Community Voices
Women's Labours in the Caribbean

Michele A. Johnson, York University, has taught at the University of West Indies (Mona) and her research interests and publications reflect an interest in Jamaican cultural history (1865-1920) and the history of domestic service in Jamaica (1920-1970).

Abstract
This paper argues that Caribbean societies have always depended on significant amounts of women’s labour for their social, economic and cultural development. It describes how, even so, that work has been largely devalued and/or unrecognised except in contested ways.

Résumé
Cet article soutient que les sociétés caribéennes ont souvent du se fier de façon substantielle au travail des femmes pour leur développement social, économique, et culturel. Il décrit comment, malgré que le travail ait été en grande partie dévalué ou non reconnu excepté de façons contestées.
community's members (Rouse 1992).

So fundamental were indigenous women's contributions to their families and communities that according to Columbus' (negative) assessment, the women "appear[ed] to work more than the men" (Shepherd 1999, 9). Undoubtedly, those conclusions were influenced by a European patriarchal ideology that "institutionalised male dominance over women and children in the family and the subordination of women in society in general" and emphasized female frailty and absolute dependence (Fletcher 1995, 101; 126-36; xv). While these ideas were rarely invoked among less affluent Europeans, and while many European women laboured long and hard to contribute to their households' incomes, they remained influenced by the ideal. That the ideology was transferred and applied to the aboriginal communities cast the labours by aboriginal women as "unfeminine."

As a part of the colonisation project, the Spanish authorities distributed the land, and the people who occupied it, to colonisers in grants called encomiendas and according to the Laws of Burgos the conquered aboriginals were forced to work in conditions akin to slavery. While European gender ideals were used to measure aboriginal women negatively, they were suspended when the encomenderos wrested labour from them (and men) as labourers in mines, agriculture and domestic spaces in exchange for "protection" and the "morality"/ "civility" allegedly inherent in Christianity. The Laws limited the workload of pregnant women and the types of work married women should perform but, in practice, these limitations (and others) were regularly ignored. By the mid-sixteenth century, the brutal work regime along with disease and war had resulted in the decimation of the population; in some territories, aboriginal peoples all but disappeared (Pietschmann 1999).

By the 1620s, Spanish monopoly claims on the Caribbean (by virtue of Columbus' "discovery" under the auspices of the Spanish crown) were rejected by other European powers and colonisers of all sorts arrived in the region, bent on agricultural pursuits since the search for minerals had proved disappointing. Careful to avoid areas with a significant Spanish presence, they focused on the eastern Caribbean where they struggled to establish farms; and with the decimation or resistance of the aboriginal population, the question of who would provide labour on these farms became a preoccupation. A solution was sought with the recruitment of poor Europeans who signed contracts offering their labour for between five and seven years in exchange for their passages, food, shelter and clothing and some land and money at the end of their terms. This European labour force also included convicted felons sentenced to "transportation," as well as vagrants and other "undesirables." While the immigration of indentured servants (engagés in the French territories) and other migrants was dominated by men and the colonial enterprise primarily benefitted men, there were poor, indentured European women who worked (alongside men) in tobacco fields or in frontier households as domestic servants.

According to Hilary Beckles, approximately 25% of the indentured European labourers who arrived in the Caribbean were women. As the colonial project increased in importance, growing concerns about the extreme sexual imbalance prompted efforts to recruit more European women as workers in the frontier communities and as potential wives for the male colonisers, administrators and labourers in the region. While they may have been potential wives/mothers, as long as they worked as servants, indentured females were hardly distinguishable from their indentured/enslaved counterparts of African origin (discussed below). They performed arduous agricultural tasks, their contracts and labour were bought and sold; they were whipped, imprisoned, fined, re-indentured and deported for acts of disobedience or insubordination (Beckles 2000a). Perhaps because of the tasks they performed, their poverty, their indentureship and their
gender, the work performed by these women, while crucial in the colonial frontier, was not judged to be important or valuable.

