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INDUSTRIALISATION AND THE RISE OF THE PETTY-BOURGEOISIE IN TRINIDAD & TOBAGO

a Thesis presented by

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(Trinidad)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the Degree of

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Rhoda Elizabeth Reddock

"Somehow I had the feeling that if intellectuals would not abandon the arduous task of further discovering the underlying objective social reality in Trinidad, they could depend on the masses to supply as much spontaneity as would be required when the hour of qualitative social transformation was at hand."
(Ivar Oxaal, Race and Revolutionary Consciousness Schenkman Publishing Co. Cambridge Mass. 1971).

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INTRODUCTION

The question of labour in the English-speaking Caribbean so far has always been put forward in terms of the employment-underemployment-unemployment trichotomy. (Farrell 1979; Harewood et al 1977). And while in Jamaica, labour force statistics include categories for 'own account workers', in Trinidad & Tobago no such category exists for the enumeration of the self-employed in existing labour statistics.[1] As a result of this, the self employed, though increasingly visible have not been the object of very much research and/or writing in that country and indeed in the region.

This is very surprising (if not indicative of something deeper) when one considers the broad spectrum of literature which has emerged during the present decade on this subject; both in terms of the 'informal sector' or the 'informal economy' and the 'marginalisation' debate. While one may forgive academics[2] for being out of touch with international developments in the field, they cannot be excused for failing to see what is clearly before their eyes. Since 1970, the number of self employed in Trinidad and Tobago have greatly increased and yet throughout various discussions of unemployment the question of how the 'unemployed' themselves are dealing with the situation is never asked.

This study sets itself this task among others, bearing in mind the specific character of Trinidad & Tobago society with its social stratification system compounded by factors of race, colour and nationality. This study will attempt an introduction to the political economy of this group, the self-employed which will henceforth be referred to as the petty bourgeoisie.[3] It aims at establishing the nature and character of this class, its composition, size and structure. In addition it hopes to examine the position of this class within the socio economic formation of Trinidad and Tobago. The relationships of this class to other

sections of the labouring poor, workers and peasants will also be examined and its relationship to the state. Finally the study hopes to identify the existence, if any, of class consciousness and organisation and the possibility for or experience of economic and political action.

Of particular importance here will be the special position of women in or associated with this class. By women 'in this class' I refer to those who are themselves petty producers or traders. By 'women associated with this class' I refer to those who are married to or have a marriage-like relationship with a member of that class and reproduce their labour-power and those women (often the same) who produce the commodities which are sold by the men in the market place. Thus an attempt will be made to present a more complete analysis where the economic contribution of women is not 'hidden' or invisible.

To deal adequately with these tasks, this exposition will do five main things. First, the modern history of the Trinidad & Tobago socio-economic formation will be traced from 1948 to the present period, with particular reference to the emergence and development of the petit bourgeoisie. Second the position of the petty bourgeoisie within the contemporary class structure will be analysed. Third the contemporary economy will be examined and its effects on recent changes in class structure and the composition of the petty bourgeoisie. Fourth, a case study of urban Port of Spain will be presented using examples of three fractions within the class; these are:

- Petty producers - handicraft producers (the Drag Brothers)
- Petty Traders - street vendors
  - market vendors
- Petty service workers - Taxi drivers

These groups were chosen because it is in these areas that the increase in petty commodity production and trade is most evident.

Finally based on the analysis of the case study material, the consciousness, organisation and action of this class will be discussed and its relationship to the consciousness, organisation and action of workers and peasants.

A Note on Theory:

The Informal Sector Concept:

> 'Since the utility of the informal sector concept was first recognised, researchers and policy-makers in a number of different but related disciplines have applied it to a diversity of empirical data, and in many different contexts. What has resulted is complete confusion about what is actually meant by the informal sector.'[4]

The emergence of discussions on the so-called 'informal sector', according to Moser, identified a shift in the discussions of labour in 'developing countries' from an emphasis on unemployment to an identification of employment as the major problem. Thus great dissatisfaction was found with the use of the terms 'disguised unemployment' and 'underemployment' when it was considered that in most of these countries social security benefits for unemployment do not exist, and people are forced to find alternative sources of income.

This concept was first put forward in 1971 by Keith Hart, based on his research in Ghana.[5] It was used to describe the large residual group of urban workers who were in neither industry nor agriculture and hence ignored by statistical enumerators. He identified a dualist distinction between a 'formal' sector including the public sector, private sector and income earning based on transfer payments and an 'informal' sector comprising legitimate and illegitimate self-employment. In presenting this dualist analysis Hart followed in the tradition of earlier development theorists including

W. Arthur Lewis (1954) with his two-sector labour transfer model[6] and John Weeks' typology of the 'rich' sector and the 'poor' sector.[7] A tradition which was later to be much criticised.

The general acceptance of the term however came in 1972 with the publication of the report of the I.L.O. Kenya Mission. This was one of the three country missions sent out by the I.L.O. to Colombia, Sri Lanka and Kenya to look into the cause of and to recommend policies for the eradication of unemployment. In its report the Kenya Mission identified 'employment' and not 'unemployment' as the main problem, stating that 'in addition to people who are not earning incomes at all, there is another - and in Kenya more numerous - group of people whom we call the 'working poor'.'[8] The mission went on to describe a situation where insufficient access to land forced large numbers of migrants to town where the capital intensive import substitutive industries could not absorb them. The migrants therefore became part of the 'informal sector' which comprises economic activities which were unrecognised, unenumerated and unprotected by the government and charcterised by '(a) ease of entry; (b) reliance on indigenous resources; (c) family ownership of enterprises; (d) small scale of operation; (e) labour-intensive and adopted technology; (f) skills acquired outside of the formal school system; (g) unregulated and competitive markets.'[9] It added that in Kenya this sector accounted for 28-33% of the urban employed and noted that since 'For many individuals and their families, and urban women, the informal sector may provide the only income opportunity that is available', then it is necessary that this sector be encouraged and protected rather than restricted and harassed as it had been in the past.[11]

This report had the effect of reorienting a great deal of 'development' research on labour in this direction.

Since then, research findings based on micro studies in various parts of the world (except the English-speaking Caribbean) have emerged often including contrasting definitions of the 'informal sector'. Within this same period there developed the 'marginalidad' approach out of one section of the Latin American dependency school. In a similar manner, this approach attempted to identify according to Gerry 'relatively marginal and underprivileged sections of the labour force, whilst looking more or less specifically at the mechanisms which give rise to this status of marginality or which constitute the process of marginalisation.'[12] This concept is often extended outside of the labour force to include entire slum areas and squatter settlements which are seen as 'marginal' or not integrated into the dominant economic system. These groups are seen as being increasingly excluded from 'proper' employment, proper housing and so on.

The introduction of these two elements into development studies and the social sciences as a whole, had the effect of making visible a sector of the economy which had previously been neglected. In addition, it allowed for extensive and intensive research into how people actually made a living in the urban areas of 'developing countries'. As would be expected, however, the concepts generated a great deal of criticism and attempts to extend their applicability and usefulness. In general they were found to be merely descriptive mechanisms which were capable only of describing and not analysing the economic situation in these countries. Second, the sector was seen as too highly aggregated to permit useful analysis[13] as too many occupations, stages of production and so on were included under these broad headings (Bienefeld & Godfrey 1975). Others attempted to integrate these concepts into a marxist framework (Quijano 1974; Bienefeld 1975), the former identifying a 'marginal pole' in the society which experiences exploitation and dependency. Members at this 'pole'

include both petty bourgeoisie and workers as this (pole) was not a class but a stratum. Bienefeld in his study, while accepting the terminology, calls for a disaggregation within the sector to better understand its overall functioning and the specific character of each occupation within the sector. These attempts at synthesizing two differing approaches have proved unsatisfactory, so other attempts were made to put forward an alternative framework for analysis.

The Framework of Petty Commodity Production:

It is on the very question of disaggregation that a great deal of the marxist critique of these concepts is based.[14] According to Moser -

> 'Recognition that considerable internal differentiation exists in the urban economy among petty enterprises in the manufacturing services and transport sectors has led to the development of an alternative based on a continuum of economic activities rather than a two sector dualist division.'[15]

The marxist critique of the informal sector and the marginalization conceptualizations has been most coherently put forward under the alternative analytical framework of petty commodity production (Le Brun & Gerry 1975; Gerry 1974, 1975; Scott 1976; Moser 1978). The main shortcomings found in the original conceptualizations were,

1. a failure to recognise the processes through which people entered and left the sector and/or combined these activities with wage labour or other economic activity;
2. a failure to recognise a number of transitional stages (a continuum) between wage labour and self-employment;
3. the inability of these descriptive models to provide adequate policy recommendations through their failure to deal with the relationship between capitalist accumulation and the petty commodity sector.

These writers therefore, following from their criticisms, attempted to place the discussion within the framework of marxian mode of production analysis. According to Moser,[16] one of the major advantages of the Marxist approach is the understanding of the dynamics within the capitalist system of production which is based on the need (of the capitalists) to accumulate capital through the generation of surplus value. Thus some neo-marxists initially sought to propose two modes of production, a capitalist mode articulating with pre-capiatlist modes of production. However, according to Le Brun and Gerry (1975) the 'mode of production seems to the writers inappropriate since it refers to a totality which is self-sufficient, at both the superstructural level and at the economic base.'[17] In recognising the dependence of the petty commodity sector on the capitalist sector and its generally subordinate position within the economy, the term form of production was accepted as being more appropriate, for according to Le Brun and Gerry again 'Forms of production exist at the margins of the capitalisy mode of production, but are nevertheless integrated into and subordinate to it.'[18] Thus the so-called informal sector, here defined as the petty commodity sector, was seen as neither 'informal' nor 'marginal' but integrated into and necessary for the accumulation of capital in the periphery.

Petty commodity production was seen by Marx in the 19th century as a transitional stage in the development towards capitalism. First, it was felt that through gradual improvements in the level of production and scale of operations petty commodity production and trade (PCP&T) based as it was on the ownership of private porperty, would evolve into capitalism. Second, he felt that it would provide a source for future labour and capital which could be used by capital in other spheres of the economy.[19] He, however saw both these processes as temporary because eventually,

> 'Wherever it takes roots, capitalist production destroys all forms of commodity production which are based either on the self-employment of producers, or merely on the

> sale of the excess product as commodities... Capitalist production first makes the production of commodities general and then by degrees, transforms all commodity production into capitalist production.'[20]

This situation predicted by Marx, though to some extent correct for economies at the centre of the international capitalist system, as we have seen is not applicable to countries on the periphery of capitalism. These countries have experienced the opposite situation, where the increasing penetration of capitalism has resulted in the proliferation of petty commodity production and trade (PCP&T). Within this context, therefore, it is necessary to identify a 'peripheral capitalism' as a form of under-developed capitalism' where the contradictions of capital accumulation do not take precisely the same form or find the same (temporary) solution as they do in'[21] centre capitalist countries. Burnett and Post (1977) in their discussion of the urban areas of underdeveloped capitalism postulate four main sectors of economic activity. The State sector; Oligopoly and Monopoly capital; a competitive capitalist sector and a small capitalist and non-capitalist sector. This small capitalist and non-capitalist sector they see as the result of the expulsion of people from wage labour into what Marx referred to as 'pauperized layer of the surplus population.'[22] The surplus population first provides a pool of casual labour (industrial reserve army) which can be drawn on and expelled from time to time to suit the needs of capital; but in addition it provides certain functions necessary to the reproduction of under-developed capitalism. Thus the small capitalist and non-capitalist sector (petty production sector) supports the other three sectors, State, Monopoly capital and competitive capital through,[23]

Production: Providing other sectors with cheap inputs and providing services to the population which the State in these countries cannot yet provide efficiently, for example, transport;

Exchange: Penetrating into areas and markets where capital cannot yet reach or where it is not yet profitable for capital to go, thus saving capital the overhead costs of the realization of surplus value.

Reproduction: Keeping down the reproduction costs of workers by providing cheap goods and services.

Labour Generation: Providing self-employment instead of wage employment in countries where underdeveloped capitalism is too weak to provide it (or social security payments), thus preventing social unrest through lack of income.

It is necessary therefore, to develop a dynamic model of petty commodity production and trade which embodies the specific characteristics of underdeveloped or peripheral capitalism. Already studies based on this model have made some important contributions in this area. Examples of these are discussed below:

1. The Link Between the Development of the PCP&T and a decline in a viable peasant economy:

This point is put forward by Scott (1979) while it is however generally accepted that the so-called 'informal sector' to a large extent comprises migrants from rural areas. The mechanisms through which the rural economy was disturbed were not systematically dealt with, but Bromley and Gerry (1979) discuss at some length the mechanisms through which people are forced to move to the towns. These were identified as:

- the 'urban bias' in the distribution of government and private sector investment, the educational system and the mass media;
- increasing population pressure on limited resources in rural areas;
- the spread of capitalist large-scale agriculture, the diffusion of new crop varieties and agricultural technologies;

- the incorporation of local production into a world-wide system of supply demand and price fluctuations.[24]

2. Differences Between Artisans and other Petty Producers and Traders:

While acknowledging a large degree of differentiation within the sector, a major one has been isolated. In the main, according to Le Brun and Gerry, artisans have not yet committed total 'commodity alienation' or are not alienated from their products. These producers produce mainly use values and still have some control over what, when and how they produce. This is declining of course. Other petty producers have their production or trade controlled by exchange values. In other words, they produce only to sell and the accumulation of wealth is the main aim of their economic activity. In recent times, State intervention has often removed some of the control of artisans of their production but some control still exists. Despite this, however, Gerry cautions 'Yet the non-industrially employed are neither lumpenproletarian pariahs[25] nor romantic medieval craftsmen'[26] and attempts to categorise them neatly into such models would only serve to cloud the analysis.

3. The Possibility of Autonomous Development:

Moser[27] in her discussion, states that historically the PCP&T sector has seldom become the dominant mode of production in any society. To explain this she posits two possible explanations

- either that these relations can only be reproduced by another mode of production, or that the dominant mode of production controls the most important branches of production and trade and appropriates most of the surplus from the subordinate sector. In his work Gerry illustrates the latter case. He notes that the potential for autonomous growth is greatly reduced because of a number of constraints;[28]

- the dependence of this sector on capitalist industry for the provision of essential raw materials and basic equipment;
- the lack of access to sophisticated technology;
- lack of access both[29] to banks and private credit facilities and to personal relations which are necessary to acquire credit and contacts.

In addition to this Gerry shows that through a process of 'unequal exchange' commodities are sold to the capitalist sector at prices below their value, while others are bought from the capitalist sector at prices above their value. It is because of these constraints that the petty commodity sector is unable to achieve any large degree of autonomous development.

4. The inherent contradiction between the Development of the PCP&T Sector and Competitive Capitalist Enterprise:

While studies based on this model have illustrated quite clearly the linkages between these two sectors and the advantages for capital of these linkages, it is important to note that contradictions between the two often present themselves, but are solved in the interests of capital. For example, when PCP&T becomes competitive against capital then that type of activity is usually destroyed. However, as Le Brun and Gerry state, 'Capitalist enterprises have an interest in encouraging the dissolution of petty production which is competitive with their own porduction.'[30] This point was already made by Marx in what he thought would have been a general trend. However, it is now evident that in peripheral capitalist countries a different and more contradictory situation occurs where 'The continuance of such forms of production simultaneously favours the reproduction and expansion of the capitalist mode of production and presents it with severe problems.'[31]

5. Dynamism and Change within the Sector:

Far from being a static model previously or alternatively suggested, there is movement within the sector. This is towards greater proletarianisation (Gerry 1975; Le Brun & Gerry 1975; Scott 1976) and to a lesser extent towards capitalist development (Le Brun & Gerry 1975; Bienefeld 1975). The former takes place in different ways, through for example the establishment of outwork, sub-contracting of the self-employed by capitalist enterprises and the entrance into part-time or casual wage labour in enterprises or for the State.

6. The Possibility for the Development of Class Consciousness:

According to Le Brun & Gerry, this movement or the possibility for movement has an effect on the development of consciousness in this class. The former group (see 5 above) though increasingly proletarianized, experience severe comtetition both in the petty bourgeois activity and their work in capitalist enterprise. In addition, they still have some control over their means of production, so their consciousness may be retarded. The latter group, however, has the 'illusion of ownership' and believes in the possibility of becoming capitalist one day. This group is only indirectly exploited by capital and so the possibility for the development of counsciousness is even less.

These processes have not only led to the development of petty commodity production and trade in urban areas, this has also emerged in rural areas as shown by White for Java (1976) and Vercruijsse and Zwanenburg for Ghana (1978).

The Political Economy of Reproduction:

> 'Capital requires two distinct but closely related forms of labour power, one in production and the other in reproduction and... it intervenes to structure these two forms according to its needs. It will

> be argued that capital organises reproduction under 'non-capitalist' social relations and may even organise production under relations which are clearly non-capitalist in the orthodox sense of the term.' 32

In the final analysis, this study hopes to re-introduce the concept of reproduction into the general analysis of political economy. In doing so it acknowledges the claims made by (1) the feminist critique of political economy and (2) the increasing co-existence of petty commodity production with capitalist relations of production in under-developed capitalism, and the importance of overtly 'non-capitalist' relation of production for the reproduction of the capitalist system. Past failure to come to terms with the two-pronged nature of the capitalist accumulation process has led according to some feminist social scientists to a distorted understanding to the reality. However, recent attempts to do more complete analyses have been fraught with the major problem of the unavailability of data.

Recent theoretical discources on this subject (Meillassoux 1975; Althusser & Balibar 1970; Friedman 1976 and Hindness & Hirst 1977) have been mainly concerned with the debate on the mode of production. Critics of these approaches (Edholm, Harris & Young 1977) see the danger of an over-simplistic reading of reproduction where 'social systems exist only to reproduce themselves.' This approach they warn could lead to reproduction being 'closely allied to the functionalist concept of a static equilibrium'[33] However Balibar in his discussion points out the possibilities for the development of contradictions in the economic instance between the forces of production and the relations of production, and he sees the growing contradiction over time as the motor of change.[34]

In order to understand the nature of reproduction, it is possible to distinguish (as has been shown by Edholm, Harris and Young) three analytical levels; social reproduction or the reproduction of the conditions necessary to sustain a social system; Reproduction of the Labour Force (a) the daily maintenance of workers and potential labour and (b) the 'allocation of agents to positions within the social structure.'[35] and Human or Biological Reproduction, childbearing. Social reproduction includes both the reproduction of the labour force and human reproduction but this is not the totality of social reproduction. The total social reproduction of the capitalist system requires in addition also sales, credit, advertising and the possibility of the reproduction of ideology and political reproduction. As yet a total understanding of all the conditions necessary for the social reproduction of the totality of the capitalist system does not exist. In the words of Eldhom, Harris and Young 'Even though this formulation may be generally accepted, the way in which social reproduction occurs remains a matter of debate. The specification of what structures have to be reproduced in order that social reproduction as a whole take place is the fundamental issue.'[36] I disagree however with their prior statement that 'Insofar as the concept is to be useful, it must refer to the reproduction of the conditions of social production in their totality and not to the reproduction of only certain levels of the social system.'[37] This study looks at the reproduction of labour power and the position of the petty commodity production and trade in the reproduction of capitalist relations at the periphery. In doing this, this study acknowledges that these three aspects do not account for the totality of social reproduction however it claims the right to explore and analyse certain aspects of the total social system, an exercise which may give a greater understanding of the totality.

The Household

Historically women combine within themselves a dual character. While they are labourers and producers of goods and services, they are also a 'fertile resource'[38] like land which has the ability to produce life out of its very being. Because of this dual character, class society in order to control this important resource has continuously resorted to the subordination of women. The capitalist society in this respect has been no different, but in this case the emergence of production outside of the household unit has led to the institution (most completely under capitalism) of the division between domestic production and industrial production, a division between production and reproduction. In peripheral or underdevloped capitalism the situation has not been so clear cut, household and family arrangements have often been transformed to meet the particular needs of capitalism at different periods. In Trinidad & Tobago for example, within the last 130 years, there has been a co-existence of nuclear family arrangements, both legal and common-law as well as other less stable relationships. These arrangements are well documented in the various West Indian family studies of the 1950s and the 1960s (Rodman 1971; Clarke 1957; Solien 1960). What these studies failed to show, however, was why such arrangements persisted and how their existence conformed to the needs of capital in this situation. This type of 'unstable' family system is characteristic of not only the lower stratum of the working class and the unemployed in the Caribbean, but is common among this group in other parts of the world. It is from this group that the lower stratum of the petty bourgeoisie emerges. The family structure reflects a situation where,

> '... the unavoidable presence of unemployment, the lack of steady employment and the low wages paid to the unskilled sectors of the working-class combine to expose the economic root of marriage and the family which in the absence of a steadily employed male tends to lose stability and in some cases eventually to break up...

> Women who know that their men will perhaps never be able to provide steady support for them and their children are reluctant to attach themselves permanently to them and prefer to stay alone or fluctuate from one relationship to another. Hence the emergence within this sector of the working class of female headed households as a structural effect of capitalist contradictions which generate poverty in the midst of wealth.' 39

Figures do not exist to show differences in the organisation of the reproduction of labour power in wage labour and in the petty commodity production and trade sectors. What is evident is that capitalism needs stable reproduction of its labour power in wage employment. In PCP&T family organisation is of less importance to the capitalists as the petty producer or trader is responsible for the organisation of his/her own reproduction. In the absence of concrete data one could correlate the high incidence of PCP&T with the high incidence of 'unstable' family arrangements within that sector and this could assist us in understanding the relationship between reproduction and the relations of production within the household to the economy.

Petty Commodity Production and Trade:

The relations of production in the petty commodity production sector in peripheral capitalism can in many ways be likened to those in the household. To a large extent this group, agricultural and non-agricultural, provides the means of subsistence, food at different stages of processing as well as basic services which are not provided by capitalist wage labour production. In addition, to a large extent the relationship between the petty producer and the capitalist is one of indirect exploitation similar to that of the housewife where the petty commodity producer performs functions which facilitate the extended reproduction of capitalism without being paid a wage by capital. The petty producers believe that they

are producing for themselves and their dependents while the housewife believes that she is producing for her family. In this manner the capitalist relations of production are reproduced without any labour costs being incurred by the capitalist.

In the petty commodity production and trade sector the position of women as domestic producers is further complicated as women (wives, daughters and other female relatives) often produce the commodities which the men sell on the streets. This is particularly so in the case of food and handicraft production and trade. In such cases, the woman not only reproduces labour power but also performs additional unpaid labour as this extra production is often an extension of housework.

Despite the lack of data on which to base an adequate politico-economic analysis of reproduction in the Trinidad & Tobago economy, it is important nevertheless to point out the necessity for such an analysis if one is to achieve a more correct understanding of political economy. A methodology has to be developed whereby relevant data on which such analyses can be based is collected. The present situation where the sphere of reproduction is excluded from the study of the economy and relegated to the realm of the 'natural' or the 'informal' or even the 'marginal' is challenged by this study and in its stead the need for this new nethodology is advocated.

The Approach of This Study:

It is within this orientation therefore of the analysis of petty commodity production and trade and the reproduction of peripheral capitalism, that this study of the Trinidad & Tobago petty bourgeoisie will be placed. It sets out to verify two main hypotheses and to establish the possibility of another. First, it is proposed that with the development of industrialization and the subsequent decline in agriculture in Trinidad & Tobago

(first with import substitution and now with export oriented energy industries), the economy is increasingly unable to accomodate larger and larger numbers of people in wage employment. As a result of this more and more people are moving to self-employment (or being encouraged to move through State policies of encouraging small business) as a means of survival. It is anticipated that this trend will continue as industries turn to increasingly capital intensive technology. The State policy of encouraging small business could therefore be seen as a complementary policy to its policy of industrialization where the former attempts to reallocate the labour force made redundant by the latter.

The second hypothesis puts forward the proposition that the petty commodity form of production within the capitalist mode of production in Trinidad & Tobago to a large extent reproduces the system by contributing to the overall functioning and profitability of capital. This it does in a number of ways:

- by developing a self-supporting reserve army of labour which provides employment for those members of the reserve army which capitalism is unlikely ever to employ, thus preventing social and political unrest;
- by supplying cheap mass consumption goods to wage labourers therefore subsidising the maintenance of low wage rates by keeping down reproduction costs;
- by distributing capitalist produced goods to areas where capital itself does not reach;
- by carrying out economic activities which capital has not yet found profitable to take over or which capital no longer finds profitable;
- by purchasing raw materials, tools, machinery or finished goods from capital at high prices and/or selling finished goods to capital at lower prices (unequal exchange).

Through these and other means PCP&T forms a subordinate form of production within the dominant capitalist mode of production, and members of the petty bourgeoisie, in particular the lower stratum, are indirectly exploited by capital in the sphere of exchange and circulation. Thus the antagonism between the capitalist and the petty bourgeoisie is often not as clear as that between the capitalist and the worker, especially as the petty bourgeois in essence often sees himself or herself as moving towards capitalist relations of production. However, as this type of production increases and the number of the petty bourgeoisie also increases, the contradictions and antagonisms between the two also become clearer, when their striving for more autonomous self-reproducing economic development clashes with the interests of the capitalists.

It is based on the situation suggested by these two hypotheses therefore that this study goes on to postulate that the possibilities for the development of class consciousness does exist despite the inherent individualism of the petty bourgeoisie. This is so especially because of the nature of this petty bourgeoisie which is forced into self-employment through expulsion from or lack of entrance into wage employment and is being proletarianized in different ways through casual or part-time participation in wage labour or through greater control over production by the capitalists. In addition, this study examines the possibility of joint political action with the workers and the peasants while acknowledging the difficulties involved in such an alliance.

In looking at these three main hypotheses this study hopes to give a picture of the political economy of the lower stratum of the petty bourgeoisie in Trinidad & Tobago. But in addition to these it is hoped that many other questions relating to this group and their position within the economy will be dealt with.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION:

1. See the Quarterly Economic Reports; Annual Statistical Digest; Labour Force Statistical Reports etc, Central Statistical Office, Trinidad & Tobago.

2. Exceptions to this include M. Fisher Katzin & V. Durant Gonzales' work on higglering in Jamaica, but this is in a different context.

3. This term is not used in the Shivjian sense to mean a new middle class, but in the classical marxist sense of the self-employed, artisans, small traders, etc.

4. Caroline Moser, "Informal Sector of Petty Commodity Production: Dualism or Dependence in Urban Development" in World Development Vol 6 No. 9 & 10, 1978, p. 1051.

5. K. Hart "Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Development in Ghana" paper delivered to a conference on Urban Unemployment in Africa, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex 12 -16 September 1971.

6. Urbanization and Labour Markets in Developing Countries S.W. Sinclair Croom Helm 1978, p 79.

7. Idem.

8. ILO Office - Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya (Geneva ILO 1972) p.9

9. Sinclair op cit (6) p.82

10. ILO Kenya Report op.cit. (8) p 225

11. Idem.

12. C. Gerry, "Petty Production and Capitalist Production in Dakar: The Crisis of the Self Employed" in World Development September/October 1978. Vol 6 Nos 9 & 10 pp 1147.

13. Sinclair pp 83

14. A similar criticism was made by Jan Breman in 'A Dualistic Labour System?' a critique of the 'informal Sector' concept., in Economic & Political Weekly, December 4, 1976 and following.

15. Moser pp 1056

16. Idem

17. Oliver Le Brun & Chris Gerry, "Petty Producers and Capitalism," in Review of African Political Economy, No.3 1975. Introduction.

18. Idem.

19. Allison Scott, "Who are the Self-employed" Paper presented to the BSA Study Group, June 5th 1976; also published in R. Bromley and Chris Gerry, Casual Work and Poverty in Third World Cities, John Wiley & Sons, England, 1979, pp.123.

20. K. Marx, Capital Volume II, Lawerence & Wishart, London, 1972 p 36.

21. D. Burnett and K. Post, Urban Employment in Under-developed Capitalism: Some Notes Towards a General Analytical Frame. Presented to ISS 25th Anniversary Conference 16-20 December, 1977, p.2.

22. Burnett & Post Op Cit p.14.

23. Ibid p.19

24. R. Bromley and C. Gerry 'Who are The Casual Poor' in Bromley & Gerris Eds. Casual Work and Poverty in Third World Cities pp 17-20.

25. Some problems occur when theorists attempt to determine where the petty bourgeoisie ends and the lumpen-proletariat begins. This discussion was not entered into here but readers may be referred to P. Worsley 'Franz Fanon and the Lumpenproletariat' in The Socialist Register, 1972, R. Milliband & J. Saville Eds.

26. Gerry Op Cit (12) p. 1150

27. Moser Op Cit (4) p. 1057

28. Ibid p. 1059.

29. My emphasis.

30. Le Brun & Gerry Op Cit (17) p.30

31. Ibid p. 32, my emphasis

32. A. Conti, Production and Reproduction in The Political Economy of the Upper Volta, p.18

33. C. von Werlhof 'Women's Work, The Blind Spot in The Critique of Political Economy' Seminar Paper, University of Bielefeld, 1979, p.16.

34. M. Gimenez, Fall 1978 Vol. XLII No.3, pp.320-321. This structuralist explanation does not preclude the fact that many women prefer their independence from men and this phenomena is to-day spreading to the middle and upper stratas of all classes.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The history of Trinidad & Tobago is very different from that of most of the other West Indian islands. For one thing, Trinidad & Tobago is a unitary state comprising two separate social formations whose history until 1889 had been quite separate. In this chapter, the discussion of the two islands will be separate until the beginning of the 20th Century. It will be divided into six periods (the first three being different for the two islands) based on significant shifts in the capital accumulation process. They are,

Trinidad	Period	I	1498-1782	Early Settlement
	"	II	1783-1838	The Establishment of Plantation Economy
	"	III	1839-1909	The Consolidation of Plantation Economy
Trinidad & Tobago	"	IV	1910-1946	The Diversification of the Economy
	"	V	1947-1973	Post W.W.II Industrialization
Tobago	Period	I	1498-1781	Conquests and Early Settlement
	"	II	1782-1847	Plantation Economy
	"	III	1848-1889	The Metairie System
	"	IV	1890-	Union with Trinidad

In attempting an analysis of this type which purports to use the methodology of historical materialism, the necessity for a clear and concise historical base on which one can place the contemporary analysis is clear. Even if to readers it may at first appear to be irrelevant and distant or at best an interesting diversion, it is hoped that when the entire study is taken as a whole, the importance of this section would become apparent. In emphasizing the relationship between history and the social sciences Wallerstein notes,

> 'I believe that history and social science are one subject matter, which I shall call (inelegantly, but in order to avoid confusion) historical social science. The premises are simple. One cannot talk about (analyse) any particular set of occurances without using concepts that imply theorems or generalisations about recurrent phenomena.'
> (The Capitalist World Economy I Wallerstein pp ix)

This section therefore attempts to trace the historical development of and the conditions which gave rise to the petty bourgeoisie of Trinidad & Tobago in the 1970s and of their allies in the labouring poor, the workers and the peasants.

PERIOD I - 1948 - 1782 - Early Settlement

In 1498, during the period of southern European colonial expansion, Christopher Columbus sighted Trinidad and claimed it for the Spanish crown. Like most of the Americas, Trinidad was inhabited by indigenous neolithic peoples, but more than one tribe was present, among them the Caribs in the North-west around present day Port of Spain, Arima and Mucurapo while the Arawaks inhabited the south-east of Tobago.[1]

Under Spanish colonialism, Trinidad was very much neglected. Very few Spaniards settled there and communications with Spain were few. In many instances, vital supplies were not forthcoming and an illegal trade developed with foreign traders.

In the wake of the colonization of larger and wealthier mainland territories, the government of Spain wasted little time on the affairs of Trinidad. The local governing structure at this period comprised a governor sent from Spain. His virtually autocratic powers were limited only by the need of confirmation by the royal audencia in Caracas and the residencia, a special inquiry held at the end of a governor's term of office. Other activities of government were carried out by the 'Illustrious' Cabildo,

which looked after the actual day to day functioning of the colony.

In the earlier days of Spanish rule, cocoa cultivation (begun in 1618) developed and flourished until 1733 when it collapsed. In 1758, it was revitalised with the introduction of new Brazilian varieties. Coffee and tobacco were also produced and like cocoa with Amerindian slave labour using the encomienda and the repartiamento system. A thriving slave trade took place within the region transporting slaves to Hispaniola to work in the gold mines. In 1510 a ban was placed on the trading of slaves from Trinidad as it was felt that Trinidad might have gold, and the Amerindian slave labour continued to be the main type of labour until 1782.

The economy during this period, in comparison with other Caribbean territories, was highly underdeveloped. It comprised mainly small estates run by Spanish families and some larger ones run by Capuchin monks. Within the schema of mode of production analysis, great difficulties arise in classifying this period. To some it could be seen as a forerunner to the later dominant slave form of production while to others it is seen as more feudal. Whatever the view, the small scale on which these activities took place places doubts on the utility of describing this period as having a specific form of production.

By the second half of the eighteenth century the already weak economy began to deteriorate. Many Amerindians died during consecutive epidemics of smallpox, malaria and yellow fever. In addition there were general shortages of medical supplies and food. In 1772, the situation was compounded by the failure of the cocoa crop. In 1777 the visit to Trinidad by a French/Grenadian planter Roume de St. Laurent heralded the beginning of a long stream of immigration which was to characterise Trinidadian history up to the twentieth century. Based on his proposals, in 1783 a cedula was issued by the Spanish king encouraging

immigration to Trinidad by various incentives and under certain conditions. These included,

- that the immigrants be Roman Catholic
- that they take an oath of allegience to Spain
- each white immigrant was to receive four and two-seventh fanegas[2] of land and one half of this for every slave brought;
- the first ten years were to be free from land tithes and sales duties.
- free blacks and coloured immigrants were to receive half the quantity assigned to whites and half for each slave brought;
- The first ten years were to be free from duties on the slave trade, beginning 1785.

Through this arrangement as was intended, french speaking planters and slaves transferred from the islands of Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia and others to Trinidad. This movement for the first time created a large African slave population to replace the already disappearing Amerindian labour force. The planter class (or plantocracy) now comprised a French and a Spanish segment and a large group of french-speaking 'free people of colour' was installed. By this move therefore, not only was the population increased, but the social structure of the island was drastically changed and the economy of the island moved into a new and more vibrant stage of slave production.

PERIOD II - 1783 - 1838 The Establishment of Plantation Economy

The introduction of the immigrants coincided with the arrival of the most effective of the Spanish governors of Trinidad, Don José Maria Chacon. The reforms and reorganisation carried out during his administration served to facilitate the establishment of a viable plantation economy.

This period too marked the introduction of sugar and the more established slave form of production to the Trinidad economy. In 1792, the economy was further diversified as Chacon encouraged the development of asphalt production from the Pitch Lake for export to Spain. In spite of the increased prosperity of the island, the military defences, despite his efforts, were never efficient. In addition, the diverse character of the population, recently augmented by refugees of the French Revolution, and the Revolution in St. Domingue, did not augur well for defence purposes. In 1797, on the eve of the transfer to British rule, Chacon noted that the small population of 17,643 people included 2,086 whites, 4,466 free people of colour, 1,082 Amerindians and 10,009 African slaves. In 1797 therefore Chacon and his admiral Apadoca did not even resist the British invasion led by Abercromby and Trinidad was passed to the British without a fight.

Great debate continues on the place of American slavery in the analysis of history. Gunder Frank and others see it as part of the world capitalist system which was already in existence from the sixteenth century. Laclau[3] however in a criticism of Gunder Frank states that,

> '...what Marx says is that in the plantation economies, the dominant mode of production is only formally capitalist because its beneficiaries participate in a world market in which the dominant productive sectors are already capitalist. This enables the landowners in the plantation economy to participate in the general movement of the capitalist system without, however, their mode of production being capitalist.' 4

Similarly Robert Pagdug in discussing this question agrees with Genovese that slavery was one example of the 'capitalist harnessing of archaic forms of economy.'

African slavery as the dominant form of production, occurred very late in Trinidad and even then, very few of the slaves came directly from Africa. During this particular period, the majority had been brought from other

Caribbean territories, in particular the French islands. After the capture by the British in 1796, the African slave trade to Trinidad was probihited, spurred on by the fear on the part of the planters in the older British colonies of competition from a newer, more fertile plantation economy. The official reason given however was the acceptance by the British capitalists and humanitarians that the slave trade was to be gradually abolished. Slave plantation society therefore, as developed in the other islands never really developed in Trinidad. In Cuba, which like Trinidad was late in introducing African slavery, the slave trade was continued for a longer period, thus facilitating the occurence of a full-fledged slave plantation society. The other important point to note here is that the recent origin of Africans in Trinidad resulted in their allegiance up to the turn of the century to other countries rather than to their new country and its colonial rulers. The majority of the slaves had been brought to the country with the French immigrant planters during the end of the 18th century. In addition as the sugar industry declined in the other islands, planters from other British islands (for example the Carmicheals who migrated from St.Vincent) settled in Trinidad with their slaves.

Based on their experience in the older British territories, the British government decided against establishing 'The Old Representative System of Government' in the newer colonies of Trinidad and St. Lucia. Instead a new system of Crown Colony government was established, based on the following official justification:

1. that 'popular franchises in the hands of the masters of a great body of slaves were the worst instruments of tyranny, which were ever forged for the opposition of mankind' (James Stephen to the Colonial Office 1831)[5];
2. the racial and national diversity of the country;

3. the fact that the ruling-class was not all British and had little understanding of the British constitution.

Whatever the justifications were for this system of government, it was continuously opposed until its total removal in 1956. What is interesting to note however is that this opposition was to occupy the attention and energies of different classes and interest groups in the society in different periods.

During this period too the problem of labour shortage continued. With the African slave trade closed to Trinidadian planters, alternate sources of labour had to be sought. As early as 1803, the Colonial department recommended Chinese immigration as a means of dealing with this problem. This was in line with other similar schemes which the British had already authorised in Java, Manila and Prince of Wales island.[6] In 1806, 191 Chinese men and one woman arrived in Trinidad. The majority worked on plantations while others did market gardening on a small rented estate. By 1807 (the year of the abolition of the slave trade) many returned home and the experiment was accepted to be a failure. Future attempts were directed at free Afro-Americans and other groups.

The Origins of the Petty Bourgeoisie in This Period

The arrival of the French settlers in Trinidad, introduced a large free black and coloured population which had previously been a characteristic of the French islands. Through the migration incentives, many of them were established as plantation owners with their own slaves. In Trinidad therefore unlike other British colonies, the Free coloured were afforded a status and economic position in the society which was far greater than their counterparts in other territories. In the other countries, they were largely barred from entering large scale agriculture and as a result the majority lived in the urban areas,

participating as petty traders, artisans and innkeepers. In St. Vincent according to Mrs. Carmicheal (1833)

> 'The superior classes of coloured females seldom do much for their own support but they frequently purchase dry goods wholesale from the captains of ships or merchants in towns, and retail them afterwards at a considerable percentage. Ribbons, silks, laces and gauzes, are generally to be had from one or other of them. The other sex are employed in various ways; some keep retail shops for dry goods of all descriptions and other retail spirits and sell grog. Several are employed as clerks, either in merchants stores or as copying clerks to lawyers, etc, while others are tradesmen.' 7

In Andrew Pearse's description of 19th century Trinidad, he noted that during the Spanish period, the free black and coloured population comprised slave-owning planters as well as artisans, traders and petty cultivators.[8] In this particular period he noted, until 1826, the artisans experienced rapid entrepreneurial success as this was a very important period in the establishment of the infrastructure of the plantation economy.

During this period as well, trade in local foodstuffs was almost totally the preserve of the African slaves. The 1789 Amelioration Laws had provided each slave with a provision ground. Produce grown on these lands, was sold in the local Sunday matkets. As a result of these sales (prior to 1807) some were able to save enough money to purchase their freedom. Many of the freed slaves then went to the urban areas where they became artisans and petty traders. The artisans - millwrights, coopers, coppersmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, wheelwrights and so on could be hired by smaller plantation owners who could not afford resident artisan slaves.

