) *Gender Negotiations Among Indians in Trinidad, 1917-1947*, London: Macmillan.
- MOHAMMED, Patricia and SHEPHERD, Catherine (1988) editors, *Gender in Caribbean Development*, Mona, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Women and Development Studies Project.
- MOHANTY, Chandra (1991a) 'Cartographies of Struggle: Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism' in Mohanty *et al.* (1991): pp. 1-47.

MOHANTY, Chandra *et al.* (1991b) editors, *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

NIELSEN, Joyce McCarl (1990) 'Introduction' in *Feminist Research Methods: Exemplary Readings in the Social Sciences*, Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 1-41.

OLLENBURGER, Jane and MOORE, Helen (1992) *A Sociology of Women: The Intersection of Patriarchy, Capitalism, and Colonization*, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

REDDOCK, Rhoda (1984) 'Women, Labour and Struggle in 20th Century Trinidad and Tobago: 1898-1960, Ph.D. Dissertation, The Netherlands: University of Amsterdam.

— (1994) *Women, Labour and Politics in Trinidad and Tobago*, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers.

SMITH, M.G. (1965) *The Plural Society in the British West Indies*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

WARNER-LEWIS, Maureen (1991) *Guinea's Other Suns: The African Dynamic in Trinidad Culture*, Dover, Massachusetts: The Majority Press.

WINER, Lise and AGUILAR, E.L. (1991) 'Spanish Influence on the Lexicon of Trinidad English Creole' *New West Indian Guide*, Vol. 65, No. 3: pp. 153-91.