As slavery grew in importance and the lines of race/labour hardened, European women withdrew from hired fieldwork on plantations/farms: neither they nor the wider white community could afford to expose white women (part of the racial elite and potentially representative of ideal femininity) to the work associated with enslaved Africans. Therefore, European women were encouraged to become dependent wives; or, if necessary, to become genteel workers in appropriate feminine occupations or to operate as small businesswomen but certainly, to retreat from physical labour. As beneficiaries of the race/class/gender triad which created the rigidly structured and hierarchical Caribbean society, these women were blocked from the full privileges enjoyed by their male counterparts but were generally ascribed positions elevated above persons of colour (male and female) and the poor (of whatever colour). However, there were also poor European women who did not enjoy such protection. They (and their families) did not have the class qualifications to make this possible. They worked as small farmers and some operated as hucksters/higglers (competing with enslaved/free women of colour), while others occupied the ranks of the "deserving poor" whose circumstances warranted intervention from their propertied sisters, lest their poverty reflect badly on the racial elite (Beckles 1989).

By the mid-seventeenth century in the anglophone and francophone territories (and later in the hispanophone territories), as part of the consequences of the "sugar revolution" and the developing plantation complex, the demand for labour leapt to unprecedented levels. Those who gained most from the availability of cheap labour shifted their gaze away from the increasingly unavailable European indentured labourers and the trickle of enslaved Africans, who had been part of colonial societies from their establishment, became a flood. By the time slavery ended in the nineteenth century, about four million Africans - 30-40% of whom were women - had been enslaved and imported into the region. For enslaved women (and men), the labour that was expected in the plantation economy was endless and its extraction relentless. Women toiled alongside enslaved men in work gangs and were barbarically punished if they violated the brutal labour system. Slaves were assigned to one of eight broad categories of workers: there were drivers (commandeurs in the French colonies); craft workers; stock-keepers and transport workers; field workers; domestics; marginal workers (grass cutters among others); watchmen and nurses (infirmières) and non-workers. The majority of slaves were field hands (nègres or nègresses de place), who were divided into three gangs of workers: the first/great gang (grand atelier) of stronger workers to perform the heaviest labour, the second gang of ailing, pregnant or weaker persons and the third gang, primarily children in training, who started to work between five and seven years old (Dunn 1987, 803-06).

While enslaved women shared the horrors of slavery with enslaved men, the labour system was not gender blind: when positions of authority (slave drivers), skill (sugar boilers) or relative autonomy (transportation workers) were created, they were assigned to male slaves. Enslaved women (and their unpromoted male counterparts) prepared the land, planted, tended and harvested the sugar cane (using sharp machetes), and transported large bundles of the canes on their heads. Lucille Mathurin Mair observes that women had few opportunities for leaving fieldwork and that they were concentrated in "the most menial and least versatile areas of cultivation" (Mathurin Mair 2000, 391). Women were usually excluded from the factories where the technical side of sugar production took place but those who were used there were often assigned to feed the sugar cane into the heavy rollers that extracted the juice (which was boiled to a crystalline state). According to Bernard Moitt, in several cases the female sugar cane
feeders’ arms became trapped in the machinery and had to be severed; others were pulled into the machines and crushed to death (Moitt 2000, 1022-24). Wherever they were deployed, enslaved women’s labours were continuous, intense and, as with enslaved men, their efforts were extracted by the use of whips, stocks and shackles (cepo and grillete in Cuba), iron collars and chains and by imprisonment and branding (Castañeda 2000). Although women came to dominate fieldwork in many territories (because gender discrimination relegated them to those positions) there were few contemporaries who acknowledged their important contributions; yet, in many cases, it was upon their backs that the plantation complex was constructed.

Some bondswomen who were not directly deployed in the creation of profits from agricultural staples were used as domestic slaves. They nursed children and the elderly, cooked, carried water, washed, cleaned and performed difficult, dirty and mundane household tasks. Within the domestic space, enslaved females (often the coloured children of white male planters/employees and enslaved black/coloured women) were sometimes forced to perform sexual labour by predatory white males. Refusals were punished unmercifully, while "compliance" generated anger by some white mistresses, although the existing structures of racial and gender oppression could hardly have had another result. Some mistresses vented their frustration on the enslaved women for these and other violations; Mary Prince’s recollection of "the smart of the rope, the cart-whip, and the cow skin" applied to her naked body by her "savage" mistress’s "own cruel hand" provides a window into the world of enslaved women’s lives and labours (Prince 2000, 846).