In Trinidad there was another group which had an independent livelihood. These were the 'peons', migrants from the mainland of South America, usually Venezuela. They lived mainly in the rural areas and practised independent cultivation and farming, hunting, and wood cutting. Their produce was also sold at the Sunday markets.[9]

It is evident therefore that prior to emancipation, a great tradition of petty production (agricultural and non-agricultural) had existed among the African and coloured populations. The importance of land ownership and of independent production to individual freedom had already been inculcated. According to Mrs. Carmicheal 'In January 1832, on Laurel-Hill, few negroes had under six acres in fine cultivation, producing two crops a year.'[10] She added 'I do not believe therefore, that any negro would give up his grounds for any stipulated sum.'[11] In another instance she noted with some consternation that,

> 'More than once in Trinidad, talking to free negroes, andasking them if they were better off now than when they were slaves they allowed they were not richer, but always ended up by saying "but misses, you know, now we vorck if we like, we no vorck if we no like, and we neber rise in a morning."'

She continued,

> 'No person, who from his knowledge of negro character, is an impartial and competent witness, can think otherwise, than that personal liberty, coupled with any necessity to go to work at six 0'clock in the morning, will be laughed at by the negro; and unenlightened and uncivilised as he is, I do not fear to say that his cunning will be more than a match for all the laws that may ever emanate from the collective wisdom of the British parliament.' 12

In 1834 slavery was abolished[13] however the ex-slaves were not free to leave the plantations. Under an 'apprenticeship system' they were to continue work on the estates for the next six years for field workers and four years for domestic workers. The labourers, believing that they had been freed by Britain rejected the scheme accusing the planters of being 'dam theif' and the governor an 'old rogue'. They marched to the Government house demanding freedom and were ready to strike. Many were arrested and condemned to hard labour and flogging. This rejection of the system by the labourers continued throughout the 'apprenticeship period'. In 1838, the British government

decided to end the scheme for all labourers as it had proved impracticable. The 'apprenticeship scheme' like all subsequent attempts to tie the African ex-slave to the plantation failed.

With this background, therefore, the developments of the post-emancipation period should come as no surprise. The stage which was set during this period provided a fitting prelude to the 'take off' into petty commodity production and trade which was to characterise the following period.

PERIOD III - 1839 - 1907 The Consolidation of Plantation Economy

This period can be described as one of the most important in the history of the country. It saw the introduction of wage labour and the further consolidation of the dominant capitalist mode of production through the centralization and modernization of the sugar industry. Through the introduction of indentureship this period also saw the further diversification of the social structure with the entrance of Portuguese, Chinese and Indians. Of particular importance to this study was the wider class differentiation which took place within this period, through the emergence and development of the agricultural and non-agricultural petty bourgeoisie. Politically, the struggle against Crown Colony government continued, led by the creole middle class, culminating in the Water Riots of 1903. And the first moves towards the diversification of the economy were made through the discovery of petroleum in economically exploitable quantities.

With the proclamation of full emancipation in 1838, the ex-slaves realised that their position had changed considerably. They were at that time (one of the few in history) when 'free wage labour' is relatively free, in that the ex-slave could now choose whether to stay on the plantation or not, and if they choose to stay could demand

higher wages. Prior to emancipation, the possibility of such an eventuality had been recognised and measures were instituted which were aimed at stemming the flow of labourers away from the plantations. These measures included increases in land taxes, legislation against squatting on Crown Lands, increases in land prices, the imposition of heavy taxes on land not used for sugar production and the adoption of a system of 'tenancy at will' where labourers living on a particular estate could be compelled on pain of summary ejection to work for that estate.

Despite these disincentives, the majority of the ex-slaves left plantation agriculture to become self-employed petty commodity producers. But before leaving the estates, they had been able to demand higher wages than their colleagues in other territories, and many were able to use their savings to purchase land for cultivation. But as the estates became more encumbered and debt-ridden, and could no longer afford the higher wages, the ex-slaves in large numbers left the estates and began independent cultivation on private lands or squatted on Crown Lands. Others moved to the towns and became petty traders and shopkeepers. In the words of Donald Wood (1968),

> 'They founded villages along the line of road or made provision gorunds for themselves in easy reach of the estates. ... Some bought, rented or were given patches of land owned by planters who wished to keep a labour force near at hand. New villages sprang up overnight.'14

And...

> 'A number, including women, remembering one of their functions in West Africa, took up small trading. Hucksters with perhaps a few mangoes to sell or a load of guinea grass on their backs became a familiar sight in Port of Spain and along the roads. Others more enterprising, hawked goods around the estates and villages. A large internal trade sprang up which was carried on by ex-apprentice hucksters in calicoes, muslins, linens and tobacco. Such trading bolstered the revenues, the amount from import duties rose from £ 8,521 in 1839 to £ 11,443 a year later, and this was attributed to the spending among the late apprentices.' 15

Thus there developed an independent African petty bourgeoisie both in agriculture and trade who were able to capitalize on the availability of a new wage earning population in the country.[16] This situation is of extreme importance to the history of Trinidad & Tobago when it is noted that after this period a viable African petty bourgeoisie did not emerge until the 1970s. During the intervening period the separation of Africans from entrepreneurial activity has occurred to such an extent that one can express both surprise and amusement at the following comment of Sewell in 1859 on this period.

> 'If we take Port of Spain as an illustration, we find four fifths of the inhabitants, Creoles of African descent, are engaged in trade, and their condition, I might add is one of prosperity and independence. I have personal knowledge of many instances where great wealth has been accumulated by men who were slaves themselves a quarter of a century ago. Trade seems to be the destiny of the Trinidadian Creoles, for the position they once occupied as tillers of the soil is already filled by another race.' 17

In postulating the reasons for the demise of the African petty bourgeoisie and the low esteem in which entrepreneurial activity continued to be held by the Africans, the reactions of the planters and the colonial government must be considered. According to Williams (1964) the general metropolitan climate in support of the sugar interest was strongly hostile to small ownership or 'proprietorship' of any kind among the Africans. Thus the hard work and industriousness praised by Sewell in 1859 was denounced and attacked by various writers as idleness, laziness and dawdling. As far as they were concerned, any Africans who were not on the plantations were not working. Thus,

> 'in 1849, Thomas Carlyle, the great essayist and historian wrote one of the bitterest denunciations of the West Indian workers in his offensive essay entitled Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question, he condemned emancipation as ruining the West Indies and as encouraging the former slaves to idleness

> to lie in the sun and to eat pumpkins and yams. Carlyle advocated that the negroes should be whipped back into slavery and kept there.' 18

Similarly Charles Kingsley in his account of his visit to Trinidad in the 1860s wrote,

> 'They stand idle in the market-place, not because they have not been hired; being able to live like the Lazzaroni of Naples on 'Midshipmans' half-pay - nothing a day, and find yourself. You are told that there are 8,000 human beings in Port of Spain alone without visible means of subsistence and you congratulate Port of Spain on being such an Elysium that people can live there - not without eating, for every child and most women you pass are eating something or other all day long - but without working.' 19

Within Trinidad itself there was great criticism of the 'voluntarily unemployed'. The traders were criticised for having too little stock and small uneconomic sales and being a nuisance to their creditors and suppliers. The numbers of artisans and seamstresses was said to be oversupplied while the less-trained artisans were condemned for competing with 'genuine craftsmen'.[20]

Amidst the continuing attacks against the ex-slaves, there was some support. For example Lord John Russell in a despatch to the Governor of British Guiana defended small proprietorship chastising the then opponents of emancipation for insinuating that the ex-slaves had become 'robbers or plunderers or bloodthirsty insurgents' when in fact all they had become were 'shopkeepers, petty traders and hucksters and small freeholders.'[21] The most well known supporter of the ex-slave however was William G. Sewell who after his visit in 1859 concluded that,

> 'Of those 11,000 field labourers of Trinidad who twenty years ago were released from bondage... of the entire number about four thousand remained on the estates... the estate labourers of Trinidad have not progressed as their brethren have progressed in general intelligence and worldly prosperity. They supply labor to nearly all cacao estates; but comparatively few are to be met with on sugar plantations.'22

By the 1840s, the planter interest in Britain had been able to convince the Colonial government of the necessity

of supplementing the dwindling labour supply on the plantations. Prior to this, through a 'bounty' system ship captains were encouraged to introduce labourers into the colony with a higher bounty for female labourers. This search had included the other West Indian islands (until 1884), the southern United States, Sierre Leone and St Helena and Kroo (Cru or Kru) coast in Africa, Malta, Germany and France. In all these instances, the numbers were small and not continuous.

In 1845, Indian immigration to the West Indies was resumed despite the protests of the Anti-Slavery society, and until 1917 the plantation owners were ensured of a 'stable' labour supply. This stability of labour was maintained through the indentureship system which in Trinidad was effectively maintained through the efforts of Major James Fagen, first Coolie Magistrate of Trinidad. Fagen, a retired officer who had previously served in Bengal, collaborated with the Plantocracy to establish a legal and police system which firmly and securely tied the Indian labourers to the plantations and alienated them from their African forerunners. Through this system, indentured labourers were compelled to carry passes whenever they left the estates. In addition some had to carry tickets of industrial residence which, with the passes had to be shown on demand to the police, superintendent of immigrants or even landowners.

Despite these generally effective measures, many Indians did leave the estates, in particular after their indentureship period was completed. Some squatted on Crown lands while by the 1870s others were given plots of land in lieu of the return passage home. In this way, the Indian peasantry began. During 1873 (Wood 1978), Indian farmers in Montserrat (in Trinidad) produced 6,000 bags of rice, 18,000 barrels of maize and 1,000 barrels of peas.[23] In this period too many Indians moved into cane farming and with African canefarmers supplied the Central Usines with 35% of all the cane produced in the 1870s. Their activities

were not however confined to agricultural proprietorship. As early as 1867, the Workingmens Reform Club complained that 'Indians were deserting the estates and occupations which they had been imported to do and instead were buying cows, opening shops, keeping hotels and plying the pedlars trade in the town.'[24] This entrepreneurial activity quickly led to the emergence of a few rich Indians. Wood (1968) noted that in 1873, five Indian shopkeepers of San Fernando were able to purchase the 260 acre Corial Estate for $ 18,000, hired a manager and applied for an allocation of indentured labourers. The expanding petty bourgeoisie in this period, was further supplemented by the addition of Chinese and Madeiran Portuguese entrepreneurs. These last two groups, like the Indians, had come to provide labour for the estates. The Chinese after the expiration of one year's indentureship were able to commute the rest of the period by paying $12 for each expired year. The Portuguese left the plantations after two or three months as their health often deteriorated. Thus both these groups turned either to peasant production or petty trade for their livelihood.

But the scenario of the emergence of petty production is not yet complete. By the 1890s, according to Lowenthal (1972) Syrians, Lebanese and Palestinians began immigrating from the Middle East. They became itinerant pedlars, trading from house to house but soon became dry goods merchants. One is not quite sure to what extent the demise of African entrepreneurship occurred during this very period. It is possible that the competition offered by the newer entrants into the field proved too much, while it is also possible that the availability of education served as a means through which the more successful could educate their children away from the low-esteemed petty trading.

In the 1890s the Trinidad Workingmens Association was formed, and in 1897 the president, Walter H. Mills (druggist), described it to the West Indian Royal Commission

as comprising 'about 50 persons in all; 25 carpenters, masons, labourers, tailors and other trades...' The programme presented to the Commission in my view can be seen as a final plea of the independent petty bourgeoisie of the late 19th century for survival. In the face of the loss of their ability to give part time skilled labour on the plantations, they pleaded for an end to East Indian Immigration. To strengthen their position, they asked for the establishment of a free peasantry, the diversification of the economy away from the domination of sugar and cocoa; the removal of taxation on tools and foodstuffs; the establishment of a state-operated bank to give aid to the poor; abolition of the law prohibiting small stills for distillation of rum and the encouragement of the cane farming. In the words of the unknown author 'it was a programme devised for black and coloured people falling somewhere between a generalised working-class position and the petty professional, petty capitalist class from which Mills himself came.'[26] These proposals were of course not implemented, and in 1898, the organisation lapsed until it was revitalized in 1906 after World War I. Its character in the 20th century was quite different in that it was more truly a working class organisation participating in a struggle between capital and labour.

Education:

The Year 1833 had seen the institution of the Negro Education Grant. However throughout this period very little was achieved in this area. By 1894, there was an average attendance of 10,992 in Trinidad. Four secondary schools were established but through constraints of wealth, birth and religion only very few students (all white) gained this privilege. Through a restriction on the acceptance of illegitimate pupils, the African population was excluded; through the fees of £ 15 per term the coloureds were excluded and through religion all Indians were excluded. Thus

as yet during this period , education did not provide an exit for Africans from petty bourgeois activity. In fact many African parents kept their children at home to work rather than send them to the primary schools where a different language (English) was the language of instruction and the children spoke Spanish or French patois. It was not until the 20th century therefore that education became the important vehicle for African and Indian social mobility through the professions and the civil service, resulting in the institution of a certain pattern in the division of labour.

This division was one where Africans were concentrated in the Civil service, oilfields and urban wage employment, while the majority of the Indians were still on the sugar plantations or in agriculture and in petty trading activity in the urban areas. This division occurred primarily because the Africans had had access to education before the Indians. Prior to the arrival of the Canadian Mission in the 1860s no attention had been paid to the education of the Indians.[27]

The expansion of education and of administrative facilities has often been suggested as a reason for the pattern of occupational structure which developed. It has been suggested that Trinidad & Tobago unlike the other countries of the region was an industrial economy in the twentieth century and needed a large middle class which would be involved in the professions, business and public administration.[28] While this has been true to a large extent for the African middle strata the existing evidence is not enough to justify the 'education and the expansion of administration' hypothesis as an explanation for the exclusion of the Africans from entrepreneurial activity.

Table I: Education in Trinidad & Tobago 1841

	No. of schools	No. of Teachers	No. of Registered Scholars	Average Attendance
Trinidad	40	26	1,971	1,554
Tobago	9	4	607	504

Source: A Century of West Indian Education, Shirley Gordon pp 36

Table 2: Education in Trinidad 1894

	No. of schools	No. of Registered Scholars	Average Attendance	Cost per Scholars
Trinidad	169	18,247	10,992	£10.16
Gov't	63	6,335	3,878	£13.74
Assisted	106	11,912	7,114	£ 8.21

Source: S. Gordon, A Century of West Indian Education pp.36

PERIOD IV - 1910 - 1946 The Diversification of the Economy

The year 1910 marks a major shift in the economy of Trinidad & Tobago. In this year, Shell International and Trinidad Leaseholds Ltd. began oil producing and refining operations. The basis of the economy as a result shifted from one of dependence on sugar production to one of dependence on petroleum porduction. This development at this time proved crucial to the British war effort. During World War I production doubled to 2,083,027 barrels in 1920 making Trinidad & Tobago the second highest oil producer in the British Empire.

In addition to the development of the petroleum industry, this period saw the further development of the agricultural petty bourgeoisie, as the ex-indentured labourers began peasant production of wet rice and sugar cane on their private lands. The composition of the non-agricultural petty bourgeoisie was also diversified with the addition of more Indian ex-indentured labourers who were moving to the towns in search of alternative sources of livelihood. The Habitual Idlers Ordinance, passed in 1918, failed to stem the drift from the estates and many Indians continued to move into petty bourgeoisie activity as shopkeepers, market vendors, transporters (using mule and horse drawn vehicles), money lenders and porters. Through this Ordinance, people found in the streets who could not prove that they had worked for at least three days of the week prior to their arrest were subject to imprisonment.

Despite these developments in general, unlike the previous one, this period was one of working class ascendancy. The abolition of indentureship in 1917 resulted in the emergence of a predominantly Indian agricultural working class; while the establishment of the petroleum industry and the diversification of the urban economy led to the emergence of a predominantly African non-agricultural industrial working class.

The numerical increase in the working class was met with a corresponding increase in working class consciousness. This was first fuelled by the conscientizing effect of the World War I experience on the African and Indian soldiers who had served under racist British and South African officers in Egypt. These ex-soldiers, on their return to Trinidad & Tobago found that, 'while they had risked their lives to "make the world safe for democracy" stay-at-home capitalists who had fattened on war profits showed no willingness to share them with the returned

workers and others similarly placed.'[29] This disenchantment served to reactivate the Trinidad Workingmens Association (TWA) which attained a new character in keeping with the more working class character of its new membership, and it was further enflamed by the Waterfront Strike of 1919. This strike lasted fourteen days and involved over three thousand workers. It spread to all parts of the country including Tobago.[30] In fact one Indian labourer at Woodford Lodge estate was beaten to death and an English overseer was charged with the murder. At the time, this event was clearly seen as a race war, so much so that the African police stood by and did not attack the strikers. In response to this a white platoon of about 270 planters and merchants was established and the Secretary of State was advised by the Governor to send a company of white troops as the black constabulary had proved unreliable.

From 1919 onwards, the struggle against Crown Colony government was dominated by the working class. The strike had greatly strengthened the TWA[31] and by the end of that year there were 6,000 members. The Trinidad Guardian condemned the strike as a 'deliberate and unshamed attempt to set class against class, to provoke labour against capital, to persuade an uneducated and credulous proletariat that preposterous demands can be enforced by terrorist methods.'[32]

Arthur Andrew Cipriani, a Corsican landowner, based on his record of agitation on behalf of the black soldiers during the war, joined the TWA on his return. In the early 1920s he was asked to lead the organisation, and during this time the main planks of its activities were- the rights of domestic servants; the elimination of child labour; the widening of the franchise; the institution of representative government based on borough councils and the restoration of the City Council.

With the threat of the more militant working class spurred on by the 1917 Bolshevik victory in Russia, the local ruling class and the British government joined hands to control the threat of this new militance. Even among the Indians, the new Indian bourgeoisie opposed any change in the Crown Colony system and accepted the nominated system. The Wood Commission, sent out after the riots, recommended the inclusion of seven elected and six nominated members in the Legislative Council. Through this in 1925, Cipriani was elected to the Legislative Council. The main points of his electoral campaign were, the institution of the eight hour day, old age pension, the removal of rent restrictions on voting in the City Council and the abolition of the Habitual Idlers Ordinance.

In 1927-28, there were already 18-20 oil companies operating in Trinidad. In 1927, oil production had reached 5,380,178 barrels, an increase of 250% over 1920. Sugar on the other hand was facing a world surplus and production doubled during this period. All attempts at trade union organisation were rejected by the ruling class despite the oratorical skills of Cipriani in the Legislative Council, but after being taken to the British Labour Party in 1930, in 1932 a Trade Union ordinance was enacted. It 'omitted all provisions which would safeguard the right of unions to picket peacefully' and 'gave them no immunity against action in tort along the lines of the Trades Disputes Act in the United Kingdom.'[33] In reaction to this Cipriani refused to register the TWA or its two affiliated the Stevedores Union and the Railway Union. This he did despite the advice to the opposite from the British Trade Union Congress and the local Negro Welfare, Cultural and Social Association,[34] to register first and then struggle to change the legislation. In 1934, the TWA was changed into the Trinidad Labour Party (TLP) as Cipriani decided to concentrate on political reforms.

Membership was claimed to be about 130,000. The TWA/TLP was supported in its policies by the Young Indian Party and its paper the East Indian Weekly edited by C.B.Mathura. The main impetus for trade union organisation however came from the 1937 disturbances, the first in a stream which was to rock the Caribbean.

The 1937 Disturbances:

By the mid-30s the effects of the world capitalist crisis were being felt. In 1936, the position of all plantation crops, cacao, coffee and sugar-cane had worsened. The oil boom was declining and many firms were going out of business. The worst effects of this however were being felt by the workers and the lower stratum of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie. The cost of living increased and the situation was not imporved by the recommendation of Cipriani and Hubert Alexander in 1953 that the minimum wage should be less than $1.00 a day as 'the working man can wear two khaki suits per year, two pairs of shoes... one to go to church, his tea cost him 8 cents and his lunch 36 cents.'(Rennie 1974). These economic factors were compounded by the crude form of racial discrimination which was practised in the oil fields and the sugar plantations.

The disturbances began in the southern oilfields of Fyzabad. They spread to the entire island including the sugar plantations.[35] The new fiery working-class leader Tubal Uriah 'Buzz' Butler, after inciting the workers, had to go into hiding for the duration of the events. According to Ryan (1972) 'Butler's historical role was thus to provide the catalyst, to crystalize and articulate the grievances that people had long nursed and to offer them an acceptable outlet for aggressive dispositions which Cipriani had held in check.' The two main achievements of the disturbances were:

1. to force the British government to intervene directly and acknowledge its responsibility for the conditions in the country;
2. to intensify class consciousness among workers resulting in the formation of trade unions, for example the Oilfield Workers Trade Union (OWTU) and the All Trinidad Sugar Estates and Factory Workers Trade Union (ATSE & FWTU).

Support for the establishment of trade unions was given by the British government which believed that the main reason for the disturbances had been the lack of established trade unions through which militance could be dissipated. By this time, Cipriani and the TLP with its stated aim 'to propose and oppose legislation' had long proved inadequate to meet the needs of the new working class. In Cipriani's political activity in the Legislature, this too showed little achievement, for between 1925 and 1945 only one or two of the various reforms put forward by him were ever accepted, because of the class nature of the members of the Legislative Council.

The Moyne Commission which was sent to look into the causes of the disturbances, made recommendations (among others) for the extension of the franchise and the lowering of property qualifications. Later on in 1941, the number of elected members was increased from seven to nine and the governor was confined to one casting vote. In this year, too a franchise committee was set up and based on its recommendations, in 1944, universal adult suffrage was introduced and property qualifications for membership of the Legislative Council were cut in half. In 1946 the first elections under universal adult suffrage were held. Forty five per cent of the electorate registered and fifty per cent of those who registered voted.

This particular period in the politics of Trinidad & Tobago was marked by great left wing fervour. The organ

of the TLP was called 'The Socialist' and even the land owner Cipriani wore a red button in his lapel and many of his followers wore red shirts in imitation of the 'Reds' of the Bolshevik revolution.[36] The Negro Welfare, Cultural and Social Association developed in 1934 out of the National Unemployed Movement. It combined a nationalist with a marxist and even a feminist position, through contacts with Trinidians George Padmore, C.L.R. James and the founder of the British woman's movement Sylvia Pankhurst. Other organisations and parties, for example Rienzi's Trinidad Citizens League (founded in 1936) spoke of class struggle while the West Indian Independence Party WIIP spoke of socialist demands such as the nationalization of oil, land reform and of establishing co-operatives. The following period was to see a decline in the paramountcy of the working class position and the ascendancy of the now dormant middle strata nationalist position.

The Struggle over the Shop Hours Ordinance

The major event of relevance to the petty bourgeoisie which occurred during this period was the struggle over the Shop Hours Ordinance. This took place between 1936 and 1939 and was waged by the Negro Welfare, Cultural and Social organisation led by Jim Barrat and the militant Elma Francois. The ordinance was based on the recommendations of the Shop Hours Committee. Despite the protestations the bill (according to Rennie 1974) succeeded in what it set out to do, which was to hinder the further development of small businessmen in the towns. At this period Africans still formed a large proportion of the urban petty bourgeoisie operating small shops on Henry, George and Charlotte streets. These establishments closed at 9.00 p.m. to facilitate workers who were paid at night. Big businesses closed earlier and so did not benefit from the trade. The aim therefore was to force these smaller businesses to close earlier and to ensure their failure.

The campaign against the shop closing ordinance coincided with the arrival in Trinidad & Tobago of Jews and Levantines fleeing the Nazis in Europe. A 'help the Jews'campaign was launched whereby circulars were sent to businessmen asking them to absorb the new migrants into the society by placing them in professions and trades. Thus the Africans were replaced on Henry, George and Charlotte streets by Jews and Syrians. Those which were not forced to close by the ordinance were 'bought out' through complex land and property deals. In the words of Rennie:

> 'It was not only a piece of class legislation. It was also a crude, devilish racist act against African people throughout the country. It was being engineered by the white racist ruling-class to hinder the further development of small black businessmen. At this point the small black businessman was mainly African as the East Indians were still largely tied to the sugar plantations and agricultural estates. 37

This event discussed above has received little attention in other historical accounts of the period. This is interesting, when Rennie states that workers protested in large numbers as their lifestyle was affected. This ordinance, according to Rennie, represented 'only one of the many "such unnatural means" throughout our history depicting the efforts of the capitalists to maintain permanently the division of labour.'[38]

World War II

The other main development of economic importance in this period was the second World War and the United States occupation. The war, beginning in 1939, to some extent diverted attention away from the disturbances. The restrictions of the war itself served to give an impetus to the economy, and to shift the dependence for supply from Britain to the United States. For the short period during the war, local agricultural production increased significantly because of the unavailability and unreliability of

imports and the introduction of government structures to increase production. By the end of the war, food production reached two and one half times the 1939 figures.[39] This trend was not continued after the war.

1941 saw the establishment of military bases in Trinidad, at Chaguaramas, Carlson Field and Waller Field. This period marked a major shift culturally and economically towards the United States. Between 1942 and 1943 approximately 30,000 people were involved in construction work on the bases. This figure comprised 15-20% of the Trinidad & Tobago labour force, drawing workers from other sectors of the economy except the petroleum sector. The slightly higher wage rates and the ease of promotion attracted even civil servants to leave their 'permanent jobs' to work for the 'Yankee dollar'. Indeed the greatest contribution of this event was to further re-integrate women especially married women into the labour force.

The 2nd World War ended in 1945 but the troops did not leave until 1967. Even then the American presence has never really left. From this period, according to Sudama (1979) 'An implicit imperialism strengthened through literature, films and activities of religious organisations and immigration developed.'[40]

Conclusion

This period therefore saw the rapid decline in the development of the African petty bourgeoisie and their absorption into wage labour. The more affluent were able to move via education into positions in the Civil Service and the professions while others moved into the docks, the oilfields and other industry and services.

PERIOD V - 1946 - 1973 Post World War II Industrialisation

> 'The post war economic situation was very favourable to the establishment of secondary industries in Trinidad. Manufacturers in dollar countries like the United States and Canada saw themselves shut out of the sterling area, but could remedy this by creating subsidiaries in a sterling country. It would be worth our while to exploit their need.' (Albert Gomes, Through a Maze of Colour,pp. 123).

In general this period until the 1970s saw the further demise of the petty bourgeoisie as the industrialisation policy often competed with the small, independent producers, seamstresses, tailors, shoemakers and so on. But nevertheless, it failed to provide the promised increased employment. On the contrary the emphasis on industry and the resultant lack of interest in agriculture served to annually increase the number of unemployed in the country. Paradoxically it was in this period though that the legitimization occurred for one of the more lucrative areas of petty entrepreneurship to-day, taxi-driving. In 1948, the then government decided to organise the transportation system by granting concessions to 'pirate' or route taxis to work in certain areas.[41] This period also saw the decline of working class consciousness and the rise of the middle strata to political power. The post 1970 period was to see however the reemergence of the African petty bourgeoisie as a culmination of a number of different factors which will be discussed below.

After the war, there was a reduction in the level of food production and there was a return to the production of traditional export crops such as cacao and coconuts. In 1946 incentives were offered for hotel development and in 1950 based on the preparatory work of the Economic Advisory Board the Aid to Pioneer Industries Ordinance and Income Tax Ordinance were drafted and enacted. This marked the inception of the 'Puerto Rican' policy of industrialization, later termed by Lloyd Best 'Industrialization by Invitation'. This policy was being srongly

advocated at the time by the Caribbean Commission through the writings of the St. Lucian economist W. Arthur Lewis. This policy was one means through which United States capital could gain a foothold in the Caribbean economies, a foothold which eventually was extended from manufacturing to more important aspects of the economy. By 1953, there were twenty three pioneer industries which together contributed $2.7 million or 7% to the gross domestic product (GDP).[42] From very early, it became apparent that this policy failed to achieve what had been its main justification, the provision of employment. Carrington states that between 1950 and 1963, the labour force increased by 100,000 while the 139 manufacturing establishments created 6,921 jobs at the same time that 3,800 were shed from the sugar and petroleum sectors.[43]

The period 1946 to mid 1950s was the last of the vibrant periods of 'labour politics'. The 1950 election saw the record number of 141 candidates vying for 18 seats. Five parties supported 51 candidates while the other 90 were independents. The five parties were: The Political Progress Group; the British Empire and Workers Home Rule Party (The Butler Party) the Trinidad Labour Party; the Caribbean Socialist Party and the Trades Union Council. Throughout his political history Butler was able to forge political links with Indian activists. In the 1946 election three Indian candidates, supported by Butler had been successful. Butler's political aim of uniting oil and sugar was a shrewd recognition on his part of the political reality of the country. Successive politicians and the ruling class have recognised this to be the most important aspect of local politics and have strove and succeeded in keeping workers in the two sectors apart. In the 1950 election the Butler Party won six seats including four won by Indians. The PPG won two seats and six independents were returned. In the nomination of members

to the Executive Council no Butlerites were returned. This was a victory for the right and centre elements of the country which at that time included Albert Gomes. Gomes, once considered a radical had now come 'full swing'. On his victory over Butler, Gomes stated 'I am glad that some of us insisted in the face of opposition that without the nominanted system, this country would have been consigned to persons lacking in experience, balance and perspective...'[44] Little did Gomes realise that he was participating in a move to the right which would soon sweep him as well to the backwaters of history.

The Rise of the Peoples National Movement

The period 1950-55 saw the rise in the dormant African middle strata. The fiery radical and 'sweaty' character of working-class politics had alienated the new professionals and educated groups. They felt the need for alternative fora in which to air their grievances against the racial discrimination in employment and their treatment by the European colonial state and its local agencies. As Oxaal put it:

> 'After the 1950 elections there appears to have developed a general mood of pessimism among many members of more educated, professionally employed coloured middle-class. The prospects seemed poor for creating in Trinidad a responsible, educated political leadership such as Norman Manley symbolized in Jamaica and Grantley Adams in Barbados.' 45

Out of this feeling the African middle strata formed their own groups for the discussions of problems facing the country and the region. Two of the most important were the Teachers Economic and Cultural Association (TECA) and the Political Education Group (PEG). TECA was formed out of the frustration of black teachers at the treatment which they received from the white dominated church boards and state education agencies. The PEG comprised mainly African (and four Indian) professionals, including Dr. Eric Williams. The PNM was formed out of these two groups.

In the 1956 elections, six parties participated:

The Peoples National Movement: The African nationalist party with some muslim Indians. Led by Eric Williams

The Caribbean National Labour Party: Led by I. Rojas, leader of the OWTU

The Party of Political Progress Groups: Led by Albert Gomes

The West Indian Independence Party: Marxist oriented, led by Lennox Pierre

The British Empire Workers and Home Rule Party: led by T.U.B. Butler

The Peoples Democratic Party: The Indian Nationalist Party, led by B.S. Maraj.

Despite preaching racial harmony, Williams was able to skillfully drive a wedge between the muslim and hindu Indians and between the alliance of radical Indians in the Butler's Party. His greatest achievement however was his control of the African working class which developed through his lectures in the 'University of Woodford Square.' Through these lectures, Williams was able to convince the working class that working class leadership was not in their interest and the West Indian messianic tradition[46] then alive in Trinidad & Tobago labeled Williams Moses II and a later (1961) election placard read 'The Master couldn't come so He sent Williams.'

The PNM narrowly won the 1956 elections and strengthened its position by later winning the 1961 election more convincingly. Despite the narrow victory in 1956 Williams refused to concede a coalition with the left forces. In the appointment of the cabinet, no true trade unionists were appointed, while two prominent businessmen were. Ryan concludes 'Under Williams the middle class had, in fact seized power from the working class....

But the workers themselves were in part to blame, since they had indicated their willingness not to be represented by labour.'[47]

Rennie on the other hand disagrees with this statement. To him the victory of the PNM in 1956 was the victory of the new middle class which had not been tainted by the opportunism of alliances and mergers of the old middle class politicians like O'Connor, Gomes and the like.[48] Prior to this period the middle class had tended to ride on the backs of the working class spontaneous action. But in 1956 Williams was able to grasp the working class, a triumph which had been aided by the British Government which since 1945 had attempted to introduce a 'responsible' middle class political initiative into Trinidad & Tobago.[49] In the words of Rennie:

> 'The positive historical significance of all this is that the mass movement, the working masses, from 1919 to 1950 constantly forced the colonial structures to open up more and more to nationalist sentiments, to the political needs of a people, and it was the middle class more than any other that gained from all this, being the indigenous class most prepared and best positioned to do so.' 50

Up until 1955, the main companies involved in petroleum production had been British. During World War II Trinidadian oil had again fuelled the British War effort, this time with the additional capacity to supply aviation fuel to the British and United States Air forces. During the war period, European control over oil production declined slightly as the United States oil firms had shareholdings in locally operating companies. Strategically, Trinidad as a producer was in a very good position because it was a British colony and so offered access to the British market and secondly it is located near to Venezuela which was then the largest supplier of petroleum to the United States. In August 1956, the United States control of the economy was increased substantially by the

purchase of the Trinidad Oil Company by the Texas Oil Company of the U.S.A. (TEXACO). These operations included production and refining of local crude and more importantly the refining of imported crude. The years 1951-1957 were known as the golden age of oil operations. Production increased from 60,000 barrels per day in 1946-50 to 79,000 barrels per day in 1956, an increase of 6.8%.[51] By 1959 therefore, Texaco could report to its shareholders that 'additions to Texaco's refinery in Trinidad & Tobago more than made up for lost refining capacity (from expropriation) in Cuba.[52] By 1969 the capacity of Texaco had tripled and it had the largest refinery in the British Commonwealth. During this period, two other companies, British Petroleum and Shell International, became involved. But subsequently both of them sold their assets, the former partly to the government (50.1%) and the latter totally in the late 60s and early 70s. In 1961, a new company AMOCO a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana entered Trinidad & Tobago. It concentrated on crude oil production in the south east of the island and is now the largest producer of crude oil in the island. Between 1946 and 1973, the economy's dependence on petroleum declined slightly but it continued to be the leading sector in the economy, as shown by the table below.

Table 3
Contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Selected Sectors (Non-Accummulative).

	1951*	1956*	1973**
Petroleum	30.1%	30.0%	28.1%
Agriculture	17.0%	15.0%	3.0%
Manufacturing	13.0%	12.0%	9.0%
Government	9.0%	10.7%	9.2%
Distribution & Services	9.0%	19.0%	11.7%

Sources: * - E. Carrington, The Post War Political Economy of Trinidad & Tobago
** - The Gross Domestic Product of The Republic of Trinidad & Tobago. 1966-1976, C.S.O. 1977.

The continued dependence on the petroleum sector has aided the continuing extension of United States and other foreign economic influence over all aspects of the economy. With the high investment and strategic location of Trinidad & Tobago, it was necessary to protect these investments and maintain control over the country. This was done mainly through the control of the labour movement which since its early beginnings had a strong 'left' tendency. In 1954, for example, F.W. Dalley, member of a Commission sent to investigate the causes of labour unrest noted that:

> '...it is an open secret that for some time the Government had been concerned at the spread of Communist ideas and methods. The Trade Union Council (which included two of the principal trade unions) still remained affiliated to the communist-run World Federation of Trade Unions; the President-General of the Oil Workers Trade Union had returned from behind the 'Iron Curtain' and was publicly expressing the greatest admiration for the Soviet Union'.[53]

Eventually through various machinations, this trend was circumvented but only to a point. Through a split in the Trade Union Council and pressure from the Government and the employers, the TUC withdrew from the WFTU and the two sections united to form the National Trade Union Council, which affiliated to the ICFTU.[54] In 1956 the TUC supported the nationalist PNM, even though in 1955 Williams opposed the possibility of labour representation in the Senate. In 1961 the TUC endorsed the PNM and staged a counter demonstration against the civil Servants' march in support of an industrial dispute. This was only one of a number of large TUC-led worker marches held in support of the PNM.

Events leading to the 1970 Disturbances.

Between 1960 and 1964 there were 230 strikes involving 74,574 workers, and there was the possibility of a rapprochement between oil and sugar workers. In 1965,

the Industrial Stabilisation Act (ISA) was passed to deal with these two situations. It banned all strikes, go-slows, and lock outs with severe panalties for breaches. Reaction against this was so strong that it was repealed in 1971 and replaced by the Industrial Relations Act (IRA). This bill was an attempt to deal with the criticisms which were made of the ISA. However, it retained the principle of binding arbitration where the decision of the Industrial Court could not be appealed against and continued to limit the right to strike.[55]

By 1971 the more radical unions of the TUC broke away and formed a counter organisation, The Council of Progressive Trade Unions. These unions opposed the IRA for giving the Ministry of Labour too much power and continued to be one of the strongest forces against the government.

Concurrent with the development of left wing opposition to the PNM, there also developed pockets of liberal African middle strata alienation, reminiscent of the TECA and PEG of the 1950s. The important factor here was the same as it was then, colour. In the late 1960s whites still enjoyed great social and economic privileges, reinforced by the increased foreign capital investments in the economy (despite greater state control of some aspects of the economy). Job recruitment and promotional opportunities were still determined by colour and kinship considerations, particularly in banks and insurance companies, the upper echelons of the sugar and petroleum industries and the old commercial sector. In addition recent government restrictions on certain aspects of political activity served to favour the development of groups of the educated middle strata such as TAPIA House Group, and the United National Independence Party (UNIP).

But what were the conditions of the working class prior to 1970? The official figures estimated unemployment at 15% in addition to which 15% were 'under-employed'. These figures of course do not include the approximately

Table 4.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO: STRUCTURE AND GROWTH RATE OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT BY SECTORS, 1965-70

SECTORS	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969a/	1970a/	Annual Percentage Increase 1969	Annual Percentage Increase 1970	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
	(In millions current TT$)								(Percent of total)				
Agriculture, Forests, Fisheries and Quarrying	105.5	107.3	111.6	127.0	128.8	123.0	1.2	-4.1	8.3	8.1	8.3	7.9	7.2
Mining and Refining of Petroleum, Asphalt & Gas	284.1	313.6	350.4	366.0	322.9	314.4	-11.8	-3.9	24.4	25.4	24.0	20.0	20.0
Manufacturing	179.2	198.4	218.6	260.0	282.5	307.0	8.6	9.0	15.4	15.9	17.1	17.5	18.0
Construction	58.6	56.4	53.2	65.0	71.0	77.7	9.2	9.4	4.4	3.9	4.3	4.4	4.4
Transport and Distribution	211.7	235.2	240.8	273.0	297.0	325.0	8.8	9.4	18.3	17.5	17.9	18.4	19.2
Public Utilities	64.9	73.0	72.5	89.0	95.2	101.0	7.0	6.3	5.7	5.3	5.9	5.9	6.0
Governments	118.6	132.4	149.6	162.0	174.4	190.0	7.7	8.9	10.3	10.8	10.6	10.8	11.2
Ownership of Dwellings	47.3	49.9	53.7	55.0	60.5	64.0	9.1	8.3	3.9	3.9	3.6	3.7	3.8
Banking and Finance	39.4	46.2	47.3	47.0	61.3	65.0	30.4	6.0	3.6	3.4	3.1	3.8	3.8
Other Services	66.5	72.7	80.2	79.0	121.3	128.0	53.5	5.5	5.7	5.8	5.2	7.1	7.3
TOTAL	1,175.9	1,284.9	1,377.8	1,523.0	1,614.4	1,695.1			100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Annual Percentage Increase	-	9.3	7.2	10.5	6.0	5.0							
Real Growth		-	4.8	2.8	2.8	2.0							

a. CIAP Secretariat estimate.

Sources: Third Five-Year Development Plan, and Secretariat estimates.

Taken from OAS-CIAP Report on 'Domestic Efforts and the Need for External Financing for the Development of Trinidad & Tobago', 1971.

Table 5.

TRINIDAD & TOBAGO: PRODUCTION OF CRUDE PETROLEUM AND PETROLEUM-BASED PRODUCTS, 1967/69, AND JANUARY - JUNE 1969 AND 1970

	1967	1968	1969	Percentage change 1969/68	Production Jan. to June 1969	Production Jan. to June 1970	% change six months 1970/1969
	(Thousand barrels)						
Crude petroleum	64,945	66,904	57,429	-14.2	29,654	25,269	-14.8
Refinery throughout of petroleum	138,925	151,282	154,077	1.8	-	75,100	-
Automotive gasoline	19,635	20,850	21,704	4.0	10,949	7,195	-16.0
Aviation turbine oil	11,653	15,254	15,105	- 1.0	7,800	6,528	-16.3
Gas/diesel	19,482	18,354	16,628	-10.0	8,653	7,755	-10.4
Fuel Oils	75,023	84,939	88,285	3.9	42,597	47,191	10.8
Kerosene	3,677	3,679	2,514	-31.7	1,154	2,283	97.8

Source: Central Bank, Statistical Digest. Taken from OAS-CIAP Report, 1971.

200,000 unemployed women who are classified by census figures as being 'not in the labour force'. As shown by the table below, the majority of the unemployed were between the ages of 15-34.

Table 6
Unemployment in Trinidad & Tobago by Age 1969-71.

Age	1969	1970	1971
15-19	12,600 27.4%	15,600 33.2%	16,300 35.1%
20-24	13,600 28.3%	13,000 27.7%	12,400 26.7%
25-34	9,900 21.5%	7,500 16.0%	7,400 16.0%
35-44	4,800 10.4%	4,600 9.7%	3,900 8.4%
45-59	3,600 7.8%	4,800 10.2%	4,800 10.2%
60-	2,100 4.6%	1,400 3.0%	1,400 3.0%

Source: Adapted from T. Farrell, Unemployment in Trinidad & Tobago, Social & Economic Studies Vol.27, No.2. 1978.

These unemployment figures by themselves do not explain the revolt of the unemployed in 1970. The following table gives a clearer picture of the situation. It shows the percentage changes in employment and unemployment between 1965 and 1969. This table shows that since 1965, growth in unemployment has exceeded the growth in employment in every year except one, with the greatest increase in employment coming in 1965 when it increased by 4.6%.

Table 7
Rates of Employment and Unemployment 1965-1969.

	% Change in Employment	% Change in Unemployment
1965	4.6	2.6
1966	1.4	8.4
1967	.09	8.3
1968	1.2	6.2
1969	2.3	4.9

Source: OAS-CIAP 'Domestic Efforts and the Needs for External Financing for the Development of Trinidad & Tobago', 1971, p.59.

In examining the growth in employment by sectors, the OAS-CIAP report found that

> 'It would appear that employment rose fastest in two areas, services and agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting and fell in commerce and mining, quarrying and manufacturing...It is clear that the prime contributors to GDP have been offering the lowest levels of job creation'.[56]

Most unemployment was among Indians and Africans. Europeans had a 95% employment. Income differentials were also great, for while Europeans had an average income of $500 per month, for Africans it was $104 and $77 for Indians. The race/colour/class situation was illustrated very clearly by Camejo (1971)[57] in his study of racial discrimination in private sector employment. In a survey of the business elite for example, he found that of the 71 directors who had inherited their position, the following situation existed:

White - 29 (41%); Off-White - 18 (25%); Chinese - 9 (13%); Indians - 10 (14%); Mixed - 5 (7%); African - 0.

Similarly of the 233 out of 374 directors surveyed, the distribution was as follows:

White 124 (53%); Off-White - 36 (25%); Chinese - 20 (9%); Mixed - 24 (10%); Indian - 20 (9%); African - 9 (4%).

The Economy in 1970

The material basis for the 1970 events however lay in the combination of the previously existing high unemployment and racial discrimination in employment with the culminating effects of the decline of the economy. According to the OAS-CIAP report 'The trend toward a slower rate of growth in the economy evident since 1968 continued on into 1970'.[58] This was due mainly to the decline in petroleum production in 1969 by 44% after a period of relatively increased production in 1965-68.[59] (See Tables 4 & 5).

Table 4 shows the great negative percentage change in the growth rate of GDP between 1968 and 1969. The petroleum sector was the only one with such a sharp decline - 11.8%, even agriculture increased by 1.2%. Table 5 illustrates the decline in petroleum production. Between 1968 and 1969 there was a decline of 14.2% and between January to June 1969 to 1970 there was a further decline of 14.8%.

This period of decline in petroleum production was paradoxically marked by an increase in foreign direct investment. In the words of CIAP 'After the 1967 trough, private investment in manufacturing, construction and mining has displayed a steady rapid climb'.[60] Despite this however, 1969 saw a worsening of the country's balance of payments situation caused by increasing imports and stagnating exports resulting in large current account deficits.[61]

These material factors received ideological support from the reports of the Black Consciousness Movement in the United States and Britain, and of the reactions of the other West Indian islands of Curacao in 1969 and the Rodney Riots in Jamaica in 1968. The banning of Walter Rodney and Stokely Carmichael (a Trinidadian) and the 'Computer Incident' in which the Computer Centre at Sir George Williams University in Canada was accidentally burnt down during a protest demonstration of West Indian students against a racist lecturer served to aggravate an already turbulent situation.

The local Black Power Movement developed out of a large number of opposition groups spanning a wide spectrum of political opinion. Groups involved included, The National Joint Action Committee (NJAC); TAPIA; The Young Power Group, The Black Panthers, The Oilfield Workers Trade Union and the Transport and Industrial Workers Union. NJAC had the leading role and the main points of the struggle were, black consciousness, black economic power, Afro-Indian unity, an end to foreign domination of the economy, and a 'new' democracy.

The disturbances involved demonstrations of up to 20,000 people, culminating in the funeral of an NJAC supporter Basil Davis who had been shot dead by the police, which had over 30,000 people. Stores were burnt, and a section of the Army mutinied. The Government requested help from the United States and warships were sent from Puerto Rico and Venezuela to Port of Spain Harbour.

Views differ as to what the political significance of these events was. Look Lai (1973/74)[62] for example suggests that the workers and unemployed attempted to put forward their own class position but the events themselves were influenced by the Black middle class. He acknowledges as well that it was a spontaneous and unorganised movement which had no clear idea of alternatives and that most of the language was broad, populist and vague. Another interpretation of the events (Nicholls 1971) noted that for the most part the working class, in particular the urban workers with regular jobs, did not support the movement. In fact he pointed out, some dock workers organised their own police force during the early days of the emergency. He suggests rather that this was a movement, not of the working class but of the unemployed or 'lumpenproletariat' to use his term, who were demanding a stake in the economy.[63]

The 1970 events therefore could be seen as the exacerbation of certain material conditions such as high unemployment among youth, racism in employment and the declining economy, by the ideological effects of rising black consciousness in other parts of the world. Its main contradiction, as we will see in the rest of the chapter, is the fact that the problems of the unemployed could only be solved through the emergence of highly individualistic economic activity where the unemployed are eventually de-mobilised out of the working-class and into the petty bourgeoisie.

The Post 1970 Development of the Petty Bourgeoisie

One of the main planks of the 1970 disturbances was the call for Black Economic Power. In a televised address on May 4th, during the crisis, the Prime Minister indicated his willingness to identify with the 'constructive element' of the Black Power Movement; he stated:

> 'I did all I could to encourage the dock workers to take shares in the Port Handling Company.
>
> I have assured the Seamen and Waterfront Workers' Union of the fullest support from the Ministry of Finance in respect of implementing the Union's decision to set up a Workers Bank.
>
> I rejoiced when I heard that a trade union had been awarded the contract to operate a concession at Piarco Airport.
>
> I am now working on positive proposals from two Diego Martin steelbands to set up an agricultural co-operative to establish a factory for the manufacture of steelbands.
>
> The emphasis on Black economic power will be introduced especially in relation to the tourist industry in Tobago'.[64]

At the end of the disturbances in 1970, with the activists safely in jail, the PNM published a new policy statement entitled 'Perspectives for a New Society'. This document included proposals for future activity in the Public Sector, the Private Sector, the Foreign Sector and the People's Sector. Proposals for the People's Sector included small scale agriculture, industry, transport and distribution activities, handicrafts, retail co-operatives and small guest houses. The People's Sector was supposed to differ from the national private sector in that its operations were labour intensive, involved low capitalisation and emphasised self-reliance. At the peak of the Black Power period, many small cooperative and other such self-help schemes had emerged and received funds, credit and technical assistance from the Government. There was a general increase in entrepreneurship especially among the unemployed youth. Despite these developments,

NJAC rejected as a trap the attempt in 'Perspectives' to promote black business. They stated:

> 'Black capitalism disguises white control just as Black government disguises colonialism. It is insulting to Black people to tell us that we should be contented with a little co-operative store here and a shop there on the fringes of the economy, when we know that this country is ours. Black business will have to operate within the rules of the system which means all our basic problems remain'.[65]

Nevertheless, one of the major effects of the 1970 Black Power disturbances has been the development of petty bourgeois entrepreneurship in particular among Africans. Small groups emerged throughout the country going into agriculture, trade and handicraft production, for example the San Fernando Starvation Fighters and the Black Panthers. The most celebrated instance was that of the Drag Brothers, a collection of young men who produced leathercraft goods, shoes, belts and bags, for sale on a section of Lower Frederick Street knows as 'The Drag'. After protests from businessmen and other 'responsible' members of the community they were moved by the City Council and through public support were relocated in pre-fabricated sheds constructed in the centre of Port of Spain by the Industrial Development Corporation. In the post-1970 period as well some banks and firms altered their hiring policies somewhat to include token African and Indian workers. But more importantly in 1970, the Small Business Unit of the Industrial Development Corporation was instituted, offering loans and other assistance to small businessmen. In addition the National Commercial Bank was acquired and provided competition for other banks forcing them to adjust their lending policies to include members of the African middle strata.

Between 1970 and 1972 the economy of the country was in a slump. The balance of payments showed a huge deficit of $46.6 million in 1972 for example. The main

reason for this economic slump was the exhaustion of the land based oil production, which had been the mainstay of the country's economy for years. The new segment of the petty bourgeoisie therefore although growing was not prosperous. In 1973 this situation changed. The price of oil was increased through the actions of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries from US$ 2.5 per barrel to $US 11 per barrel. This occurred at a time when newly discovered marine deposits off Trinidad were just coming 'on stream'. It had the effect of lifting the economy out of its depression so that by the end of 1974, there was a balance of payments surplus of $TT 694.6 million. The economic boom served to revitalise the local capitalist sector and to increase the penetration of foreign transnational companies. But more importantly for this study it served to strengthen economically and numerically the petty bourgeoisie, in particular the urban non-agricultural petty-bourgeoisie. This group comprises mainly the former unemployed and others who combine wage labour with petty entrepreneurial activity.

Politically the new economic situation improved the position of the government. The Prime Minister had attempted to resign in 1973, before the oil price increases. From 1973 Trinidad & Tobago entered a new political and economic era, with a new segment of the petty bourgeoisie which had hardly existed before.

Conclusion

In this section we see in existence a situation which is completely opposite to the post emancipation situation. The economy to-day unlike then, is unable and/or unwilling to accommodate large numbers of Indians and Africans in wage employment. In this period unlike the other, the move towards petty entrepreneurship is being encouraged by the Government and the ruling class, primarily because

it provides a means whereby people can be employed through their own efforts, in a manner in which capital can also benefit economically. In addition large numbers of the youth who before 1970 would have been unemployed and open to rebellious ideas, now have their energies dissipated in 'constructive activity' and their minds channelled towards capitalistic notions of the accumulation of wealth.

TOBAGO

PERIOD I 1498-1781 - Colonisation and Conquest.

Tobago was sighted by Christopher Columbus in 1498, but was never actually colonised by the Spanish. It was named Bellaforma. For the first 100 years there is no recorded history of the island, although in 1580 it was supposedly visited by English seamen. In 1608, James I claimed sovereignty of the island and in 1628 it was granted to Philip, Earl of Montgomery by Charles I but a colony was not founded. Between 1627 and 1762, Tobago changed hands no less than fifteen times (most likely more) and during this period it was often attacked by buccaners while the indigenous people fought to keep their land. Tobago was captured and settled in turn by the Dutch, British, Courlanders and the French. One of the puzzles of history is the fact that while Tobago was being fought over, Trinidad, twenty-two miles away, was being neglected by Spain and almost everyone else. Britain claimed that Tobago was part of an acquisition of Sir Thomas Warner in 1726, Latvia[66] claimed that it was purchased by Duke Jacob of Courland from the Earl of Warwick in 1645. Further to this in 1645, he had received from Cromwell exclusive trading rights to the island. The Dutch changed its name to New Walcheren while the French called it Port Louis. By 1686 Tobago already had established plantations and slaves and cultivated sugar, cotton, indigo and cocao.

With the capture of Tobago in 1686 by the British, planters in Barbados feared further competition in sugar production. Thus the British government considered for a time leaving the island as a 'waste land'! In 1721, however, it was decided that settlers would be allowed to come to Tobago but under the following conditions.

1. Settlers were not to cultivate sugar, but were to concentrate on cacao, annatto and indigo.
2. The size of enterprises was restricted. Land Grants were to be 15 to 300 acres.
3. At least 2% of each acreage was to be cultivated each year.
4. Proportionate numbers of whites had to be kept on each estate in relation to the size of the estate.
5. No grants were to be made to planters who had land in other British colonies.

In 1978, nutmeg was discovered and forty nutmeg plantations were established. By 1770 despite the restrictions, sugar was being exported.

PERIOD II 1781-1847 - Establishment of Plantation Economy.

In 1781, Tobago was captured by France. According to Williams 'As in Trinidad so in Tobago, the first stimulus to economic development came from the French.[67] Incentives of a six year exemption from taxes were given to plantation development for cotton, cacao, coffee, indigo and sugar. In addition, tax allowances were given for children and migration from the French islands was encouraged. In 1788, an elected Colonial Assembly was established.

By 1970, Tobago produced 2,401,639 lbs of sugar and 1,373,336 lbs of cotton. Despite the caution of Barbados, Tobago had become a major sugar producer.

There were thirty-seven sugar factories, ninety-nine cotton factories and four coffee factories. Thus by this time unlike Trinidad, Tobago was a full-fledged slave plantation economy. The slave population had increased from 4,716 in 1771 to 14,170 in 1790. Between 1770 and 1798, there were a number of slave revolts and disturbances and in 1798 the Amelioration Laws[68] were passed.

Table 8

Acreage under cultivation in 1790

Crop	Acreage
Sugar	4,878
Cotton	14,436
Cacao	2
Coffee	134
Ground Provisions	4,842
Pastures	5,356

Source: E. Williams, History of the People of Trinidad & Tobago, 1964, p.59.

Tobago never had a large number of free people of colour. The 1771 census had given no figures for this group and by 1790 only 303 were identified, including 198 women.[69] One possible explanation for this small number is the fact that in Tobago the majority of the landowners were absentee. As a result one is not sure to what extent the urban culture based on petty production and trade developed in Tobago.

In 1803, Tobago was once more transferred to British rule but by 1834, the plantation system was bankrupt. Many of the estates were encumbered and some abandoned by their absentee landlords. Many of the ex-slaves became small peasant proprietors, but in 1847 a hurricane destroyed 26 sugar factories and 456 labourers' cottages and damaged 26 sugar factories. The sugar plantation system was almost totally destroyed.

PERIOD III 1847-1889 - The Metairie System.

In Tobago during this period, a different development was taking place. By 1838 the plantation economy was bankcrupt and could hardly affort to pay the ex-slaves. Thus

after emancipation they became small peasant proprietors. By 1843 however, with the further deterioration of the plantations, the metairie system or system of metayage previously used in Antigua and St. Lucia was introduced. By this system (often described as a type of sharecropping) the labourer cultivated a definite area bearing all costs for cultivation and manufacturing. In return, the labourer received from the landowner, half of the sugar produced, and a bottle of rum for each barrel produced, on condition that all the mollasses had been used in distilling. The landowners' machinery and equipment was used in manufacturing.[70] In 1847 after the disastrous hurricane this system was extended to other areas of production.

By the establishment of this system, the Tobago planters were able to keep the labourers on the estates and to forestall the introduction of wage-labour. But with the declining fortunes of the Tobago sugar industry culminating in the 1884 fall of the London firm Gillespie Brothers through which many planters conducted business, there was a turn towards more peasant food production for personal consumption and trade. In 1896 for example the value of exports from Tobago to Trinidad amounted to £10,360.[71]

Thus in Tobago small peasant proprietorship did not receive as much discouragement as it had in Trinidad. In 1889, through a Order in Council, Tobago was made a ward of Trinidad. The Tobago ruling class, proud of its long established 'Old Representative System' of government, was deeply humiliated. The separate colonies now became a single Crown Colony of Trinidad and Tobago with no representative system of government.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Eric Williams, History of The Peoples of Trinidad & Tobago, Andre Deutsch, 1974. Chapter I for a further discussion of this.

2. Fanegas - G. Carmichael states that this quantity = 110 lbs, I have not been able to ascertain its value in land.

3. E. Laclau, Feudalism and Capitalism in Latin America New Left Review 67, 1971, p.27. See also R. Pagdug 'Problems in the Theory of Slavery', Science & Society, Vol.40, No.1, 1976-77.

4. Laclau, p.28.

5. Quoted in Williams History of The Peoples of Trinidad & Tobago, p.67.

6. Now Penang in Malaya.

7. Mrs. A.C. Carmichael, Domestic Manners and Social Condition of The White, Coloured and Negro population of The West Indies. Negro Universities Press, 1969, Vol.I, p.79.

8. Andrew Pearse, 'Carnival in Nineteenth Century Trinidad' in Peoples and Cultures of The Caribbean, Edited by Michael M. Horowitz, The Natural History Press, New York 1971, p.532.

9. Mrs. Carmichael, Domestic Manners and Social Condition of The White, Coloured and Negro population of the West Indies, Vol.II, p.62.

10. Ibid, p.230.

11. Ibid, Vol.II, p.232.

12. Ibid, pp.226-227.

13. Because of the shortage of slaves in Trinidad & Tobago in relation to the fertility of the soil, at emancipation, planters received higher compensation for slaves than their counterparts in the other islands. The average for British Guiana was £58.50; Trinidad £ 56; Barbados £ 25; Jamaica £ 23; Antigua £ 17; Children in Trinidad had a higher compensation rate than an adult slave in St. Kitts, Nevis and Antigua. Williams, p.83.

14. Donald Wood, Trinidad in Transition, Oxford University Press, 1968, p.49.

15. Ibid, p.48.

16. See F.R. Augier, S.C. Gordon, D.G. Hall & M. Reckord, The Making of The West Indies, Longmans 1961, p.187 for a discussion of this situation.

17. W.G. Sewell, The Ordeal of Free Labour in The British West Indies, Frank Cass, 1968 edition, p.114 my emphasis.

18. Williams, History of the Peoples of Trinidad & Tobago, p.89.

19. Charles Kingsley, At Last a Christmas in the West Indies, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., New York 1900, p.70.

20. Marianne Ramesar, 'The Historical Origins of the Unemployment Problem in Trinidad'. in Caribbean Issues, Vol.III, Nos.2&3, 1977, issue on Unemployment.

21. Williams, History of the Peoples of Trinidad & Tobago, p.92.

22. Sewell, The Ordeal of Free Labour in The British West Indies, p.111.

23. Wood, Trinidad in Transition, p.276.

24. J. Gaffar La Guerre, 'Afro-Indian Relations, An Assessment' in Social and Economic Studies, Vol.25, No.3, 1976.

25. Author Unknown, 'Class Struggles in Trinidad & Tobago 1838-1937' (mimeo), p.49.

26. Class Struggles in Trinidad & Tobago 1838-1937, p.50. See for a more detailed discussion.

27. Williams, Op.cit., p.211.

28. Simey, T.S., Welfare and Planning in The West Indies Oxford Clarendon Press, 1946, p.75.

29. S. Ryan, Race and Nationalism in Trinidad & Tobago, A Study of decolonisation in a multiracial society, University of Toronto Press, 1972, p.28.

30. Brinsley Samaroo, 'Politics and Afro-Indian Relationships in Trinidad' in Calcutta to Caroni, edited by J. La Guerre, Longman Caribbean, 1974.

31. For a broader discussion of the TWA see Brinsley Samaroo 'The Trinidad Workingmens Association and the Origins of Popular Protest in a Crown Colony'. in Social and Economic Studies, Vol.21, No.2, June 1972, pp.205-222.

32. Trinidad Guardian, December 1 & 4, 1919, Quoted in Ryan in Race and Nationalism in Trinidad & Tobago, A Study of decolonisation in a multiracial society, p.29.

33. Ryan, op.cit., p.37. However before this three trade unions already existed, the FWTU, AWWTU and PWWU.

34. See Rennie, History of the Working Class in the Twentieth Century - Trinidad & Tobago, New Beginning Movement 1964 for a discussion of this.

35. Rennie notes that in 1937 the most millitant were the people of the agricultural sector, the dispossessed peasantry, oppressed sugar workers and cane farmers, pp. 84-90.

36. M. Ayearst, The British West Indies, The Search for Self-Government, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1960.

37. Rennie, op.cit., p.118, there are few other discussions of this event so this interpretation here is based mainly on this work.

38. Ibid ... p.121.

39. Edwin Carrington, 'The Post-War Political Economy of Trinidad & Tobago', in Readings in The Political Economy of The Caribbean, N. Girvan and O. Jefferson, editors, 1971, 1st Edition, p.124.

40. Trevor Sudama, 'The Model of the Plantation Economy, The Case of Trinidad & Tobago', in Latin American Perspectives, Issue 20, Winter 1979, Vol.VI, No.I, pp.65-83.

41. D. McPherson 'The Trinidad Pirate Taxi Service as a Social Phenomenon', Minor Paper in Sociology, Cipriani Labour College, Trinidad & Tobago, p.1.

42. Carrington, op.cit., p.144.

43. Ibid, p.133. In 1950 the Trinidad & Tobago dollar exchanged at 58.3 U.S. cents. Prior to the 1949 devaluation of the pound sterling it had exchanged for roughly 84 cents.

44. Trinidad Guardian, October 19, 1950, 'The PPG and The Political Future', quoted in S. Ryan, op.cit., p.90.

45. Ivar Oxaal, Black Intellectuals Come to Power, Schenkman Publishers, 1968, p.98.

46. See Archie Singham, The Hero and The Crown in A Colonial Polity, New Haven, 1968, for a discussion of this phenomenon.

47. Carrington, op.cit., p.139.

48. Rennie, op.cit., pp.153-154.

49. H. Craig, The Legislative Council of Trinidad & Tobago, Vol.VI, Studies in Colonial Legislation, edited by Margery Perham, Faber & Faber Ltd, London, 1951.

50. Rennie, op.cit., p.159.

51. Carrington, op.cit., p.139.

52. NACLA Report 'Oil in The Caribbean - Focus on Trinidad', Vol.10, No.8, 1976, pp.3-30.

53. F.W. Dalley, General Industrial Conditions and Labour Relations in Trinidad, Government Printing Office, 1954, Quoted in I. Oxaal, op.cit., p.190.

54. W.H. Knowles, Trade Union Development and Industrial Relations in The British West Indies, University of California Press, 1959.

55. S. Ryan, op.cit., p.412.

56. OAS-CIAP (Inter American Committee on The Alliance For Progress - OAS) 'Domestic Efforts and The Needs For External Financing For The Development of Trinidad & Tobago', 1971, p.61.

57. Action Camejo, 'Racial Discrimination in Employment in the Private Sector in Trinidad & Tobago' Social and Economic Studies, Vol.21, No.3, 1971.

58. OAS-CIAP, 1971, p.13.

59. Ibid, p.16, the industry had not grown between 1962 and 1965.

60. Ibid, p.2.

61. Ibidem.

62. Wally Look-Lai, 'The Present Stage of the Trinidad Revolution' in The Black Liberator, Vol.2, No.2, 1973/74, pp.148-164.

63. D. Nicholls, 'East Indians and Black Power in Trinidad' in Race, Vol.XII, No.4, April, 1972, p.457.

64. Quoted in F. McDonald, Trinidad - The February Revolution, New York Institute of Current Affairs, Vol.II, 1970.

65. NJAC, From Slavery to Slavery, Port of Spain, 1970, p.10, 1951, Quoted in S. Ryan, op.cit., p.426.

66. Alfred Bilmanis, A History of Latvia, Princeton, New Jersey, 1951.

67. Williams, History of the Peoples of Trinidad & Tobago, p.56.

68. The Amelioration Laws were passed in The British Colonies in 1787-9. They were aimed at improving the conditions of the slaves in order to

    1. forestall the call for total abolition of slavery and
    2. to increase the 'natural reproduction' of the slave women in the colonies.

    The Tobago Legislature made their own proposals in 1798. See Williams, History of the Peoples of Trinidad & Tobago, pp.60-62 for details.

69. Williams, History of the Peoples of Trinidad & Tobago, p.58.

70. G. Carmichael, The History of The West Indian Islands of Trinidad & Tobago 1498-1900, Alvin Redman, London, 1961.

71. Author Unknown, 'Class Struggles in Trinidad & Tobago' (mimeo), p.8.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONTEMPORARY CLASS STRUCTURE

Before beginning a class analysis of any society, there are certain points which should be made clear:

1. That class is a dynamic concept which should be examined in terms of processes of class formation;
2. That the emergence of or the circumstances leading to the emergence of classes is often 'influenced by the existence of other determinants of social organisation'.[1] These include, prior class relations, racial divisions, ethnic divisions and kinship relations.

For this reason, the preceding section attempted to trace the development of classes through earlier historical periods. In this section the contemporary class structure is analysed in conjunction with racial, sexual and other social divisions. In Trinidad and Tobago the 'other determinants of social organisation' are colour, race, nationality and sex. It is important to note that sexual divisions are different from others in that they cut through all other determinants.[2] For this reason, sex is always an additional determinant of oppression after the other factors of class, race, nationality and colour have been considered.

Sex and Class

A wealth of new analysis has emerged on the combination of sex analysis with class analysis. Central to this debate have been questions of women's domestic labour (Fee 1976; Seecombe 1970, 1974, 1975; Himmevelt & Mohun 1977; etc.). In addition more recent work has been done on the comparison of women's domestic labour to that of peasant subsistence production in the capitalist world

economy (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1978; Von Werlhof 1978). Positions on this subject have varied from those seeing women as a class in itself to others positing sex as an economic category separate from but not subordinate to class. The question has been further complicated by the fact that many women combine domestic labour with full-time wage-labour. This has not resulted in a gradual transition to full-time wage-labour, rather, it has meant the institution of a dual workload for women, where their position as domestic producers clearly determines their integration into the wage-labour force.[3] (Beechey 1978).

In the specific instance of the Caribbean,[4] the pre-wage labour period saw the full participation of the majority of women in production for exchange. The extent of this participation was so great that it superseded what is customarily accepted as women's primary production activity - domestic production.[5] The phenomenon of the 'housewife' and full-time domestic production is therefore a fairly recent introduction into Caribbean society (Reddock 1979) dating from the abolition of slavery.[6] According to W. Arthur Lewis (1950) for example:

> 'In Jamaica, the ratio of gainfully occupied women to total number of women between the ages of 15 and 60 has declined from 78% in 1911 to 50% in 1943...in the Leeward Islands...the proportion of gainfully occupied women to women of 10 years and over declined from 73% in 1891 to 48% in 1946'.[7]

Following the above, for analytical purposes, women have to be examined in two different but complimentary ways: first as wage-labourers and members of the working class or (as in this paper) as petty producers and members of the petty bourgeoisie; and second as non-paid domestic producers who are indirectly exploited by capital. In the analysis of sex and class therefore, I would suggest that a separate economic category of 'domestic producer' be introduced. This category by definition would include

almost all women even though a certain number of them participate in other economic activities.

In most pre-feminist analysis, married women as domestic producers took the class position of their husbands. Thus the bourgeois woman was often not a bourgeois herself but was the wife of one. In similar vein, Marx's discussion of the working class always assumed that It was male. It is now the task of modern feminist analysis to develop a more complete paradigm.

Race and Class

In the decade of the 1960s, attempts at theorising relationships among races and 'cultural groups' in Caribbean societies, were based mainly on variants of plural society theory. The main proponent of this was Michael G. Smith,[8] a Jamaican sociologist who based his theory on research done in Jamaica, St. Vincent, Grenada and Carriacou. In the development of his ideas, Smith drew heavily on the work of J.S. Furnivall on British Colonial Policy in South Asia, in which he stated:

> 'In Burma, as in Java, probably the first thing that strikes the visitor is the medley of peoples - European, Chinese, Indian and native. It is in the strictest sense a medley for they mix but do not combine. Each group holds by its own religion its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the market place, in buying and selling. There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side but separately, within the same political unit. Even in the economic sphere, there is a division of labour along racial lines'.[9]

In his own work, M.G. Smith saw Caribbean society as comprising political units each containing a number of cultural groups. These cultural groups differ among each other in the forms in which they participate in particular institutions identified by him as, marriage, the family, education, religion, economic institutions,

language and folklore. These individual societies are held together by force which is monopolised by one cultural group which has political power, and participation in the labour market is determined by racial factors and membership in particular cultural groups. Despite this latter point however, Smith cautions that cultural group differences must not be confused with class differences, but rather that every cultural group has within it a hierachical arrangement.

Out of these ideas, he developed a concept of 'cultural pluralism' which he defines in the following words:

> 'By cultural plurality I understand a condition in which two or more different cultural traditions characterise the population of a given society. To discover whether or not this heterogeneity obtains, we must make a detailed study of the institutions of population in which we are interested to discover their form, variety and distribution. In a culturally homogeous society, such institutions as marriage, the family, religion, property and the like, are common to the total population. Where cultural plurality obtains, different sections of the total population practice different forms of these institutions; and because institutions involve patterned activities, social relations and idea-systems, in a condition of cultural plurality the culturally differentiated sections will differ in their system of belief and value. Where this condition of cultural plurality is found, the societies are plural societies. Where cultural homogeneity obtains, the societies are homogeneous units'.10

While accepting some different notion of pluralism, the formulation as put forward by Furnivall and Smith was strongly criticised by L. Braithwaite (1960). He criticises Furnivall for putting forward an ideal type of 'unitary or homogeneous society' in contrast to plural society which in reality does not exist. But while acknowledging that all societies have pluralistic aspects, he notes that no society can exist without a minimum of

sharing of common values. In obscuring this fact, he continues, Furnivall 'lays too much stress on economic factors affecting policy and too little on the necessary existence of sentiments favourable to the metropolitan power and the ways and means by which such sentiments are inculcated and encouraged'.[11] In addition, he adds that the mere existence of cultural pluralism is not enough to threaten the maintenance of the social order. Braithwaite continues by criticising the Caribbean advocates of Plural Society theory for defining society in cultural terms and not in terms of social action, noting that culturally homogeneous societies are not necessarily less unstable (or more stable) than 'homogeneous'[12] Western societies.

Within the decade, the original theory as formulated by Smith has come under a great deal of criticism, reformulation and adjustment. (Mckenzie 1968; Cross 1968; etc.) But more or less some vague concept of 'pluralism' is accepted, in particular in relation to the more racially diverse countries such as Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Surinam (see Table 9 for Racial Distribution). The Marxist critique of these formulations, however, while acknowledging that they may give a good picture of these societies dismiss them as being of mere descriptive value and not useful for a radical analysis which would attempt to establish the historical factors which led to the development of the existing social formations and the processes of change which are taking place within the societies. In addition, any analysis of society which ignores questions of class can be of little utility even if some notion of power relations is acknowledged.

Table 9

Racial Distribution in Trinidad & Tobago - 1970 Census

African	42.8%
Indian	40.1%
European	1.2%
Chinese	.9%
Mixed	14.2%
Other	.8%

Source: Pocket Statistical Digest, 1978, Central Statistical Office.

This chapter therefore attempts a class analysis in which factors of race, colour and nationality are integrated. This will be done through a discussion of fractions, strata and segments within classes, as defined below following Stuart Hill (1977) and Ken Post (1978).

Fraction: A distinction related to different types of economic practice within the same class, within the same mode of production and exchange. These involve different forms of labour power and means of production and different ways of combining them. For example, the commercial bourgeoisie, the agricultural proletariat.

Strata: A distinction within a class which rests on differences in the qualitative and quantitative aspects of its structure. Strata have unequal access to the means of production and labour power at the disposal of the class and so benefit unequally in the distributed value.

Segments: A distinction within a class, based on the origins of the segment in (a) different historical mode(s) of production. These, at a certain point become articulated into a new social formation and become a segment of a newly forming class in that formation, for example, old land-owning class, immigrant workers.

Despite the structuralist appearance of this analysis, it is important to note that all of these categories within classes and classes themselves, are not static, but rather are part of a dynamic system which through articulation[13] and contradiction among its different parts is always changing.

A Framework for the Analysis of Class

The practice among social scientists, in particular structuralist marxist social scientists, of putting people into boxes, can often have such confusing and conflicting results that their eventual utility can be questioned. For example different analysts working within the same area can come up with conflicting results of, for example the size of the working class. In many instances this results from the use of different criteria for the definition of classes. This situation has been further complicated by the tendency of some to analyse classes in abstraction without a proper understanding of the concrete situation and has resulted in a great deal of fallacious theorising.

Of particular importance to this paper is the definition of the petty bourgeoisie. In more recent work, the term petty bourgeoisie (Leys 1975; Shivji 1976) or 'new' petty bourgeoisie (Poulantzas 1975) has been used to include what this paper later refers to as the middle strata - managers, professionals, top civil servants and teachers.[14] Poulantzas in his work, categorises this 'new' petty bourgeoisie and the traditional petty bouregoisie (of small scale production and ownership, industrial craftsmen and traders)[15] as one class, the former being a new segment. He bases this on his argument that the determination of classes cannot be seen only at the economic level but that the political and ideological levels are also to be considered. The

'new' petty bourgeoisie is thus classified because 'both the old and new petty bourgeoisie bear the same ideological relationship to the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie'.[16] This position while accepted and in common usage, has been criticised by Wright (1976) and Post (1978). Both of them admit that even though ideological and political levels of determination are important, they can never supersede economics as a determinant of class. In addition Wright goes on to show that in spite of similar ideological positions between these two groups, there are possibly as many opposing interests, for example

> 'In particular, the old petty bourgeoisie* is constantly threatened by the growth of monopoly capitalism, while the new petty bourgeoisie is clearly dependent upon monopoly capitalism for its reproduction'.[17]

His two arguments are summed up in the following words

> "Poulantzas's claim that the traditional and new petty bourgeoisie are members of the same class is criticised on two grounds: 1. the ideological divisions between the two categories are at least as profound as the commonalities; 2. while ideological relations may play a part in the determination of class position they cannot neutralise divergent class positions determined at an economic level'.[18]

In dealing more generally with the relationship of the petty bourgeoisie to other classes, I have found the work of Erik Olin Wright (1976) particularly illuminating. He puts forward an alternative framework (to Poulantzas and others) for dealing with ambiguities in the class structure. In introducing the framework he states 'An alternative way of dealing with such ambiguities in the class structure is to regard some positions as occupying objectively contradictory locations within class relations'. He continues 'Rather than eradicating these contradictions by artificially classi-

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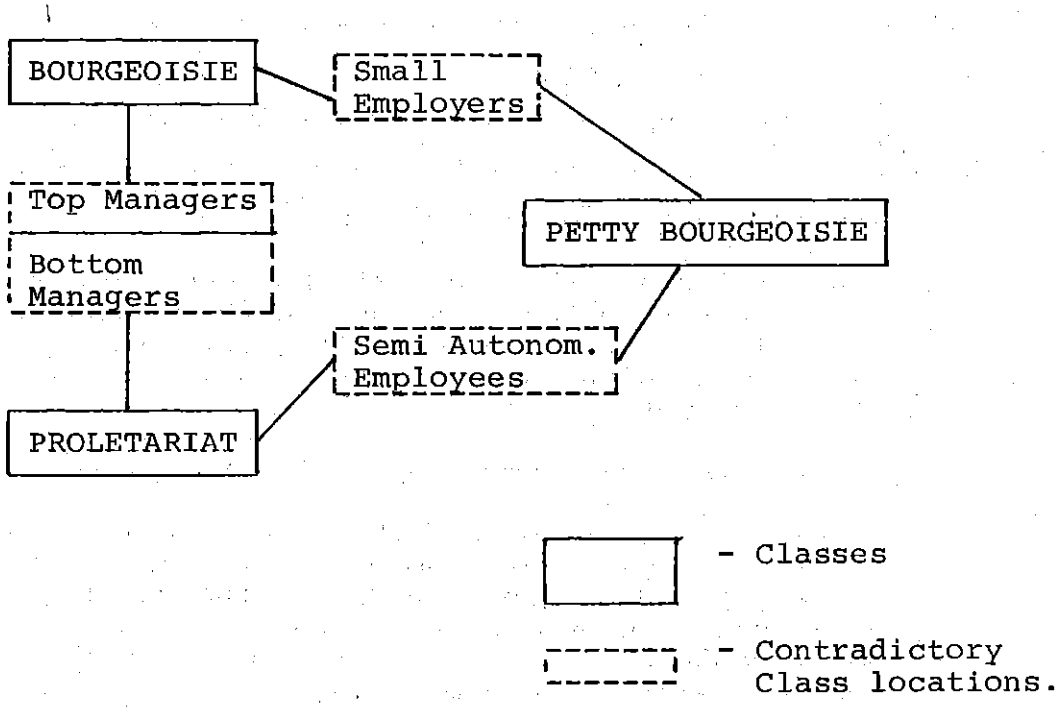
* In Advanced Capitalist Countries.

fying every position within the social division unambiguously into one class or another, contradictory locations need to be studied in their own right'.[19]

Figure 1
Class Boundaries in Advanced Capitalist Societies - E.O. Wright.



Top Managers - Professionals, technocrats, managers (by occupational title) in the authority structure.
Bottom Managers - All supervisors not classified as Top Managers.
Semi-Autonomous Employees - All professional teachers, technicians, managers (by occupation), craftsmen not in the supervisory structure.
Small Employees - Less than 50 employees - Less than 10 employees.

According to Wright in order for the nature of advanced capitalist society to be understood, it is necessary to:

'1. understand the various processes which constitute class relations;

2. analyse their historical transformation in the course of historical development;

3. examine the ways in which differentiation of these various processes have generated a number of contradictory locations within the class structures of advanced capitalist societies'.[20]

This table therefore is to be understood as one representing a situation in which movement is taking place in different directions and where positions between the classes are seen as being in a contradictory location. Wright sees these movements as taking place in a number of ways. For example between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat there is a continuum of various levels of managerial and supervisory personnel which emerges out of a number of social processes that occur during the course of capitalist development. These processes can be identified as:

- the progressive loss of control over the labour process on the part of direct producers;
- the elaboration of complex authority hierarchies within capitalist enterprises and bureaucracies, for example:

a) the development of managerial hierachies;
b) the partial division between legal ownership and economic ownership;
c) the division between control over the labour process and economic control;

- the differentiation of various fractions originally embodied in the entrepreneurial capitalist.

These contradictory locations (between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat) are however much more straightforward conceptually than those between the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie

(P-B) have control over the physical means of production and full economic ownership but do not control labour power. In this instance, movement towards the bourgeoisie involves the employment of labour, then they cease to be petty bourgeois and become small capitalists. In a more complex manner, in the opposite instance, the petty bourgeoisie (like the managers) become increasingly proletarianised through the deeper capitalist penetration into their activities. Similarly, the semi-autonomous employees, as shown by Braverman[21] are also being proletarianised through reduction in their control over their work process.