While many white women benefited from their attachment to white men with property and power, some among them gained directly from Caribbean slavery. They constituted a smaller number than the dominant male slave-holders, but they made a mark, especially in urban areas. According to Beckles, "[w]hite women were generally the owners of small properties...[which] were more proportionately stocked with slaves than the large, male owned properties." For example, in 1815 white women owned "about 24% of the slaves in St. Lucia" although their properties and businesses tended to use less than ten slaves; most of these were women (Beckles 2000d, 661). Female slave-owners hired out enslaved women in a variety of capacities: as housekeepers, laundresses, as workers in their boarding houses and/or brothels. As Beckles argues, apart from being "slave-owners [and] entrepreneurs," many among them were "pro-slavery ideologues [who] demonstrated by their ideas and social and economic actions considerable support for the colonial mission as an opportunity for betterment" (Beckles 1998, 6). That female slave owners (including some free coloureds/blacks) featured in the labour and sexual exploitation of enslaved women reminds us that while almost all women were dominated by the white patriarchy, some were separated from the worst aspects of slave society by the lines of race and colour and freedom which obtained (Beckles 2000c).

Although the labour demands of slavery constituted an enormous burden, in some territories enslaved women and men also planted ground provisions (yams, etcetera) to feed themselves. While it might be argued that by allocating plots of land for these purposes, planters rid themselves of the expense of food provision and that the enslaved (including women) worked to subsidise the cost of their enslavement, these arrangements were often sought by them. With the land they fed themselves more successfully than their compatriots who depended on rations. In addition, they (and those who received rations) established and dominated markets where they sold what they did not consume; there they practised skills at huckstering/higglering which, according to Beckles, became "part of their gender culture." This allowed for improvements in nutrition and the possession of property and gave them the manoeuvrability to make...
"profitable use of their leisure time" and "the chance to travel and normalize their social lives as much as possible under highly restrictive circumstances" (Beckles 2000b, 732-33).

For enslaved women, none of the outlined labour demands absolved them of their own domestic chores. It was they who had primary responsibility for childcare and household duties; it was often they who scratched a family life from the harshness of the slave environment, insisting on parental rights even when those did not exist in law and their children could be (and often were) sold away from them. The domestic and emotional labours of enslaved Caribbean women helped to construct community, to maintain and creolise cultural expressions (language, music, dance); according to Barbara Bush, they were at the forefront of the struggle to teach survival skills to their children and the wider community (Bush 1981, 247). However, there was little value placed on these activities except by their families and communities.

Given the harsh conditions, the physical breakdowns and alarming mortality that characterised Caribbean slavery were not surprising. With these circumstances and the sexual imbalance in the slave trade which favoured men, the enslaved population was unable to reproduce itself. And there were no incentives on the parts of slave-owners to ameliorate the labour conditions to encourage population growth since the maimed and broken bodies were simply replaced by new, purchased ones. Only with the slave trade under pressure did the slave-owners begin to envision improvements in working and living conditions, in order to encourage fertility. Barbados and other territories witnessed a slow reversal of the demographic catastrophe; however, the region’s population would not increase naturally until after the end of slavery.

Although enslaved women were identified primarily as "unfree" labourers who existed to benefit others, many among them challenged that simple designation. Some joined enslaved men in the scores of rebellions across the Caribbean, others absconded temporarily while some helped to establish alternative (maroon) communities, in defiance of the slavocracy. Many engaged in activities that corroded the system: they malingered, broke tools, verbally and physically attacked authority figures and some domestic slaves used their skills with poisons against their oppressors. Since they were not only economic producers, but potential reproducers of the labour force (since the "slave" status was inherited from mothers), some contemporary observers believed that the low rates of pregnancy, childbirth and infant survival were influenced by women’s determination not to assist in the extension of the slave population: they used herbs and other means of inducing abortions, and many were accused of neglect and infanticide. Some scholars argue that this gynaecological resistance did a great deal to disrupt the labour system in the short and long runs (Bush 1990, 120-50).