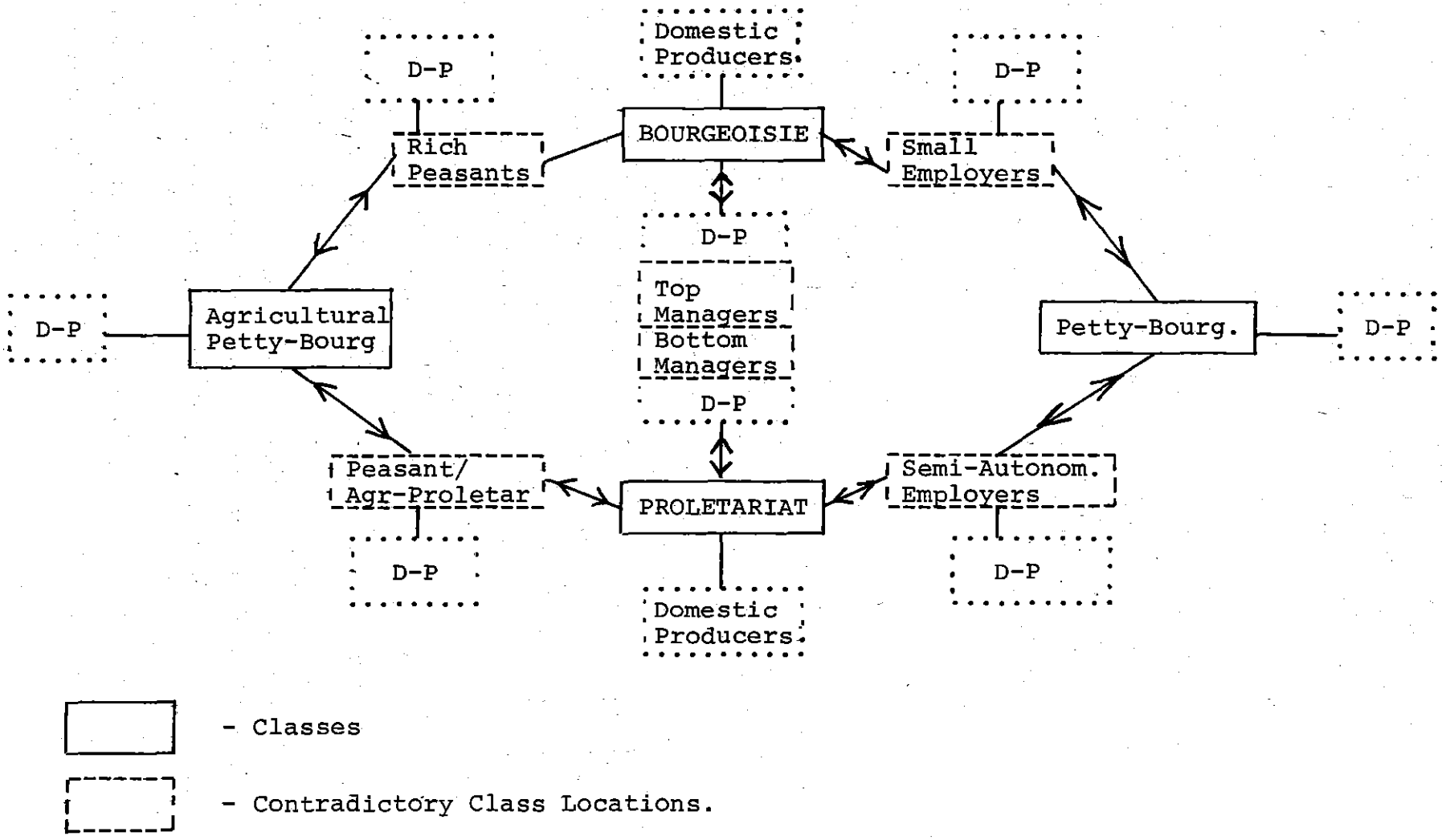
Thus we have a situation of continuous class formation where because of particular circumstances, certain categories of workers end up in contradictory locations between classes.

This framework however while illuminating the nature of class relations, needs to be adapted for use by this study. For example it does not deal adequately with the agricultural petty bourgeoisie (the peasantry) or with domestic producers who reproduce the class structure. The adaptation of this framework has necessitated the addition of more 'boxes' but this is not meant to make the presentation more structural. Rather it is meant to show the complexity of class relations in peripheral societies (and indeed in all societies) which should not be ignored.

In figure 2 we see the addition of two contradictory locations between the agricultural petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. The agricultural proletariat as a rule combine wage labour on plantations and estates with private production both for sale and for personal consumption. The rich peasants, like their non-agricultural counterparts employ wage labour but on a smaller scale than the agricultural bourgeoisie.

Figure 2

The Contemporary Class Structure in Peripheral Capitalist Societies.



As mentioned earlier, the problems of integrating unpaid domestic producers into a class analysis have not been overcome. Within the household, these producers (mainly women) are in particular relationship with capital in that they produce new labourers for capital and daily reproduce the labour expended in different forms of capitalist production. Domestic producers therefore are linked to each other as they all experience similar relations of production, however, they are differentiated in that they reproduce different types of labour power.

Because of the nature of their special relationship to capital which is maintained through the domination and control over labour by a man, the domestic producer's position appears to be static in comparison with other groups (classes, strata, etc.) and separate from the general process of class formation. This particular problem needs much further empirical research and theoretical analysis. This apologetic attempt at a formulation is meant primarily to introduce the issue and the problems which arise in an analysis of sex and class.

The Class Analysis of Trinidad & Tobago.

This section attempts to put forward a class analysis of the society. The petty bourgeoisie itself as a class will not be discussed in detail here but will be dealt with later on in the study. The other classes and strata 'in contradictory locations' will be discussed in terms of structure and consciousness but particularly in relation to the petty bourgeoisie.

The Capitalists and The Workers.

> 'So I tell Percy we could go off to a parlour or a bar. but he say "no, no. When I treat my friends, I don't like black people meddling with my food".

> And was only then that the thing hit me...Then the thing hit me man...And then I see that though Trinidad have every race and every colour; every race have to do special things'. (V.S. Naipaul: 'The Bakers Story' in A Flag On An Island (Penguin).

The Trinidad & Tobago Capitalist class can be divided into four main segments and these segments and the class itself can be further sub-divided into upper, middle and lower strata. These four segments can be differentiated as:

1. descendants of the old planter class divided according to nationality, Spanish, French and British;
2. descendants of Portuguese and Chinese indentured immigrants;
3. Syrian/Lebanese immigrants and European Jewish refugees;
4. foreign immigrants who came later specifically to establish enterprises and to invest, the Sindhis of northern India and Pakistan, United States investors and others.

In addition one can identify four fractions, the agricultural, manufacturing, commercial, and the financial. With the exception of the first and fourth, the other two fractions evolved out of the petty bourgeoisie. As mentioned earlier, the Portuguese and the Chinese aborted their indentureship period on the estates to become small traders. A few Indians who began as petty entrepreneurs have also been able to move into the capitalist class.

With the recent favourable economic situation, this class has been able to consolidate itself in a very strong economic position. This has sometimes revealed itself through minor conflicts with the predominantly African government which otherwise defends and protects

its interests. From a very early period the Trinidad & Tobago capitalist class has been linked to foreign capital. To-day through increased penetration, these two are now closely entwined. It is difficult therefore to differentiate clearly between a national bourgeoisie and foreign economic interests. The following table shows the effects of the 1973 increase in oil prices on capitalist investment.

Table 10
Registered Companies and Business Names 1968-1977

Year	New Companies Registered	Registered in the Country	New Cos. Registered Outside Country	New Business Names	Authorised Share Capital Local Companies
1970	194	174	20	269	143,957 ($000)
1971	210	191	19	348	96,735
1972	302	285	17	318	111,409
1973*	349	341	8	343	93,732
1974	384	360	24	479	222,792
1975	502	487	15	496	321,917
1976	658	646	12	583	217,068
1977	864	839	25	691	337,398

Source: Annual Statistical Digest 1976-77, Central Statistical Office.

* - Year of the oil price increase.

The above table shows very clearly the difference in capital investment between 1973 and 1974. For example, in 1973 the authorised share capital was the lowest in six years and only eight new foreign companies were registered. In 1974 the share capital rose by over 100% to its highest ever (until that period) and 24 new foreign companies were registered. This table also gives an indication here of the size of the individual companies.

It is possible that many of them are very small and that a great many of them fail each year.

The Agricultural Capitalists.

By far the economically strongest segment is the former European planter class. To-day they still comprise most of the agricultural bourgeoisie owing a larger percent of the freehold land. The interests of this segment are met through the Agricultural Society whose membership comprises descendants of planters and planter interests. Their function to-day is similar to that of the original society which was founded in the early 20th century. To-day the economy of the country and the existence of the capitalist class is no longer dependent on estate production. However, much of the land is still used for estate production, but more recently some estates have been 'developed' for housing.

Table 11
Acreage under Agricultural Production 1973.

TOTAL	1,267,236 acres	
Forest	685,604	54.10%
Cacao	119,703	9.44%
Citrus	13,667	1.09%
Sugar	118,703	9.37%
Coconuts	35,797	2.82%
Tonca Beans	1,735	0.14%
Other	292,027	23.04%

Source: Statesman Yearbook, 1978/79.

All sugar plantations are now state owned and there has been a continuing decline in agricultural production (from 11% of G.N.P. in 1960 to 7% in 1974).[22] The interests of this fraction have therefore to a large extent been diversified to other areas of economic activity - commerce, manufacturing and finance.

The Manufacturing Capitalists

This group emerged after the 1950s inauguration of the programme of import substituion industrialisation. Some developed purely local companies while others collaborated with foreign capital in local subsidiaries of foreign companies. This programme particularly in the latter period provided an opportunity for the then old agricultural, Portuguese, Chinese and Syrian/Lebanese commercial bourgeoisie to invest and diversify their operations. Between 1956 and 1966 the manufacturing sector experienced an average annual growth rate of 14% per annum[23] and the profits gained in this area of activity were eventually used to move into the more lucrative area of finance capital.

The Commercial Capitalists

Numerically this comprises mainly Syrians, Chinese, Portuguese and more recently Indians. The activities include large scale commercial trading, import/export, wholesale/retail and entertainment and recreation. The success of these activities, in particular of the older and more established European companies, has led to their consolidation into regional transnational corporations or 'carinationals'[24] whose activities extend to the rest of the Caribbean, for example Neal and Massy Holdings Ltd and Charles McEarnerney and Company Ltd.

It is in this segment of the bourgeoisie that Indian capital is most highly represented. One can say that commercial activity is the first step towards other forms of capitalist enterprise. The most successful, however, have not as a rule been those Indians who descended from indentured immigrants, but rather those immigrant merchants, mainly Sindhis from northern India and Pakistan, and other northern Indians, for example, Kirpalani's Ltd, Narwani's Ltd and Maraj Brothers.

The Financial Capitalists

For the most part this is a relatively new segment which has really been consolidated during this decade. Prior to the 1970s the area of finance capital - banks, insurance companies, finance houses - was under predominantly metropolitan control.[25] The few exceptions were some life insurance companies, for example the Colonial Life Insurance Company, and other small mutual life insurance companies, a few mortagage, building and loan societies and the Trinidad & Tobago Co-operative Bank. Since 1970, the movement into finance capital has been great. However movement leading towards control of the banking industry has so far been contained by the government. Within the decade, all the metropolitan owned banks were requested to divest 49% of their shares to the public. So far many attempts have been made to ensure that a majority of these shares do not become concentrated in the hands of individuals or individual companies. But despite these safeguards, the indications are that there has been some concentration of ownership of bank shares. One outright application by Kirpalanis Ltd to establish a private bank was turned down, but many companies have instead turned to financial/investment companies. In almost all instances, entrace into financial capitalist activity has been determined by the availability of profits made in other activities. Thus the Summit Finance Company developed out of Mootilal Moonan Construction Company and Trinidad Trade Confirmers Ltd out of Kirpalanis Ltd. Since 1970 also new local life insurance companies have emerged such as Nationwide Insurance Company.

This fraction as such therefore is a relatively new one. But it is an extension of old capital into new areas. As shown before, this is not only true for finance but in general investments are not restricted to one sector of the economy.

The Failure of Africans to enter the Capitalist Class

The capitalist class in Trinidad & Tobago has the over-riding characteristic of lighter skin colour. With greater intermarriage and mixing among these segments the nationality differences within the class are being reduced. The main attack on their control of the economy has come from the Indians, in particular the immigrant Sindhi merchants; but local descendents of indentured labourers have been able to enter this class and according to Camejo (1971) Indians form the largest group within the 'Business elite' to have progressed on their own account as entrepreneurs.

Indians	35%	African	22%
Chinese	30%	Off-White	18%
Mixed	25%	White	14%

However as noted in the previous chapter, only 9% of the directors interviewed were Indian while 4% were African.

Many suggestions have been put forward for the lack of African entrepreneurship but no clear explanation has yet been accepted. According to Rennie for example this phenomenon has been the result of continuous attempts throughout history to maintain a permanent colour-justified division of labour which would ensure the existence of an available pool of labour.

Braithwaite (1953) on the other hand postulates two alternative suggestions. He states that:

> '...a purely business relationship between the lower-class vendor and other members of the society whether lower or middle class was difficult to achieve since it was hedged about by certain customary personal relationships'.[26]

He further suggested that because of these relationships which disregarded market conditions, it was easier for immigrants or aliens to the community to enter small business because:

> 'They could control credit without the danger of disrupting personal relationships whereas the lower-class creole had to rely on ubiquitous notices to be found in parlours, such as "Credit makes enemies, Lets be friends; To trust is to buss and to buss is hell". Moreover there were certain tricks of the trade in retail business (e.g. tampering with the scales) which could more easily be resorted to if there was some psychological distance between the proprietor and customer'.[27]

In more material terms, therefore, one can say that the poor Africans perceived themselves as belonging to the same class, thus when antagonistic class relationships developed such as the emergence of petty traders or small shopkeepers, these relationships were perceived in racial terms. In the case of non-African traders antagonistic class relationships could be justified in terms of race as other races owed no solidarity to poor African people.

Another suggestion put forward by Braithwaite was the fact that in the African tradition which was continued in the Caribbean, trading was a female occupation. This can be explained by the fact that wage labour often conflicts with women's traditional 'domestic roles' of 'mothering' and 'wifing'. As a result of this women's participation in these entrepreneurial activities have been limited to those which can be easily combined with housework - food preparation, sewing, knitting and so on. As an extension of this point one can surmise that the fact that women's earnings are always considered 'secondary' could help to explain why more aggressive entrepreneurial techniques were not applied to this activity. Similarly in many parts of non-muslim Africa, one can note a similar situation, for while women predominate in trading, very few have emerged as big capitalists in their societies.

A more general thesis has been suggested by Earl Ofari (1970) in his book 'The Myth of Black Capitalism'. He suggests that capitalist activity has always been alien to new World Africans and most attempts at developing African capitalism in the United States have been dismal failures. He notes:

> 'Black people have the weakest commercial tradition of any people in the United States. For historical reasons, including alienation from the capitalist system and from their African communal tradition, they have been little attracted to trade, shopkeeping, buying and selling or employing labour for the purpose of exploitation'.[28]

As a result of this he states, the experience of African capitalism in the United States has been weak and confined to a small elite.[29]
This situation, he continues, can be explained by the fact that 'the traditional cultural, social and economic foundations of African tribal society were squarely rooted in a very ancient form of communalism'.[30]
One could surmise that European imperialist penetration and the slave trade interrupted the transition from communalism to feudalism in Africa which according to Rodney (1972) was in process at this time.[31] However the communal tradition of that period was to a large extent preserved throughout (and possibly because of) the experience of slavery. Examples of these 'communal throwbacks' were shown by M.J. Herskovits in his studies, for example 'Trinidad Village' where he traced such co-operative practices as 'langniappe', gayap (len-han in Jamaica) and sou sou (sam in Curacao) to West African society.

The answer to this dilemma could be any one or all of these hypotheses. But in the case of Trinidad & Tobago they cannot preclude the fact of the post-emancipation emergence of an African petty bourgeoisie. All these factors notwithstanding, some more specific

explanation is required for the 'fall' of African entrepreneurship in Trinidad & Tobago. It is possible, for example that the more 'well off' members of the emergent petty bourgeoisie, through easier access to education and technical skills, made possible by the Negro Education Grant of 1834,[32] and their experience on the plantations were able to move into higher level wage-employment in the civil service and the new industries. As one writer put it:

> 'It has also been suggested that in British Guiana blacks had greater access to education and technical skills which led them away from plantation work. (Despres 1969 37-41) Blacks became identified with teaching and manning civil service posts in both colonies, occupational characteristics of this ethnic group which still hold true today in Guyana and Trinidad. In Guyana, the skilled mechanics and boilermen of the plantation factories continued to be mainly black even though fieldwork was done by Indians. The blacks in Trinidad also dominated these more prestigious and better paying jobs in mills and boiling houses. Since the bulk of skilled mechanics on the island in the early twentieth century were blacks, they provided a convenient labour reservoir for the oil industry, labour for which continues to be dominated by workers of African descent'.[33]

But even though we may begin to understand the material reasons for the emergence of this particular division of labour, we are still unable to explain why definite practical measures (such as refusals of business loans to Africans or those mentioned by Rennie (1974) had to be used by the European capitalists in order to prevent Africans and to a lesser extent Indians from entering entrepreneurial activity. In such a situation therefore one is forced like Post (1979) to conclude that: 'classes are not all embracing even though all social relations can be said to have a class significance. Thus sex, ethnicity and national identity are also part of the social formation and must be seen to have a semi-autonomous existence'.[34]

The Workers

As a result of factors mentioned above and their numerical supremacy in the population, Africans and Indians form the bulk of the wage-labourers in Trinidad & Tobago. While earlier in the century a broad generalisation could be made stating that Indians comprise rural wage labour while Africans predominate in the urban areas, to-day with the entrance of new industries and increased educational opportunities, the situation has become much more complex. As shown in Table 12 below, in October-December 1978, the labour force of Trinidad & Tobago was 439,000 or 60% of the non-institutional population above 15 years of age. Of this figure, only 132,400 were female. Of this figure, 385,400 had jobs of which 108,000 were female. These statistics in reality reveal much less than they conceal. For example, as mentioned earlier, no differentiation is made between the self-employed and the wage-employed. In addition one cannot be quite convinced that almost 50% of the non institutional population over fifteen years, has no income or is dependent on the other 50% which is employed. As a result of these inadequacies in the compilation of labour statistics, there is no figure for the size of the total wage-labour force as opposed to self-employed. It is the view of this study that large numbers of those categories as unemployed or 'not in the labour force' are in fact engaged in petty production and trade, and this can be extended to include many who are engaged in full-time wage labour.

For purposes of discussion, workers in Trinidad & Tobago can be analysed in terms of four fractions - industrial, agricultural, 'white collar' and service workers.

Table 12

Non-Institutional Labour Force in Trinidad & Tobago 1974 - 1978.

TOTAL POPULATION					
Year	Non Ins. Population	Total lab force	Persons with jobs	Total Unempl	Not in lab force
1974	658,500	393,400 (60%)	331,700	61,800 (16%)	265,100 (40.2%)
1977	720,700	425,800 (59%)	371,000	54,800 (13%)	294,900 (40.9%)
1978	792,500	439,000 (60%)	385,400	53,500 (12%)	290,600 (40.4%)
FEMALE POPULATION					
1974	319,900	114,900 (36%)	89,600	25,300 (22%)	205,000 (64.0%)
1977	354,700	127,400 (36%)	105,500	21,900 (17%)	227,300 (64.0%)
1978	358,700	132,400 (37%)	198,800	23,600 (12%)	226,300 (63.0%)

Source: Quarterly Economic Report, October - December 1978. C.S.O. (adapted).

The Agricultural Workers

This to a large extent comprises descendants of Indian indentured labourers. Most rural agricultural wage labour is performed on sugar plantations and private cocoa, coffee, coconut and citrus estates. Sugar production is the second largest employer of labour, employing 40% of the agricultural labour force in 1974.[35] Non-Indian agricultural labour predominates in the non-sugar estates, particularly in Tobago and the counties of St. Andrew, St. David, Nariva and Mayaro in Trinidad. The majority of these are still owned by European creoles and are managed by large companies such as Gordon Grant Estates Ltd on behalf of local and absentee owners.

Harrison (1979) suggests in his article that many of the African or Afro-Spanish agricultural workers had originally been the owners of the land on which they now worked. He cited the case of 'Demsay' village in Toco where the villagers (mainly migrants from Venezuela and Tobago) as an independent peasantry, produced first subsistence crops, then cocoa for the world market. Through a process of loans and foreclosure on loans, one company owned by William Gordon Gordon (later Gordon Grant & Co. Ltd.) was able to gain ownership and control of most of the land.

This group of workers is among the lowest paid in the country, particularly those employed on private estates. The result is a shortage of workers willing to perform agricultural labour under existing conditions of service. The number of workers employed in agriculture has declined from 68,600 in January to June 1966 to 54,000 for the same period of 1977. Among female workers, the decline was from 19,600 in 1966 to 13,100 in 1977.[36] One is not completely sure where the agricultural workers go when they leave the estates. The little evidence which exists suggests that they move into different areas of

economic activity. There is little evidence here to show that they flock to the cities to become a 'marginalised' sector. What is clear though is that because of the small size of the country, it has been possible for people to change their place of work but not their place of residence (Richardson 1975; Lim Choy 1977), therefore commuting is very important for workers in Trinidad and Tobago.

Industrial Workers

The introduction of the Industrialisation Programme in 1959 was justified as a means of increasing employment opportunities. This however has not materialised. Rather, the opposite situation has emerged where increasing industrialisation has resulted in increasing unemployment. In 1977 the number of workers employed in mining, quarrying and manufacturing was 72,200 out of a total labour force of 425,800.[37] This is however supplemented by 63,800 workers in construction and public utilities. Among industrial workers, female participation is very low. In 1977, there were 15,700 female workers in the category, mining, quarrying and manufacturing, while there were only 5,400 in construction and the utilities. The racial composition of workers in particular industries is usually determined by the location of the enterprise. Women are concentrated in the garment and food processing industries. The high level of trade union organisation in Trinidad & Tobago has prevented the establishment of large numbers of export-oriented manufacturing industries, using female labour, which has occurred in other countries. One electronics firm of this type, Trindata, ceased operations after the female staff had joined a radical trade union and concluded a favourable (to the workers) industrial agreement.

A practice has developed in certain Caribbean countries of the establishment of special government public utility projects aimed at providing part-time employment for the unemployed. In Jamaica this is known as the 'Impact Programme' while in Trinidad & Tobago it was known as the 'Special Works Projects'. For the most part, this work involves road building and repair, clearing drains, and sidewalks and so on. The majority of jobs are allocated to men while women are concentrated in water carrying and weeding. The original length of employment was five days but was subsequently increased to ten days. In 1979 those activities were organised under a new body The Development and Environment Works Department (DEWD) and the length of the work period was increased to forty days.

Large numbers of the unemployed and petty producers and traders participate in this activity but there is great competition for these jobs. To a large extent their allocation is controlled by political affiliation and personal contacts but they are nevertheless actively sought after because of their relatively good remunerative nature.

'White collar' workers

This term is used here in a very broad sense to include non-manual wage labourers. These include administrative, technical, clerical and secretarial workers. Within this grouping, women are highly represented in the clerical and secretarial positions. All racial groups are represented in this fraction and this is one of the few areas of wage labour where Europeans are represented. This type of work takes place mainly in government departments, statutory boards, commercial enterprises, banks and financial intermediaries, and in the clerical and administrative sections of manufacturing and other enterprises.

Two main theoretical issues emerge when this fraction of workers is discussed. First, there is great difficulty in defining where the middle strata ends and the working class begins. In answer to this, one could suggest, following Olin Wright, that the separation occurs when the worker gains a high degree of autonomy over his or her work or attains a supervisory position in authority over other workers. The second issue concerns the question of whether white-collar workers are workers at all, as they do not produce surplus value, but live off the surplus value created by workers. Marx's discussion of the commercial worker throws some light on the discussion, he states:

> 'The commercial worker does not produce any surplus value directly. But the value of his labour is determined by the value of his labour-power, that is, of its cost of production, while the application of this labour-power, its exertion, expression and consumption, the same as in the case of every other wage-labourer is by no means limited by the value of his labour power. His wages are therefore not necessarily in proportion to the mass of profits which he helps the capitalist to realize. What he costs the capitalist and what he makes from him are two different things. He adds to the income of the capitalist not by creating any direct surplus value, but by helping him to reduce the costs of the realisation of surplus value. In so doing, he performs partly unpaid labour'.[38]

In addition one might add that the 'white collar' worker like the other workers, have a similar position on the so-called labour market in that they are both forced to sell their labour power in order to live, and can be replaced at any time by a member of the reserve army of labour.

In Trinidad & Tobago this is a relatively small part of the wage labour force. For example the number of clerical workers employed in Government services, Banks and financial institutions for November 1978 was 13,133 of which 8,277 are women.

Service Workers

Existing labour statistics show that in 1977 service workers comprised 89,600 out of a total of 371,000 workers employed in all industries. The fact that they do not differentiate between the 'employed' and the 'self employed' leaves one unclear as to how many of these are wage-labourers. The term 'services' includes a wide range of activities, and within this fraction a great deal of stratification is present. They include hair dressing, laundry facilities, cinemas, shops, stores, cleaners, gardeners and so on. In considering the nature of this work it is not surprising that of the total number of 105,500 women employed in 1977, the largest number, 38,400, was employed in the 'services'. With the increased economic wealth of the country, there has been a tendency for the number of service enterprises to increase. The service sector now employs the largest proportion of workers in the country, 94,600 out of a total of 385,400 employed.

Paid Domestic Workers.

These are a special section of service workers. According to Anderson (1974) domestic and personal servants, like ideological employees in government, law and religion are 'unproductive' workers in that they do not produce surplus labour even though these might be socially necessary activities. In this situation the domestic employees appear to be close to the middle strata (his middle class). Post (1978) in his discussion of the Jamaican situation in 1938, places them in the middle strata. In my view, domestic workers as wage-labourers, like commercial workers are more correctly classified as members of the working class if one takes into consideration ideological and political factors other than the economic.

Existing statistics give no indication of the number of domestic workers (paid) in the country. This is

because, first, labour force statistics as yet do not differentiate clearly enough among different types of economic activity. Second, all attempts at registration of domestic workers, even for purposes of National Insurance have proved inefficient. The reasons for this are two-fold. Domestic workers in Trinidad & Tobago are almost totally female. There is no tradition here as in some African countries of having male house servents.

For most women and men, domestic work is never considered work, so much so that the Industrial Relations Act of 1972 decreed that household workers are not workers and as a result are exempt from the little protection which the IRA provides for 'workers'.[40] This situation is further complicated by the fact that the majority of these workers are illegal immigrants from the smaller West Indian islands, or 'newcomers' from rural areas. The former fear any type of registration or organisation which might cause them to be repatriated. These workers experience the worst working conditions of all workers. The HATT Report of household workers in 1975 noted that of over 200 workers surveyed, 40% worked more than 8 hours per day, 25% worked more than 12 hours per day, 32% worked between 6½ and 7 days per week and 25% worked over 60 hours per week. For this work, the average wage was $15.00 per week and the estimated expenditure on household help amounted to only 1.1% of total household expenditure.

Since this period, a union of domestic employees has been formed and legislation to establish minimum wages and conditions of work has been put forward by the government.

THE AGRICULTURAL PETTY BOURGEOISIE (The Peasantry).

This class can be divided in two main segments, the African peasantry which developed after slavery and settled on the periphery of the plantations; and the

Indian peasantry which developed after indentureship. The Caribbean peasantry is not indigeneous and so is different from peasantries in other parts of the world. According to S. Mintz (1974 b) 'Their poverty, rural styles and agricultural dependence make them look like most of the Third World, but the similarities are deceptive and untrustworthy'.[41] This class is fairly recent in origin and due to the small size of these countries and their historical experience there are strong and continuous contacts with urban areas.

The peasantry can also be divided into four fractions - food crop farmers, livestock farmers (including hatcheries), cane farmers and tobacco farmers. It can also be stratified in terms of poor, middle and rich peasants according to the size of the land holdings, scale of operations and number of employees if any. The following table gives an idea of the distribution of land holdings and the possible size of the peasantry.

Table 13

Number of Holdings by Acreage, 1963.

Holding Size	Trinidad & Tobago		Tobago	
	Estimated Acreage	No of Holdings	Estimated Acreage	No of Holdings
1-9	94,700	25,800	12,450	3,280
1-4	36,900	16,650	4,900	2,100
5-9	57,800	9,210	7,550	1,180
10 & over	436,560	9,936	33,349	807
10-99	185,073	9,432	12,533	758
100-499	87,368	411	7,816	36
500-999	33,765	50	4,963	7
1,000 & over	131,354	42	8,037	6
Total	531,250	35,800	45,800	4,090

Source: Adapted from the Annual Statistical Digest 1976/77, C.S.O.

This table gives a picture of the control of landed capitalists over property. A cursory examination of this table shows that in 1963, almost one-fifth of the landholdings were owned by 42 landowners and that while 25,860 holdings of between 1-9 acres had a total acreage of 94,700 acres, 9,936 holdings of 10 acres and over had an acreage of 36,560 acres.

Table 14
Number of Holdings by Land Utilisation - 1963 (non accumulative).

	Trinidad & Tobago	Tobago
Cropland	38,920	5,540
Grassland (rough pasture)	4,950 (4,270)	1,000 (850)
Non Cultivable Land (built on & service)	4,770 (3,480)	310 (260)
Forest Land	14,680	1,590
Total Number of Holdings	35,800	4,090

Source: Adapted from the Annual Statistical Digest 1976/77 C.S.O.

These figures represent the situation of about 16 years ago. Increasingly since that period, large areas of land have fallen into disuse and since 1973 have been the focus of much financial speculation. The possibility of petty-entrepreneurial enterprise or employment in the 'Special Works' project have removed the necessity for many young people to participate in difficult agricultural labour for little remuneration. As a result the majority of estates and middle peasant holdings face labour shortages. According to Harrison (1979) 'As the wages paid by government for this type of manual work greatly exceed those paid for agricultural labour, it

should occasion no surprise that Demsay-born men, if they stay in the village at all prefer to work on the roads rather than the land'.[42]

The number of 25,860 for example suggests a large peasantry, but to a large extent, much of this land, particularly in the areas previously dominated by an African peasantry, has been abandonned. In the predominantly Indian areas the situation has been different possibly because their relatively larger family size has allowed for a greater concentration of labour on their land holdings.

A more recent group of peasant farmers has developed out of the government programme of distributing farms from former State lands. Between 1967 and 1976, 1,360 such farms were established on 10,680 acres of land. This included

- 260 Dairy Farms (15-20 acres each);
- 70 Pig Breeding & Fattening farms (5 acres each);
- 65 Tree crop farms (average 10 acres);
- 943 Food & Vegetable crop farms (average 5 acres);
- 22 Tobacco Farms (average 10 acres).

Food Crop Farmers

These combine private agricultural production with wage labour on sugar estates, government agricultural stations and other areas. Since the beginning of the century field work on the sugar plantations has been organised on a 'task' basis. Workers, therefore, are able to begin work at a very early hour (usually three or four in the morning) and complete their 'task' in their own time (usually seven to eight in the morning). The rest of the time is used for private cultivation for food crops, mainly vegetables such as tomatoes, cabbage, cauliflower, and lettuce. In some rural areas rice is grown for local consumption. The Aranguez area is the main production centre for the urban Port of Spain population. But as

the urban area spreads eastwards, housing, road construction and industries increasingly encroach on the land presently used for food production.

Since 1973 and the expansion in the money supply, the declining peasant food production has been met by an increasing demand from the financially secure urban populations. This has given rise to an inflationary situation and an improvement in the economic viability of peasant production. To capitalise on this situation many farmers who previously sold their produce at wholesale prices in the market are now selling their produce directly to the public in the retail markets (in competition with the retail vendors) and in mini-markets and stalls throughout the country. Thus the agricultural petty bourgeoisie is at this very time becoming more involved in urban petty bourgeoisie activity. This is often in competition with the urban-based non-agricultural petty entrepreneurs and sometimes perceived in terms of racial antagonism.

Fishing

Between 1972 and 1977, 1,369 fishing boats were registered in Trinidad and Tobago. Of this the majority, 457, were registered in County St. George, while 255 were registered in Tobago and 289 in St. Patrick.[43] Here as well, while fishing has also been declining, there has been a tendency toward increased retailing outside the established wholesale and retail markets in make-shift stalls and by itinerant vendors.

THE MIDDLE STRATA

The term 'middle strata' is used here for want of a better term. The trend of many writers (Shivji 1976; Leys 1975; Poulantzas 1975;) to refer to this group as the petty bourgeoisie has been rejected earlier in this section.

There has also been a tendency to refer to this group as a 'middle class' but this is misleading as the terminology is linked with the use of purely economic criteria (mainly income) in the determination of a upper, middle and lower class. For purposes of this study, this group includes what is termed by Olin Wright - top managers, bottom managers, and semi-autonomous employees such as teachers, professionals, technocrats, intellectuals and bureaucrats, which are in contradictory locations between classes. They are similar to the working class in that they are wage employed, but they do not produce surplus value and so are paid out of the wealth produced by the workers. The contradictions become much more apparent when the middle strata wage employees are in controlling and supervisory positions over the workers. To-day in Trinidad & Tobago, there is an increasing proletarianisation of all wage-labourers with the effect that many differences between the two groups (middle strata and workers) are being reduced. The resulting increase in middle strata trade unionism is a reflection as well as a harbinger of the potential class consciousness of this group.

The Trinidad & Tobago middle strata are racially diverse and comprise members of all races in the country. They however can be divided into the following segments.

1. Descendants of the 'free people of colour' who developed out of the relations between masters and slaves.
2. Members of the African working-class and peasantry who have become socially mobile due to increased educational opportunities.
3. Members of the Indian peasantry and working class who have become socially mobile due to increased educational opportunities.

Prior to 1970, petty bourgeois activity was disdained by this salaried group. Higher education was seen as the way out for the African working class. In the 1950s this was done through the island scholarship system. According to Braithwaite (1954) even though the Europeans were able to keep darker-skinned peoples out of commercial enterprise, the Colonial government could not overtly discriminate in the provision of public facilities such as education. This secondary and higher education led to entrance into the Civil Service and the emergence of professionals, mainly doctors, lawyers and a few dentists. The post 1956 period has been one of middle strata ascendancy, for with increased educational opportunities, in particular the consolidation of the University of the West Indies, there has been a numerical increase and economic strengthening of the strata.

Since 1970, and the call for black economic power, there has been a tendency towards increased petty bourgeois activity among the middle strata. This is carried out in conjunction with wage labour. Since 1973, this has been facilitated by the increased money supply in the country.

Within the class itself, there are differences based on skin colour. After the disturbances in 1970, token dark-skinned workers have been recruited into banks and other areas of private enterprise, but the situation has not significantly changed. Similarly, tensions exist between Africans and Indians in the competition for jobs, for example in the Civil Service, which the former once felt to be their preserve, particularly as political power is held by an African nationalist party. Despite the great amount of fear and mistrust which characterise the middle strata, their support of the party in power, whose policies have occasioned and maintained their comfortable existence, has ensured the continuance of the rule of the Peoples National Movement for twenty-three years.

In the particular instance of Trinidad & Tobago the already dynamic class structure has undergone sharp changes in answer to the 1973 changes in the economy. In general what is important to note from this chapter is that the increase in money supply has facilitated much movement on the part of all classes and strata towards increased entrepreneurial activity. In local parlance it is described as 'trying to get a "piece of the action"'. Despite this obvious increase in petty bourgeois activity, there have been no known attempts realistically to enumerate the size of this group.[44] The rest of this study will go on to discuss in detail the structure, consciousness and organisation of the petty bourgeoisie and the effects on it of the changes in the economy.

Footnotes

1. Ken Post, Arise Ye Starvelings - The Jamaican Labour Rebellion of 1938 and Its Aftermath. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1978, p.8.

2. Determinants - those 'which have the power of determinining' Penguin dictionary 2nd edition, 1977.

3. For example women are never seen as primary contributors to the family income. Their wages are always seen as supplementary or 'pin money'. In addition they can be more easily expelled from wage labour as their household activity is seen as their primary one.

4. Caribbean in this study refers to all the West Indian islands, and mainland areas bound by the Caribbean Sea, which had the historical experience of African slavery and plantation economy.

5. Domestic production includes all housework, child-bearing and child-rearing.

6. 1838 in the British colonies, 1848 in the French and Danish, 1863 in the Dutch, 1873 in Puerto Rico and 1888 in Hispanic America.

7. W. Arthur Lewis, 'Industrialisation in the Caribbean' Caribbean Commission; Port of Spain, 1950, pp.3, 4.

8. The two main works of M.G. Smith on Plural Society in the Caribbean are:

   a) 'Social and Cultural Pluralism' in Social and Cultural Pluralism in The Caribbean, Conference Papers in Annals of The New York Academy of Sciences Volume 83, 1960, p.763, edited by Vera Rubin.

   b) Plural Society in the British West Indies, University of California Press, 1965.

9. J.S. Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, Cambridge University Press, 1957, p.304.

10. Smith The Plural Society, p.14.

11. Lloyd Braithwaite, 'Social Stratification and Cultural Pluralism' in Social and Cultural Pluralism in The Caribbean, in Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences Volume 83, 1960, p.819.

12. His emphasis p.824.

13. To articulate 'both to join together and to give clear expression to' in K. Post Arise Ye Starvelings, p.18.

14. Unproductive wage-earners, see Poulantzas, Classes in Contemporary Capitalism, p.216 for his definition of productive labour. (NLB 1975 London).

15. Poulantzas op cit. p.204.

16. Erik Olin Wright, 'Class Boundaries in Advanced Capitalist Societies' in New Left Review, 98, Volume 1, 1976, p.6.

17. Wright op cit. p.24

18. Wright op cit. p.18

19. Wright op cit. p.26.

20. Ibid p.27.

21. H. Bravermans Labour and Monopoly Capital, Monthly Review Press, 1974.

22. Caribbean Basin Economic Survey, March/April, 1976 Vol.2, No.2.

23. Geoff Lamb 'Money is no Problem' Aspects of The Political Economy of Trinidad, Paper presented to Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1978.

24. 'Carinationals' Caribbean multinationals, term used by Clive Nunez in May Day 1978 - Addresses by Progressive Trade Union Leaders. TIWU Print Trinidad & Tobago.

25. The Banking Companies operating in Trinidad & Tobago are:

Royal Bank of Canada (Trinidad & Tobago) Ltd.)
- Canada
Bank of Nova Scotia
- Canada
Canadian Bank of Commerce
- Canada
Chase Manhattan Bank
- U.S.A.
First National City Bank
- U.S.A.
Barclays Bank (Trinidad & Tobago Ltd.)
- Britain

National Commercial Bank of Trinidad & Tobago
- Trinidad & Tobago Government Workers Bank of Trinidad & Tobago.
- Trinidad & Tobago Government & Labour Congress Trinidad & Tobago Co-operative Bank
- Trinidad & Tobago (private).

26. Lloyd Braithwaite 'Social Stratification in Trinidad' in Social and Economic Studies, Vol.2, Nos. 2&3, 1954, p.149.

27. Braithwaite Ibid p.150

28. Earl Ofari, The Myth of Black Capitalism, p.10 Monthly Review Press, 1970.

29. Ofari cites the case of Madame C.J. Walker whose cosmetics industry was extremely successful. According to Mme Walker, its success was based on her realisation one day that all black people wanted to look white. Her industry produced cosmetics which attempted to do just this. Symbolically Ofari could be suggesting that success in entrepreneurship for Africans necessitates a denial of their Africanness.

30. Ofari, p.11

31. Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Bogle l'Overture, London, 1972, pp.54-55

32. Shirley Gordon, A Century of West Indian Education - A Source Book, Longman 1963, p.23. Up until the 20th Century, rules existed prohibiting illegitimate children from attending secondary school. By definition this excluded African children. pp.239-40.

33. Bonham C. Richardson 'Plantation Infrastructure and Labor Mobility in Guyana and Trinidad' in Migration and Development - Implications for Ethnic Identity and Political Conflict Edited by Helen I Safa and Brian du Toit, Mouton Publishers, The Hague, 1975, p.4.

34. Ken Post 'Theorising The Class Struggle' Paper prepared for a conference on 'Reappraising the Concept of Class in The Third World' University of Strathclyde, December 1979, p.4.

35. Angela Andrews (ed.) Reflections in Oil and Sugar CADEC 1975.

36. Quarterly Economic Report October-December 1977. Vol.4, No.4. (these figures do not differentiate between wage labour and peasant production).

37. Quarterly Economic Report October-December 1978. Labour Force statistics exclude 294,000 people including 227,300 women who are classified as outside the labour force.

38. K. Marx Capital Vol.3 Chicago 1908 edition, Charles H. Kerr & Co. Quoted in Charles Anderson, The Political Economy of Social Class. Prentice-Hall, 1974, p.54.