With emancipation in the Caribbean (ranging from 1794 in St. Domingue to 1886 in Cuba) the questions of women’s economic lives and contributions were among the most vexing in the region’s "free societies." The question for the majority of Caribbean women was not whether or not they should work, but rather when and what that work should entail. Many withdrew from plantation labour while others performed part-time plantation work, as their families had a need. Although neither recognised nor celebrated, many women spent their efforts on peasant production: constituting 30-50% of the agricultural sector, they contributed to the diversification of the sector (producing bananas, coffee, etc.) (Brereton 2005). Others migrated into urban areas where they worked as hucksters, seamstresses, laundresses and domestic servants (Higman 1983). However, for the elite who benefited from and clung to the vestiges of plantation production, that freed women dared to remove themselves from fieldwork was unacceptable and symbolic of the "labour crisis" facing the region. When attempts to coerce the former slaves...
to work exclusively on the plantations were resisted by the "unreasonable" free labourers, planters lobbied for the importation of a more controllable workforce.

Between 1834 and 1917 more than 800,000 indentured immigrants, the majority of them from India, arrived in the Caribbean; women accounted for 25-40% of their number. The indentured immigrants worked on plantations where their labour, wages and living conditions were regulated by contracts. In the British colonies, during the 1870s-1880s some regulations were passed that were specific to indentured women: their contracts were reduced from five to three years and they were to be exempt from physical punishment; however, they were also paid less than male workers so their circumstances were often dire. Further, when they became ill or were unable to work, they were often evicted from the estates and left unsupported and many became destitute. At the end of their contracts, some indentured Indian immigrants returned home, but many remained in the region where they continued to work as agricultural labourers (on sugar, banana, cocoa and coconut estates) as well as vegetable gardeners (Reddock 1993a). While Indian women worked as farmers and sold their surpluses in the markets or were recruited as domestic servants, at the end of their contracts the smaller number of female Chinese and Portuguese immigrants tended to become involved in the retail trade. For many immigrant women, their agricultural labours, their work in businesses or as domestic servants had to be balanced with their own domestic labours, and very often neither was valued very highly.

In the early twentieth century, when many men used emigration (to Panama, Brazil, Cuba, etc.) as an economic strategy, more families came to rely on the labour of Caribbean women. Since many were unable to benefit from the narrow educational opportunities in the region (due to cost, household economic need and persistent gendered ideas about the uselessness of education for girls) many women continued to work as agricultural labourers but some also worked as tavern keepers, peddlers, stone breakers, dressmakers, higgers/hucksters, with the government (mostly as office maids and cleaners), and in the service sector as domestic servants, laundresses, and seamstresses.

According to Janet Momsen, "[t]hese experiences bestowed on Caribbean women a degree of social and economic independence" that many women consolidated outside of the confines of the marriages which the "colonial and neo-colonial agencies such as the church and the education system" sought to promote (Momsen 2002, 46).

As the twentieth century progressed, Caribbean women continued to make significant economic contributions to their families, communities, nations and region (Colón and Reddock 2004). Although often devalued, their labours were crucial in the relatively small and fragile Caribbean economies and societies which were affected by global crises, wars (both physical and ideological), revolution, decolonisation or political reconfiguration. In these circumstances, the conditions of female labour saw some changes and some consistent patterns. For the many women who continued to work in agriculture, there was a constant struggle against "low wages, seasonal work, lack of access to agricultural information and technology and few opportunities for training," as well as a lack of access to land, equipment and credit resources (Ellis 1985, 4). Although they "toil[ed] to feed and sustain society, their contributions to agriculture's share of the Gross Domestic Product and Gross National Product [we]re rarely reflected in the statistical indices of economic growth" (Gordon 1985, 35). In Cuba as well, despite women's important contributions to agriculture, often through the Congress of the National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP) or Cooperative Farmers, they operate as "the unremunerated casual and seasonal workforce, the often unremunerated volunteer brigades organized by the ANAP and the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) and as an integral part of unremunerated small farm family labour" (Stubbs 1993, 221).
Despite the social, economic and gendered hurdles, Caribbean women also struggled for access to and fair treatment in new industries. In Puerto Rico, women were drafted into the textile and other manufacturing concerns that were expected to confer the benefits of capitalism on the island's people (Silvestrini 1989). The screwdriver industries that developed served as models for other Caribbean countries, but as was the case in Puerto Rico, the workers across the region, especially its women, found that reported economic growth did not mean personal improvement or social development (Brewster and Thomas 1993). In fact, according to Ellis, many women in the new industrial sectors worked in "cramped conditions with insufficient light and air and with inadequate toilet and recreational facilities"; the possibility of changing those conditions was/is extremely low since the women's jobs are insecure and "they are not encouraged to join unions" (Ellis 1985, 5). Employed in the most menial of positions, paid at minimum wages (where those existed) and barred from supervisory or management positions, some labouring women might have changed the context of their employment, but the dynamics of labour had not altered significantly.

Rhoda Reddock's examination of the garment sector in twentieth century Trinidad shows that women's labours in the female-dominated industry were undervalued at least partly because women occupied "a subordinate position on the labour market, for their wages [were] assumed to be supplementary to those of male breadwinners." When this was added to their categorisation as poorly skilled or unskilled workers, they were viewed as expendable workers who "disappear[ed] into the family and [did] not even appear in the unemployment statistics" of the nation. Consequently, women in the predominantly female garment and textile industry continued to endure low wages and poor working conditions (Reddock 1993b, 249-62). They and other female workers, argues Olive Senior, were also "often subject to lay-offs, lack of paid maternity leave...inflexible working hours, compounded by distance from work and transportation difficulties...[as well as]...class and racial exploitation at the workplace." Despite the fact that so many women worked to support themselves, their children and other dependents, the chance of finding work was low and worsened by a "lack of education, skills and occupational training," domestic and family responsibilities (Senior 1991, 117-18) leading to high under- and unemployment.

According to Senior, Caribbean women's labour "continued to be mainly backbreaking, exploitative drudgery," yet much of it (especially "non-professional" labour) remained unacknowledged or categorised as non-work in the official statistics. When women were asked about what constituted "work" in one survey by the Women in the Caribbean Project (WICP) in the 1980s, their definitions were much more comprehensive than those usually offered by the authorities. For many of them, as Senior put it, "[w]oman's work...is multidimensional, embracing what takes place in the public arena and what takes place in the home, frequently recognizing no set working hours, embracing day and night and drawing on all her resources" (Senior 1991, 109-12; 116).

For the women who worked in the service sector, whether as vendors, landladies or tourism workers or as domestic servants in private households, Senior's analysis seems apt. As regards domestic servants, up to the mid-1980s, according to Patricia Mohammed, in all Caribbean territories, neither the Gross National Product nor National Income accounts included the value of household work and related activities." Further, in Trinidad and Tobago, in 1972 the Industrial Relations Act decreed that household workers were not, in fact, workers under law, and were not protected by the existing labour laws (Mohammed 1985, 41). The designation occurred despite the large proportions of working women who performed domestic work in households other than their own. The low status and remuneration, the often harsh working conditions...
and poor treatment that characterised domestic service in the Caribbean resulted from its direct ties to its antecedent (domestic slavery), the poverty, race/colour of many domestic workers and the perception of domestic work as part of women's emotional labour, at once invaluable and without worth (Johnson 1996). The fact that affluent, coloured/white women recruited poor, black/coloured women to assist them with or assume altogether the female domestic chores assigned to wives/mates and mothers, seemed to confirm the power of the race/colour and class hierarchy of the region. While female domestic workers and their employers were primarily women, there was little sisterhood to be found in the domestic spaces and tasks that bound them together.