39. Ibid (37) above, p.53.

40. Report of Household Workers in Trinidad, The Housewives Association of Trinidad & Tobago (HATT) 1975, p.5.

41. Sidney Mintz (b) Caribbean Transformations, Aldine Publishing Co. 1974.

42. Harrison op cit. p.74

43. Quarterly Agricultural Report, October-December 1977, p.37.

44. The Industrial Development Corporation has published a register of small business but most of the lower stratum petty bourgeois enterprises e.g. itinerant vendors are not registered.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONTEMPORARY ECONOMY

A Review of the Theoretical Approaches to the Economy

For the past forty years, Caribeean economists have attempted to analyse the Trinidad & Tobago economy in terms of various economic models. In 1950[1] for example W.A. Lewis based on his analysis of the region, developed his two-sector model of the economies of developing countries. As a result of this analysis, he suggested the introduction of an industrialisation programme based on import substituion, using foreign capital.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s this approach which had been accepted and implemented by the Caribbean governments, including Trinidad & Tobago began to be questioned. These questions came from the newly developing Plantation Economy school of the University of The West Indies through the work of Best 1968; Best & Levitt 1969; Girvan & Jefferson 1971; Beckford 1972; Beckford 1975: This school developed out of the earlier New World Group of Social Scientists and shared a great deal in common with the Latin American Dependency school.

The Plantation economy approach takes as its starting point the colonial historical experience of the Caribbean economies since the 17th century, which has been characterised by 'The Plantation'. The characteristics of the plantations, then as now, have been determined by dependent relationships between the colony or neo-colony with the metropolitan country, creating what Best terms 'externally propelled economies'. For analytical purposes the economic history of the British West Indian islands was divided into four historical periods described by Sudama in the following words:

> 'For the purposes of analysis historical periods are divided into three broad phases in the model:
> (a) Pure Plantation Economy covering the period

> from about 1600 to 1838 (the cut-off date appearing to coincide with the abolition of slavery by the British); (b) Plantation Economy Modified, spanning the period from about 1838 to 1938 (the eve of the Second World War) and (c) Plantation Economy Further Modified, 1938 onward'.[2]

The characteristics of a pure plantation economy as outlined by Best (1968) were:

1. Relationships among parts of the hinterland are determined by relationships to the metropole;
2. A division of labour has been established where the colonies or neo-colonies (the hinterland) are confined to primary production or crude processing while terminal activity takes place in the metropole;
3. The monetary system of the hinterland is regulated through a metropolitan exchange standard where free convertibility is maintained through a fixed rate of exchange;
4. All trade from the hinterland and its origin, destination and carriage is determined by the metropole through what he calls a Navigation Position;
5. The disposal of the products of the hinterland is arranged by the metropole through 'imperial preference'.[3]

In applying this model to Trinidad & Tobago in the present (Plantation Economy Further Modified) period, Sudama notes that while petroleum products are the main export items thus substituting a mineral staple for the agricultural one; and the major metropolitan importer is the United States (no longer Britain); the fact that refining facilities for the processing of local and imported crude petroleum exist serves to contradict one of the postulates of the model of plantation economy which maintains that terminal activity such as refining and final processing are transferred elsewhere. It is counter

argued though that as yet (despite definite plans) only a small range of products is produced locally using the petroleum base and this industry as it exists is still foreign owned, foreign controlled and has few local linkages.

With the acceptance of this point, it is the opinion of this study that the Model of a Plantation economy is at best a good descriptive but not an analytical tool. But as Sudama states:

> 'No rigorous conceptualisation of the underlying dynamics of the abstracted features is made; nor are the relationships between the features given any systematic theoretical examination. As a description of static reality, the model may have some reality but as an analytical construct which seeks to establish causal relationships and explain the dynamics of historical change, the model is clearly unsatisfactory and of little use'.

In addition one might add that the use of the Plantation economy model even as a descriptive tool is inadequate to deal with the modern economy as it is developing at present in Trinidad & Tobago and indeed in other parts of the Caribbean. In addition, their rejection of any analysis of class which could lead to a greater understanding of the relations of production has greatly hampered the applicability of these models in internal economic analysis. For by emphasising the external nature of the dominance, the internal domination of some classes over others within the society is ignored. As a basis for political action, the model also falls short, for as is evident by the political practice of Best himself (Oxaal 1975) all that can follow from this formulation is action of an anti-imperialist nature, but not any which challenges the internal class structure of the country. Rather in essence, such a model finds its logical conclusion in capitalism of a national and local brand. Whether this is possible in an international capitalist system is not discussed. But as Best himself

has noted, many of their (TAPIA, his organisation's) ideas have been 'taken over' by the present PNM government which is in the process of strengthening the national bourgeoisie. What is evident therefore is that despite its rhetoric, in essence the Plantation Economy model offers no real antagonism to the existing economic system but rather can be accommodated into the system with relative ease.

During this same period another attempt at an analysis of the Trinidad & Tobago economy was put forward by Dudley Seers in his model of an Open Pretroleum Economy (1964). In this model he argues that 'the economic models constructed to describe the working of industrial economies (for example the Keynesian model) are not necessarily, or even probably suitable for exporters of primary products because their fundamental assumptions do not apply'.[4] He identifies the key aspect of petroleum as the paradox that high unemployment is found side by side with high wages. In constructing the parameters of his model, Seers sees the essential characteristics of an open petroleum economy as being:

> 'that exports consist largely of petroleum, that such exports are very profitable, that government expenditure (which is considerable) is very largely financed by petroleum revenues and that petroleum companies are foreign-owned'.[5]

In an extension of this formulation (Seers 1969) he continues to deal with the problems of unemployment. In introducing, he notes that despite a relatively low rate of population growth, the unemployment rate was increasing and attempts to stem this increase through the institution of the Industrialisation programme had proved disappointing. In this paper a number of possible solutions to the problem of unemployment, including a Cuban-type solution are suggested and discussed. He concludes however that: 'The outcome of this discussion is that neither the unaided

working of economic forces, nor any action by the Trinidad government is likely to reduce unemployment very much in the early 70s'.[6]

Based on his analysis, one could say that Seers was able to predict the situation which was to develop in the 1970s. He goes on to state:

> 'Indeed a further increase seems on balance probable. Does this mean political disaster, in some sense? One could make out a case for believing that crime and political disturbances could grow among the young men who have little hope of work, and perhaps after a while with little interest in it, especially in a country where there is evident correlation between skin colour and income'.[7]

In analysing the contemporary economy of Trinidad & Tobago, I have found the work of Michael Chossudovsky on Venezuela very illuminating. In his article 'Capital Accumulation and Unemployment in Venezuela'[8] he argues as I do in this study, that the very nature of the industrialisation process in Venezuela involves the maintenance of high levels of unemployment as a result of the increasing organic composition of capital. In his own words:

> '...we are suggesting that the very nature of the economic growth process is responsible for maintaining high levels of unemployment. The dynamics of industrialisation in Latin America is characterised by a progressive increase in the organic composition of capital and, therefore, by implicit shifts in the capital/labour ratio which not only affect the distribution of employment among small, medium and large firms, but also the overall capacity of the economy to incorporate labour power into production'.[9]

Based on this assumption therefore, this chapter seeks to outline the general structure of the economy. In doing so particular attention will be paid to the increasing participation of the State in all aspects of the economy. In such an examination the possibility for the development of some degree of relative autonomy and

the response and reaction of the local and foreign capitalists to these developments will be considered.

General Introduction to the Contemporary Economy.

The 1973 increase in oil prices and the exploitation of newer marine oilfields in south east Trinidad have wrought great changes in the economy. However the general structure has remained the same. The dependence on the petroleum sector has if anything increased while agricultural production has decreased. In the table below showing the Annual Contributions of Sectors to the GDP, all sectors have declined except those of Finance, Insurance and Real Estate which has increased slightly and Education, Culture and Community Services which have remained the same. Between 1973 and 1976 the contribution of petroleum to the GDP has increased from 28.1% to 48.0%.

Between 1973 and 1974, the change in the balance of external trade situation was also phenomenal. In 1972 and 1973 there were deficits of $TT 360 million and $TT 250 million respectively. In 1974 there was a surplus of $TT 340 million[10] which rose to $TT 890.7 million in 1977,[11] while the overal surplus for 1977 was $TT 1,049 million.[12] This change has been largely due to the petroleum sector.

In 1977 Petroleum contributed $TT 4,793 million to exports while all the other sectors combined contributed only $TT 439 million. The situation is summed up in the following words:

> 'The most disturbing feature of the trade balance is the continued and increasing deficit which results from the removal of petroleum and petroleum products from the country's overall trade. No other statistic so vividly demonstrates the country's dependence on the petroleum industry. The deficit on non-oil trade which stood at $TT 1,569.4 million in 1976 increased by a further 17% to $TT 1,835.9 million during 1977...' [13]

Table 15

ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF SECTORS TO THE GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (AT 1970 PRICES) OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO 1966-1976

Percent

Sector	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
0- Export Agriculture	1.0	0.9	1.1	0.7	0.8	0.6
1. Domestic Agriculture	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.4	2.2	2.5
2. Sugar	3.2	3.0	3.1	2.9	2.9	2.6
3. Petroleum	26.3	27.4	29.4	24.9	22.3	21.0
Manufacturing Sub-Total (4-10)	6.0	6.6	6.9	8.5	9.2	9.3
4. Food, Beverages and Footwear	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.9	2.7	2.6
5. Textiles, Garments and Footwear	0.5	0.7	0.8	1.0	0.9	0.9
6. Printing, Publishing and Paper Converters	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8
7. Wood and Related Products	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5
8. Chemicals and Non-Metallic Minerals	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.4
9. Assembly Type and Related Industries	1.1	1.4	1.6	2.1	2.3	2.7
10. Miscellaneous Manufacturing	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4
11. Electricity and Water	1.9	1.9	1.8	2.1	2.0	2.2
12. Construction including Quarrying	4.0	4.0	4.2	5.1	5.9	7.6
13. Distribution Services and Restaurants	16.8	16.1	14.8	15.4	15.1	15.1
14. Hotels and Guest Houses	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
15. Transport Storage and Communications	16.0	15.6	14.1	14.2	14.8	15.0
16. Finance Insurance and Real Estate etc.	8.1	7.8	7.7	8.6	8.5	8.6
17. Government	7.4	7.3	7.6	8.0	8.4	8.6
18. Education and Cultural and Community Services	2.4	2.6	2.8	2.9	3.0	2.9
19. Personal Services	4.3	4.1	3.7	3.7	3.8	3.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Percent

Sector	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	Annual Average
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
0- Export Agriculture	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.6
1. Domestic Agriculture	2.2	2.5	1.8	1.8	1.7	2.1
2. Sugar	3.8	2.0	1.1	0.9	1.5	2.7
3. Petroleum	21.0	28.1	43.6	47.4	48.3	30.7
Manufacturing Sub-Total (4-10)	9.9	9.0	7.4	7.0	7.4	7.9
4. Food, Beverages and Footwear	2.6	2.5	2.1	2.0	2.9	2.3
5. Textiles, Garments and Footwear	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.7
6.Printing, Publishing and Paper Converters	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.8
7. Wood and Related Proudcts	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5
8. Chemicals and Non-Metallic Minerals	1.7	1.3	1.0	1.9	0.8	1.2
9. Assembly Type and Related Industries	3.0	2.6	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.1
10. Miscellaneous Manufacturing	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3
11. Electricity and Water	2.3	2.0	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.9
12. Construction including Quarrying	7.9	7.2	5.7	5.4	4.7	5.7
13. Distribution Services and Restaurants	13.8	11.7	8.1	6.5	5.9	12.7
14. Hotels and Guest Houses	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5
15. Transport Storage and Communications	14.2	12.6	10.4	8.0	7.5	12.9
16. Finance Insurance and Real Estate etc.	8.1	8.0	7.3	9.0	8.9	8.2
17. Government	9.2	9.2	6.8	6.3	6.3	7.7
18. Education and Culture and Community Services	2.8	3.0	2.7	2.6	2.8	2.8
19. Personal Services	3.7	3.7	3.0	2.8	2.8	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: The Gross Domestic Product of the Republic of Trinidad & Tobago 1966-1976. C.S.O. Port of Spain, p.6.

Prior to 1973 the contribution of manufacturing (excluding petroleum and sugar) to the GDP had increased from 6.0% to 9.0% in 1973. Since then however it has decreased like most other sectors to 7.4% in 1976. The emphasis on assembly-type and simple import substitutive industries has been reduced since then to an emphasis on what is termed 'energy based export-oriented industries'.[14]

In agriculture the total contribution to GDP declined from 6.8% in 1972 to 3.6% in 1976. The contribution of sugar production was highest in 1972 when it was 3.8% but since then it has been reduced to 1.5% in 1976. The Review of the Economy for 1978 showed that in 1977 there were declines in sugar production -14%; citrus -77%; tobacco -41%; however in 1978 there were increases in the production of citrus and tobacco, while sugar declined even further.

Table 16 illustrates the opposite situation from what is taking place in the petroleum sector. Despite positive production figures in some years, this table gives a picture of great fluctuation in production which is largely due to problems of weather and to changes in the international demand. In particular large scale plantation or estate production of traditional crops seems to be in the worst situation.

As mentioned earlier, the Financial sector was the only one whose contribution to GDP has increased over the period 1973-1977. The relative buoyance of this sector is a reflection of the overall financial situation in the economy. In the words of the 1977 Review of the Economy '...it is to be observed that the Trinidad & Tobago capital market was developing an international character with foreign private and multilateral institutions looking to Trinidad & Tobago as a source of financing'.[15] Despite this however, the increase has been very slight but when looked at in relation to the

Table 16

Annual Growth of Agricultural Production 1973-1977

Production	1973-77 (average)	1976-77	Jan-June 1977
Raw Sugar	- 1.1	- 13.6	- 18.0
Cocoa	- 1.4	3.0	21.5
Coffee	1.8	9.3	- 10.4
Citrus	- 3.1	- 76.7	132.2
Copra	- 7.0	- 1.1	- 26.0 (77-78, Jan.Mar)
Tobacco	- 40.0	- 40.0	45.3
Broilers	17.2	23.1	- 9.8
Eggs	6.1	28.1	25.0
Meat	- 0.2	6.4	- 2.4
Milk	- 5.4	- 7.2	- 6.4
Fish	0.8	16.2	n.a.

Source: Review of the Economy of the Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, 1978.

other sectors, this increase is important.

Table 15 gives a picture of the contributions of the various sectors to the economy up to 1976 and the annual average for the period 1966 to 1976; one is not certain to what extent this situation has altered since 1976.

All in all one can say that the work of the Plantation economists and Dudley Seers to some extent

broadly describe the economic situation in Trinidad & Tobago prior to 1973. Since then a few changes have taken place. For example Trinidad & Tobago has been moving away from the concentration on primary production of petroleum identified by Best et al as a major characteristic of a plantation economy. In addition the increasing activity of the State in the economy has reduced somewhat the control over trade and monetary arrangements exercised by the metropole. Nevertheless despite this greater State participation, Trinidad & Tobago continues to be 'export propelled' and the degree of foreign investment as noted in an earlier chapter is not being reduced. The problem of continued unemployment as outlined by Seers (1964) remains and the paradox of high unemployment and high wages has become more noticeable.

Because of the macro nature of their analysis, however, none of these theoretical positions is able to deal adequately with the deeper internal divisions and contradictions which emerge in a rapidly industrialising country. For example the present divisions among the bourgeoisie in Trinidad & Tobago or the emergence of large numbers of petty capitalists from the middle stratum or the upper stratum of the petty bourgeoisie.

The persistence of certain structures should not blind us to the real structural change which is taking place. But the lack of change in itself is not what is important it is rather the interests which either situation would serve.

The Changing Role of the State in the Economy.

In the 1970s and in particular since 1973, the State has concentrated its activities in two main areas of economic policy. These have been (a) the extension of its activities away from the smaller scale processing and assembly-type inudstries to more highly capital intensive heavy industrialisation based on the country's energy resources; and (b) the intensification of the programme of assistance and promotion of small businesses. It is the argument of this study (as noted in the introduction) that these two policies complement each other and are in reality different sides of the same coin. What is apparent is that industrialisation so far has not as originally expected provided any large or even medium scale employment to the population. What is becoming more apparent is that more highly capital intensive industrialisation while involving much greater expenditure does not provide anything close to a reasonably commensurate number of jobs. The development of small business therefore or petty production and trade as it is referred to in this study can be seen as an attempt by the State to absorb the increasing numbers of the unemployed into self-employment.

With these two policies in mind therefore the State has been able to recycle its own surplus derived from petroleum revenues into these two areas of the economy. In so doing the Trinidad & Tobago State in the 1970s has developed a relatively large state capitalist sector. This sector includes participation in the finance capitalist sector through its ownership of the National Commerical Bank, The Workers Bank and the establishment of a National Insurance Scheme. Through these institutions the State has become integrated into the private

commercial banking system. This economic integration has been reflected at a political level as well through the incorporation of businessmen on government boards and Commissions of Enquiry as well in as in actual ministerial positions. This situation besides reducing the possibility for any degree of 'relative autonomy' by the State has created some level of conflict within the capitalist class in particular between the lower stratum of manufacturing and commercial capitalists and the financial and higher stratum of industrial capitalists. These conflicts were evident for example in the 'butter crisis' when the Government refused to increase the price of butter and instead imported directly from France and distributed it via consumer co-operative outlets. In another example the Trinidad Manufacturers Association (TMA) at its annual general meeting in March 1978, while supporting the new strategy of using oil revenues to develop energy-based industries, warned of the risk of excluding the private sector from the industrialisation programme. In the words of TMA president Mervyn Assam:

> 'This public intervention into the domestic manufacturing sector appears to be born out of the conviction that local investors are ill-equipped both in terms of finance and manpower to promote the development of the 'priority industries' viz iron and steel, fertilisers, methanol, aluminium etc. Without meaning to be critical, this strategy implies a risk of specialisation and exclusion of the private sector from the industrialisation programme...'[16]

In response to this accusation George Rampersad, advisor to the Minister of Industry and Commerce answered that:

> 'The business sector has the positive support of the Government as long as it operates effectively and actively assists in the development process along nationally devised programmes'.

He continued:

> 'Government has demonstrated its desire to utilise the expertise available in the private sector towards the total development of the country. One has only to look at the composition of the premier advisory body in the country, the National Advisory Council, to be convinced of this'.[17]

At the same time the Government in reply to the call from its popular working-class and middle strata base for 'a piece of the action' has responded with a number of reformist-redistributive measures, mentioned in the 1978 Budget speech. These included, free bus rides for school children and pensioners, food stamps for pensioners and people receiving public assistance ($TT 29 per month) and free school meals and book allowances for school children. In doing this the Governing Party was attempting to form some sort of bridge between its new friends and financiers in the bourgeoisie and its popular base. These policies to a large extent have not been successful. The school meals plan has had to be shelved while the others, pragmatically announced without much earlier forethought, have encountered unforeseen difficulties in their implementation. In addition to these internal problems the International Monetary Fund (IMF) generally in support of the economic policies of the Trinidad & Tobago State expressed reservations over this 'social welfare expenditure' which was increased from $TT 199.7 million in 1973 to $700 million in 1977.[18] In addition a number of development funds have been set up, through which savings are put aside for future expenditure in specific areas.

In the area of small business and co-operative development, in 1978 the ceiling on small business loans from the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) was increased from $TT 50,000 to $ 120,000 and decisions were made to establish commercial facilities and accommodation for these enterprises. In the 1979 Budget Speech the

Prime Minister and Minister of Finance outlined a new emphasis on small business based on the following: a soft loan window for certain industries, a training subsidy, and the provision of factory shells.[19] On July 1, 1979, a small business exposition was held in a further effort to push the message, but what is evident from the examination of the small business register is that many of the wage-employed middle strata have been able to use their salaries as a means of entrance into petty bourgeois activity while the lower stratum have found greater difficulties in meeting the loan criteria of the IDC Small Business department as well as those of commercial banks many of which also have small business loan schemes.

In such a situation therefore the group which seems to be benefitting most from government policy is the middle strata. Through the policy of 'divestment of shares to nationals' both in public and private enterprise many members of the middle strata (and of course the local bourgeoisie) have been able to acquire shares which are in turn tax deductible. In addition the requirements of the IDC Small Business department include: an initial contribution of 20% of the required amount; a degree of 'seriousness' of the person and the project; and control determined by the number of similar enterprises in the geographical location. Thus the majority of the lower stratum of petty producers and traders who in reality comprise the urban unemployed are effectively excluded.

Through these two policies the State while maintaining its strong links with international capital and the local bourgeoisie is using the present situation to consolidate its position within the middle strata. By the divestment of shares and participation in individualised[20] petty bourgeois activity it has tied the interests of the middle strata to those of the bourgeoisie, the contradictions of

this situation have already become apparent, as the increase in money supply in the economy has served to accentuate rather than diminish the economic and social distance betweeen the middle strata and the working-class and lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie.

The Political Economy of Petroleum

The 0.5% of world total petroleum output produced by Trinidad & Tobago is produced primarily by six companies involved in the production of crude petroleum. These are:

Amoco Trinidad Ltd - A 100% U.S. owned subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana;

Premier Consolidated Oilfield Ltd -

Texaco Trinidad Ltd - A 100% U.S. owned subsidiary of the Texas Oil Company;

Trinidad & Tobago Oil Company - 100% owned by the Government of Trinidad & Tobago;

Trinidad-Tesoro Petroleum Co. Ltd - 50.1% owned by the Government of Trinidad & Tobago; 49.9% owned by the Tesoro Corporation of San Antonio Texas;

Trinidad Northern Area Ltd - Jointly owned by Trinidad-Tesoro, Trintoc and Texaco as equal partners.

Production in Trinidad & Tobago since the late 1960s has comprised mainly the refining of imported crude oil as land based reserves exploited since 1907 are being depleted, in particular the Guayaguayare field used by Texaco. Except for one instance in 1973, no new land-producing discoveries have been made. In recent years there has been a shift to marine exploration to augment and in some instances to replace land supplies. As a result of this, Amoco Trinidad Ltd., which concentrates on marine production of crude oil is to-day the major crude oil producer (see Table 17). Texaco, the oldest

operating company now concentrates more on the refining of imported crude than on actual production. Thus between 1973 and 1974 Texaco's average daily production dropped by 11% to 24,382 barrels a day.[21]

Table 17.
Percentage Distribution of Local Crude Petroleum

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978 (July)
AMOCO	33.9	43.3	57.9	55.4	59.1	58.6
PCOL	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
TEXACO	17.0	13.4	8.6	9.9	8.6	8.8
TRINTOC	4.3	3.6	2.8	3.3	3.6	3.6
TNAL	31.1	27.9	22.2	22.5	20.2	20.5
T/Tesoro	13.3	11.6	8.3	8.7	8.3	8.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Review of the Economy of the Republic of Trinidad & Tobago 1978, p.20.

What is apparent from this table is that since 1973 production of all companies except AMOCO has been decreased. The production of the small company PCOL has maintained its low production rate of 0.2% but little other information has been found about this company. This decline in production represents the increased importance of marine deposits in the Trinidad & Tobago petroleum industry. Attempts were made by the State to stimulate land production by the passage of a bill granting tax rebates to companies involved in land based operations but this measure has not stemmed the movement to more marine production.

This change has occasioned many alterations in the techniques of exploration and production. This has meant the introduction of other foreign petroleum com-

panies and private joint ventrues which concentrate (at least up to the present period) on exploration. The more successful companies include: Texaco/Tenneco, Mobil Oil Company, Deminex/Agip, Deminex Oil Company, Phillips/Cleary/Apco, Oceanic, Santa Fe-Terra and Amerada-Hess-565 Corporation.[22] In addition to these, a large number of smaller companies both local and foreign have been introduced. They offer services, machinery and equipment necessary for this new type of 'offshore' operations. Examples of such firms include: Baroid Trinidad Services Ltd., Trinidad Ocean-Land Services Ltd and Damus Ltd.[23]

What is evident from all this is that the revitalising of the petroleum economy despite the increased participation of the State in joint ventures and even in total ownership has facilitated the entrance into the economy of even more foreign participation and control of this leading sector.

In the field of manufacturing, since 1973 there has been a definite shift of emphasis. The Government through the IDC and in conjunction with foreign capital has carried out feasibility studies on the diversification of the local manufacturing industry away from processing and assembly-type manufacturing. These studies, some of which have already been implemented as 'new industrial projects' included possibilities for: a polyester-fibre/fabric plant, a granular fertiliser plant, a refractories plant to supply the iron and steel plant, a pulp and paper industry, fermentation industries, a furfural plant, a petrochemicals complex, the manufacture of light machinery and in general the establishment of a capital goods sector.

The production of petrochemicals in the last decade was done by two companies, Texaco Trinidad Ltd and Federation Chemicals Ltd., a subsidiary of W.R. Grace & Company of New York. For the most part production has

been limited to petrochemical production by Texaco and the production of anhydrous ammonia and solid fertilisers by Federation Chemicals Ltd.[24] In recent times too the availability of natural gas in large and economical quantities has become evident but its use in commercial quantities has been limited to utilisation in the manufacture of fertilisers by Federation Chemicals Ltd and the Trinidad & Tobago Electricity Commission (T&TEC) to power its turbines. This availability of large reserves of natural gas added to the fact that pollution control legislation is noticeably absent puts Trinidad & Tobago in a favourable geographical and political location for the transfer of petrochemical and fertiliser industries from pollution conscious North America. This opportunity has been seized by the Trinidad & Tobago government as a chance to make this country the industrial showpiece of the Caribbean. The words of the promotions manager of PLIPDECO sums up this aim for one particular project:

> 'The Point Lisas development will be the biggest of its kind ever tackled in this region, and will have..."a combination of facilities unequalled elsewhere in the Caribbean and South America"... Trinidad & Tobago is already recognised by the European Economic Community as having entered a second development stage, alone among the African-Caribbean-Pacific bloc: Point Lisas will put the nation firmly in the world's industrial map'.[25]

Future Projections

A substantial portion of the increased revenues has been allocated to The Petroleum Development Fund, one of the thirty-two special funds which are being set aside each year until 1980. This fund will be used to finance the new programme of industrialisation based on highly capital intensive industries using the country's energy resources. In so doing, according to the Petroleum

Economist Trinidad & Tobago is following the same pattern being followed by other oil producing countries:

> 'An obvious avenue of development for instance would be in the construction of export refineries and petrochemical complexes....But then most of the other producers are latching on to the same idea... it is estimated that if only half of all the refineries and petrochemical plants being planned come to fruition, there will be gross over-capacity in the world's chemical markets'.[26]

This new situation among other things facilitates the type of economic expansion long desired by the local capitalist class, but which through shortages of capital could not be realised. One such example is the Point Lisas Industrial Estate and Port Scheme. The idea for a large-scale maritime industrial estate with deep water harbour facilities was first conceived in 1956 by members of the South Trinidad Chamber of Commerce. In 1966 a private company PLIPDECO was incorporated and in 1968 a plan and design for the estate was made. It was not until 1975, however when the Government purchased 81% of the shares in the corporation that the conditions for its implementation came into existence.

This plan involves the establishment of a number of industrial companies, local, state-owned and joint ventures between the State and foreign corporations. The main projects/companies involved in the scheme so far are:

The Iron & Steel Company of Trinidad & Tobago - 100% Government owned;[27]

The Trinidad Nitrogen Company - Joint Venture, W.R. Grace - 49%, Government of Trinidad & Tobago - 51% (already in operation);

The Fertiliser Company of Trinidad & Tobago - Amoco of Chicago - 49%, Government of Trinidad & Tobago - 51%;

Aluminium Smelter - Possible partnership with South Wire Corporation, Feasibility Study done by Kaiser Corporation of California;[28]

Liquified Natural Gas Plant - Tenneco Trinidad Ltd - 24.5%, Peoples Overseas Corporation of Delaware - 24.5%, Government of Trinidad & Tobago - 51%;

T&TEC Power Station - Trinidad & Tobago Electricity Commission, Capacity supplied by Westinghouse Electric;

Petrochemical Complex - Government of Trinidad & Tobago, Borden Chemicals of the United States. (including Methanol).

In addition to these projects a shipping company, The Shipping Company of Trinidad & Tobago, a joint venture with SEATRAIN will be the main company involved in the handling of crude petroleum and liquified natural gas.

This project represents only the most ambitious of the industrialisation projects. Others are planned or in progress in other parts of the country.

Employment

In 1977, the number of people employed in mining, manufacturing and quarrying was 72,200 or 16.9% of the labour force. This figure has remained fairly constant since 1974 when it was 66,400 or 16.87% of the labour force.[29] With the introduction of these industrialisation projects high hopes were raised among the unemployed by statements like this one saying that 'the amount of direct employment in industrial and commercial enterprises owned and/or controlled by the public sector has grown appreciably during the 1970s and will expand even more significantly as the planned energy-based investments come on stream'.[30] These official statements were supported almost daily by press statements such as these: The Trinidad Express on May 12th, 1975 noted that the administrative manager of PLIPDECO had stated that 7,000 jobs will be provided by the industrial project. On May 13th of the same year the Trinidad Guardian noted that the manager (engineering)

of PLIPDECO stated that during the construction period over 2,000 people will be employed in the next 3 - 4 years. After this period this figure was to drop to an operational level of 1,300 approximately, but over the next two years the operational level would increase to 10,000. In a continuous escalation of figures on September 9, 1977 the director of PLIPDECO stated in the Trinidad Express that over 100,000 people will be dependent on the Point Lisas project when it is in full swing. He also spoke of the high potential of 'spin off' industries.

These statements and others like these give the picture of a situation which if we are to take the company's published figures seriously will not be the reality. The appendices II and III of The PLIPDECO Information Note and Progress Report (Tables 18 & 19) show that within the construction period 1977 to 1983 the peak employment figure is 5,400 jobs in 1980. After that year employment in construction declines to 1,600 in 1983. As far as employment in operations is concerned with the exception of marine facilities which 'cannot be determined at this stage',[31] the total requirements for the industrial and infra-structural projects is 2,755. The peak construction figure of 5,400 is only 28.6% of the recorded unemployed in the construction industry, while the figure of 2,755 represents only 4.6% of the total number of officially unemployed.[32]

The small size of this employment figure becomes even more noteworthy when the expenditure involved in these projects is considered. The estimated cost of diversifying the economy is given at $US 3.7* billion[33] while one company ISCOTT is being financed out of a $US 284 million joint loan from fifteen financial institutions. This company will provide only 1,000 jobs when fully

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* $TT 1.00 = $US 2.40

Table 18

POINT LISAS INDUSTRIAL PORT DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION LIMITED - INDUSTRIAL AND SUPPORTING INFRA-STRUCTURAL PROJECTS ESTIMATED AVERAGE ANNUAL AND PEAK REQUIREMENTS FOR MANPOWER DURING CONSTRUCTION

PROJECT	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	PEAK REQUIREMENT (year)
IRON AND STEEL (ISCOTT)	1900 (average)							3000 (79)
FERTILIZER (FERTRIN)		1350 (average)						1500 (80)
POWER PLANT	75 (Phase I)	100 (average) (Phase II)						150 (79)
PT LISAS MARINE FACILITIES	100 (average)							150 (79)
PT LISAS INDUSTRIAL ESTATE	100 (average)							200 (79-80)
ALUMINIUM SMELTER				1500 (average)				2500 (81)
METHANOL				450				
TOTAL AVERAGE BY YEAR		3530	3530	5400	3500	2050	1600	

Table 19

POINT LISAS INDUSTRIAL PORT DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION LIMITED - INDUSTRIAL AND SUPPORTING INFRA-STRUCTURAL PROJECTS - ESTIMATED REQUIREMENTS FOR MANPOWER DURING OPERATION.

PROJECT	START UP YEAR	MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS (FULLY OPERATIONAL)	COMMENTS
IRON AND STEEL (ISCOTT)	1980	1000	
FERTILIZER (FERTRIN)	1981	200	
PT LISAS MARINE FACILITIES	1979		Cannot be determined at this stage.
PT LISAS INDUSTRIAL ESTATE	1978	35	
ALUMINIUM SMELTER	1983	1200	
METHANOL	1982	200	
POWER STATION (T&TEC) PHASE I	1977	20	
PHASE II	1979	50	
PHASE III	1983	50	
TOTAL		2755	

operational and an average of 1,900 during the six years of construction. In a rough estimate this amounts to $TT 170,000 to provide one job, the majority of which are temporary.

The present decrease in the official unemployment figure from 14.0% in 1977 to 12.2% in 1978, the lowest since 1970, is to a large extent due to increased activity in construction and the utilities. A great deal of work is taking place in the provision of infra-structure for the new industrialisation such as roads and highways, the Caroni-Arena water project, increased power generation and the natural gas pipeline. Most of this employment therefore is of a temporary nature and based on the present tendency one can surmise that the new industries will be unable to absorb even the workers now involved in construction.

Conclusion

Thus we may conclude as Chossudovsky did for Venezuela that,

> 'While the Government states...in conformity with the most respectable Keynesian tradition - that public investment is the major instrument in the creation of new jobs, we notice that the bulk of public investment is allocated to industrial projects which generate very little employment'.[34]

The main point made by Seers in 1964 can therefore continue to be accepted despite the temporary reduction in the unemployment figure. It is hardly likely that this Government, working within the existing economic structures will be able to deal effectively with the problem at a structural level. However, he, like the majority of Caribbean economists has failed to examine (a) the ways in which the unemployed themselves would come to terms with the situation and (b) the ways in which The State and the bourgeoisie would attempt to contain the possibility of political disaster in a manner favourable to their own economic and political interests. The rest of this paper will atempt to do just this.

Footnotes

1. See W. Arthur Lewis, Industrial Development in The Caribbean reprinted by the Caribbean Commission, Port of Spain, 1950.

2. Trevor Sudama, 'The Model of the Plantation Economy - The Case of Trinidad & Tobago in Latin American Perspectives, Issue 20, Winter 1979, Vol.V, p.68.

3. Lloyd Best, 'Outlines of a Model of an Open Petroleum Economy' in Social and Economic Studies, Vol.17, 1978, pp.283-324.

4. D. Seers, 'The Mechanism of an Open Petroleum Economy' in Social and Economic Sudies, Vol.13, No.2, June, 1964.

5. Seers, Ibidem.

6. D. Seers, 'A Step towards a Political Economy of Development' - Illustrated by The Case of Trinidad & Tobago in Social and Economic Studies, Vol.18, No.3, 1969, p.239.

7. Seers, Ibidem.

8. M. Chossudovsky, 'Capital Accumulation and Unemployment in Venezuela' in Manpower and Unemployment Research, Vol.11, No.2, 1978, pp.29-51.

9. Ibid, p.32.

10. Geoff Lamb, 'Money is no Problem, Aspects of the Political Economy of Trinidad', Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1979, p.4.

11. Review of The Economy of Trinidad & Tobago, 1978, p.49.

12. The Balance of Payments of Trinidad & Tobago,C.S.O. 19777, p.xvi.

13. The Review of The Economy of The Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, 1978, C.S.O. p.49.

14. Ibid, p.23.

15. Review of The Economy, 1977. p.47.

16. Mervyn Assam, Address at the Trinidad Manufacturers Association, annual general meeting, excerpts printed in the IDC Newsletter, July, 1978, p.12.

17. George Rampersad, Guest Address at the T.M.A. annual general meeting, IDC Newletter, July 1978, p.13.

18. Latin America Economic Report 5, Vol.V11, No.1, p.5.

19. Budget Speech of the Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, Government Printery, Trinidad, 1979.

20. Co-operative efforts have been for the most part unsuccessful.

21. 'Black Power' in West Indian Chronicle, August - September, 1975.

22. Industrial and Commercial Report, Vol.6, No.1, 1977, p.14.

23. These companies also offer a different type of work schedule where workers work one week on and one week off.

24. 'Fertilisers and Petrochemicals' in West Indian Chronicle, January 1972, pp.24 & 25.

25. 'Point Lisas - Creating The Caribbeans' Biggest Industrial Complex' in Environ 2 Key Caribbean Publications, Port of Spain, 1978, pp.80 & 82.

26. Petroleum Economist, September 1974.

27. Management to be supplied by The Midrex Corporation of the U.S.A. All major technology ordered from West Germany, USA, Japan and Canada. Iron ore to come from Brazil, Sweden, Peru and Canada. See L.G. Brew The Impact of the Increased Oil Revenues obtained since 1973 on Unemployment in Trinidad & Tobago, pp.30-32 and Environ, pp.78-82.

28. Guyana and Jamaica had been expected to join but this did not materialise.

29. Quarterly Economic Report, October-December 1978, Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, C.S.O., pp.52 & 53.

30. Review of The Economy, 1977, p.14.

31. PLIPDECO - Information Note and Progress Report, Trinidad & Tobago, 197 , Appendix III.

32. L.G. Brew, p.34.

33. Caribbean Basin Economic Survey, Vol.4, No.5, September-October 1974.

34. M. Chossudovsky, op cit. p.40

CHAPTER IV

THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE IN TRINIDAD & TOBAGO

The Class in General

If we use the definitions put forward by Olin Wright [1]. in his 'alternative conceptualization' then the pure petty bourgeois or petty commodity producer or trader could be defined as one who participates in a process of simple commodity production or trade in which there is no exploitation. In this case whatever surplus is produced is generated by the petty bourgeois producer her or himself. As soon as a single helper is employed, however, there is a change in the relations of production in that the labour of one employee is now being exploited. He notes though that the exploitation of one additional employee is hardly likely to result in any large appropriation of surplus value as it is likely to be less than the surplus product generated by the petty bourgeois producer her or himself. This study as mentioned earlier concentrates on the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie, many of which are not recognised as belonging to this class either by researchers or by the State.

According to official statements of the Industrial Development Corporation, no differentiation is made in the consideration of vendors and other types of small business. An examination of the 1979 Small Business Register, however, showed that of the over six hundred enterprises listed there was no inclusion of vendors or petty traders, even those who had applied to the IDC for assistance. The official IDC definition of a small business (quoted below) is such that many medium range enterprises now fall into this category and are eligible for financial and other assistance.

> 'An enterprise where capital employed does not exceed $250,000 as represented by machinery, plant and equipment, stock-in-trade, work in progress, furniture and fittings but excluding real estate.'[2]. (the original figure nad been $100,000).

The register identifies 74 types of businesses, the most common being: manufacture of wearing apparel; printing; repair of motor vehicles; other repairs; tailoring, dressmaking and shoe repairs. What is evident from this list is the proliferation of service enterprises, offering services both to the public and to big capitalist enterprises. The trend therefore, seems to be more towards forms of subcontracting and 'outwork' rather than towards more independent artisanal production.

This study concentrates on three categories of the petty bourgeoisie not mentioned in the Small Business Register - petty traders - market vendors and street vendors; petty producers - The Drag Brothers (leathercraft producers); and petty service workers - taxi drivers. These groups were chosen for study because it is in these occupations that the increase in income and employment generation is most noticeable. This increase for the most part involves those people who otherwise would have sought wage employment. The first section gives a general overview of the relations of production in each group while the following one looks at the actual case study material gleaned from interviews with members of these groupings.

Petty Traders

Market Vendors

Unlike other categories of petty traders which will be discussed in this study, market vendors operate within a fairly organised and fixed structure. Regulations[3]. exist for entrance into and continuance in the activity. In Trinidad there are 19 public markets and at least five

in Tobago, with few exceptions they were all built prior to 1940. The extension since that time of the vending and purchasing population has resulted in great overcrowding in the markets and the use of nearby pavements and roads. It is with the expanded population that the position of the majority of market vendors begins to be similar to that of other vendors in that their position is then illegal and unregulated.

The Trinidad and Tobago marketing system functions as an adjunct to agricultural petty production. According to Lim Choy (1977) 83% of the total volume of starchy roots, tubers and fruits produced in the country are distributed through these outlets. This system comprises a large number of small-scale individual retailers, mainly women who purcase produce from local wholesalers or from 'traffickers' from the nearby islands of Grenada and St. Vincent. The main wholesale outlets for starchy roots and tubers are the Port of Spain market (72%) and the San Fernando market (14%) while the remaining 14% is transferred directly from farmer to retailer.[4.] In Port of Spain wholesale trading takes place six days a week except Monday, while in San Fernando it is only twice weekly. Trading takes place between the hours of 1.00 a.m. and 7.00 a.m. and vendors from throughout the country come to these centres to purchase supplies for the smaller retail markets.

In the more urban areas there are usually 2 - 3 days of intense retailing activity, however, in some rural areas there is only one day. On these days there is an increased supply as well as an increased number of vendors. These additional vendors (usually farmers or relatives of farmers) are able to undercut the trade of the regular vendors by offering lower prices. This is possible because (1) they can sell at wholesale prices

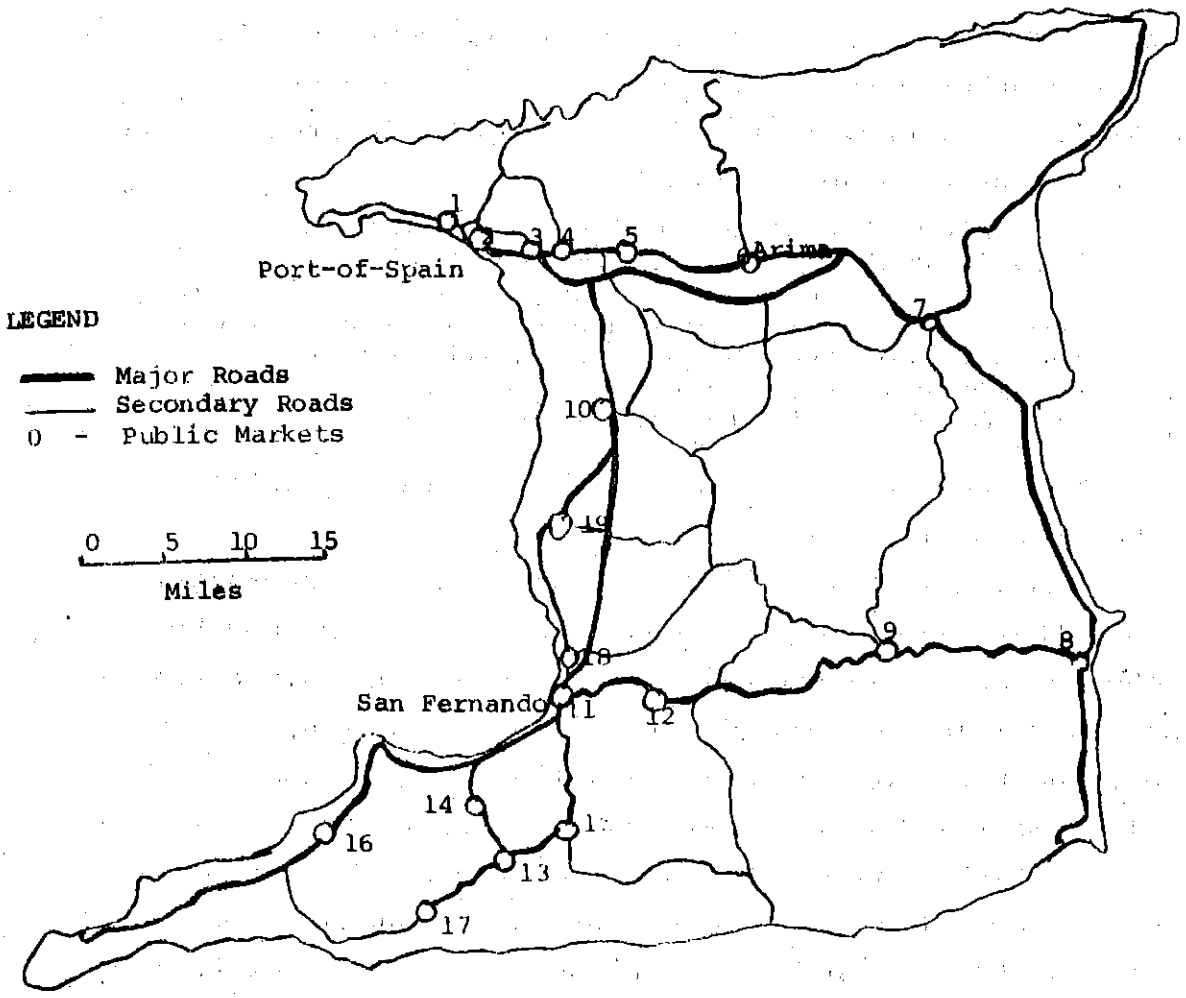
or slightly above and (2) they need to get rid of the produce as they will not return to sell the next day. As a result of this, great animosity exists between the regular vendors and the wholesale farmers who often compete with them. Wholesale farmers are supposed to cease all wholesale selling by 6.00 a.m., but often at that time their produce is not yet sold.

Lessinger in her work also noted that vendors tend to see one-day-a-week vendors as lazy and lacking an hard-working and professional attitude. [5.] In some rural areas where intense activity is limited to one day a week, some vendors are able to travel from one market to another for 'market day' while others move to the front of the village shop, although it is illegal to sell within a one-mile radius of the public market.

In general pricing policies are determined by quality, size, the wholesale price, the overall price level of the market and the number of buyers and sellers. Prices outside of Port of Spain take their signals from the Port of Spain or San Fernando markets. Lim Choy therefore, found a 1 - 15 cents variation in the prices at other markets, while price markups ranged from 30 - 150% on cost. [7.]

Both Lessinger and Lim Choy mention the relative ease of transportation as an advantage to local market vendors. This is probably so in relation to other islands where the situation is more difficult. The reason for this relatively easier communication is the existence of the 'pirate' taxi system and of small privately operated vans and 'pick-ups' which are available virtually 24 hours per day. In some instances farmers or retailers could use the vehicles of relatives and close friends and in, still other instances the farmers themselves own or can rent vehicles.

FIGURE 3: LOCATION OF PUBLIC MARKETS IN TRINIDAD



List of Public Markets

St. James	1	Chaguanas	10
Port-of-Spain	2	San Fernando	11
Barataria	3	Princes Town	12
San Juan	4	Siparia	13
Tunapuna	5	Fyzabad	14
Arima	6	Penal	15
Sangre Grande	7	Point Fortin	16
Mayaro	8	Palo Seco	17
Rio Claro	9	Marabella	18
		Couva	19

Relationships within the Market

The extensive and intensive nature of the market system gives rise to a number of relationships. They include the vendor-market official, vendor-customer, vendor-vendor and the other vendor - wholesaler relationships. In addition, Lim Choy identifies two other operators in the Port of Spain wholesale system.

> 'An integral part of the wholesale marketing operation in Port of Spain is two types of individuals who assist both buyer and seller alike for a small fee. They are the scalemen who provide a weighing service, and the barrowmen who assist retailers in transporting produce to the scales and to their vehicles or pick-up point.' 8.

Thus we see the market system generating still other forms of self-employment.

Lessinger in her study of the Princes Town Market found that relationships among vendors were marked by cohesion and co-operation. The reasons for this cohesion she identified as, common class identification; common sex; the need for constant mutual assistance and the belief that all who are willing to invest time and effort in marketing should get a share of the sales. According to her, competition among vendors was reduced through the 'patek' or customer relationship where each vendor had special customers who in some instances might be given a 'lagniappe' or free goods. Contempt was reserved for the irregular, non-hardworking vendor who gets drunk or neglects her stalls. This ideology of co-operation, she continues, is evident by the fact that they help each other to sell and assist and protect women who are just beginning sales at the market.

My own limited research in the Port of Spain market has had very different results. Any number of reasons could be put forward for these differences, for example

(1) the difference between an urban and a rural setting; and (2) the time difference - 1968 was over 10 years ago. It is possible though that at a surface level some degree of comraderie exists, however, when the deeper question of organisation comes up, it is looked at differently. This subject will be dealt with in more detail in the next chapter.

Between the vendor and the wholesaler there was a more antagonistic relationship and this was intensified when the wholesalers did retail trading in competition with the regular vendors. These wholesalers usually have no fixed stall and are accused by the vendors of being unsanitary as they offer produce for sale on the ground. In the Port of Spain market, this competition is seen by the vendors as their single most important problem.

In her study, Lessinger (1968), also noted that the market was a self-regulating institution, and that neither the market officials nor businessmen in the towns had any control over its functioning. To a large extent this is true, but it is so partly because the attitudes of most officials to the market is one of benign neglect. It is only when the trade of the market extends in a manner which affects the business community for example trading in front of shops and stores or trading in goods usually sold by shops or stores that government officials are moved to 'clamp down' on the activities of market vendors. In other instances another force comes into play. In 1975 for example, the police complained that in attempting to move some retailers, they were told by an official of the Central Marketing Agency to leave four of them, because they have 'high friends'. [9.] This example highlights a characteristic of the Trinidad and Tobago situation.

Lessinger in her study also mentions the importance of 'contacts' to market vendors. In Trinidad and Tobago, social mobility has been so swift and so recent that it is often possible for market vendors or any other members of the working- class or lower strata petty bourgeoisie to have kinship or other relationships with other people in influential positions. In this manner certain vendors are able to get privileges over and above those given to other vendors.

Women and Market Vending

The majority of market vendors in Trinidad and Tobago are women. Trading has always been the main avenue (an alternative to domestic service) through which working-class or lower petty bourgeois women could earn a living. According to Lessinger (1968) vending is attractive to women because:

- it offers a steady cash income through which they can support their children;
- for established vendors, work can continue in periods of depression and general unemployment;
- it requires little capital investment;
- it has flexibility in operations, the scale of operations can expand or contract without expiring altogether.

Through trading, she continues, women get economic independence and in rural areas are exposed to a wider range of social contracts as their physical mobility is increased, while they are freed (especially Indian women) from the constraints and restraints of the parents, husband and mother-in-law at home.

The scale of vending operations often depends on the varying economic necessity prevailing in the household. For example, it was found that activities increased/

decreased in relation to the development cycle of the family. Thus the greatest period of involvement coincided with the middle period of life when there were most dependents. In another sense the greater independence and flexibility of this economic activity give women the possibility to forego one day if a child is ill and return on the next.

The same factors which facilitate the entrance of women into trade at the same time limit the possibilities of these women entering any higher level of entrepreneurial activity. The constraints of childbearing, childrearing and housework as well as discrimination in credit and lack of self-confidence in economic activities too distant from the household serve to limit women to this level of trading. Thus as mentioned in Chapter I the traditional relationship between women and the provision of food allows for entrance into this activity but it does not extend to activities far outside this area.

Street Vendors

These differ from market vendors in that their existence is not recognized by law, neither are there state appointed regulations which are supposed to govern their operations.[10]. Nevertheless, street vendors have existed for at least the last two centuries. Indeed many of the traditional ones have become celebrated in song, coconut woman, mango vendor and so on. In addition the sweepstake vendors and 'nuts men' have always been around. In more recent history the number and variety of street vendors in particular in the urban areas of Port of Spain, San Fernando, Arima and Chaguanus have increased considerably. The largest increase has been in the post 1970 period. This increase has been not only in variety and number, but also in the scale of operations. In addition to small tables, stands and

racks there have emerged virtual sheds on the pavements; mobile bicycle stands, mobile station wagons, and even larger mobile vans. These vans and cars though officially mobile often occupy permanent spots in the centre of the city.

The varieties of sales done has also widened. On the streets of Port of Spain one may purchase almost anything excluding furniture, large kitchen appliances or motor vehicles. Few vendors concentrate on the sale of one item. There is a combination of items in order that risks be reduced and as operations become stabilized the the organisation of selling becomes more complicated. For example, the addition of ice boxes for cold drinks, of shoe racks for the display of shoes. Unfortunately, however, the vendors of central Port of Spain are never allowed to become too stable as the constant threat of forcible removal by the City Police is always there. Since 1973 in particular, the proliferation of street vendors has been so great that businessmen in fear of competition from these more easily accessible (not necessarily cheaper) salespersons have continuously complained to the City Council. The vendors are accused of hiding showcases and obstructing the free passage of pedestrians on the pavements. The vendors have therefore been involved in a constant struggle against the city merchants via the City Council. But at the same time they act as efficient distribution agents for other sectors of the local bourgeoisie. This will be seen more clearly in the discussion below of the different types of vendors. However, it must be remembered that few vendors concentrate on only one type of activity.

Pricing policies among street vendors vary from vendor to vendor and are affected by the wholesale price, type of item for sale, and season of the year. In general

however, most vendors stated that they try to make at least fifty per cent profit on each item. Sometimes they are unable to do this and reduce the price in order to sell, however, goods are seldom sold at less than twenty-five percent profit. Of course one is not entirely certain that this figure is correct but it is a fair indication of the situation. In addition, as in all enterprises, the overhead costs of transportation, customs duties, hotel bills on trips abroad and so on are passed on to the consumer.

Lottery Vendors

These are related more closely with the State National Lottery Board than with local capitalists. Lottery tickets are purchased from the Board at a cost of $890 per 100 tickets (each with 20 sub-tickets) and sold to the public. In addition to the surplus the seller has the opportunity to win one of three sellers prizes.

Newspaper Vendors

These vendors purchase a certain quantity of newspapers from the publishing companies. This quantity is determined by the amount which the vendor believes he/she can sell. In the sale of newspapers a small commission on each newspaper is reserved for the vendor. In the case of the four newspapers, three of them, The Trinidad Guardian, The Trinidad Express and The Sun vendors receive a 5% refund on the costs of every hundred returned. In the case of the Evening News no refunds are given. The vendors therefore carry all the risks involved in the sale of the newspapers, the main ones being bad weather and problems of transportation and bear all the costs of transport and display. Through these vendors the ideology of the ruling classes is transferred to the people and

the advertisements of the businessmen reach their targets but the costs and risks are all borne by the newspaper vendors.

Clothing Vendors

Research into this group identifies three main sources of supply, (1) production by the vendor herself; (2) purchase from local merchants and factories; (3) purchase on 'buying trips' abroad. The first two are linked to the local bourgeoisie in that they purchase either raw materials or finished products which they sell. In the third instance the linkage is international. Vendors in this group comprise mainly of young men who travel abroad usually to New York, Curacao, Aruba and Colombia in order to purchase cheap but fashionable garments. The main feat involved in this exercise is to bring the goods into the country without paying customs duties. This activity takes place at all levels of the economy and involves either knowing a customs officer or fooling the customs officer. Through this importing activity there is the distribution of foreign producers/ merchants products in another country without the problems of distribution agents and at no costs to the businessmen while the risks of loss of goods or even imprisonment are borne by the vendor. [11].

Food Vendors

Sno Cone Vendors

In the past peoples' thirst was quenched by a 'press'. This was made by shaving a quantity of ice and dipping both ends into coloured syrup. Today an entire industry has been built up around its replacement, the sno cone, through the provision of paper cups, the supply and repair of machines and the provision of plastic syrup containers

and mobile stands or bicycles. In addition, sno cone sales are closely linked to ice production. In the central Port of Spain area the ice companies deliver ice to the sections of the pavement where the vendors operate. These distributers of equipment often include the older, stronger industrial and import/export section of the commercial bourgeoisie such as Alstons Ltd.. In an IDC report on twenty-two sno cone vendors who had been granted loans (between $750 and $2,555) to assist or develop their businesses, it was found that 9 experienced difficulties with the machines, 7 loans were not yet disbursed, and 8 had found difficulties in repaying the loan. In one instance the vendor was a mother and only supporter of ten children. [12].

Fruit and Vegetable Vendors

In very few instances do fruit vendors procure fruit from their own land. In the majority of cases these fruit and vegatables have two sources (1) They are brought from Tobago, Grenada or St. Vincent and sold by 'traffickers' or local vendors; (2) the vendors purchase from the Port of Spain market between 1.00 a.m. and 5.00 a.m. at wholesale prices. This is one aspect of petty production and trade which is almost totally reproduced within the sector in that the fruit and vegetables are brought wholesale from agricultural petty producers and transported from the market to the sales areas by taxi.

In the case of non-tropical fruit such as apples, pears, grapes, plums and nectarines the situation is more familiar. These fruits are bought wholesale from distributers, the main one being Ibrahims Ltd. and distributed almost exclusively by the apple vendors.

This activity reaches a peak in the Christmas season, however, the sale of these fruits continues all year.

Peanut Vendors

The raw peanuts and paper bags are purchased from wholesale suppliers. Each morning, however, at 3.00 a.m. the vendors go to various bakeries where they compete for the use of the ovens to bake their peanuts. They do their own baking and pay for the use of the oven. After being baked the nuts are returned home for packaging or packaged on the streets between sales.

Cooked and Processed Food Vendors

To a large extent this is based on unpaid female labour at home. In many instances food vendors are men who sell commodities produced by their wives, sisters, daughters and other female relatives as extensions of their domestic duties. This form of labour-power utilization is even more complicated than that of ordinary domestic labour in that in this case commodities are produced for exchange therefore this labour is abstract labour. The fact that it is unpaid complicates the issue somewhat. The food produced ranges from sweets and pies to hamburgers, roti and fried rice and chow mein. These form the staple of many workers who are unable to afford the more expensive fare in the capitalist sector. Thus this provision of cheap processed food serves to subsidise wages in the lower strata of the working class as well as to reproduce the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie itself as many vendors purchase food from other vendors.

Coconut Vendors

This is one of the more lucrative of vending activity. It includes the purchase of coconuts from estates, which

necessitates the use of a vehicle to transport the nuts to the place of sale and the used shells for disposal. These estates to a large extent are owned by the old agricultural bourgeoisie and with the low returns on the sales of copra internationally the sale of water coconuts locally is proving to be much more profitable.

Miscellaneous Vending

A large amount of other already finished goods are sold by street vendors. These include cigarettes, incense, umbrellas, shoes, cassette tapes, and ribbons. The sale of these goods serve to reduce the risk on other perishable items such as fruit, newspapers and peanuts, but in relation to the economy as a whole they serve as added distribution points for wholesalers and manufacturers.

So lucrative has this field of street vending become that businessmen, not to be outdone, have begun placing their competitors on the streets. Large boutiques hire youth to sell clothes on the streets and compete with the vendors. Similarly one estate owner has his own fleet of coconut vendors. Thus we see the introduction of different subcontracting and piecework arrangements into the sector resulting in the continuum between wage labour and self-employment discussed by A. Scott (1979) and Jan Breman (1976).

What is clear from this is that these vendors serve to reproduce entire industries while they themselves bear the costs and risks involved as well as their own reproduction costs. The alternative cost to capital which would have been incurred had this labour been done under capitalist wage-labour relations would have been phenomenal. This is particularly striking when one considers the relatively high wages and fringe

benefits of organised labour in Trinidad and Tobago. In addition, the costs of day to day reproduction of the sector itself are reduced since a great deal of it is done within the sector itself, for example transportation and food at a much cheaper cost than it would in the capitalist sector.

Petty Producers

The Drag Brothers

The term 'The Drag' was given to lower Frederick Street which is the main shopping area of the town. It is also the area where people go to meet friends, and 'lime'. After the 1970 disturbances, some young men and a few women, began to produce leather handicrafts, shoes, bags, belts and others for sale to the public. These goods were sold on the pavement in this area called 'The Drag' and the young men soon came to be known as 'The Drag Brothers' after the terms often used to greet people during the 1970 period 'brother' and 'sister'.

This activity formed the actualization of the calls during the 1970 period for black economic self-reliance and black entrepreneurship. As the numbers increased there were calls from the businessmen and members of the public for them to be removed. Eventually through the work of the IDC they were removed to 'Bankers Row' in Independence Square, Port of Spain and housed in some small sheds constructed through the IDC.

By 1973 the original Drag brothers were joined by others, many of whom built unauthorised sheds in the area. Many of the original 'brothers' made additions and extensions to their premises. In response to this complaints began to be made about the 'New Drag'. On July 3rd, 1973 a letter was sent to the editor of the Trinidad

Guardian stating that the present attitudes and appearances of the Drag Brothers were a disgrace to all who supported their move to the present site. In 1973 as well a trade fair was organized on August 5th to celebrate the third anniversary of the 'Brothers' and the proceeds were donated to the Homes for the Aged and used to improve the conditions of their industry. In their own works , their aim was 'to bring unity among artists and craftsmen and to explore the possibility of new and stable markets and to establish handicraft as a national industry'. [13.] In this effort they received assistance from the business community.

In 1974 another handicraft display was held to commemorate the 4th aniversary and on the advice of the Mayor of Port of Spain some of the brothers agreed to form a co-operative and approach the IDC for a factory shell for manufacture while sales could continue on Independence Square. According to the President of the Drag Brothers Association this request was never acceeded to. Complaints of unauthorised additions continued as the original brothers felt the need to expand their operations and new brothers entered the scene. In response to these complaints the Brothers protested that there was a lack of toilet and other facilities and that the original booths had been temporary structures, and promises of bigger and better ones had failed to materialise.

In November, 1974, the IDC in response to complaints about the unsightly appearance of the area asked the City Council to take 'appropriate action' to remove unauthorised structures and warning notices to this effect were sent to the Drag. After this period an intense struggle developed between the City Council and the Drag Brothers, the former now supported by the Trinidad and Tobago Chamber of Commerce. In a newspaper

article dated 11th December, 1974 the Chamber of Commerce stated that the Drag Brothers and vendors pay no taxes and are subject to no laws, while merchants on Frederick Street pay over $TT1 million in annual rates to the City in order to carry out their trade. The businessmen therefore deserved more consideration that 25 - 30 vendors who if given a chance would increase to hundreds. [14.] This action marked a change in the attitude of the local bourgeoisie who, strengthened by the post 1973 change in the economy gained a new sense of arrogance which had been slightly bruised by the events of 1970. They no-longer felt the need to appease the black unemployed and were swift in attempting to destroy any competition or threat to their accumulation of profit. To support their call the Chamber stated that the removal of the Drag Brothers was in keeping with the City Council's policy of preserving the area as a 'high class shopping district' and not allow it to be reduced to the level of a market. [15.]

This struggle continued and in 1975 the Mayor, L. Shivaprasad, in a meeting with the brothers suggested that they move to the old Eastern Market if it could be converted into a handicraft makket. This was accepted but another suggestion that they form a co-operative was turned down because they stated, that they wanted to keep their individuality. [16.] It is apparent that while recognising the necessity of coming together in order to struggle, the collective feeling does not extend beyond this. Herein lies one of the contradictions of petty commodity producers and traders, in that while competing with each other they are sometimes forced to come together in a crisis situation. This unity can seldom be extended to other aspects of work, for example, economic unity. This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in the following Chapter.

By 1976 the Brothers were still asking to be moved to the Market as the Drag was deteriorating into a 'place of ill repute', one brother stated, 'I think it is time people start looking up on us and not down since we are trying to develop ourselves as small businessmen.' [17]. Meanwhile letters were written to newspaper editors complaining of the 'unsightly condition of the place, the gambling, cursing and fighting. The Brothers themselves complained that 'outsiders' were coming to the area and 'limed, loitered, stole and hid' and in general spoiled the image of the Drag Brothers. [18].

In 1977 again a wrecking crew was sent by the City Council to demolish unauthorised booths despite a request that alternative accommodation be found before booths were broken down. In the face of 'stiff verbal opposition' [19]. the crew was forced to return without destroying the booths. The brothers shouted - 'We would rather die than see our bread and butter mash up' 'All yuh want us to steal to make a living?' and so on. The City Council workers responded that decisions are made in the office but they are left with the nasty end of the stick. In such an instance the class and racial solidarity of the workers and the lower stratum of the petty bourgeoisie proved paramount and apparently a force which has to be reckoned with in the future.

In April, 1977 a committee was appointed by Cabinet to 'consider all aspects of the conversion of the Eastern Market on George Street into a national handicraft centre. One of the main aims was to re-house the Drag Brothers who have been cited on Independence Square. [20]. This move was supported by the brothers who saw the centre as a means of helping the unemployment problem, but they put forward certain conditions

(1) good structures; (2) large enough booths 12' by 13' (3) adequate security: They expressed the willingness to pay a small rent and used the opportunity to ask the Government to (1) control the price of leather (2) produce a tourist brochure on handicrafts. Some brothers disagreed with the idea of moving to the Eastern market and wanted Bankers Row converted into a permanent arcade. By 1979, however, the outcry of the businessmen has become even louder and in response the Mayor promised to have them removed by the end of the year.

While operating in direct competition with the merchants of the central Port of Spain area, the Drag Brothers are closely linked to suppliers of material in the Charlotte street area, for example, Nagib Elias, Ramlals Ltd., and Rex Manufacturing. These firms have the monopoly on supplies of leather, tools and other materials. The existence of the Drag Brothers and other handicraft producers therefore greatly enhances the position of certain merchants while it threatens the position of the others.

Petty Service Workers

Taxi Drivers

In the aftermath of slavery and indentureship some ex-indentured labourers and ex-slaves turned to transportation using mule-drawn carriages then eventually the horse and buggy. By the 1930's these animal drawn carriages [21.] were replaced by motor vehicles and by the post World War II period there were many individuals operating small buses and cars in various parts of the country. In 1948 an attempt was made by the Government to centralize the system of transportation. This was done by giving private concessions to people who satisfied particular requirements. [22.] Originally this 'pirate' or route taxi

service was meant to serve those areas where a bus service was not in operation, but they were gradually able to move into all the operating routes of the buses in addition to others not served by buses. By 1955 there were 4,360 taxis and this increased to 9,900 in 1963. With the institution of the Government-owned Public Transport system attempts were made to control the number of pirate taxis in the country. This was done by freezing the issue of new licences for ownership and permits for drivers and the refusal to renew licences of taxis in an unsafe condition. This was done by freezing the issue of new licences for ownership and permits for drivers and the refusal to renew licences of taxis in an unsafe condition. By 1966 therefore this figure was reduced to 7,880 and by 1969 to a further 7,648. During this period with the possibility of entrance into this lucrative field controlled, prospective taxi drivers resorted to the purchase of 'H-rights' from licenced taxi drivers for as much as $5,000. The freeze was lifted slightly each year to allow a limited number of drivers to become licenced however, as the public transportation system proved inadequate to perform its task the slack was taken up by 'P-H' cars, private cars which were used for hire as pirate taxis. These 'P-H' cars carried on a thriving trade despite the fact that at the end of 1976 there were again over 9,000 taxis. In response to the protests from the taxi drivers and 'the travelling public' in 1977 the freeze on taxis was totally lifted in an attempt to end the P-H trade and to ease the unemployment problem. This resulted in an increase in the number of taxi drivers especially female drivers as part of the trend of attacking the sexual division of labour. This increase in the number of vehicles on the road has not solved the problem of transportation. Taxi driving remains one of

the most lucrative areas of petty bourgeois economic activity, an average driver can make up to $2,000 to $3,000 per month after costs; and the continued failure of the public transportation system serves to consolidate the economic position of the taxi driver.

At present the procedure for becoming a licenced taxi driver involves first getting a permit which requires (a) a driver's permit (b) a police certificate of good character (c) a birth certificate (d) a special test of driving and regulations. For the car to be licenced as a taxi it is required to pass an inspection test for its 'roadworthiness' and already be licensed as a vehicle. In all the total costs is about $TT 20.00 and a great deal of time. For the purchase of cars, all the drivers use commercial bank loans which are readily available for this purpose, because of the relatively low risk involved.

In addition, to the 'pirate' taxi there is also what is known as the 'Stand' taxi or 'tourist' taxi.[23] These are the taxis which are customary in other parts of the world where the entire car is hired and the person is taken to a specific destination. The pirate taxi is different in that it plys along a specific route like a bus but collects and deposits people at various points along the way. Passengers, therefore, pay only for one seat and not for the entire taxi. The choice of route or number of trips per day is determined by the driver (in the case where he/she owns the car). The amount of earnings in any single period could be determined by the number of trips made, the density of road traffic and the number of available passengers. As this trade has increased in profitability, some businessmen, middle strata wage-earners and taxi drivers have bought cars which are driven by employees. The common arrangement

is that the owner must receive a lump sum of about $50 or $100 per day and anything earned above that figure belongs to the driver. In addition all repairs and maintenance costs are borne by the owner. This arrangement gives rise to the development of a group of capitalist taxi owners employing a number of wage-labouring drivers. These drivers are forced to work twice as hard as owner drivers because they have to work first for the owner then for themselves. Profitability in this area however, is reduced by the high cost of cars and spare parts and the non-owning driver is spared these costs. There are instances where taxi owners sell their cars and drive for someone else, thus saving themselves the costs and worry of maintaining the car.

In an attempt to solve the problem of public transporation, the Government has put forward plans for the introduction of a 'Maxi-taxi' system. In this new arrangement an initial allocation of 450 mini buses will be distributed along six routes. Drivers will have to request concessions to purchase one of the vehicles. Each vehicle is to be used for four years before changing ownership. This move has been strongly opposed by the taxi drivers who fear the reduction of their monopoly of public transportation. It is hardly likely, however, that their position will be severely altered for a long time. The historical inability of the State to find solutions to the main problems of the utilities in the country would have to change drastically if the position of the taxi drivers is to be threatened.

The high profitability within this area has attracted many wage labourers including many middle strata civil servants, policemen, teachers, bank clerks and others to do part time taxi driving. The salary/wage earned in one job is usually a means through which an expensive.

and attractive car can be bought to attract passengers. Full-time taxi drivers complain of this competition while the Government has in the past half-heartedly attempted to control the holding of extra jobs by civil servants. This, however, has spread to all petty bourgeois activity but is outstanding in the case of taxi driving.

Despite the problems faced by taxi drivers in carrying out their trade, in comparison with other groups their position is very favourable. This is because they perform the important function of transporting workers to and from work. In doing so, they absorb all the risks and costs involved in repairs, maintenance and the initial outlay in the provision of public transportation. Unlike other petty producers, they have great control over their time, hours and place of work. In addition they have recourse to the strike weapon to remind the people and the State of their control over public transportation.

In one study of taxi driving done around 1970 (Mcpherson) it was found that of 250 taxi drivers interviewed, the majority 225 or 90% were between the ages of 25 and 40 while the remaining 25 or 10% were aged 40 and 58. It was also found that 90% of the drivers owned their own cars while 10% did not; while 136 or 54.4% had been driving for 10 - 25 years while the remaining 55.6% were driving for between 1 - 10 years.

Table 20: Age of Drivers by Length of Driving Experience by Car Ownership

AREA	AGE OF DRIVERS		DRIVING EXPERIENCE		OWNERSHIP		TOTAL
	25-40	41-58	Under 10	10-25	Driver	Non-Dr.	
Belmont	71	5	26	50	68	8	76
EMR/Arima	65	5	50	20	60	10	70
St. Anns/ Cascade	20	10	3	27	26	4	30
WMR/Carenage D. Martin	37	3	14	26	37	3	40
Princes Town	12	2	14	-	14	-	14
Point Fortin	10	-	4	6	10	-	10
Siparia/Erin	10	-	3	7	10	-	10
	225	25	114	136	225	25	250

Source: Adapted from D. McPherson, The Trinidad Pirate Taxi Service as A Social Phenomenon. unpublished Diploma Research Paper C.L.C. Trinidad and Tobago.

What is also apparent from this Table is that the instances of non-owner drivers are concentrated in the more urban areas while in the rural areas (at least in this sample) it was totally absent. One is not clear to what extent this overall picture has changed since that time, in particular since 1973. But one could suggest, based purely on observation, that the percentage of non-owner drivers has increased since then particularly in the urban areas where capitalist relations of production are most highly developed. The author also found that 89% of the younger drivers felt no desire to leave this occupation while the non-owner drivers found difficulties in meeting the demands of the owners. Among the older drivers it was found that many of them had moved to other occupations during particular periods of their life then returned to taxi driving. One is not sure of the reasons for their return, whether due to loss of alternative employment or a desire

to return to 'pirate' taxi driving.

Case Study Material

This information is based on the results of twenty-five interviews of a sample which was randomly chosen. This section, because of the small size of the sample, must be read not for precise conclusions but in terms of the possible sociological conclusions which could be drawn from it. The data is presented because of its intrinsic value to the rest of the study, but it is not meant to be a basis for any complex statistical analysis.

From my own observation, reading and study of the situation, I would suggest that the trends and indications brought out in this data are to a large extent valid. However, in light of the small size of the sample, this information could be more useful when seen as providing indications of possible sociological characteristics which could be followed up in more rigorous, definitive research.

Characteristics of the Respondents

Of the twenty-five respondents ten (10) were female, fourteen (14) were male and one (1) was a joint response. Within the sample five (5) had been born outside of Trinidad and Tobago, six (6) were born outside of Port of Spain and its environs (excluding Tobago), one was born in Tobago, twelve (12) were born in Port of Spain and its environs while one did not know. This study therefore does not reflect a situation where the majority of the petty commodity producers and traders (PCP&TS) are migrants from rural areas for 48% were born in Port of Spain and its environs.

Table 21: Present place of Residence by Place of Birth by Sex

PLACE OF BIRTH	PRESENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE---------- PORT OF SPAIN & ENV.		OUTSIDE PORT OF SPAIN		TOTAL
	TOTAL	FEMALE	TOTAL	FEMALE	
Outside T & T	4	4	1	1	5
Outside POS & Env.	5	1	1	-	6
Tobago	1	1	-	-	1
POS & Environs	12	2	-	-	12
Don't Know	1	1	-	-	1
TOTAL	23	9	2	1	25

This Table further illustrates that all the migrants from the other islands were women while only one of the migrants from outside Port of Spain and its environs was a woman. At present two respondents in the sample live outside of the area but commute daily. It is important to note that even within the environs of Port of Spain some commuting is necessary.

The study also found that within the sample, twenty (20) of the respondents were truely self-employed; two (2) were wage-employed; two were both wage-employed and self-employed and one could not be clearly categorised. [24.]

Table 22: Present Occupation by Past Occupational Status by Sex

PAST OCCUPATION	PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL STATUS: SELF-EMP.		WAGE-EMP.		BOTH		OTHER		TOTAL
	TOTAL	FEMALE	TOT.	FEM.	TOT.	FEM.	TOT.	FEM.	
Unemployed	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Self Empl.	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Student	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Wage Empl.	13	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	14
Presently in Wage Empl.	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Housewife	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	20	9	2	1	2	-	1	-	25

Of the six women whose past occupations involved wage employment, four of them had been domestic servants. Most of these women stated as reasons for their change of occupation the desire to be independent and not to be given orders and the necessity to earn a higher income. What is also interesting to note here is the relatively large number of the sample who have moved from wage-employment to self-employment. In eight (8) of these instances the respondents had been previously employed for periods of three to fifteen years while four had been employed for between seven (7) months and two (2) years.

In relation to their present occupation it was found that nine (9) of the respondents had been involved in it for under five years; seven (7) for five to ten years; three for eleven to twenty years and five for over twenty years. What is apparent from this is that the majority of the sample began this work during this decade, while there are some who have been doing this for many years. As would be expected most of the people with many years in employment were market vendors and taxi drivers especially those working on the 'stands'.

Table 23: Occupation by Age, by Length of time in Occupation

AGE GROUP	MARKET VENDORS					TAXI DRIVERS				STREET VENDORS					DRAG BROTHERS				TOTAL
	Under 5	5-10	11-20	Over 20	?	Under 5	5-10	11-20	Over 20	Under 5	5-10	11-20	Over 20	?	Under 5	5-10	11-20	Over 20	
UNDER 20			-					-				-	-			-			-
20-30						-	2	-	-	4	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	10
31-40						-	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	6
41-50	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
51 & OVER	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-				3
DON'T KNOW				1															1
TOTAL			1	3			2		2	8	3	2		1	1	2			25

The majority of street vendors have begun this work fairly recently.

It is interesting to note that the widest variation in ages occur among the street vendors where ages vary from 20 to 65.

In relation to education the majority of the sample had completed primary school, six had attended secondary school one of which was a part time taxi driving civil servant. Of the other five only one had completed secondary school.

Table 24: Age by Sex by Educational Level Attained

AGE GROUP	Primary (nc)		Primary (C)		Secondary		Primary & Technical		DON'T KNOW
	Total	Female	Tot	Fem	Tot	Fem	Tot	Fem	
UNDER 20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20 - 30	1	1	5	1	2	0	1	-	2
31 - 40	-	-	3	2	2	1	1	-	-
41 - 50	1	1	4	2	-	-	-	-	-
51 and Over	-	-	1	0	2	2	-	-	-
TOTAL	2	2	13	5	6	3	2	0	2

C - completed

nc - not completed

While eight of the ten women in the sample had completed primary school, two women and no men had not completed primary school. It is also interesting to note that two women over fifty-one years old had attended secondary school but nevertheless had to depend on street vending in order to earn a living.

In the interview, the question of the parents occupation was examined to see whether this was in any way correlated to the occupations of the respondents. In the sample it was found that self-employment was predominant among the mothers of respondents while wage employment was predominant among the fathers. Overall it was found that 10 respondents had at least one self-employed parent while 17 had at least one wage employed parent. In seven (7) instances the mothers had been housewives. [25.]

In general, therefore, one may conclude that these occupations comprise almost equal numbers of men and women with almost equal numbers being migrants from other (not necessarily rural) areas and nearby islands, [26.] and almost fifty percent being permanent residents of Port of Spain and surrounding areas. When this is compared with the total population of Port of Spain and its surrounding areas (Diego Martin, St. Anns ward and Tagarigua) it was found that of the total resident population in 1970 45.9 percent were born in Port of Spain and its environs, while 9.58 percent of the population were migrants from other countries. (Annual Statistical Digest 1976). In relation to education it was found that the majority of respondents have completed primary education while very few have attended secondary school. In relation to women, it is interesting to note that they comprise the majority of migrants from the other islands. This is possible through the practice of 'trafficking' where women bring foodstuffs from St. Vincent and Grenadafor sale in Port of Spain and continue their

trading activity as other alternative occupations (except domestic wage labour) may not be available.

Organization of Work

In general it was found, as has been shown by other studies, that petty commodity producers and traders work much harder and much longer hours than wage labourers. This is true not primarily because as it is often explained 'they are working for themselves', but rather because of the organization and the process of production in this sector. For example, the petty producer often combines within the work process a number of different activities which are often shared by a number of different workers under wage labour. The food vendor, therefore, has not only to sell food but to purchase it, transport or arrange to have it transported home, prepare and transport it to the place of sale then to sell it. In real terms this involves a great deal of labour and labour time. This study illustrated this very clearly, especially in relation to market vendors and other fruit and vegetable vendors who begin wholesale buying between 1.00 a.m. and 5.00 a.m.. In the case of the peanut vendor, it is necessary to go to the bakery at 3.00 a.m. each day. For the majority of these producers and traders work is done at least six days per week and for some taxi drivers every day.

Unlike wage labourers they have the option of staying away from work for varying periods of time 'without permission'. This, however, results in the loss of that periods's earnings. Sickness or emergency in the absence of paid sick, vacation or other leave is a matter of great distress as in addition to losing earnings they could also lose the spot from which they operate. In the absense of pension or severance pay benefits, these petty producers are doomed to continue work unless they have subscribed to a private insurance or pension scheme. What is obvious

from all this is the great saving made by capital through the increasing use of this form of labour power utilisation.

In the examination of the length of the working day and of the working week, it was found that fifteen (15) respondents work six days per week, five (5) seven days per week while only three worked five days per week. [27.] In relation to the length of the working day, four workers worked under eight (8) hours per day; two (2) worked an eight hour day; six (6) worked an average of between nine (9) to twelve (12) hours per day, while nine (9) worked over twelve hours per day. For four members of the sample, working hours differed from day to day.

The number of days and hours worked is determined by the type of activity. The market for example is opened six days per week from Tuesday to Sunday and closes each day at 5.00 p.m.. These regulations to a large extent control the amount of working days, hours. For street vendors hours differ according to the merchandise which is for sale. Newspapers, cigarettes and peanuts can be sold all day and all night, but clothes and haberdashery are sold during the period when the larger department stores are in operation. After that period the clientele for that type of merchandise is no longer available.

In relation to vacation leave ten (10) of the respondents stated that they took no vacation leave while eight (8) had a definite period each year, ranging from three weeks to four months. Some had very irregular arrangements, such as, 'when I feel like' and 'no special amount' or 'sometimes one weekend off'. For some of the clothing vendors the vacation usually comprises a buying trip to New York, Curacao or Aruba, while most taxi drivers take vacations in August when schools are closed, workers are on vacation and the trade is generally slow. For

Table 25: Length of Working Day by Length of Working Week by Sex

	Under 8hrs		8 hours		9-12 hrs		Over 12hrs		Differs		TOTAL
Working Day	Tot	Fem	Tot	Fem	Tot	Fem	Tot	Fem	Tot	Fem	
Seven Days	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	1	-	5
Six Days	2	1	1	0	4	2	6	3	2	-	15
Five Days	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	3
Differs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Did not state	1	1									1
TOTAL	4	3	2	1	6	3	9	3	4		25

almost all of the respondents the most profitable seasons were Christmas and Carnival, but these two periods usually see a proliferation of 'irregular' vendors and drivers who crowd the streets and compete with the regulars.

In all but six cases the respondents were parents of children, however, this did not unduly affect the pattern of vacation taking. All the female respondents had children, but only three of them had definite vacation arrangements. Similarly when correlated with working hours and the number of working days very little correlation was found. The number of children did not reduce or increase drastically the amount of time worked. This was determined more by the type of activity. It was also found in the sample that a higher percentage of men than women were married, however, there were more unmarried/separated/

widowed people in general than there were presently married people. The distribution of children was only slightly correlated with marriage, in that all the respondents without children were unmarried and male. [28.] All female respondents had at least one child.

Table 26: No. of Children by Sex, by Single or Married

No of Children	Married		Single/Widowed		Did not State		TOTAL
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
No. Children	-	-	5	-	-	-	5
1 - 2	1	2	2	2	-	1	8
3 - 5	4	2	1	2	1	-	10
6 and Over	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
TOTAL	5	4	8	6	1	1	25

Despite the fact that the majority (80%) have children only four respondents stated that they are assisted in their work by their children or relatives. In one case, a hamburger vendor stated that his aunt-in-law prepared the hamburger patties for sale by him. When asked whether she was paid for this his reply was 'of course not'. In another instance one woman stated that one of her nine children, a daughter, assists her after school and during vacations. One is not sure to what extent women begin

these trades in order to support their families or attain families while they are already working in the trade. Whatever the reason the fact that all the women had children is significant to note.

The Attitude Towards Wage/Self Employment

Despite the hardship involved in this form of production, 14 or (56%) of the sample preferred to stay in self-employment. One is not sure whether this was a remnant of post-1970 self-reliance ideology where people did not want to work for other people, or the acceptance of the reality that wage employment for them would either be non-existent or poorly remunerated. This latter viewpoint could explain the position taken by three of the respondents that they would accept wage employment if the salary was good. In most instances in this sample, except possibly the market vendors, wage employment would mean a great drop in earnings, especially for women where the only possible alternatives are, domestic service, work in a factory, shop assistance or prostitution. On the whole respondents were understandably reticent about their earnings, but where responses were given, they were far above that of previous employment and above the salaries of the occupations mentioned above (except prostitution which has other costs).

For the few who stated a preference for wage employment the main reasons stated were the risks involved, for example spoilage of goods, and the lack of future security and fringe benefits. In attempts at correlating the preference for self-employment with characteristics of age and sex no correlation was found. This preference could have been determined by the material reality which they as a whole experience as well as individual experiences in the particular trades.

Consciousness within the Group

Petty commodity producers and traders as mentioned earlier are in the position where they are dependent and in fact reproduce one sector of the commercial bourgeoisie while being in competition with another sector. For apple vendors and the Drag Brothers for example, their dependence on the capitalists is very problematic in that there is a virtual monopoly by one or two capitalists of the supply of a particular raw material or commodity. In these cases great resentment develops between the petty producer and the capitalist who is free to raise the price or withhold supply at his wish. For other vendors the situation is less clear as they can purchase imputs from any number of wholesalers or supermarkets. For all itinerant vendors, however, (including itinerant market vendors) there is the antagonism from the capitalists who fear their competition against their economic activity.

In addition, to inter-class conflict there is also intra-class conflict among the various groups discussed here. For example as mentioned earlier there is great antagonism between farmer/wholesalers and retailers, in particular when the former participate in retail trade. Similarly but in many ways surprisingly their is a degree of subtle antagonism between the Drag Brothers and the other street vendors. These two groups have a similar situation where they have fought many struggles against attempts by the businessmen through the City Council to have them removed. Nevertheless a sense of solidarity has not developed between the two groups despite their similar situation and close geographical proximity. In response to questions on the vendors, the view was often expressed that they (the vendors) were without standards in that they would sell anything, that they were 'hustlers' just 'out to make a fast dollar'. On a more material level

what became apparent is that there was some degree of competition between the two groups. This was expressed by one brother who stated 'the vendors sell plastic (shoes and belts) which we have to mend'. This material competition is reflected ideologically in a kind of aesthetic feeling of superiority in their 'artisanness' and their ability to create commodities out of real leather. Vendors are looked down on as 'middlemen' who 'push another man's goods'. On the vendors' side a similar form of subtle antagonism exists. Many of them see the Drag as a place of bad behaviour, drug abuse, and violence. This view of the Drag has to a large extent been facilitated by the influx of an increasing number of unemployed youth to the area and the adverse propaganda given to this by the press. In addition as the price of leather has increased and the cost of the leather articles has also increased many of the brothers have been forced to introduce more consumer items, such as, clothes and costume jewellry which compete directly with those items sold by the vendors.

Within the sector is general, attitudes towards the Government and the Business sector vary. Some respondents are very clear that their interests are contrary to those of the capitalists, and in response to the question whether there were any groups of people which oppose their interests they stated in their own words;

'The Businessmens' Association and 'The City Council'
'There is a struggle against big-businessmen' (handicraft producer, 33 year old, Male);
'The Upper Class' (Clothes Vendor 24 year old, Male);
'The Businessmen' (Clothes and Costume Jewellry vendor 20 year old, Male);
'Spare parts dealers' (Taxi driver 43 year old, Male);
'Police, Businessmen, Government, The businessmen said that if the vendors are not moved they will refuse to pay taxes' (Apple and Ice drink vendor, 37 year old, Female);
'Building owners' (Food vendor 28 year old, Female).

This response, however, was not the same for the majority of respondents. Many of them responded to that question negatively. One is not sure to what extent this negative or non-commital response was due to fear on the part of respondents who did not trust the motives of the researcher. Questions of such a political nature are appreciably difficult to administer.

What was found, however, was that many businessmen in close proximity to the vendors were very successful in 'putting two faces'. While protesting on a national level, through their organizations, the press and the City Council, they maintained cordial relations with 'their vendors' who often provided free services as watchpersons over the property of the businessmen. Many therefore, do not believe that 'their storeowners' are the ones at fault and some have succeeded in dividing in their minds the storeowners from the police and the City Council. This false consciousness was further complicated in 1975 when 53 city businessmen signed a document stating that they were not in support of police officers moving vendors from the streets. [29.] This event was told to the researcher by one respondent to show that the businessmen were not against the interests of the vendors. To that particular respondent the only group opposing their interests were the pedestrians who complained that they crowded the pavements.

In addition to this struggle, on their right to sell in the particular locality these groups face many other problems at the State level in the form of poor utilities and poor public transportation. From their capitalist suppliers they face problems of supply, quality and prices. When asked whether they would be interested in forming a co-operative for either marketing, supplies, or spare parts, twelve or 48% were affirmative, seven said no, and six had no opinion. This question was asked not only

in a technical sense but also as a means of testing the feelings of group solidarity within the sector. Among the responses the negative ones were very strong and emphatic, for example;
'I like to be by myself - God, I and Me, employees more trustworthy than business partners' (Builder/Vendor, 43 year old, Male);
'Partnership is a leaky ship' (Haberdashery vendor, 48 year old, Female);
'I don't know, you can't trust anybody in Trinidad' Handicraft producer, 29 year old, Male);
'The vendors are too rascal ... I rather do by myself if I had family' [30]. (Market vendor, 50 year old, Female).
Those who responded in favour were somewhat less emphatic and most responses were qualified by 'if' and 'but'.
'It is a helpful thing if the vendors could get together and approach the government for a loan' (Haberdashery vendor, 40 year old, Female);
'Not a bad idea but not until there is a proper functioning organisation' (Handicraft producer, 33 year old, Male);
'Yes, we could get better facilities' (Taxi driver, 27 year old, Male);
'Yes, if the standard is right' (Clothes and Costume Jewellry vendor, 20 year old, Male).

In relation to more trade union type organisation the situation was less positive. For although many expressed the need for some kind of organisation, only nine were actually members of organisations. At present vibrant organisations exist among the vendors and taxi drivers and a less vibrant one among the Drag Brothers. The following quotations give some indications of the reasons why respondents were in favour or against this form of organisation.

Against:
'I have family in the law so I can get my problems dealt with' (Builder/vendor, 43 year old, Male);

'The union can't really help you because is the Government who we have to deal with (food and lottery vendor, 26 year old, Male).

In Favour:
'It is better to have a body of people to seek your interests than being by yourself' (Haberdashery vendor, 48 year old, Female).
'Separation is never good, a body is necessary' (Haberdashery vendor, 40 year old, Female).
'Yes, but people are afraid...' (Market vendor, 57 year old, Female).
'Members get discounts on (spare) parts' (Taxi driver, 43 year old, Male).

Interrelationships within the Group

It is important here to draw out from the rest of the chapter the ways in which the different groups relate to each other on an economic level. This is important because through the dependence on groups within the sector, total reproduction costs are reduced and/or the reproduction of other groups is facilitated. Examples of this kind of interdependence include;

- the purchase of fruit, vegetables and other inputs by street vendors from market vendors;
- The use of pirate taxis to transport farmers to the market and vendors to and from the market;
- the purchase of processed/cooked food by other vendors from food vendors.

As illustrated earlier a great deal of competition also exists within the sector and this has given rise to intrasectoral antagonisms. Examples of this include the sale of vegetables and ground provisions within the one mile radius of the market and the sale of similar items by the Drag Brothers and the street vendors. This complexity

of interdependence and competition has resulted in a consciousness based on individualism while acknowledging the necessity of group solidarity, organisation and action. The next chapter will deal with manifestations of these three phenomena as they have occurred so far.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Erik Olin Wright, op.cit p. 35.

2. I.D.C. Newletter July, 1978 p. 1.

3. Regulations for the sale of food,
   1. All persons offering food for sale or handling foodstuffs must be free from certain communicable deseases.
   2. All scales and weights must be stamped by the relevant authorities.
   3. No one is permitted to offer agricultural produce for sale within a one mile radius of some markets.

   See M. Lim Choy, The Marketing of Selected Starchy Roots, Tubers and Fruits in Trinidad, Unpublished Msc. Thesis, U.W.I. T'dad & Tobago 1977.

4. Lim Choy op.cit. p. 24.

5. Joanne Lessinger, Produce Vendors in The Princes Town Market. Unpublished Thesis Brandeis University, 1968.

6. Lim Choy p. 22

7. Lim Choy p. 30

8. Lim Choy p. 24

9. Trinidad Guardian 29 May 1975, The article was headlined 'Untouchable Vendors'.

10. Food vendors have to have a food handlers badge and wear white shirts when selling food. The badge certifies that the wearer is free from communicable diseases. This however does not permit them to sell on the streets.

11. In one example the vendor on return to Trinidad & Tobago faced charges from the customs officer. He left for Barbados where he bought a wedding ring and paid a woman travelling to Trinidad to carry some of the goods and like himself wear three sets of clothes. In the end he still had to pay $TT 100 import duties. All these costs, hotel bills, airline transport, duties and other additional payments were passed on to the consumer.

12. I.D.C. Small Business Dept. Report on Sno Cone Vendors Port of Spain, 1978.

13. Trinidad Guardian July, 20th 1973

14. Trinidad Guardian December, 11th 1974.

15. Ibidem

16. Trinidad Guardian April, 22nd 1975

17. Trinidad Guardian January, 4th 1976, on the need for a permanent place.

18. Trinidad Guardian May, 4th 1976.

19. Trinidad Guardian February, 17th 1977

20. Trinidad Express April, 23rd 1977.

21. Kelvin Singh, East Indians ..... op.cit.

22. Dalton Mcpherson, The Trinidad Pirate Taxi Service as a Social Phenomenon, Sociology Paper, Cipriani Labour College 1970. T'dad & Tobago. p. 1.

23. Owing to its different history, Tobago has fewer Pirate taxis.

24. He drove a car owned by another taxi driver and paid him a certain amount each day.

25. One is not sure to what extent this is correct. After probing on one occasion it was found that the mother sometimes cooks for other people.

26. The two cases of respondents living outside of the area were Couva and San Fernando, these are definitely not rural areas.

27. The normal working week for wage labourers is five days of 7-8 hours per day. Some non-unionised workers may work longer hours and six to five and one half days per week. Sleep-in domestic servants have the longest working hours.

28. It is also possible that the men did not admit to being or did not know that they were fathers.

29. Trinidad Express, December, 3rd 1975.

30. Family - relatives.

CHAPTER V

ORGANISATION AND ACTION IN THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE

In spite of the large body of literature which has emerged on the 'informal sector' and 'petty commodity production and trade' extremely little has been written on the experience of political action and organisation among these groups. What has been written has often been put as an addendum to broader studies. This failure to deal with the question of organisation and action has served to highlight the whole dichotomy between the 'organized' formal sector and the 'unorganized' informal sector; and the 'marginal' nature of the 'marginalized' groups. These studies by their static nature exude a feeling of fatalism where the position of petty commodity producers and traders is destined to continue as even the State policies suggested by the 1972 ILO study on Kenya are doomed to failure or at best idealist.

In the collection by Bromley and Gerry (1979)[1]. only two articles made any clear reference to organisation and action on the part of these groups. Similarly in the Bromley collection (1978)[2]. only one article by Bromley himself 'Organization, Regulation and Exploitation in the So-called Informal Sector: The Street Traders of Cali Colombia', made a passing discussion of organisation among traders. Similarly Lisa Peattie [3]. in her study of Colombia makes some passing discussion of this subject. One article which concentrates particularly on this topic is Lewis (1976) in her study of group action among market women in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. [4].

These articles and studies have all come to the same basic conclusions. Bromley and Birbeck (1978) for example found that most organisation among petty commodity producers and traders (PCP&TS) is aimed at protecting the right to

work rather than controlling conditions of work.[5.] Similarly with Peattie they agree that the main concern of organisations is to control entrance. This is important as 'ease of entry' was one of the characteristics of the 'informal sector' put forward by the ILO in 1972. This characteristic of wanting to control entrance is an illustration of the main characteristic of PCP&TS identified by researchers - individualism. Sarin in his study of petty traders in Chandigarh India, while noting their strength in a long-standing struggle with the authorities, identified this as the basic weakness of this and other such groups. He says:

> 'The contradictory nature of political consciousness of the poor and the cut-throat competition they must endure, place severe limitations on the potential for...changes... The possibilities for the organisation of successful co-operatives or other collective efforts by small traders which is perhaps the only effective means of creating some structural change in the nature of exchange relationships which now place them at the bottom of the hierachy, are somewhat limited; this is evidenced by the fact that one of the main conditions made by Nehru and Shastri market traders for the acceptance of resettlement was that others should be prevented from using the same channels they themselves had to use to acquire a certain degree of security within the legal framework.' 6.

In her study of market women in Abidjan, Lewis (1978) identified three main factors which worked against the organisation of market women; individualism which she sees as a direct result of the marketing situation where competition between one trader and her neighbour is 'immediate and visible' [7.]: unequal access to economic and political resources where some sellers, through kinship, marriage and other ties are able to 'enjoy greater capital, credit and political resources': Ethnic heterogeneity which inhibits collective action where social

networks based on ethnicity preclude the development of inter-ethnic ties within the market place.

As far as the working of actual organisation is concerned, Bromley (1978) found that these organisations or 'unions' are usually characterised by low membership, a reticence to pay the usually low subscriptions and divisions based on party loyalties. All these factors mentioned above can be related somewhat to the Trinidad and Tobago situation. However, as with all phenomena differences occur because of particular socio-economic and historical reasons. Lessinger (1968) for example, found that even in comparison with Haiti and Jamaica, there was less fierce competition between market vendors in Trinidad and Tobago than in the other islands. This difference she attributed to the relatively easier economic situation where there was less economic risk involved in market vending. In my own research, despite the existence of competition, it was very evident that all PCP&TS had a very open attitude to other people trying to make an 'honest' living. Among the Drag Brothers for example, while denouncing 'loiterers' and troublemakers, they recognised the development of a national handicraft industry as a means of solving the unemployment problem. Similarly among street vendors when asked whether there was competition for space, most stated 'no' and there is a general appreciation that people have to live. As a result of this prevailing viewpoint attempts at controlling entrance have not been part of the programmes of any organisations examined. The removal of the freeze on taxi licences was hailed as a victory by the taxi organisations who prefer to have more legal taxis and less illegal 'P-H' cars which are not subject to the same rules and regulations.

Because of these differences, organisations of PCP&TS in Trinidad and Tobago like those studied by Bromley in Colombia are usually characterised by low membership, reluctance to pay the low subscriptions and many divisions based less on party loyalties and ethnic/racial differences than on different opinions on what strategies ought to be used. Based on the research leading to this study, I would suggest three other factors which affect organisation among PCP&TS; (1) Fear, based on past experience of identification with political opposition in the country; (2) Opportunism, the view that 'if one get all get' where those who do not struggle benefit in the end without endangering their own security; (3) Political apathy, among certain sections of the PCP&TS there is a feeling of apathy and alienation brought on by the failure of earlier struggles and compounded by the use of drugs resulting in a general withdrawal from society except minimally in order to survive.

Participation in co-operative efforts has also been of little success. Relatively successful co-operatives exist only among taxi drivers. [8]. One explanation for this could be the lower economic risk involved as taxi drivers have a higher earning capacity. Many organisations of steelbands, unemployed youth as well as vendors, the Drag Brothers and market vendors have attempted to form co-operatives but few have even been registered. At the IDC small Business department it was found that despite special concessions, co-operatives have in general had little success, even partnerships of two or three people have not succeeded. [9].

Concurrent with the increase in interest in petty commodity production and trade, there has developed some discussion on the so-called aristocracy of labour. This has usually taken the form of criticisms of labour

specialists in particular marxist labour specialists for concentrating all research and study on the organised working class which, to the critics, has lost its revolutionary potential through the high wages and fringe benefits which it receives from Capital. In doing this they (the labour specialists) ignored the real 'wretched of the earth' the 'marginalised masses', the 'informal sector'. These critics have echoed some of the sentiments of Fanon in his discussion of the lumpenproletariat and which are highlighted by Peter Worsley in his work on Fanon.[10.] This point is made in a slightly different form by James Petras in his post mortem on the Chilean revolution [11.] where he points out the necessity of a correct understanding of the nature of the petty bourgeoisie and their position in the economy if a proper strategy towards them is to be worked out.

This chapter attempts to look at organisation and action among the four sections of the petty bourgeoisie examined in this study. It will first examine the existing organisational structures giving examples of past politico-economic action. In addition, the relationships between these organisations and those of the bourgeoisie, the working class and the agricultural petty bourgeoisie will be discussed.

Organisations

Among the groups within the petty bourgeoisie which were examined in this study,'vibrant' organisations exist among the street vendors and the taxi drivers. A relatively dormant one exists among the Drag Brothers while at the time of research there was no functioning organisation among the market vendors at the Central Market. As a general statement, their action has tended to be sporadic in nature and crisis oriented with organisations emerging

during a crisis and disintegrating soon after.

The forms of political action have been fairly uniform. They usually include a march to Whitehall, the office of the Prime Minister, and protest demonstrations. They all demand to see the Prime Minister but as yet no protest group has been able to do so. A press statement is always an essential step and this is done by inviting the press to the 'scene' or by going 'en masse' to the newspaper office. A third method has been that of seeking legal advice either from lawyers or from trade union leaders, asking them to petition on their behalf. Another less successful method is to visit the mayor, local parliamentary representative or local government representative. The final action, the withdrawal of labour is open only to the taxi drivers or market vendors. The other groups (except possibly newspaper vendors and lottery vendors) have had to resort to other methods in extreme circumstances.

Organisation among Market Vendors

At the time of study, no national federation of market vendor associations existed, and in reality very few regional bodies exist outside of crisis situations. Vendors in all markets face numberous problems and countless small struggles have taken place in the past years, however, no organisation in the marketing system has been able to sustain itself for a continuous period of time. In dealing with their grievances, the market vendors have not relied only on their own resources but more than other groups tend to look for external assistance. For example, in December, 1975, when two hundred vendors at the San Juan market were ejected from the market, they crowded the office of a local lawyer to seek legal assistance and to ask him to petition the Government on their behalf.

In another example, in March, 1977, vendors of the San Fernando Central market, rather than organise among themselves, joined the Contractors and General Workers Union stating 'In the struggle for improved conditions we feel that the only way to get effective representation is to join a union.' [12].

Despite this, market vendors associations have been formed and have participated in many successful and unsuccessful struggles. In November, 1973 for example, the Couva Market Vendors Association refused to attend a meeting called by the Couva Chamber of Commerce to discuss their return to the Old Couva Market which they had left twenty years ago. Prior to this they had sent a petition to the pailiamentary secretary of the Ministry of Public Utilities requesting a new mini market to replace the old one. In responding to the Chamber's invitation they accused them of trying to 'stab them in the back' and warned that most of the members of the Chamber were breaking the law and 'we intend to expose it when the time comes.' [13]. In early 1974, some were forced back to the market and in February a protest letter was sent to the Caroni Country Council. By 1976 vendors who still refused to go back to the market were arrested, reprimanded and discharged by a magistrate and ordered back to the market. This struggle like many of these petty bourgeois struggles continues for years, and this particular one continued even after this.

Other struggles have been more successful, relatively speaking, and of shorter duration. In June, 1978, a Central Market Vendors Association was formed, and through representation by a delegation to the City Council, they were able to reverse a decision to increase the monthly rental of stalls by 100%. They also used this opportunity to put forward some long-standing proposals;

- that only closed shops be allowed to sell imported

meat such as pickled meat, salted fish, smoked fish and general groceries;
- spraying of all shops every six months by the Council;
- immediate occupation of the wholesale section before the rainy season;
- end to all ground selling.

After this spurt of activity, the organisation ceased to function and its registration has been cancelled. [14.] Despite this, many problems continue in the Central Market, but fear and mistrust serve to impede continuous organisation.

More recently in August, 1979, a crisis developed in one of the more popular regional markets, the San Juan Market. After their makeshift stalls were destroyed, the vendors as if by reflex action hastily formed the San Juan Market Vendors Association. This name was later changed to the San Juan Market Vendors and Interested Buyers Association, to include in their delegations non-vendors who could speak on their behalf. Their protest action included a march to Whitehall and a total shutdown of the market. In this particular protest the influence of other organisations of the labouring poor - the trade unions and peasant organiations - was evident but this will be discussed in the next section.

The Vendors Association

The Vendors Association was born out of the continuous struggles between the street vendors of Central Port of Spain and the city businessmen and the City Council. It existed as a crude conglomeration since 1975 but was more effectively organised in 1976. According to the president of the Association, self-employment has increased since 1970 as the possibilities of getting permanent work have been reduced. Prior to 1976 the emphasis had been mainly on the reactions to crisis, protest marches to Whitehall, visits to the Press and so on. After 1976, there was a change

in the type of organisation, brought on partly through the changing economic reality and also by the ascendance to leadership of a newly returned (from the United States) vendor. This new leader became chairman of the organisation while the previous leader remained president in a shrewd and careful piece of political accommodation. From this period the Association began to organise within itself and not only in relation to crisis. At the time of research, there were approximately 100 'paid up' members out of a total broad membership of about 250 vendors of the Central Port of Spain area (Charlotte, Henry, Frederick, Queen and Prince streets). Of this number 70 are active members. Within the organisation there are certain rules and regulations derived from (1) the need to improve the image of the vendors and (2) an agreement reached between the City Council and the Association. These regulations include:

1. All members are to be dressed in a correct manner;
2. Members are not to force people to buy.
3. Members are not to molest or abuse customers.
4. The size and height of tables are regulated, 6ft. by 6ft. as stipulated by the City Council.
5. The amount of space bwtween each table is regulated.
6. Non-vendors are not to be encouraged to 'hand around' and molest customers.
7. A monthly contribution of $5.00 TT is to be paid. [15.]

Despite the precarious and insecure nature of their existence, many vendors refuse to become members of the Association. As noted in the preceeding chapter, many vendors have cordial relations with certain businessmen and do not see the necessity of joining an organisation against them. For those who are members the figure of 70 active members (if correct) is a very good one for

few organisations of any kind in Trinidad and Tobago can boast of 70 active members. According to the chairman, however, there is some difficulty in collecting the monthly dues, despite the small amount.

The new strategy is described in the following statement by the chairman that 'violence was needed at one point but not at this time, today (what is needed) is someone to speak and organise.' [16]. This represents the latter 1970s abatement of the class struggle. The new financial position of the Government has to a small extent enabled it to assuage the demands of certain sections of the labouring poor. There is the view expressed that confrontation is no longer necessary, but rather the 'proper channels' should be gone through with negotiation, discussion and agreement with various government officials.

Concurrent with this change in strategy there has developed the move towards the establishment of a new self-image for vendors. The chairman in one discussion identified three types of vendors; the hustler who is just trying to survive; the vendor who wants to sell everything today and the merchant who is a full time trader and does not mind not selling everything in one day, as he might get a better price on the next day. In relation to organisation he found that the hustlers are not interested in organisation, the vendors would participate during a crisis, while the merchant is generally interested in continuous organisation. The new policy, therefore, according to the formerly militant president of the organisation is to encourage the members of the Association to see themselves as small businessmen. At the same time, however, they recognize the need for continuous struggle against the big businessmen.

Following from the above, it is not surprising that

the leadership of the Association sees its main aims and objectives, not in political terms but rather in economic ones. The main aims include (1) the provision of a large building, possibly through a Government loan or grant from which they and other 'small businessmen' could operate (2) privileges for the direct importation of goods for sale.

As far as the future of this organisation is concerned, plans exist for its registration under the Trade Union Ordinance, and upon registration there is the possibility of affiliation to either of the two trade union federations, At present, there is no clear indication of the direction in which this will take place. In addition there is some interest in co-operation even though earlier attempts proved failures.

Throughout the post 1970 period the street vendors more than any other group have been involved in numerous struggles to defend their right to exist. In 1973 for example, the apple vendors in a meeting with the City Mayor complained about police harrassment and requested a fixed site from which to sell their apples. This protest was in reaction to the annual 'swoop' by the police and City Council on street vendors at Christmas time when their numbers increase. In December, 1974, all vendors except lottery vendors [17.] were ordered to leave Frederick Street. After protesting against the ban they were advised to seek the permission of the store-owner in front of whose business they wished to sell. In addition, the Minister of Health and Local Government agreed to allow them to trade as long as they posed no health hazzard. In addition to this, they were advised to 'co-operate' with the police and not to break the law'. [18.] In December, 1975 a similar scene was re-enacted, this time the vendors threatened to launch a campaign discouraging shoppers from entering city stores. This action they stated was in retaliation against the businessmen whose

complaints had resulted in the policemen 'putting them on the run'. They added that in carrying out this action they would not be breaking the law but were exercising their democratic right to air their views. [19]. In response to this fifty-three businessmen signed a document stating that they did not support the police campaign against the vendors. As shown in the last chapter, this action confused some of the vendors who from this point differentiated between the 'bad' police and the 'friendly'businessmen. After this successful struggle, responsibility for its success was publicly claimed by (1) a lawyer who claimed that he had offered his legal services and had spoken to top government officials on their behalf; (2) some 'informed sources' who stated that the personal intervention of the Prime Minister had been responsible, while during the struggle the Trinidad and Tobago Labour Congress had expressed 'concern and alarm' over the issue. [20]. Again in 1977 apple vendors protested the high wholesale price of apples and the fact that many of the apples were rotten. They quickly formed an Apple Vendors Association and called on the public to boycott apples of vendors who were still selling. In addition to this a demonstration was held outside the businessplace of one supplier. The boycott was called off when a new wholesaler offered apples at a price at least $13-$15 TT per box lower than the regular suppliers.

These annual Christmas struggles and others throughout the year are part of the reason why the Vendors Association is one of the more vibrant of the petty bourgeoisie organisations. The daily fight for survival is much more intense than among other groups and constant vigilance is necessary to protect the small gains which they are able to attain. As shown by these illustrations the struggles are not only over the right to sell in a particular location, but also over the cost of supplies and the quality of goods. In this way as noted by Bromley (1978) the struggle is much

more about the right to work than the conditions of work.

The Drag Brothers Association

The Drag Brothers Association was founded in 1970 while the 'brothers' still operated on Frederick Street. In 1979 it comprised of only 25 members out of a larger population of about eighty 'brothers'. During the early period through their struggle and the support of members of the public they were able to gain the position which they presently occupy in Bankers Row in Independence Square, Port of Spain.

During the first three years the activities of the Association comprised mainly of public service activities and expositions aimed at getting public approval. However, as time went on the aims of the Association changed somewhat, in the words of the President; 'we would have liked to see our group as an economic base for young black people to start and to streamline the basic talents of young people in Trinidad and Tobago; we envisaged a more uniform outfit to produce better quality work to meet the needs of the population.' [21.]

These aims, however, have proved virtually impossible to achieve as attempts at further expansion, such as, obtaining a factory shell from the IDC have proved unsuccessful. In the words of the President:

> 'We had indicated our willingness to apply for a factory shell but the IDC has not assisted. It operates under a guise of wanting to help small industry, it operates to destroy small industry. It is a frustrating experience. Research has been done on the feasibility of a leathercraft industry.' [22.]

Despite the major problems facing the 'brothers', high cost of materials, pressure from businessmen via the City Council and the Police and the poor working facilities, it has not been possible for a strong organisation to develop with a continuous existence. In this way they do not

differ greatly from other members of the petty bourgeoisie but their continuing insecure position could have been a basis for long-term organisation. The president of the Association finds his explanation for this failure in the character of the 'brothers' which he describes as based on 'strong individualism and independence'; he goes on 'it was born out of the 1970 revolution. There is a very depressed and suppressed mentality which is very hostile. They will come together in a crisis'. [23.]

As far as the future of the organisation and the Drag Brothers as a whole is concerned, neither the president nor other members could put forward any positive plan of action for the future. Pessimistically he noted that the present existence of the 'brothers' could not continue indefinitely unless they gained some greater control over the work, in particular the importation and supply of raw materials, yet (possibly based on earlier unsuccessful attempts) the possibility of organising co-operatives was categorically ruled out. In the face of similar pressures, it was note earlier that this had not been the basis for united soliarity action between the Drag Brothers and the street vendors. One attempt had been made when the president of the Drag Brothers Association was invited to a meeting of the Vendors Association to discuss police action against them. This action was not repeated or reciprocated even though the president acknowledged the possibility of greater joint action in the future.

Organisation Among Taxi Drivers

At the time of research there were two major national federations competing for official recognition as the national body of taxi drivers. As mentioned earlier the monopoly position of taxi drivers within the economy

has afforded them an economic position and lifestyle way above that of the other lower strata sections of the petty bourgeoisie. It is not surprising that the policy of both organisations has been more towards gaining the recognition of the Government than of the drivers, the rationale being that members will flock to the body which has Government recognition. In spite of this strategy, the drivers face many problems, for example, bad roads, high cost cars, high costs of spare parts and lack of taxi stands. Over the years various appeals to the Government have had some success, for example the removal of purchase tax on taxis, the lifting of the freeze on taxis and the granting of permission for 'tourist' taxis to import 'left hand drive' cars from the United States. These demands were often backed by strikes or threats of strikes which can effectively disrupt the economy.

Of the approximately 14 petty bourgeois organisations registered under the Trade Union Ordinance, nine (9) are organisations of taxi drivers. Some are regional organisations of taxi drivers, while others are national bodies. The two main national bodies currently competing for recognition are: The Trinidad and Tobago Taxi Drivers Association and the Trinidad and Tobago National Council of Taxi Drivers. Many of the regional bodies operate independently of the national organisations and may or may not affiliate to them.

The Trinidad and Tobago Taxi Drivers Association

This is registered under the Trade Union Ordinance and has been in operation since 1968. It has operated in conjunction with the Trinidad and Tobago Taxi Drivers and Owners Co-operative Society. [24.] In 1973 it could claim a membership

of 1,500 but in a seminar held at Scarlet Ibis hotel in March only nine representatives attended. Despite the poor response the TTTDA went on to call for a representative of taxi drivers on the Transport Board, and identified the main problems facing taxi drivers as, competition with P-H cars and mini buses and the lack of taxi stands. In 1974 another seminar was held at the Naparima Bowl to discuss the 'uplift of the taxi industry'.[25] These meetings illustrate very clearly the attempts by the leadership of these organisations to intercede with the Government on behalf of their membership. Among the special invitees to the meeting were the Minister of Works, the Traffic Superintendent and the Minister of Industry and Commerce. Later that same year representatives of the TTTDA paid a courtesy call on the Governor General to 'give an idea of the activities, plans and aspirations of the association which has Caribbean-wide affiliations'.[26] In July, 1975 a Taxi Drivers Day was held and activities included a seminar, presentation function, hoisting of the taxi drivers' flag and feeding 150 of the 'less fortunate'.[27] In March, 1975 the Trinidad and Tobago National Council for Taxi Drivers (TTNCTD) began operations and challenged the authority of the TTTDA to speak on behalf of the country's taxi drivers. Thus the rivalry between the two organisations can be dated from this period. In reaction to this a memorandum was sent to the Prime Minister outlining the achievments of the group over the years. This was done after the Government agreed in September to discuss in cabinet the proposals put forward by the TTNCTD.

Since that period both groups have continued to operate, competing for headlines in newspapers through their proclamations in support of taxi drivers and their 'community service' efforts, such as, feeding the poor, old and

destitute and both claiming victories when achievements are realised.

The Trinidad and Tobago National Council for Taxi Drivers

This was initially formed in a congress of Taxi Driver Associations and co-operatives in Tobago. It claims a membership of 41 regional taxi driver associations representing approximately 11,000 drivers in the country.[28.] Its executive comprises of representatives of six regional associations and two members represent the TTNCTD on (1) the Metrification Board and the Road Safety Association and (2) the Transport Board. The president of this organisation identifies the main reason for organising such as a council as 'it is the only way to get what you want from Government'. The leadership of this organisation, therefore sees its main function as one of mediating, negotiating and to a lesser extent confronting the Government on behalf of its members. According to the president, the motto of the organisation is 'Onward Ever Backward Never', and its aims are, (1) to uplift and streamline the whole taxi industry and (2) to unite all taxi drivers in the country into one body. In addition, the organisation claims to have gained the following achievements during its short existence:

1. Government permission for the importation of United States cars.
2. Some control on the price of spare parts, tyres and accessories.
3. Recognition in all Government agencies and membership on all statutory boards, the main ones being the Tourist Board, the Transport Board and the Metrification Board.

In addition to these the Council is affiliated to the

Trinidad and Tobago Chamber of Commerce, the Road Safety Association and the Trinidad and Tobago Labour Congress.

The main characteristic differentiating this association from the other is the fact that the National Council comprises of both 'stand' or tourist taxis as well as route or 'pirate' taxis. In addition, it has as affiliates two of the only functioning taxi driver co-operatives, the Tobago Taxi Co-operative and the St. Christophers Taxicab Co-operative Society. Despite all these 'achievements' this Council (up to August, 1979) had not been registered. Nevertheless, it has been able to gain Government recognition in spite of this fact. Some vague speculation can be made regarding the reasons for the quick recognition of this organisation, even though the TTTDA had been in operation for a longer period. For example, factors of race are present, the president of this federation being of African descent, while the other is of Indian descent; in terms of political affiliation, the president of this organisation is closely associated with the ruling party; or it may be simply the fact that the newer organisation is more active than the older one. [29].

As far as the future of the Council is concerned, the president is clear that it intends to work with the Government 'to make the taxi trade a bright one'. He sees the main problems to be solved in the future as those of bad roads, inferior cars at high prices, high costs of spare parts, lack of taxi stands and problems of parking. Most recently, the association has launched an attack on certain aspects of the new Traffic Ordinance, in particular the ticket system; the proposed Maxi-Taxi system, and problems of the renewal of licences. In these they have met with strong verbal retaliation from the Government, but it is left to be seen how this will be resolved.

In a country where the running of the State is characterised to a large extent by the dispensation of favours, political behaviour even of organisations such as these tends to be based on these premise. The view is generally held that what is needed is to make the Government aware of your problem for it to be solved. In addition to this, taxi drivers because of their high earning capacity often have a lifestyle more similar to that of the middle-strata than to that of the lower strata of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie. Thus one can note some difference between the political practice of taxi driver associations and that of other petty bourgeois organisations including those of the agricultural petty bourgeoisie. However, the strongest weapon in the hands of taxi drivers continues to be the threat of a strike and this is often used at regional levels to highlight problems.

Relationships Between Petty Bourgeois Organisations and other Organisations

Relations with Worker Organisations

In Trinidad and Tobago there are over ninety registered trade unions and associations.[30] Of these approximately twenty-five are active and represent about 30 - 35% of the labour force. These trade unions are federated within two major federations, the Trinidad and Tobago Labour Congress (TLC) and the Council of Progressive Trade Unions (CPTU). The origins of the former were discussed in chapter I as well as the development of the latter out of the more militant trade unions which opposed the Industrial Relations Act of 1971. Today the TLC is the larger federation which continues to have a working relationship with the present government and its representatives hold positions on the boards of Statutory bodies.

In addition, there are some joint Government/TLC institutions, such as, the Workers Bank and the Cipriani Labour College.

The CPTU despite its recent origin, has among its membership two of the most powerful unions representing very important sectors of the economy. In addition, it was closely linked with the United Labour Front which in the last election won ten parliamentary seats. [31.] Outside of these two groups there are a few unions which belong to neither federation, however, they tend to align with one or other body in most instances. The following list shows the breakdown of the main trade unions and their affiliation.

Trinidad and Tobago Labour Congress
Public Services Association
Natonal Union of Government and Feberated Workers - largest membership over 50,000
Seamen and Waterfront Workers Union
Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers
Union of Foods, Hotels and Industrial Workers
Communications Workers Union
Trinidad and Tobago Teachers Union.

Council of Progressive Trade Unions
Oilfield Workers Trade Union
University and Affiliated Workers Union
Transport and Industrial Workers Union
Islandwide Cane Farmers Trade Union
Ship Builders, Ship Repairers and Allied Workers Trade Union
West Indies Group of University Teachers (St.Augustine)
Bank and General Workers Union
National Food Crop Farmers Association
Sugar Boilers Association.

What is interesting to note is that in Trinidad and Tobago many petty bourgeois organisations are registered under the Trade Union Ordinance. As noted earlier in addition to those registered, there are many functioning organisations which are not officially registered. In light of this, it should not be surprising that two organisations of the agricultural petty bourgeoisie are affiliated to the Council of Progressive Trade Unions. Its links with the non-agricultural petty bourgeoisie have, however, not been as strong or formalized even though the National Union of Unemployed, Underemployed and Under-privileged Workers was an original member of the CPTU in 1971. [32.] One trade union leader described the relationship between the petty bourgeoisie and the progressive trade unions in these words:

> 'The left wing trade unions are sometimes called upon to assist other groups during times of crisis. This is so even though for most of the time they criticise these groups (the left wing trade unions) and accuse them of wanting to overthrow the Government with violence.' 33.

In 1976 during a lull in the activities of the CPTU a meeting of the Trinidad and Tobago National Council of Taxi Drivers was held under the auspices of the United Labour Front at The Hall of the Transport and Industrial Workers Union (TIWU) to discuss the issue of increased taxi fares. [34.] In doing this it supported the drivers against the majority of the working-class population which protested violently against the increases. [35.] Today this organisation, as noted earlier, is affiliated to the TLC and not to this organisation which supported it in this crisis.

Similarly, in 1979, the TIWU was very active in support of the San Juan Market Vendors and Interested

Buyers Association. The Acting president of the union became an advisor while members of the executive marched with the vendors to Whitehall. (See Appendix III). With the exception of these sporadic and individual solidarity and support activities, there has not been any definite programmed relationship between the CPTU and the non-agricultural petty bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, the need for a more continuous and long-term relationship is acknowledged by the leadership of the organisation. But there is to some extent some element of distrust of the petty bourgeoisie whose political consciousness is seen to be closer to that of the capitalists than to that of the working class. In the words of the CPTU president 'The self-employed are deformed miniature capitalists who would be more willing to ally with the capitalist class in a normal (sic) situation'. But he goes on 'undoubtedly the working-class needs allies and as the self-employed developed out of the working-class they are needed to strengthen the working-class'.

Much less information is available on the relationship between the TLC [36.] and the petty bourgeoisie. What is known is that the TTNCTD is affiliated to it and in 1976 when the booths of the dock vendors were threatened with destruction, the SWWTU supported their struggle and they were able to gain a 21 day reprieve. This support was understandable in that a mutual relationship existed where the majority of stevedores and longshoremen got meals from these vendors. In spite of this support the booths and stalls were eventually destroyed. Again despite these isolated attempts one could also conclude that the TLC has no long-term relationship with the petty bourgeoisie.

Workers and The Petty Bourgeoisie

Despite official attitudes of their organisations, individual workers have definite relationships with, and attitudes towards, the petty bourgeoisie. The clearest example of conflict exists between workers and taxi drivers. This occurs in two very different forms, (1) through the monopoly position of drivers in transportation in the country and (2) the increasing encroachment of full-time workers as part-time taxi drivers.

The first conflict situation, although long-standing, emerges on the surface especially during periods of fare increases. One such occasion occurred in 1976, and the following actions occurred in response to it;

- the youth groups in Rio Claro protested by writing to the Prime Minister, the Attorney-General, and visited the parliamentary representative;
- letters were sent to the editors of newspapers pointing out that some workers earned only $15, $20 or $30 weekly;
- the Tunapuna Block of the United Labour Front advised commuters not to pay increased fares, but to travel by bus; [37].
- protestors in Diego Martin protested with placards and travelled by bus, they claimed that the taxi drivers had an association protecting them, while the commuters had none; the North Diego Martin Village Council advised the taxi drivers to fight the big businessmen and foreign-owned companies and not the poor 'scrunting' man and woman fighting to make ends meet;
- in St. James a Rate Objectors Body was formed and called on commuters not to pay increased fares.

Since 1976 this conflict has continued, but it subsided somewhat as people paid the increased fares.

But in 1978 residents of one town, La Romain, refused to pay another price increase, they 'cussed the taxi drivers' and called for a special school bus service. The planned increase was dropped but school children had to pay the adult fares. Meanwhile, letters were sent to newspaper editors, one called on the Public Transport Service Corporation to save commuters from exploiting taxi drivers, while another praised the Government for establishing the Priority Bus Route between San Juan and Port of Spain, complaining of drivers who discriminate in choosing passengers 'by sex and race, weight and face'. [38.] [39.]

At present this conflict continues and has emerged again in relation to the plan by the Government to introduce the 'maxi-taxi' system. This type of conflict exists to a much lesser extent between vendors and workers and the Drag Brothers, however, the more depressed economic position of the vendors and Drag Brothers does not result in this type of open conflict. In addition, as elsewhere rumours of the great stored up wealth of vendors exist but do not have much credibility.

Relationships with Agricultural Petty-Bourgeois (peasant) Organisations

As noted earlier, dependent economic relationships exist between the agricultural and non-agricultural petty bourgeoisie. In addition, there is much competition in particular between farmers who retail in the market or within a one-mile radius of the market and regular market vendors. The Islandwide Cane Farmers Trade Union (ICFTU) comprises cane farmers. Their situation is more similar to that of 'outworkers' or 'Pieceworkers' for the sugar factory, and as such the economic relationship between this organisation and the market vendors is minimal. The National Foodcrop Farmers Association

comprises food-crop farmers and as such they exist in a conflicting situation in relation to the market vendors. For example, in the market they have to stop all wholesale selling at 6.00 a.m. or compete with retailers, a situation already described in this study. To highlight the farmers' version of the situation, I quote from the NFFA publication:

> 'To begin with, farmers have to sell at night, since the 'market' opens at twelve midnight! There are no toilet facilities and this is detrimental to both buyers and sellers; there are no parking facilities; and at 6.00 a.m. on a 'market day', there is absolutely chaos in this market; farmers are at the mercy of retailers for at this time farmers have to sell out or have the police come and start jostlin' you, threatening to throw out you and your goods ... you done bring it, to carry it back, is about half will damage by the time you bring it back ...' 40.

This clearly illustrates the conflict of interests between these two groups. Nevertheless, the NFFA has supported market vendors in their struggles. For example, in the recent crisis involving the San Juan Market vendors, the Aranguez section of the NFFA supported the vendors' call for improved conditions. [41.]
In addition, as an affiliate of the CPTU it is possible for the NFFA to participate in other solidarity actions in support of market vendors and other petty traders.

Relationships with Organisations of The Bourgeoisie

The bourgeoisie in Trinidad and Tobago is well organised into a number of organisations, each serving different purposes and catering to the needs of different strata, segments and fractions of the class. The main ones are the Trinidad and Tobago Chamber of Commerce and the Junior Chamber of Commerce, (JAYCEES), the Trinidad and Tobago Businessmen Association and the Employers Consultative Association. As a rule these organisations

have opposed the interests of the lower stratum of the petty bourgeoisie, while their membership includes those firms which are being largely reproduced by petty production. As noted earlier some contradition does exist between different fractions of the bourgeoisie but since 1970 there has been a definite move by these organisations to develop an appreciation of 'private enterprise' among the populace. As noted in the case of the Drag Brothers, they were willing to do this as long as their interests were not adversely affected.

In 1972, for example, there was an attempt to form a Trinidad and Tobago Marketing Society, composed of 'from roti vendors to top entrepreneurs' [42]. The impetus for this had come from the Junior Chamber of Commerce in collaboration with a firm 'Business Development Services'. Similarly the Employers Consultative Association in collaboration with other 'voluntary' associations was able to obtain foreign financial assistance for an institution The Trinidad and Tobago Development Foundation. This foundation financed petty entrepreneurial projects among youth throughout the country. In addition to this, the JAYCEES had been organising Junior JAYCEE groups in depressed areas among unemployed or potentially unemployed youth. All these efforts have been aimed at controlling the spread of collectivist or socialist ideology in the aftermath of the 1970 disturbances.

Since the second half of the decade there has been less need for the strengthening of these efforts. The drive towards private enterprise and individual entrepreneurship has achieved an impetus of its own due to factors already discussed. This has developed to the point where competition now exists between the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie and their organisations (except a few like the TTNCTD) struggle against each other.

Conclusion

In conclusion, then, one could say that while organisation among petty commodity producers and traders in Trinidad and Tobago manifests some of the same characteristics identified by studies done in other parts of the world; factionalism and self-interest (Bromley 1978 p. 1168); Individualism, political favouritism and ethnic heterogeneity (Lewis 1976), it can be noted that the degree of competition in all of the groups was much less than that described in these and other studies (a point noted by Lessinger (1968)), and as a result of this, attempts by organisations to control entrance into various occupations were not evident. It was also found that even though there was no well planned programme of solidarity between trade unions and these organisations, the opposition of trade unions to, for example street traders described by Bromley (1978) was not the reality in Trinidad and Tobago, and in fact some acts of spontaneous solidarity had occurred in the past. This relative lack of opposition between workers and the petty bourgeoisie can be explained by the fact that these groups developed out of the unemployed and so their links with organised and unorganised wage labour is maintained through kinship and other ties. Despite this, however, some conflict has developed between the workers and the more prosperous group the taxi drivers, who through their organisations are able to skillfully use their monopoly position and their support of the Government to their own advantage.

With regard to relationships between these petty bourgeois organisations and the bourgeoisie, it was found that the conflict was much clearer in the second half of the decade, than in the beginning when there were overt attempts to deal with disaffection among these groups. Finally it was noted that the strong conflict between retailers and

wholesalers in petty trading did not preclude some solidarity action at an organisational level between farmers and market vendors.

One could conclude from this that despite the divisions between the various sections of the labouring poor, which are deep, they are not insurmountable and the possibility for greater solidarity action in the future does exist.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. R. Bromley and C. Gerry, Casual Work and Poverty in Third World Cities. John Wiley and Sons, Britain, 1979.

2. R. Bromley (Ed.) The Urban Informal Sector: Critical Perspectives World Development Volume 6 No. 9 & 10 Sept/Oct. 1978.

3. L. Peattie, "'Tertiarization' and Urban Poverty in Latin America" in Latin American Urban Research Vol. 5 W.A. Cornelius and F.M. Trueblood (eds.) p. 117.

4. Barbara C. Lewis, "The Limitations of Group Action among Entrepreneurs: The Market Women of Adidjan, Ivory Coast." In Women in Africa N.A. Hafkin and E.G. Bay)eds.) Stanford University Press. 1976.

5. See for example Bromley op.cit. 1978 p. 1168.

6. M. Sarin, "Urban Planning, Petty Trading and Squatter Settlements in Chandigarh, India" in Bromley and Gerry (eds.) op.cit. p. 159.

7. Lewis op.cit. p. 153.

8. Information received from the Co-operative Department, Port of Spain, July 1979.

9. Interview with member of the Small Business Department, Industrial Development Corporation, August, 1979.

10. See P. Worsley, Franz Fanon and the 'lumpenproletariat' in The Socialist Register 1972 Ralph Milliband and John Savile (eds.).

11. James Petras, "Reflections on The Chilean Experience, The Petite Bourgeoisie and The Working Class" in Socialist Revolution 19 Vol. 4 No. 1 Jan. - March 1974.

12. Trinidad Guardian 3rd March, 1977.

13. Trinidad Express 7th November, 1973.

14. Organisations are registered by submitting a constitution and list of officers to the Registrar of Trade Unions. Cancellation is automatic if annual reports are not submitted for a number of years and after letters of notice of possible cancellation are sent over a period of time and are returned or not answered. (information provided from the Registry of Trade Unions).

15. Interview with the Chairman of the Vendors Association August, 1979.

16. Ibidem.

17. Trinidad Express 10th December, 1974, lottery vendors sell government provided tickets and so apparently are allowed special privileges.

18. Trinidad Express 11th December, 1974.

19. Trinidad Express 2nd Decmeber, 1975

20. Trinidad Express 5th December, 1975

21. Interview with the President of the Drag Brothers Association July, 1979.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. I am not sure to what extent these are two separate organisations or one with two names.

25. Trinidad Guardian 1st March, 1974.

26. Trinidad Guardian 12th April, 1974

27. Trinidad Guardian 18th July, 1975.

28. Of the 41 regional associations 23 are supposed to be 'vibrant' or active associations.

29. The degree of 'vibrancy' between federations is only relative. I attended one meeting of the TTNCTD on 28th July 1979 and the Port of Spain Town Hall and only 11 associations were represented and attendance was generally poor most 'vibrancy' is on the part of the leaders.

30. Registrar of Trade Unions, List of Trade Unions up to 1979.

31. The United Labour Front was born out of the 1975 struggle of oil and sugar workers and cane farmers. It then became a political party comprising four trade unions, the Oilfield Workers Trade Union, the All Trinidad Sugar Estates and Factory Workers Trade Union, the Islandwide Cane Farmers Trade Union and the Transport and Industrial Workers Union. By 1977 there was a

split between the more left wing unions and the ATSEFWTU (now ATSEGWTU).

32. M. Als, "Keeping May Day Alive" in May Day Addresses by Progressive Trade Union Leaders, Trinidad & Tobago TIWU Print 1979 p. 3.

33. Interview with Acting President of TIWU and advisor to the San Juan Market Vendors and Interested Buyers Association, August, 1979.

34. Trinidad Express 25th October, 1976.

35. See Trinidad Express 13, 14, 15 & 20th October, 1976.

36. After four broken appointments I was unable to see the General Secretary of the Trinidad & Tobago Labour Congress (TLC).

37. This was countered by a statement that this was not a move against taxi drivers but had to be seen in the light of recent OPEC increases in oil prices, so the taxi drivers and the commuters were on one side and the manufacturers and the Government on the other, ... Trinidad Express 10 October, 1976.

38. Trinidad Express 9th September, 1978.

39. Trinidad Guardian 14th February, 1978.

40. "The Market for Food" in The Seed Vol. 1 No.1 1979, Trinidad & Tobago p. 8 my emphasis

41. Trinidad Guardian 6th August, 1979.

42. Trinidad Express 15th August, 1972.

CONCLUSION:

In this study, I have attempted to give an exposition on and analysis of the petty bourgeoisie in Trinidad and Tobago using a framework based on a concept of petty commodity production and trade. In doing this I had hoped to test the hypothesis that through the development of industrialization and the subsequent decline in agriculture in Trinidad and Tobago, the economy was increasingly unable to accommodate large numbers of the population in wage employment. As a result more and more people were forced to turn to self employment in petty commodity production and trade in order to survive. The second hypothesis saw the existence of petty commodity production and trade serving the particular needs of peripheral or under-developed capitalism in a number of ways.

In introducing this concept it was noted that previous work on this subject had made at least six major contributions to the understanding of this form of production and its position within the national capitalist economy. These six main characteristics were identified as: (1) the link between the development of PCP&T and the decline of a viable peasant economy; (2) the differences between artisans and petty traders; (3) the dependence of this sector on the capitalist sector for its development and continuance; (4) competition between certain sections of commercial capital and the petty producers and traders; (5) the existence of dynamism and change within the sector and (6) the possibility of increasing class consciousness as greater proletarianization occurs.

These six points vary in degree of importance when applied to this study. In the first instance this study was not able to show conclusively the realationship between the development of PCP&T and the decline in a viable peasant economy. It was able to show that since 1971 there has been a steady decline in the contribution of

of agriculture to the Gross Domestic Product and in addition the problems involved in peasant agricultural production were mentioned. The examination of the small sample studied did not show that the majority of the petty producers or traders were migrants from rural areas, but it was noted that the changes in the economy since 1973 had made peasant agriculture a slightly more 'viable' economic activity than before. There has, however, been an increasing encroachment on the land presently used for peasant production through the building of roads and commercial, government and residential buildings. It is left to be seen whether this situation will engender a new wave of migrants to the city to participate in PCP&T as no new avenues for wage employment present themselves.

In relation to divisions with the group, it was found that the division between artisans and other petty producers and traders was only one of the many factors dividing the groups. Nevertheless this division does exist and was presented most clearly in the attitudes of the Drag Brothers to the street vendors. What is also clear is that the artisans are losing control over their production process and because of the high costs of raw materials, are forced to carry out petty trading in order to supplement their income. Many of these artisans resent this strongly and wish to preserve their position as independent craftsmen. In the meantime, they attempt to maintain a separate existence from the hundreds of other street vendors in the city.

On the question of autonomous development, what is clear is that while the PCP&T sector is dependent on the capitalist sector, the opposite is also true. This study it is hoped has shown very clearly the contribution of PCP&T to the reproduction of the underdeveloped capitalist

economy of Trinidad and Tobago. What is important to note though, as is brought by the fourth point, is that capital in these countries has the ability to control the development of these groups and to allow them to grow to the degree that is compatible with its interests. In so doing, peripheral capitalism solves major contradictions in that PCP&T provides employment for the large numbers of people who would otherwise be unemployed and a source of socio-political unrest.

This question of 'autonomous development' however, is one which will have to be studied in greater depth. This study, while acknowledging the important contribution of PCP&T to underdeveloped capitalism, today is not sure to what extent the latter can exist without the former and vice versa. It is possible that a deeper analysis of concrete situations could throw further light on this question.

What has also become apparent in this study is that PCP&T has a contradictory relationship with capital as a whole. The reality is such that while contributing to the reproduction of certain sections of the bourgeoisie it operates in direct competition with certain sectors. As a result a class war has developed between the merchants of central Port of Spain and the street vendors of that area, while at the same time the merchants have attempted to reduce the competition by introducing their own traders to the streets. These traders are in reality wage employees and this brings us to the fifth point of the changes which have taken place in the sector.

It was found in this study that since 1970 the sector has been quite dynamic and undergone many changes. For example, there have been overall numerical increases in all four areas studied and increased female participation in taxi driving as traditional barriers in the sexual

division of labour break down. In addition it was found that a continuum between wage employment and true self-employment does exist, and many members of this group operate at various points along this continuum. Unfortunately this study was unable to test numerically or statistically whether there had been any real increase in the number of wage employed commission workers, piece-workers or out-workers who were operating within this framework. In the small sample studied, however, it was noted that movement could take place in either direction. For example, a self-employed taxi driver could sell his car and drive another on a commission basis for another owner. On the other hand, a wage worker could save from her/his earnings and become self-employed. On a horizontal time scale the situation also occurred where petty producers or traders would do wage work in construction or in the Government 'Special Works' programme for a short period then return to petty production or trade at the end.

It was because of this dynamism, change and increasing proletarianization that some writers suggest that an increase in class consciousness could result. It was found, however, by Gerry (1975) that the 'illusion of ownership' still existed. This was found to be true in this situation, however, all groups were extremely aware of the control over their production exercised by capital and the State. As a result of this despite their strong individualism, from time to time in periods of crisis they are forced to unite against capital or against the State. The material reality of their day to day individualised economic activity, however, works against this unifying force resulting in sporadic and crisis-oriented organisation.

In considering the two main hypotheses of this thesis, it is hoped that the analysis of the contemporary economy, in particular the move towards more capital intensive export oriented industrialization, has clearly illustrated the present and future employment trends in the country. It has also shown how the encouragement of petty production and trade has been the aim of the Government at the same time as it attempts to mediate between the demands of the commercial bourgeoisie and those of the petty producers, traders and service workers. One can only wonder at this stage to what extent the economy can continue to absorb these large numbers of 'independent' traders and producers and whether as competition increases both within the sector and against the bourgeoisie that this would result in some quantitative as well as qualitative increase in class consciousness in these groups.

One of the most important aspects of this study was the attempt to re-introduce the concept of reproduction into general analyses of political economy. It attempted to do this in terms of the household and in terms of the position of petty commodity production and trade in the reproduction of the underdeveloped or peripheral capitalist economy. It was noted that in the case of Trinidad and Tobago this occurred through the distribution of processed goods, purchase of tools, machinery and raw materials the transportation of workers to and from work; the sale of food at various stages of processing; the reproduction of ideology and advertising through the sale and distribution of newspapers and the control of social and political unrest through the 'gainful employment' of large numbers of the potentially unemployed.

Finally, in relation to the relationship between organisations of the PCP&TS and those of the working class, it was found that the antagonism between these

two groups, mentioned in relation to other countries was not as pronounced in this instance. In fact, a few joint and individual support initiatives had taken place in this direction though neither of the two trade union federations had any long term solidarity programme for these groups. Two suggestions can be put forward for this situation, first the fact that some unionised workers combine full-time wage employment with various petty bourgeois activities for, for example, taxi driving and petty trading. Second, but possibibly more importantly, it can be seen as an attempt by the mainly progressive trade unions to unite all 'oppressed' groups as part of a wider political strategy to challenge the existing political reality. It is possible, therefore, that such initiatives could increase as the contradictions in the economy become more apparent, if the advantages of class alliances are recognized.

This evidence, derived from a mere seven weeks of field research, provides a basis on which further work in this area could be based. It is suggested, for example, that interesting theoretical work could be done on the study of the household in petty production, in particular the sexual division of labour in the petty producing household. This question was raised here but could not be adequately dealt with. Other questions which were not dealt with in this study but which are suggested for further research are, child labour in petty production and trade and the reproduction of the petty bourgeoisie.

In conclusion, therefore, it could be said that petty bourgeois production and trade in Trinidad and Tobago makes a very important contribution to the overall reproduction of the local capitalist sector. However, its development is controlled through the needs of commercial capital (through the State) to preserve

its monopoly position. This struggle against local capital and the State has resulted in a certain degree of class consciousness, organisation and action (sometimes in collaboration with or with the support of worker and/or peasant organisations). However, the inherent individualism and competition characteristic of this form of production has precluded the continuous existence of such organisations except in situations of continuous crisis.

APPENDIX I

STATEMENT BY GOVERNMENT OF ITS POLICY ON FOREIGN INVESTMENT

Economic development policies of the country in the years ahead must rest on clearly defined respective roles for national and foreign private investment. Accordingly, the following is a statement of Government policy towards foreign investment.

1. It is politically and psychologically imperative that the country should aspire to a greater degree of economic independence and substantial local control of its economic affairs, since if it is to have any real meaning, the development process must involve widespread popular participation and must promote the dignity of the people.

2. The sectors where a greater amount of national investment (either public or private) is required include oil, petrochemicals, banks, sugar, manufacturing industries, public utilities and the mass media, since these represent the "commanding heights" of the economy and therefore, of the society.

3. The country must mobilize its domestic financial resources more effectively by promoting and strengthening financial institutions geared to tap both large and small savings, by appropriate fiscal policies and above all, by more dynamic management and growth policies in the local private sector, since the process of business expansion itself provides the main source of saving in a modern economy namely, ploughed-back profits. Moreover, the mobilization of local resources should include the restraint of investment abroad by local people, even if the financial returns obtained from such local investment abroad might be higher than those received from local investment.

4. The Government will make every effort to develop national private enterprise by providing a full range of technical assistance, other services and, where necessary, financing to the small entrepreneur and to co-operatives; and by providing management training for the larger enterprises, which will also be encouraged to convert into public companies.

5. The Government will from time to time designate certain activities for future development exclusively or predominantly, as the case may be, by nationals - for example, small tourist guest-houses, certain ancillary tourist services, handicraft production and marketing, wholesale and retail distribution, the news media, public utilities, commercial banks, the furniture industry, the building of small commercial fishing boats, the production of jams and jellies, land development, etc.

6. The Government will in future own and operate or substantially control all the public utilities of the country. Where, because of exceptional circumstances, it might be necessary to dispose of some portion of Government's equity in these utilities, priority will be given to nationals.

7. The country needs foreign direct investment not so much because of the finance involved as because of the access that this type of investment provides to management know-how, training in skills, technology and, in certain cases, overseas markets. It is only in the case of very heavily capitalised industries particularly oil and petro-chemicals that the provision of initial finance becomes as important as the provision of management know-how, and training in skills and technology in giving rise to the need for foreign direct investment.

8. The Government will not only continue to tap traditional sources of foreign direct investment but will seek to diversify such sources by making approaches to other areas, in particular Western Europe and Japan.

9. Branches and subsidiaries of foreign companies will be encouraged to re-invest locally a minimum of a certain percentage of their after-tax profits. Where they do not wish to re-invest in their own line of business, they will be encouraged to invest their funds in locally controlled public companies or in the proposed Development Finance Company, in such a manner that they do not acquire controlling or dominant interests in these enterprises.

10. As far as possible, foreign direct investment from abroad will be attracted into specific industries after feasibility studies on such industries have been undertaken by the Industrial Development Corporation. However, this will not prevent incentives from being granted to an applicant industry from outside, which the Industrial Development Corporation considers suitable for acceptance after the proposals have been evaluated from the economic and technical point of view.

11. The Government will seek to encourage joint ventures either between local and foreign firms, Government and foreign firms, Government and local firms, or a combination of Government, local firms and foreign firms. Where it is possible, resort will be had to the device of the management contract, which does not involve equity participation.

12. The principle that foreign partnership in indigenous production should be construed as being of a temporary nature and, consequently, should be so organised and structured that it can be progressively replaced by local resources in both the financial and human resource field is now receiving widespread support. For, from the stand point of the recipient country the essential purpose of foreign direct investment is not foreign ownership and control of the economies of the recipient countries, but the provision of human resources in short supply (management and know-how) and the introduction of new technology.

13. Whenever the fiscal concessions are granted, the Government will, wherever possible, participate in the equity of the enterprise with a view to making such equity available to workers in the industry to the people in general.

14. Freehold land ownership is not a necessary precondition for production. Leasehold interest for a period, at least equal to the recovery period for assets put on the land, is adequate. More fundamentally, on psychological and emotional grounds, too large a proportion of the land, the patrimony which defines a Nation and a people, should not be alienated to non-nationals in fee simple.

15. The Government will seek to harmonise fiscal incentives among the CARIFTA countries (bearing in mind the special position of the less developed countries) and will seek to gain acceptance of a common policy on foreign direct investment and agreement on the establishment of a Common External Tariff.

16. As the integration movement progresses, the Government will explore with other CARIFTA countries the possibility of establishing multi-national publicly-owned or joint venture companies to operate regional industries.

APPENDIX II

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

P O BOX 949
10 - 12 INDEPENDENCE SQUARE
PORT OF SPAIN

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR SMALL BUSINESSMEN

HOW WE CAN SERVE YOU

1.

SMALL BUSINESS PROGRAMME

THE SMALL BUSINESS DIVISION OF THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

WE WERE ESTABLISHED IN MAY 1970 TO ASSIST IN CARRYING OUT GOVERNMENT'S PLAN FOR SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT.

2.

WHAT DO WE DO?

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION PROMOTES GROWTH AMONG THE NATION'S SMALL BUSINESS ENTERPRISES BY OFFERING ASSISTANCE TO ELIGIBLE SMALL BUSINESSMEN WHO INTEND TO SET UP NEW ENTERPRISES OR TO EXPAND EXISTING ENTERPRISES.

L O A N S

Loans are granted for:-

(a)	Land	-	Clearing of sites etc.
(b)	Buildings	-	Constructing, converting, renovating or expanding buildings required to carry on a small business.
(c)	Machinery	-	Purchasing machinery and equipment that are needed.
(d)	Working Capital	-	Providing working capital for a specified time period e.g. raw material, wages, rent etc.

3.

WHO CAN APPLY?

You can apply if:-

(a) You are a citizen of Trinidad and Tobago over 18 years and under 60 years old.

(b) Your enterprise is a small business. This means that the value of its total assets excluding land and building is not more than $250,000.

(c) You can provide enough capital so that with the loan assistance the Industrial Development Corporation gives, your business will have a sound financial base.

N E W P R O J E C T S

YOU SHOULD PROVIDE AT LEAST 20% OF THE CAPITAL COST OF NEW PROJECTS.

E X I S T I N G E N T E R P R I S E S

YOU SHOULD HAVE CONTRIBUTED AT LEAST 20% OF THE TOTAL AMOUNT OF MONEY INVESTED IN THE BUSINESS.

4.

WHO CANNOT APPLY?

The Corporation does not consider applications if the funds are available from:

(a) A Bank or other Financial Institutions on reasonable terms.

(b) Disposing of assets that are not needed in the business.

(c) Personal credit and/or personal resources.

The Corporation does not consider applications if the purpose is for:

(a) Paying off creditors who are inadequately secured.

(b) Providing funds for distribution or payment to the owner or owners of the business.

(c) Speculation in any kind of property; real or personal, tangible or intangible.

(d) A non-profit institution.

(e) Agricultural enterprises. In such cases apply to:

The Agricultural Development Bank,
Issa Nicholas Building,
Corner Duke and Frederick Streets,
PORT-OF-SPAIN.

Tel: 62-36261

(f) Private Secondary and Commercial Schools.

5.

WHAT DO WE LOOK FOR?

(a) Profitability - a study of the amount you have earned in the past and the assessment of what you expect to earn in the future must show an ability to repay the loan.

(b) Number of persons employed - at least one person should be employed for each $5,000 of capital invested.

(c) Export Potential - the present or expected acceptance of the products of the business in overseas markets will be examined.

(d) Use of local raw materials - the extent to which local raw materials are used in the business will be considered.

(e) Continuity - you must show that the business can continue to operate successfully over a reasonable period of time.

The Industrial Development Corporation grants loans up to a maximum of $120,000.

Registered Co-operatives whose total assets exceed $250,000 excluding the value of land and building are eligible for loans in excess of the limit of $120,000

Applications for loans in excess of $120,000 should be directed to:-

The Development Finance Company,
76 Independence Square,
Port-of-Spain.

Tel: 62-37995

7.

TYPES OF ASSISTANCE OFFERED

1. A soft window lending facility has been established at an interest rate of 3% per annum.

   The soft window applies to the following types of business activities:

   (a) Agro-based industries using inputs of local raw materials;

   (b) Manufacturers of inputs for the building construction industry;

   (c) Small contractors for the purchasing of equipment, tools etc;

   (d) The individual artisan (especially graduates from Technical Schools, and Youth Camps) for the acquisition of basic tools of the trade.

8.

(e) Business activities of registered co-operatives;

(f) Any business activity in regions or areas of the country in which the level of unemployment as determined by the IDC and the Central Statistical Office is higher than the National Average.

(g) Other categories of business activity which may be determined by the IDC from time to time.

2. A standard rate of 7½% per annum is applied to loans that do not qualify for soft loan treatment.

3. Free business counselling is offered to persons requiring advice for setting up a new Small Business or expanding an existing Small Business.

9.

4. A Small Business Register has been established to identify those businesses that fall within the sector to ascertain the main types of businesses and their capabilities, and to ensure that these businesses benefit from Government's operations, e.g. award of contracts, sale of scrap, etc. through the Central Tenders Board.

   The Register may be consulted in the Small Business Division.

5. Training subsidies are to be granted so that smaller businesses may also benefit under the programme.

6. Bridge Financing - Short term working capital allowances to facilitate small businessmen who have been awarded contracts to supply goods and services to Government and Statutory Authorities.

10.

SUMMARY
OF TERMS
OF
LOANS

AMT. OF LOAN	SOFT WINDOW RATE	STANDARD RATE	REPAYMENT PERIOD
Up to $5,000	3%	7½%	1 - 4 years
$5,001 - $25,000	3%	7½%	5 years
$25,001- $75,000	3%	7½%	8 years
$75,001- $120,000	3%	7½%	10 years

The repayment period for loans granted for the purchase of vehicles is three (3) years.

11.

All loans granted are repayable in regular monthly instalments which include interest.

S E C U R I T Y

All loans must be adequately secured. Wherever possible this is by mortgage on land, building and machinery. However, loans for purchasing equipment and machinery are sometimes secured by granting such equipment and machinery on a Hire Purchase or Rental Mortgage basis. Loans for "bridge financing" to undertake Government Contracts may be secured by assignment of the contract to the Corporation.

Other forms of security may also be considered.

12.

ARE
YOU
INTERESTED?

Obtain your application forms by contacting:-

The Small Business Division,
Industrial Development Corporation,
People's Co-operative Building,
10-12 Independence Square,
PORT-OF-SPAIN.

TEL: 62-37291-8

The Corporation's Business Development Officers are available to hold discussions with you on Mondays from 8.30 a.m. to 12.00 noon and 1.30 p.m. to 4.00 p.m. and on other days by appointment.

An officer of the Small Business Division will collect the necessary information by holding discussions with you and visiting your place of operations. An Appraisal Note will then be submitted to the Small Business Committee for a decision.

All loans are insured under a Creditor's Term Insurance Scheme.

Please note that all information received by the Small Business Division will be treated with the strictest confidence.

APPENDIX III

San Juan Market Vendors & Interested
Buyers Association.

August, 8th, 1979

Permanent Secretary,
Ministry of Health and Local Government,
Abercromby Street,
Port-of-Spain.

Good Day:

On 29th July, 1979, the Minister of Local Government Kamaludin Mohammed and the Attorney General, Selwyn Richardson paid a "suprise visit" to the excuse that is called the San Juan Market. Following their visit on 2nd August, 1979, a wrecking crew armed with Sledge hammers and Pig Foot, accompanied by policemen armed with SLR's, SMG's and with Dogs, took up strategic positions around the Market and scores of Vendors stalls from outside the market were ruthlessly broken down. ADULTS OPENLY CRIED as their goods and produce scattered all over the ground. All other vendors who do not have official stalls were then given verbal notices to remove our makeshift stalls and take home our tables and unsold goods and produce on a daily basis other Vendors like the fish and meat were also given notice that they have to take home their unsold stock.

There is no Cold Storage at the Market, resulting in the fish Vendors bringing old fridge Cabinets to try and keep their stock from spoiling quickly by purchasing ice to put in these fridges. These Vendors were also told to get rid of these fridge Cabinets. We were all told that if we do not comply, that on Thursday 9th August, 1979, the police and the wrecking crew will again visit us to carry out their orders.

Resulting from these actions all the market vendors got together and decided to form an Association together with some interested buyers, we also decided to go on strike as from Tuesday 8th August, 1979, and to picket Whitehall. Our strike is to last until our demands are met.

Cont/d.....

On Tuesday 8th August, 1979, while picketing outside Whitehall by over 400 vendors and interested buyers, we were asked to send in a delegation of two (2) persons only. We insisted that we should have a delegation of six (6) vendors representing the different sections and our chosen adviser one Clive Nunez, whom we went to on Saturday at his homeand he agreed to assist us. The Administration Officer insisted that only two (2) persons she was prepared to see and definitely did not want to see our advisor, because we did not want to fall in the authorities trap we discussed the matter and our adviser, advised us to see the Administration Officer. We were then sent to see you today at 2:00 p.m. with a longer delegation, attached are our problems and short-terms and long-term solution to them.

PROBLEMS

1. Forced removal of our make-shift market stalls on Thursday 2nd August, 1979 after a surprise visit made by the Attorney General and Minister of Local Government on the 29th July, 1979.
2. Market is grossly inadequate both in its size and facilities, despite promises made since "1960" to extend and expand it.
3. No Cold Storage facilities for the meat and fish vendors.
4. Inadequate toilets for the vendors - 3 males and 3 females.
5. Despite space allocated to vendors outside the market some years ago, by the St. George County Council they were removed.
6. Vendors are instructed to break down the stalls, and take home all tables and unsold goods.
7. A privately owned poultry depot was permanently erected within the Market compound which is now a "Health Hazzard".
8. No facilities for the Cressles and Lettuce vendors.
9. No facilities for the food producers that comes from the Country areas on Wednesday - Friday.
10. No Dustbins or garbage Disposals units.
11. Market cleaners not provided with boots and other equipments that are needed to have the market clean.

SHORT TERM SOLUTION

1. No further breaking down of vendors stalls as some vendors have been selling before there was a market.
2. Provide Cold Storage facilities for the meat and fish vendors.
3. Provide an adequate number of covered dustbins.
4. Allow us to continue carrying on our trade as we are accustom to in the past.
5. Erect more toilets, and repair the original female section.
6. No breaking down of stalls daily, and removal of goods and tables.
7. Repair the pipeline for running water for the Cresslies and Lettuce vendors.
8. Provide adequate equipment and protective gears for the cleaners.

LONG TERM SOLUTION

1. Build a Modern, and bigger Market on the same site, 2 or 3 storeys high with escalators and elevators.
2. Construction should begin within Three (3) months.

We wish to emphasise that unless our demands are met, beginning with the short term solution, SOME IMMEDIATELY, and the others within a reasonable period, we will be forced to continue our action.

We are not really happy to have taken this action as our families and ourselves are undergoing tremendous sufferings,

Cont/d....

and the Buying Public are greatly inconvenienced. As such, we are hoping that our meeting will produce results, AND NOT PROMISES THAT WILL NOT BE FULFILLED.

ON BEHALF OF THE ABOVE NAMED

c.c. President of the Republic of T'dad & T'bgo
Prime Minister
Attorney General
Commissioner of Police.

APPENDIX IV

QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULE

CONFIDENTIAL

I PERSONAL DATA

1. Occupation _____ 2. Former Occupation _____
3. Age _____ 4. Sex _____
5. Marital Status _____ 6. No. of Children _____
7. Place of Birth _____
8. Father's Occupation _____ Mother's Occupation _____
9. Length of time in former Occupation _____
10. Length of time in present Occupation _____
11. Educational level attained _____
12. Present place of Residence _____

II OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL

1. Self-employed Yes _____ No. _____
2. If No, who is employer _____
3. Are you the only employee? Yes _____ No. _____
4. If No, how many are there? _____
5. What are your conditions of employment?
   a) Casual _____
      Contract _____
      Apprenticeship _____
   b) Working Hours _____
      No. of Working days per week _____
      Vacation _____

c) Weekly Income _____ Monthly Income _____

6. Do you employ others? Yes _____ No. _____

7. If Yes, how many? _____

8. How often are they paid? _____ (Weekly, Fortnightly, Monthly, after a job, etc.)

9. What are the conditions of work of the workers

Working hours per day _____

Working days per week _____

10. Do you employ members of your family? Yes _____ No _____

11. If Yes which ones _____

12. Are they paid or unpaid? _____

III LEVEL OF DEMAND

1. What periods do you work? _____

_____

2. Approximately (about) how many clients (passengers) do you get in a period (day, week etc.)? _____

3. About how many products do you sell per period? _____

4. How are you earnings/profits? _____

_____

5. Are their seasonal fluctuations? Yes _____ No _____

6. What do they depend on? _____

_____

IV POSITIONS AND INTERFLUCTUATIONS:

1. Would you like to have a bigger better place to work (taxi if applicable)? _____

2. Would you like to expand your business? Yes _____ No _____

3. If you do, would the finance come from i) Your earnings _____
   ii) Bank Loan _____ Other sources _____

4. Do you sometimes work for wages? Yes _____ No _____

5. If Yes where? _____
   When? _____

6. Do you hope to eventually become fully wage employed? _____
   _____

7. Do you hope to eventually become self-employed? _____
   _____

8. Is competition very high? _____

V IDENTIFICATION

1. What are the main problems which you find in doing your work? ____
   _____
   _____

2. What do you think can be done about this? _____
   _____

3. What groups/people do you see as opposing your interests? _____
   _____

4. Which groups/people do you see as being in a position similar to yours? _____

5. Do you think it important to join with other people (in an organisation) to defend your interests? Yes _____ No _____

6. If Yes why? _____

   If No why not? _____

7. If you form an organisation, Whom would you oppose? _____

   _____

8. How are your interests different from those of others? _____

   _____

9. How do you see yourself as self employed? _____

   _____

   Wage worker _____

   Employer _____

   Reason _____

10. What do you think of the country at the present time? _____

    _____

11. What do you think should be done about it? _____

    _____

12. Who do you think is responsible for the problems you face? _____

    _____

13. Are you a member of any political organisation? _____

14. If yes which one? _____

    If no why not? _____

15. With what other people do you work? _____

16. Would you be interested in forming a co-operative? _____

    _____

THE LABOUR PROCESS

PRODUCERS

1. In what way is the product made? _____

2. What raw materials are used? _____

3. a) What tools are used? _____

_____

b) What is the level of mechanisation? _____

_____

4. What skills does the work demand? _____

5. How long does the training take? _____

6. To what extent do you depend on others in your production? ___

_____

7. Where is the actual work being done? _____

8. What is the usual location of sales? _____

9. Why is this place chosen? _____

_____

10. Is the family/household involved in production? _____

11. If so which ones? Wife _____ Husband _____

Children _____ Other relatives _____

12. If the wife/husband does she/he take part in decision making on e.g. prices, location etc. _____

13. What is competition like? _____

14. Are you a member of a producer's organisation Yes_____ No_____

15. If Yes, why? _____

If No, why not? _____

VENDORS

1. To what groups/kinds of people do you sell? _____

_____

From Where? _____

_____

Occupations? _____

_____

Sex? _____

2. Where do you get your goods? _____

Buy? _____ Wholesaler? _____

_____

Make? _____ Concession _____

3. How did you choose this spot? _____

6. Would you prefer to be in another position? Yes _____ No _____

7. If Yes why? _____

If No why not? _____

8. Are you in anyway financially dependent or indebted to you supplier or wholesaler? _____

9. How do you determine your price? _____

_____

10. Do you belong to the Vendors Association? Yes_____ No_____

11. If Yes why? _____

If No why not? _____

5. Is there any competition for space? _____

TAXI DRIVERS

1. Do you operate your own car? Yes _____ No _____
2. If Yes, Is it your only car? Yes _____ No _____
3. If No, Does the owner have other cars? Yes _____ No _____
4. If Yes, How many others? _____
5. Is the owner himself/herself a taxi-driver? Yes _____ No _____
6. If No, what is his/her occupation? _____
7. What are the conditions of your work contract with the owner? _____

_____

8. Do you enjoy this work? Yes _____ No _____
9. If Yes why? _____

   If No why not? _____
10. Is it a very lucrative field? (Do you make a lot of money) _____

_____

11. What are the processes involved in this occupation? _____

_____

   Licence _____

   Car _____

   Costs _____

   Routes, etc. _____
13. Are you a member of a Taxi Drivers Association? Yes_____ No_____
14. If Yes why? _____

   If No, why not? _____

WOMEN:

1. Do you find any particular problems in your work because you are women? _____

2. Why did you take this job? _____

_____

3. Does your husband/man help you in your work? _____

4. Do your children help you? _____

5. Do you keep/control the money which you make? _____

6. Do you have any problems with the men in this profession? ____

_____

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