During the twentieth century Caribbean women sought education, when they could, as the most effective means of improvement. By the end of the century, they tended to complete more years of elementary education than previously; and while secondary, vocational and tertiary opportunities were limited, there was a growing urgency to take advantage of them. Somewhat more qualified than their foremothers, some Caribbean women began to push past the hurdles of class and racial prejudice to become trained teachers and nurses, bank tellers, secretaries, postmistresses and clerks. However, even these gains were made within the strictures of gender ideology which proscribed women's options - when occupations were deemed suitably "feminine" (nurturing or supportive) women were welcomed into these; women, however, were followed by girls who were determined to work (as their grand/mothers had done) but who wanted to decide the circumstances of their employment. By the early twenty-first century, so changed was the landscape that, according to Jeanette Morris, educators in the anglophone Caribbean were concerned that although enrolment for elementary and secondary education was similar between the sexes, the school-leaving examinations indicated that twice as many girls remained engaged with the education process as boys, a trend which continued to the tertiary level (Morris 2004, 82-98). As such, says Leith Dunn, "the range and scope of women's work...expanded beyond the domestic and agricultural sectors" and "as a result of globalisation, trade, and advances in computer and telecommunications technologies," more women were finding employment in non-traditional areas including "the offshore data services sector" (Dunn 2004, 303-04).

Notwithstanding these important gains, for large numbers of Caribbean women, low wages, poor working conditions, population growth and decline in some industries have made survival in the region extremely difficult, and increasingly many view emigration as a real alternative to economic malaise. Whereas emigration had previously been a male enterprise, by the 1950s and 1960s, there was a shift and by the 1970s, women dominated emigration from some territories (Senior 1991, 108-09). Emigrating women responded to opportunities for jobs in tourism, nursing, teaching and domestic service, providing remittances for their families but often still engaged in the nurturing and caring labour that was labelled as "women's work" (Aymer 1997).

During slavery and indentureship, women's means of addressing unfair labour practices included complaints to authorities and slowing down the pace of work; later, they undertook labour withdrawals and protests, some of which were violent (Wilmot 1995). Women were also active in the trade unions, political parties and organisations that promised to address high unemployment and low wages, health and educational facilities that were substandard, and government assistance that was scarce (Reddock 1994). In the midst of the projects of political independence, autonomy, assimilation or revolution, women continue to work in the Caribbean; indeed, according to Ellis, "the majority of Caribbean women have always been - and still are - engaged in a variety of economic activities outside the home" (Ellis 1985, 3) as well as in the domestic labour
within it. That their efforts have gained them neither the recognition nor the rewards that they deserve, even while the region depends on their labour, is significant.

While the Caribbean might not be preoccupied with the legacies of the region's history, it is significant that the majority in the region owe their presence to some sort of coercive labour scheme which sought to extract wealth from their endeavours. Counted among the groups of workers were significant numbers of women upon whose backs, along with those of their male counterparts, the economies and societies of the area were constructed. That their work was and is at once invaluable and devalued speaks volumes to the paradox that is the Caribbean.

**Women's Labours in the Caribbean**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>% of women over 15 &amp; economically active</th>
<th>% of women in agriculture</th>
<th>% of women in selected occupations</th>
<th>Government social benefits expenditure as % of GDP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antigua/Barbuda*</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>50.40</td>
<td>62.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahamas</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>46.69*</td>
<td>61.71*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>60.4</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>48.96</td>
<td>60.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belize</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>53.63*</td>
<td>46.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>47.37*</td>
<td>37.26*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>40.13</td>
<td>47.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martinique</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>57.68*</td>
<td>72.95*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>49.20</td>
<td>65.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands Antilles</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>42.84*</td>
<td>52.13*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>52.70</td>
<td>52.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suriname</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad &amp; Tobago</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>49.61</td>
<td>53.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 1970 data; (A) Professional administrative; (B) Clerical/sales/services; (C) Production/transport/labourers.

References


Ellis, Pat, ed. Women of the Caribbean. Kingston:


