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THE RETURN OF THE COCOLOS: MIGRATION, IDENTITY AND REGIONALISM IN THE LEEWARD ISLANDS

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the historical and contemporary migration between the Dominican Republic and the islands of Antigua, St. Kitts and Nevis in the Leeward section of the Eastern Caribbean. It investigates national identity formation in small island states in a globalized world and the role played by migration in this process. It explores the historical links between the communities in the different islands and the impact of the contemporary migration on both the receiving societies and the migrant groups themselves. Finally, it discusses the implications of such intra-Caribbean movement for the further development of regionalism in the Caribbean Basin.

THE RETURN OF THE COCOLOS: MIGRATION, IDENTITY AND REGIONALISM IN THE LEEWARD ISLANDS[1]

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1. Introduction

This article is the product of research conducted in the Leeward Islands into the growing communities of nationals from the Dominican Republic who have settled in Antigua and St. Kitts and Nevis since these small island states achieved political independence in the early 1980s. It is based on census data, immigration and labor statistics, a series of interviews conducted in 1998 and 1999, relevant government officials, members of the Dominicano communities, and members of the public in all three islands.

It focuses on historical and current labor migration between Antigua, St. Kitts and Nevis and the Dominican Republic, exploring the nature of the historical links between the communities in the different islands, the impact of the contemporary settlement on both the receiving societies and the migrant groups themselves, and the implications of this intra-Caribbean migration and diasporic formation for the further development of national and regional identities in the Caribbean Basin.

The article begins with a brief discussion of nationalism and identity, particularly in the context of the post-colonial societies of the Caribbean. The main theoretical concerns are with national identity formation in small island states in a globalized world and the important role played by migration in this process. The second section examines the history of the movement of people between the Dominican Republic and St. Kitts and Nevis, and it traces the emergence of communities of Dominicano descendants since the arrival of the first migrants to the Leeward Islands in 1983. In the third section, we examine the impact of their presence on the small societies of Antigua and St. Kitts and Nevis and the official policy responses. An attempt is also made to identify signs of shifting identities in both the Dominicanos and their host societies. Finally, the article explores the significance of such intra-Caribbean migration for regional integration in the wider Caribbean region.

2. State and Nation Building in the Caribbean

The nation-state is originally a European concept, generated out of the Westphalian process and the emergence of communities bound together by shared characteristics such as language, religion, and a common territorial space which underpin notions of a shared identity and destiny. The rise of the nation-state in the nineteenth century and the accompanying vision of political and economic progress were fueled by the needs of industrial capitalism, which required a social organization—the institutions and administrative bureaucracy of a state—for purposes of production and trade (Manzo, 1996).

Alter (1985) outlines three phases in the establishment of the European nation-state. The first saw the emergence of nation-states like Britain and France, based on a common political history and the transition from monarchial absolute rule to parliamentary democracy and popular sovereignty. The second phase witnessed the coalescing of cultural nations such as Italy and Germany. The third phase involved the disintegration of large, multinational empires in the early twentieth century and the bids for self-determination, with varying degrees of success, by the different regions, linguistic or ethnic communities living inside the empires. However, Alter himself acknowledges the difficulty, indeed the impossibility of reconciling nation with state throughout Europe; and he concludes that by 1918, "it is more accurate to say that Europeans were living in an age of sovereign states, the clear majority of which derived their legitimacy from the nation-state principle and the right of self-determination" (Alter, 1985, p. 109).

In the last two decades, the concept of the nation has been increasingly deconstructed to reveal its ephemeral, ambiguous, mythical nature (Anderson, 1991). Likewise, as the international community has grown more diverse, the idea of a linear progression from ethnic community to nation to nation-state has been debunked. Barry Buzan (1983) lists the multiple forms that the modern state has assumed; and Alter (1985), seems to conclude that at the end of the twentieth century, the multi nation-state is the norm. Nonetheless, the nation-state idea, although obsolete and anachronistic in many respects, lives on. It retains a variety of economic and regulatory functions in the global economy and it has not been replaced by a more convincing political arrangement. However, it is being complemented by other forms of governance at the international, regional, and subnational levels.

It is increasingly recognized that in the era of globalization and much greater human mobility, borders are porous and all states are more heterogeneous than they may have been previously. At the end of the twentieth century, few states or national identities are carved in stone. The legitimacy and representativeness of most nation-states are challenged by growing assertions by ethnic and regional minorities from within. At one end of the spectrum, we witness total state fragmentation, as in Yugoslavia. At the other end, the myth of the culturally homogeneous state is gradually eroding, with varying degrees of resistance, to acceptance of the concept of multi-ethnic, multicultural societies. Likewise, there is now a greater recognition that human beings have multiple and ever-evolving identities, based on their geographical origins, ethnicity, sex, gender, occupations, and life experiences. National identity is not frozen and immutable, especially in a globalized world of transnational citizens.

Many of the tendencies outlined above are visible in Caribbean societies, riven by ethnic, class, gender and regional differences, and having experienced the classic dilemmas of the nation-building process in post-colonial societies. In the case of Caribbean societies, the histories on which a nation must be built are the histories and interaction of quite diverse ethnic groups (Brereton, 1981), who arrived across the oceans in different chronological periods, voluntarily or involuntarily, to live and work in plantation production systems and plantation societies, as cogs in the development of a global, capitalist economy. Stefano Harney (1996, p. 3) in very evocative language, speaks of "that strange alchemy of post-colonial nationalism in the Caribbean: part economics, part politics, part ethnic ghosts and visions, part daily practice...." He writes of the contradictions that arise in the Caribbean between the nation portrayed as an "evolving sense of peoplehood" and the nation-state as a "necessary arrangement of capital and labor" (Harney, 1996, pp. 10-11). Forging a common sense of identity in multicultural, deeply hierarchical societies that were thrown together solely for purposes of production has been a major challenge and preoccupation, and national mottos such as "Out of Many, One People"[2] are evidence of this.

The gradual emergence of nationalist thought in the English-speaking Caribbean can be traced to the late nineteenth century and the calls by Caribbean elite interests for a modification to British Crown Colony government to allow for their greater political participation. An important watershed was reached by the early 1930s in nationalist ideology, with the rise of Caribbean labor movements which advocated mass-based democratic structures and socio-economic reforms (Benn, 1987). In the 1940s and 1950s, middle class professionals and intellectuals like Norman Manley and Eric Williams, and the labor movements in the various West Indian territories, combined their efforts to campaign for universal suffrage and self-government, initially within the framework of the short-lived West Indies Federation 1958-1962. Denis Benn (1987, p. 74) observes that the issue of federalism versus individual statehood "divided the exponents of West Indian nationalism, despite their common commitment to the goal of self-government. It highlighted the difficulties inherent in the attempt to reconcile the autonomous dynamic of the various insular nationalisms with the wider imperative of West Indian nationhood."

The federal project, of course, gave way to the independence of Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana, and Barbados in the 1960s. In the aftermath of the failure to achieve an integrated West Indian nationhood, the political leadership of the day focused on individual statehood as the most feasible framework in which to tackle the ethnic diversity and political and economic inequalities in their societies, and construct both a cohesive national identity and economic development.

The formal attainment of statehood, however, was but a preliminary phase in the challenges that would attend the process of political and economic development, and the quests for national and regional identities in the Caribbean. The issue of cultural identity has been an ongoing theme in the struggle to overcome the psychological, political and socio-economic legacies of colonialism, manifesting itself above all in the projection of Caribbean identities based on race and ethnicity. The long affirmation of African racial and political consciousness in the twentieth century, conducted both within Africa and in the African diaspora, has always been an important theme in Caribbean nationalism; but it has had its most widespread impact since the 1960s. In addition to the consolidation of an Afro-Caribbean identity, since the 1980s there has been the strong assertion of Indo-Caribbean cultural identity and political aspirations— particularly in Guyana and Trinidad—and the rise of an Amerindian movement, claiming its own territorial and cultural space. The nation-state project and the concept of a single national identity have been greatly challenged in several multi-ethnic Caribbean societies, by continuing socio-economic inequalities and the growing trend towards different ethnic nationalisms.

Beyond these fundamental dynamics, it is argued in this article that other significant factors have exerted a formative influence on Caribbean peoples' sense of identity. The first, for many Caribbean societies, comes from existing in the space of a small island which leads to strong island identities and outlooks. The second is the global capitalist economy, which has dictated not only the origins of these island societies, but the ebb and flow of various settlements within them and different forms of socio-economic organization in different economic periods. The final defining factor is a derivative of the second, migration, voluntary and involuntary, which brought most groups to the Caribbean initially and continues to direct the flows of people outside the region, and from one Caribbean territory to another, primarily in search of work. Lamming comments that "West Indian identity lies in choosing work, living it, and creating it. There is no fixity of location in this process" (Lamming, 1996). Aaron Segal, in pointing to a deliberate imbalance between available work and labor supply in intentionally overpopulated societies, concludes that the Caribbean is locked into an international political economy with two options: (1) to encourage citizens to emigrate and send back remittances; and (2) to stay home and work in low-paying tourism and export processing (Segal in Klak ed., 1998, pp. 211, 213).

The process of nation-building has been even more of an uphill task in the smaller Caribbean states which gained independence during the last two decades. With much smaller populations and stark territorial limitations, they have had to confront more immediate issues of socio-political and economic viability and vulnerability. It is not surprising that, in islands like the Leewards, migration has been a prominent feature which has deeply influenced the nature of the societies and the outlook of the populations. They have higher rates of out-migration in relation to their total populations than do other Caribbean states. The maintenance of transnational communities has long been a major survival strategy for their small populations (Fog Olwig, 1993, p. 156). A constant process of migration and the formation of strong diasporic links have been the medium by which these very small and isolated island communities have constructed umbilical cords of economic sustenance and have made themselves the focal reference points for much larger transnational communities in a globalized world.

Transnationalism is defined as "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement...social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders" (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc, 1994, p. 7). Transnationalism is said to deterritorialize the nation-state. Even the local population may possess multiple citizenship while the concept of population extends well beyond the residents to diasporic communities with globalized identities and world views. Migration has been one of the most profound influences shaping Caribbean identities ever since the initial settlement of the region. Chamberlain (1998, p. 8) emphasizes the permanence of the process when she remarks that, "it is possible to imagine further migrations, to perceive of a national allegiance as a temporary expedient, a pit-stop in a wider migratory endeavor, for historically any destination was but part of a continuum of actual and potential migrant destinations. Caribbean culture engages necessarily with migration and with a migratory imagination." The migration ethos of the Caribbean is, in fact, being strengthened by the political economy of globalization and, as attested to by the theme of this article, new migratory cycles are resulting from earlier movements within and outside of the Caribbean region. Each wave of migration has an impact on the identity and consciousness of the receiving society as well as on the migrants themselves.

3. The Leeward Islands

Antigua and St. Kitts and Nevis are among the most recent Caribbean territories to gain their independence from Britain in 1981 and 1983, respectively. The population of Antigua and Barbuda is listed as 69,000 (Antigua and Barbuda Department of Statistics, 1996 population figures) while the population of St. Kitts and Nevis numbers approximately 44,000 (*Times Atlas of the World*, 1992). Their economies in the post-Independence period have been increasingly oriented towards the service sector, particularly tourism and offshore financial services. In contrast to Antigua's predominant focus on services, however, in St. Kitts and Nevis agriculture has accounted for approximately seven percent of gross domestic product (GDP) and manufacturing for an average of 12.5 percent in the 1990s (ECCB National Accounts Statistics, 1997). The relatively favorable international environment of the 1980s facilitated high economic growth rates, which averaged 5.7 percent for both states between 1980 and 1990. Between 1990 and 1996, Antigua's rate of growth was 2.4 percent, while St. Kitts and Nevis registered a growth of 4.1 percent in the same period (ECCB National Accounts Statistics, 1997).

Migration has been a constant activity for the populations of the Leewards, particularly since the late nineteenth century. It has resulted in long-established transnational communities based mainly in North America, Britain, the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, and the Netherlands Antilles. They are reference points for individuals, families, and local elites in their routine operations and in longer term survival strategies. Many people in the islands operate transnational lives, moving at various times between the island space and the global environment, depending on the favorable or adverse conditions prevailing in each one. Outward and inward migration may thus be solutions for economic difficulties, political vicissitudes, health problems, child-rearing or other family-based activities, and educational needs. Identity formation, while being rooted in the local island community, is strongly influenced by migratory patterns and transnational contacts.

Another dimension of the migration syndrome—immigration rather than emigration— has manifested itself since the early 1980s. High growth rates and an expanding labor market relative to the economic contraction taking place in Caribbean countries undergoing structural adjustment have led to an influx of migrants from other Caribbean territories, most notably from Guyana and the Dominican Republic. The phenomenon is especially marked in Antigua. Segal refers to this latter wave of migration as "the new pattern of inter-island movement," noting that it has affected mostly dependent territories and other small islands with populations of 50,000 or less, which have experienced recent tourism, construction, and real estate booms (Segal in Klak, 1998, p. 221). He mentions the demographic policy issues raised in view of the small populations of the receiving states, and the fact that this may result in eventual restrictive policies towards the immigrants.

For Antigua and St. Kitts and Nevis, the new settlers, particularly from the Hispanic Caribbean, have introduced additional cultural diversity. They provide a juxtaposed Caribbean "Other"—as opposed to the European and North American expatriates who have been visible as tourists or winter residents for much longer periods of time, and they have induced the island communities with their multiple, outward-looking identities to look within themselves and try to define more clearly what it means to be Antiguan, Kittitian or Nevisian. As many analysts of the phenomenon of nationalism have observed, an alien presence is an essential element in promoting self-awareness and the nation is often defined by identifying those who do not belong (Phillips, 1997; Manzo, 1996; Bhabha, 1990). Such a process of self-definition is evident. There is also some degree of integration taking place among the local and migrant communities at various levels, particularly in the case of Antigua.

In the following section, we examine more closely the history of labor migration between the Dominican Republic and the Leeward Islands, and the dynamics of relations between the contemporary Dominicano settlements and the local communities in both countries. We specifically explore the significance of the movement for identity construction and reconstruction in each group and the changes that are evident in the societies of Antigua and St. Kitts and Nevis because of the integrative process.

4. Early links between the Dominican Republic and the Leeward Islands, 1890s-1930s

The sugar industry in the Dominican Republic began to expand in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, stimulated initially by Cuban involvement, and then in the early 1900s, by large-scale United States investment. By 1925, U.S. business interests operated fourteen vast sugar estates, mostly in the South-Eastern part of the country and covering some five hundred and seventy square miles (Richardson, 1983). Bonham Richardson stresses the heavy reliance on foreign inputs in the organization of the Dominican sugar industry:

> U.S. sugar cane plantations in Santo Domingo involved extensive forest clearance and the construction of plantation settlements and towns. The estates and their communities were usually built by American engineers with imported machinery and

> construction techniques and were therefore more closely related to American business interests than to the country in which they were located.... Hand harvesting of cane was accomplished by thousands of Haitians and British West Indians, who were imported and then sent home again each year. Like the managers, towns and machinery of the Dominican sugar plantations, the British West Indian workforce was also foreign... (Richardson, 1983, pp. 123-124).

The Dominican Republic was thinly populated relative to its availability of agricultural land. There was little economic incentive for Dominicano peasants to sell their labor to the estates. Moreover, the sugar companies could exert far more exploitative controls over foreign laborers from the English-speaking Caribbean and Haiti with limited bargaining power, thereby reducing their production costs considerably (Martinez, 1999). It is documented that the number of migrant laborers from the English-speaking Caribbean grew rapidly. In San Pedro de Macoris, one of the main receiving provinces, some 500 were registered in 1884 and over 7000 by 1918. Leeward Islands immigrants accounted for 20 percent of the population of Montecristi by 1914 and 10 percent of the population of Puerto Plata by 1917 (Torres-Saillant, 1995, p. 116). The migration was organized on a seasonal basis for the six months of the cane harvest period each year, and labor continued to be recruited from the English-speaking islands up until the 1940s—but intermittently from the 1930s onward. The high point in numbers was reached between 1918 and 1925.

In 1929, at the start of the global depression, the Dominican authorities began to restrict the entry of English-speaking migrant workers and deport those who had stayed on (Richardson, 1983). Martinez and others also point out that the falling wages in the sector contributed to waning interest on the part of Eastern Caribbean migrants. Those who stayed on in the Dominican Republic had organized to increase their bargaining power and had moved into employment areas other than the cane fields, such as the docks and the sugar mills. From the 1930s onward, the estate owners turned primarily to Haiti as the cheapest available source of seasonal, migrant labor.

The push factor for migration from the Leewards came from the fact that sugar expansion in the Dominican Republic in the 1880s paralleled its decline in the British Caribbean. Antigua and St. Kitts and Nevis began to suffer an economic depression in the mid-1890s, by which time both the British and the U.S. markets for sugar had become very competitive. The British Caribbean sugar industry was almost wiped out by the low prices of the European beet producers and by the preferences accorded to other producers in the U.S. market. In St. Kitts, the harsh economic conditions led to the Portuguese Riots of 1896, and the welfare situation worsened after a major hurricane in 1899. Individuals and households sought their survival in intensified emigration—the middle class to the United States, the less privileged to Bermuda, Trinidad, Venezuela, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. Work opportunities in Bermuda, though lucrative, were short-lived, but large-scale seasonal migration to the Dominican Republic to cut cane lasted for over thirty years. It is estimated that by 1914, almost 10 percent of the population was annually engaged in this circular migration pattern (Richardson, 1983).

Labor migration from peripheral to core areas in different epochs is an integral part of the global capitalist system. For the organizers to ensure profit maximization, the best arrangement is a seasonal one, where the workers are returned to their place of origin during the low season (Byron, 1994, p. 15). However, this ideal is seldom realized; and so it was, even in the tightly controlled seasonal system in the Dominican Republic. Although large numbers of people returned each year, the immigration data for St. Kitts and Nevis for 1914-1939, for example, shows a consistent pattern of reduced numbers of annual returnees relative to the numbers that had originally departed (see Leeward Islands Blue Books Tables in Richardson, 1983, p. 126). The trend was possibly compounded by the fact that the migrants had to pay their own passages back home out of their meager salaries, and that some of them would not have had the resources.

Many formed family attachments in the Dominican Republic and stayed there to form the "Cocolo" community with distinctive cultural traditions and social norms (Torres-Saillant, 1995; Tejeda Ortiz, 1998). They were eventually absorbed into Dominicano society; but they remain as a minority, somewhat marginalized cultural element within it, despite growing recognition of the achievements of various members of their community in recent years (Collins, 1997). The Cocolos retained a strong psychological attachment to their source societies in the Leeward and Virgin Islands. They carefully preserved the folklore and festivities of the Leeward Islands (Sagwa, Masquerades, Giant Despair, Indians and Bull fighters). They nurtured these cultural gatherings and practices as a means of maintaining a distinctive sense of identity and group morale under harsh and hostile socio-economic conditions (Nadal Walcott, 1998). Walcott also points to the tremendous regard held by the Cocolo community for the teachings of Marcus Garvey, as they struggled to cope with racial and class discrimination in the Dominican Republic. They employed their cultural gatherings and festivities to impart messages of racial pride as well as to strengthen their social organization for the welfare of their communities. Many members of the Cocolo community maintained written contact with relatives in their islands of origin. Their Dominicano descendants have periodically reactivated their links with the source societies and with other diasporic communities of the Leeward Islands in the United States.[3]

5. The Return Cycle: Dominicanos in Antigua and St. Kitts and Nevis 1983-1999

5. 1. Citizenship, Residence and Work

The citizenship provisions contained in Chapter VIII of the Antigua and Barbuda Constitution Order 1981, and in Chapter VIII of the St. Christopher and Nevis Constitution Order of 1983 allow citizenship to be granted based on descent from a parent or grandparent who is a citizen based on birth, registration, or naturalization in the respective country. Likewise, both Constitutions were quite liberal in permitting dual citizenship. These provisions appear to have been drafted with the countries' migrant histories in mind, probably with specific reference to the large diasporas in Britain, the United States, Canada, and neighboring islands such as the Netherlands Antilles and the Virgin Islands.

Few of the drafters would have anticipated, however, the early and concerted response from citizens of the Dominican Republic. Independence in Antigua in 1981 and St. Kitts and Nevis in 1983, coincided with the start of structural adjustment policies (SAP), rapidly deteriorating living conditions, and one of the highest rates of female unemployment in Latin America in the Dominican Republic (Hartlyn, 1993; Wiarda and Kryzanek, 1992). As news filtered through, generally by means of family letters, of the citizenship provisions in the new micro-states in the Leeward Islands, a new migratory cycle was triggered.

The process was most marked in Antigua, where there were in 1999 an estimated 6500 residents of Dominicano origin. The figure has grown exponentially from 656 recorded in the census data of 1991 (Antigua and Barbuda Department of Statistics, 1991 Population and Housing Census). Regular interchanges between Antigua and the Dominican Republic began in the early 1980s, involving not only visits by Dominicano descendants of earlier Antiguan migrants, but the employment of several sex workers. However, the immigration and citizenship statistics as well as the 1991 census data show a dramatic increase in arrivals and in citizenship applications during the 1990s. An estimated two thousand Dominicano residents now have Antiguan citizenship status. The remainder have temporary residence status and work permits. An estimated two thousand of the latter group may have unprocessed claims to citizenship.[4] The volume of movement between Antigua and the Dominican Republic is quite high, with over three thousand visas being granted to Dominicano nationals to enter Antigua between January 1995 and August 1999 (Antigua and Barbuda Ministry of Foreign Affairs data, 1999).

There had been small-scale movement between the Dominican Republic and St. Kitts and Nevis since the 1940s, based on the familial ties that had developed during the first thirty to thirty-five years of the twentieth century. The 1990 census figures show thirty-nine residents born in the Dominican Republic who had settled before 1979, the majority before 1960. Between 1986 and August 1999, there were 1014 Dominicano applications for citizenship, 602 of which have been approved. The rest are still in the processing stages (Ministry of Home Affairs and National Security, Basseterre, St. Kitts, research conducted in August 1998 and 1999). The 1990 census figures (Statistical Office, Ministry of Planning, St. Kitts) show 132 residents born in the Dominican Republic. By 1999 this figure had multiplied almost ten-fold to roughly one thousand.[5] The census figures indicate that during the 1980s a substantial number of the arrivals were in the economically active age groups of twenty to fifty-nine and were female. Although not yet empirically verified, initial impressions of the migration in the 1990s indicate a continuation of those trends. In addition to those persons who have arrived with documented claims to citizenship by descent, there are some Dominicanos, with no historical links to the islands, who have come in search of work.[6]

The Dominicanos in St. Kitts and Nevis have been absorbed primarily into service sector jobs. A small number of men in St. Kitts may have found work initially as cane-cutters. Also, the St. Kitts Sugar Manufacturing Company, in 1998 and 1999, recruited contingents of seasonal workers from the Dominican Republic. The majority, however, work as gardeners, mechanics, carpenters, painters, and construction workers. The women mostly find work as domestic helpers or hairdressers. A few have been absorbed into the hotel industry and into the retail sector, and a very small number work in the public sector.

Few of the persons interviewed had done similar work in their home country, although most felt that vocational education there had given them technical skills which they could use to find work and to survive in the new environment. Many had been employed in the Dominican Republic in the export processing zones as machinists or shop floor supervisors. In a few cases, they had come to St. Kitts and Nevis to escape from that type of work.[7] Others would have wished to obtain work based on their experience in the Free Zones, but they were prevented from doing so by their lack of proficiency in English. In St. Kitts and Nevis, out of an overall survey group of twenty persons, there were six exceptional cases of individuals with a good command of spoken and written English and tertiary or secondary level training in their occupations, who were employed in well remunerated, higher status jobs in the community. Most of the other individuals interviewed were severely hampered by their inadequate command of English, identifying this as the foremost obstacle to their social and economic integration and well-being in St. Kitts and Nevis.

Antigua's economy differs somewhat from that of St. Kitts and Nevis. In the 1990s between 70 percent and 75 percent of GDP has been based on the output of the service sector (ECCB National Accounts Statistics, 1997). A high economic growth rate during the past two decades and relatively high rates of emigration of Antiguan nationals have led the country to rely on migrant labor, which currently accounts for over 20 percent of its overall workforce (Antigua and Barbuda Labor Commissioner, March 1999). The authorities have traditionally exercised a liberal policy on immigration and employment, recognizing the importance of such flexibility for the country's economy. A policy document from the Office of the Labor Commissioner notes that:

> The national policy on citizenship and extended residency for migrant workers has turned a transient immigration process into a progressively more permanent one, including the movement of migrant families.... Migrant workers have made their invaluable contribution to the socio-economic advancement of Antigua and Barbuda and to this end they are given protection.... Today these workers are pillar resources in our tourism industry, in security establishments, the sanitation sector, roads and general construction and many high skilled sectors (Antigua and Barbuda Labor Commissioner, March 1999).

Antigua's 1991 census statistics show most Dominicano residents at that time to have been employed as service and shop sales workers (approximately 12 percent), craft and related workers (20 percent) and in elementary occupations (23 percent). That trend has continued with a certain number of residents operating small businesses, generally in the areas of mechanics shops, bars and musical entertainment and hairdressing establishments.[8] The pattern is, therefore, similar to that observed in St. Kitts and Nevis, except that the numbers are larger, and there has been a greater trend towards the settlement of entire families in Antigua, in response to a more liberal immigration policy.

5. 2. Social Organization

Only about 50 percent of the Dominicanos interviewed enjoyed close relations with their relatives in the host societies. Some had found it difficult to trace their relatives after three generations of absence, while others may not have encountered a very warm reception, despite a general acknowledgement of family ties in the Dominican Republic. Moreover, there were linguistic barriers to be overcome in communicating with these local relatives. However, the Dominicano community in each island is close-knit and forms a mutually supportive network for the individuals and families within it. Most have settled in urban areas and their communities are concentrated in specific zones, with families living near one another.

A crucial factor determining their integration and welfare has been the establishment of Associations of Dominican Republic Citizens (Mutual Benefit Associations). There is one such association in St. Kitts and one in Nevis. In Antigua, due to the larger numbers and greater diversity among the Dominicano citizens, there are several types of association, including sports clubs, cultural and religious groups, and welfare associations (interview with Dominicano Liaison Officer, August 1999).

Dominicanos do not presently enjoy consular facilities in either Antigua or St. Kitts and Nevis, and many would not, in any case, be able to claim consular protection as they have dual citizenship. Yet, they are, to a great extent, in a foreign country, operating in a foreign language. The Associations fulfil many of their representational needs by assisting with health and housing difficulties, arranging funerals and repatriation of persons or dead bodies, interceding with the local authorities in cases where there are difficulties with residence permits, work permits, slow processing of citizenship applications, or criminal proceedings against members of their community.

They organize social events, including picnics, dances, the celebration of special Dominicano festivals, and weekly softball or other sports tournaments.[9] Their function is to look after the welfare and to advance the socio-economic status of their communities in the host societies. They also organize activities that will promote positive images of Dominicano culture and invite a range of local people to such events. In some respects, the present-day Associations appear to perform a similar function to that of the traditional Sagwa described by Nadal Walcott (Walcott, 1997).

Another significant institution has been the church. In Antigua, there are now eight churches with Spanish-speaking congregations. In St. Kitts and Nevis, the process is less advanced with some churches pushing for integration of the Dominicano church-goers into English-speaking congregations rather than conceding the need for worship to be conducted in Spanish.[10] However, three denominations have shown a readiness to make special arrangements to meet the spiritual and material needs of the Dominicano communities. These are the Catholic Church, the Methodist Church, and the Seventh Day Adventists. The churches were also the first local institutions to recognize the need for English classes, and they have all offered English proficiency classes for Dominicanos who cannot afford commercial English classes which are not, in any case, designed for the needs of native Spanish speakers.[11]

A mixed picture emerges regarding the settlement of entire families from the Dominican Republic in the Leeward Islands. In general, those persons who have been resident for ten years or more have their families with them. Likewise, those individuals who have close attachments to their relatives from the host societies are more likely to have emigrated with their entire families. Immigration policies in Antigua have explicitly facilitated the movement of families by less restrictive attitudes towards the granting of visas and work permits. Also, the policy of the Antigua Labor Department has been to encourage the enrolment of migrant children in schools (interview with Labor Commissioner, August 1999).

In St. Kitts, there also appears to be a growing trend towards family reunification, subject to the pace at which the local authorities are prepared to grant visas and process citizenship applications. However, few of the individuals interviewed in Nevis had their entire families with them. Although there were thirty-eight children among the population in Nevis, in most cases, spouses and children visited.[1] Some people had brought their children over but had sent them back to the Dominican Republic because of their difficulties in adjusting to a different educational system and language.[13] Most expressed their faith in education as a vehicle of social mobility in their own country and elsewhere, and they stressed the importance that their parents and grandparents in the Dominican Republic had placed on learning a trade or a technical skill as a way out of manual labor in the cane fields. Some female interviewees, in both Antigua and St. Kitts and Nevis, were assisting with educating their children through tertiary institutions in the Dominican Republic, or were saving to finance their own tertiary education.[14] All of the individuals interviewed, as long as their immigration status was secure, travelled regularly (1-3 times per year) back to the Dominican Republic to visit their families or to conduct personal business.

5. 3. Impact on the Host Societies

In the past decade, Dominicano migrants have made noticeable changes to the cultural landscape in the Leeward Islands. The first and most obvious influence has been in language and communication. Spanish is increasingly becoming a second language. In Antigua, it is the mother tongue of approximately 10 percent of the population and about three percent in St. Kitts and Nevis. This is reflected in changes in both print and radio media. There are now three weekly radio programs in Spanish broadcast in Antigua (Dominicano Liaison Officer, Antigua, August 1999). There is also a Spanish newspaper in Antigua, *Hoy: Uniendo Nuestras Familias*, which began publication in 1999. In St. Kitts and Nevis, there are two weekly papers which publish a summary of their news in Spanish, in the center pages. In Antigua, certain types of public information are disseminated in both English and Spanish. This includes disaster preparedness information, public health and education information, and advice on immigration and citizenship procedures.

There are now several Spanish-speaking churches, in the case of Antigua, and a significant Spanish-speaking membership within the congregations of the Catholic, Methodist and Seventh Day Adventist churches in the Leewards. The Dominicano communities have also made a considerable impact in the field of sports. They have introduced the game of softball to these islands, to the point where there are now three softball leagues in Antigua, one in St. Kitts, and one in Nevis. Inter-island tournaments are conducted, and there are concerted efforts to interest local youth in the game and to train them (*Hoy*, 18-24 de agosto, 1999, p. 2; *St. Kitts-Nevis Observer*, March 14-20, 1998, p. 19).

In all three islands, there are now small bars and restaurants in various localities, with the lively sound of merengue music, run by Dominicanos and frequented primarily by their compatriots. In Antigua, there are a few merengue bands which perform at events locally and in other Leeward Islands. Some hotels in Antigua and St. Kitts periodically contract either locally based Dominicano groups or groups from the Dominican Republic itself to provide entertainment.[15] The Dominicano Associations have participated in local cultural festivals and carnivals. Their creative ideas, music, dances and costumes, have been of a high standard, attracting accolades from the judges. However, this area of cultural interaction has emerged as a flash-point of sensitivity and potential hostile nationalism in St. Kitts and Nevis. In the latter island, Dominicano successful participation in a cultural festival in August 1997 resulted in a heated discussion in the local press on the nature of authentic Nevisian culture and the need to exclude "foreign influences".[16] Undoubtedly, the local cultural scene has been enriched by Hispanic Caribbean influences. Nonetheless, such cultural encounters are a potentially charged field and a telling barometer of the strength of nationalist sentiments in St. Kitts and Nevis.

In the short term, gender relations appear to have generated as much conflict as integration between the Dominicano and host communities, although intermarriage will certainly be a longer term integrative influence. In St. Kitts and Nevis, the interviews revealed reports of confrontation between local and Dominicano men over women from both communities. There is a general perception throughout the Leeward Islands of young Dominicano women as attractive, exotic, lively, and uninhibited. Such perceptions are a two-edged sword for the women concerned, working to the advantage (at least for a while) of those who might wish to establish a relationship that would provide some security of status in the country, but a source of unwelcome sexual harassment otherwise. Integration through intermarriage is certainly taking place, particularly in Antigua.[17] Intermarriage involves a long-term process of cultural exchange, the transmission of values, practices and identities across the generations, and a reinforcement of family links between the Dominican Republic and the Leeward Islands. The impact of the most recent contact between these societies will become more visible during the next two to three decades.

The Dominicano migrants have expanded the range of technical and service skills available in the Leeward Islands. This is especially evident in the areas of certain crafts, hairdressing, construction, and mechanical maintenance. It is possible that, given appropriate labor policies, their contribution could be greater. Many who have extensive work experience in export processing zones have not been able to exploit their knowledge in the new environment since they are limited both by language and by their status as recent immigrants. Likewise, their facility with Spanish could in the future prove to be an asset in the expansion of tourism, and more generally, in preparing the Leeward Islands to adjust to and take advantage of hemispheric integration. This will, however, require more proactive policies on employment and education by local authorities.

Finally, it can be argued that the Dominicano communities, particularly as many in their ranks either have local citizenship or valid claims to such, represent nascent new political constituencies, introducing new issues and actors into the local political spectrum. They are well organized in terms of their national associations and their lobbying strategies. A priority for their communities has been to regularize their status and to gain recognition and goodwill from the local society. They have several concerns and social objectives. These currently include greater access to English classes, resolving any difficulties faced with the education of children, housing improvements, and speeding up the pace of processing of citizenship applications.

Throughout the Leeward Islands, issues relating to migrant workers and minority communities have become a focus for public debate during the last five years, particularly around election times[18] or during discussions about constitutional change.[19] This seems likely to continue as, driven by a combination of historical factors and shifts in the political economy across the Caribbean, the populations of the Leeward Islands become more heterogeneous. Issues likely to arise may include constitutional provisions on citizenship, access to social services, labor market policies, land availability, and questions of language, culture and identity.

5. 4. Official Responses

There is a clear difference thus far in the levels of official response by state authorities in Antigua and in St. Kitts and Nevis to the issues raised by the presence of Dominicano minorities in their societies. In Antigua and Barbuda, responses appear to have been guided by an official consensus on the value of migrant labor to the Antiguan economy and a correspondingly liberal policy on immigration and the granting of work permits. Immigration regulations have been tightened in 1999 and there is much closer collaboration between the immigration authorities and the Labor Department (Policy Statement by Immigration Department/Labor Department Alliance, Antigua, March 1999; interviews with Labor Commissioner and Head of Immigration, St. Johns, Antigua, August 1999). Likewise, the processing of citizenship applications is currently subject to prolonged checks on the authenticity of documents submitted (interviews, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, St. Johns Antigua, August 1999). Nonetheless, the result is still a more liberal set of immigration and employment policies than in many other CARICOM countries.

In St. Kitts and Nevis, administrative responses appear to have fluctuated over the last ten years between periods of relative acceptance of the arrivals and periods in which measures seemed aimed at restricting entry. In 1989-1990, for example, visa restrictions were imposed on Dominican Republic nationals, without establishing consular facilities in St. Kitts and Nevis either to facilitate the processing of visas or to check on the authenticity of documents being presented to back up claims to citizenship. The main objective appears to have been to make movement from the Dominican Republic more difficult. In general, citizenship applications take some time to be processed.

Both Antigua and St. Kitts and Nevis have resorted on occasion to amnesty periods to regularize the status of illegal aliens in their territories, and to have accurate information on the overall numbers of resident non-nationals. In Nevis, in April 1998, an amnesty was offered by the Nevis Island Administration to Dominicano illegal aliens, if they paid up all outstanding fees for residence and work permits.[20] In Antigua, between April and June 1998, an amnesty of wider scope was offered to all illegal aliens. Outstanding residence and work permit fees were waived and those who had been residing in Antigua for over seven years on an uninterrupted basis were given the opportunity to apply for citizenship. Many of those claims are still being processed.[21]

Greater proactivity is evidenced in Antigua, particularly in the move by the Ministry of Home and Foreign Affairs in April 1998 to establish a system of Liaison Officers who work with the Dominicano community. There are currently two such individuals, both drawn from the community itself. Their mandate includes the translation into Spanish and dissemination of public information to the Dominican Republic community; the provision of assistance with processing residence, citizenship, and work permit documents; ensuring that Dominicano children attend school; promotion of welfare-related activities among the Dominican Republic community and particularly the organization of activities for the youth; the relaying of the concerns of the community back to the authorities.[22] The Antiguan authorities have also sought to ensure that places are available in public schools for the children of migrant workers. Specific health-related policies at the present time are evidenced in the work of the Antigua AIDS Secretariat, which works with a Dominicano Liaison Officer to provide courses in Spanish on the prevention of HIV transmission for Dominicano female sex workers in the country.[23] Finally, unlike most other CARICOM countries, Antigua has appointed an Honorary Consul in the Dominican Republic.

No real attempt has yet been made in either Antigua or St. Kitts and Nevis to focus on possible pedagogical problems related to Dominicano children who come in from a different educational system and taught in a different language. Likewise, possibilities have not yet occurred for the employment of Dominicano nationals as teachers. It suggests that there is scope for further cooperation within the framework of the Association of Caribbean States for the recognition of equivalencies in certification and for wider cooperation in the sphere of education. Responses to the need for English instruction in St. Kitts and Nevis for Dominicanos have come mainly from non-governmental sources like the churches and, more recently, from self-help endeavors within the Dominicano communities themselves.

Dominicanos also point to the slow pace of processing citizenship applications in the various islands and the fact that some members of their community are obliged to pay work permit and temporary residence fees for extended periods of time while their citizenship applications are being processed. In both countries, there is still a lack of consular services provided to the Dominicano citizens by the government of the Dominican Republic despite the various representations that have been made on this score to the Santo Domingo authorities by the Dominicano Associations. Likewise, St. Kitts and Nevis have not yet followed the Antiguan lead in establishing a consular presence in the Dominican Republic.

In conclusion, few policy initiatives to date have sought to tap the full potential of these new residents and citizens—their language facility, technical skills and work experience in export processing zones or tourism, and their obvious talents in culture and entertainment. There have been very limited efforts to learn more about the culture and society of the Dominican Republic and the Hispanic Caribbean more generally by this medium, or to use the presence of significant numbers of Dominicano citizens to build a deeper diplomatic and economic relationship with that country. While there is evidence of concrete initiatives in Antigua, in St. Kitts and Nevis there have been few official initiatives to develop special facilities to integrate the Dominicanos despite their bona fide claims to citizenship.

5. 5. Dominicano Perceptions of the Host Societies

Conversations with Dominicanos revealed mixed experiences and ambivalent reactions to their host societies. Many pointed out the insularity of the small societies of Antigua and St. Kitts and Nevis, compared to their own country with a population of eight million. Some referred to the lack of knowledge of the host societies' people about the Dominican Republic, and they emphasized their country's considerable levels of development. Some of the more educated interviewees appeared somewhat disillusioned about the lack of integration of Dominicano residents and stressed that many of them had full citizenship rights and entitlements.

There appeared to be more integration and more receptive attitudes towards the Dominicano community in Antigua. In St. Kitts and Nevis, some immigrants felt that there had been a more receptive climate in the 1980s when their own community had been smaller. Some had also experienced hostility when there were indications that they were improving their material status on the islands despite being limited to low-status, low-paid and insecure jobs. Several of the individuals interviewed felt that higher-income groups in the host society were well disposed towards them and had more open attitudes towards foreigners. They argued that lower-income groups portrayed more chauvinism and attributed this to a lack of exposure as well as to the fear of competition for jobs.

On the other hand, all the interviewees had established friendships and supportive links with people and institutions in the host society. The Associations had worked at Dominicano integration into local cultural and sporting life, through organizing softball training sessions and competitions, and participation in carnival and other cultural events. The Dominicano leadership had also worked assiduously to establish good working relations with the administrative authorities in each island and had taken advantage of any possible opportunities offered to improve the image of the community with the local public. Most of the interviewees mentioned have good business relations with the local community. There was a perception that wages were moderate or low in relation to the high cost of living in the Leeward Islands. Nonetheless, many placed a high value on the tranquility and safety of life in the host society and showed an interest in permanent residence if they were accompanied by their families.

While many of the Dominicanos had applied for and had been granted citizenship of the country where they were residing, their self-perception and cultural identity as Dominicanos appeared to have been strengthened by the experience of returning to the islands of their ancestors and living there as a Spanish-speaking minority. Both in their actions (for example, their cultural presentations during carnival) and in conversations, they expressed national pride and consciousness of themselves as a distinct historical and cultural group in the Dominican Republic. They acknowledged the incidence of class and regional discrimination in the Dominican Republic and expressed pessimism about economic opportunities. They nonetheless identified themselves in the first instance as Dominicanos. They seemed to view their nomadic existence as a normal aspect of the life-experience and destiny of a Dominicano citizen, rather than placing it in the longer-term context of the migratory history of Antigua or St. Kitts and Nevis. The acquisition of citizenship in the land of their ancestors was a pragmatic move in the perpetual struggle for economic survival and individual and family advancement. They relied primarily on their close-knit communities and their organizing capabilities to ensure their welfare in the host societies.

6. Migration, National Identity and Regionalism

The twentieth century voyages between the Dominican Republic and the Leeward Islands demonstrate the complex influence of migration on the identities and transnational outlooks of the people of small Caribbean states. Outward migration to familiar Anglo-Saxon metropoles has long been an accepted way of life and has shaped island populations' links with the rest of the world. However, in the post-Independence period, inward migration has become a major factor and has served to strengthen national consciousness by providing an alien Other. At the most elementary level, in some cases it has generated a backlash of local resistance and stimulated a chauvinistic type of nationalism.

But ironically, the Other explored in this article is in part a historical ghost, an earlier ancestral incarnation come back to force the local population to define the meaning of their citizenship, their relationship to their land, their knowledge, and appreciation of their culture and their history. The Other is the Hispanicized down-stream effect of an earlier migration. The encounter of the Dominicanos and their citizens in Antigua and St. Kitts and Nevis may ultimately lead the latter to a more profound understanding of their migrant history and national identity and the historical and cultural links thereby generated with other societies in the Caribbean Basin. Certainly, although it does not seem to have been recognized yet to any significant degree, the contemporary encounters have wrought major and long term changes to the composition of their societies. They are becoming much more culturally heterogeneous, with a blend of English-speaking and Spanish speaking Caribbean culture, and many more residents will hold allegiance to at least two Caribbean countries.

Historical and contemporary intra-Caribbean migration therefore has many implications for Caribbean regionalism. During the past forty years, regional integration has often faltered or stagnated because there was too great an emphasis on building intergovernmental structures and there was insufficient involvement of people. Likewise, the integration groupings focused on too small an area of the region and perpetuated the divisions of the colonial period. Present-day regionalism is driven by the dynamic of economic globalization, and it requires the English-speaking Caribbean to rapidly integrate with the rest of the Western Hemisphere and interact intensively with Latin America. Yet, it ignores another important socio-cultural aspect of globalization, namely the movement of people, culture, values, and ideas. Little attention has been paid thus far to the real people networks that have been woven between the English and Spanish-speaking Caribbean because of migration and the bridges they can build in relations with the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Panama, and Costa Rica, for example.

Thus far, in regional integration the emphasis has been placed on the movement of goods rather than on the movement of people. That focus has produced many oversights and omissions. In all the diplomatic exchanges surrounding the attempts to negotiate a Free Trade Agreement between CARICOM and the Dominican Republic in 1998-1999, there was little investigation of the existing links between the Dominican Republic and Antigua and St. Kitts and Nevis. Few in the host societies appear to have perceived the Dominicanos as an asset for acquiring greater knowledge of the Spanish language as well as gaining an insight into the culture, history, and structure of Dominicano society. Indeed, the presence of the migrant communities has not even produced the level of diplomatic and consular representation between the receiving and sending societies that one might have expected to find.

There has been no attempt to use intra-Caribbean migration as a vehicle to stimulate regional trade, transport, and further inter-societal links. In regional public policy, specifically in the elaboration of Protocol Two (1997) to the CARICOM Treaty of Chaguaramas, CARICOM states sought finally to encourage the free movement of capital, services, and certain categories of skilled labor throughout the CARICOM region. However, there has been scant recognition of the existence of a much wider informal regional labor market that encompasses the entire Caribbean Basin in its patterns of mobility. In sum, neither the national policies of the receiving countries in this wave of migration nor the Caribbean Community in general seems to have recognized or utilized in fruitful ways the potential of Dominicano migrant communities to lay the basis for strengthened cooperation between the Dominican Republic and the English-speaking Caribbean.

ENDNOTES

1. The word "Cocolo" is used in the Dominican Republic to refer to those people who came to the Dominican Republic from the English-speaking Caribbean in the 1890s and early 1900s to work on the sugar estates in the Eastern part of the country. Many originated from the Leeward Islands and the Virgin Islands, and some elderly people in Nevis have suggested to me that "Cocolo" is derived from "Tortola."

2. The national motto of Jamaica. However, there are many others in the region which reflect the same theme and challenge. The perceived task of nation-building was to transcend the ethnic, class, and psychological barriers among the diverse groups in each society in order to generate a sense of national pride and identity.

3. Conversation, June 1987, with a Dominicano son of a Nevisian woman and an Anguillian man, both of whom were labor migrants who had stayed on in the Dominican Republic. He, in turn, had migrated to New York, where he married a woman from St. Kitts, and returned to his mother's source island by that route.

4. Estimates gained from interviews with Dominicano Liaison Officers in Antigua, and from research carried out in the Antigua and Barbuda Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

5. This figure is estimated based on the citizenship and work permit data, but tentatively confirmed in speaking with representatives of the Dominicano Associations in St. Kitts and Nevis.

6. In Nevis, I interviewed two individuals in August 1998 who fitted this category. One had ancestors from other English-speaking territories. He was a qualified technician with an excellent command of English, working with a company from the Virgin Islands which had a subsidiary in Nevis. On that basi,s he had no difficulty in obtaining work and residence permits. The other had no family ties with the "Cocolos," but had come with a friend in search of work when free zone factories in his region of the Dominican Republic, including the one where he worked as a supervisor, began to shift their operations elsewhere. He had lived precariously before managing to regularize his residence and work permit status and was employed in maintenance work in the hotel sector. Much earlier, in 1988, I had on occasions acted as interpreter when the St. Kitts immigration officials wished to question suspected Dominican Republic illegal aliens. Even then, it was evident from their responses that St. Kitts and Nevis had become known as a place with a Dominicano community and a possible work venue.

7. Interview with one Dominicana in August 1998, who runs her own hairdressing salon in Nevis, after working for 13 years in a Free Zone in the Dominican Republic. She came to Nevis in a bid to escape from those working conditions, drawing on the close family ties she had on the island. On her initial visit, she obtained domestic work, but observed that there were market opportunities for trained hairdressers. She returned to the Dominican Republic, completed her training in that area and established her own salon in Nevis.

8. One of the persons interviewed in Antigua, August 1999 referred to his community as excelling at selling happiness and beauty—"vendedores de alegria y de estetica."

9. Information gleaned from attendance at the monthly meeting of the Asociacion de Dominicanos en Nevis, in Charlestown, and from interviews conducted with officers of the Executive Committee of the Association, August 21, 1998. This perspective was confirmed in discussions with Rafael Henry Lopez, Liaison Officer for the Dominicanos in Antigua, August 1999. On softball, see "La Popularidad de Softball Aumenta en Nevis," *St. Kitts-Nevis Observer*, March 14-20, 1998, p. 19.

10. Discussion with officials of the Methodist Church in Nevis, August 1998, 1999.

11. Information gleaned from attending Methodist church service in Spanish at the Charlestown Methodist Church, August 1998 and conversing with the minister; also from interviews with officials of the Ministry of National Security in St. Kitts and the Premier's Office, Nevis Island Administration.

12. This was confirmed in going through the visa application records of the Ministry for National Security in Basseterre, St. Kitts. Large numbers of the visa applications for Dominican Republic citizens were for children to visit their parents in St. Kitts or Nevis.

13. Interviews with Francisco, Teodoro and Fidelina, August 1998, also with the Assistant Secretary, Premier's Office, Nevis Island Administration and with two secondary level teachers in Nevis. The difficulties of adjustment faced especially by the children in secondary school were pointed out also by the Antigua Liaison Officer for the Dominicano community there.

14. Interviews, Fidelina, Nevis, August 1998, Desira, Antigua, August 1999.

15. Information obtained from conversations with Dominicano and local musicians in Antigua and St. Kitts. Also, a large hotel in St. Kitts is now managed by a company from the Dominican Republic. A significant number of the visa applications for Dominican Republic citizens are for the importation of managerial, technical, and entertainment staff from the Dominican Republic to perform short-term assignments.

16. See exchange of letters in *The St. Kitts-Nevis Observer*, August 9-15 1997, p. 2, and August 23-29 1997, p. 14. The first letter cited states, "The other thing which really get the culture mixed up is the troop from the Dominican Republic Association, their meringue music and their national flag. I am not saying that they should not take part in our Culturama but if they want to take part, please let them do it Nevis style for when you go to Rome you do as the Romans do."

17. Antiguan records show one hundred and fourteen cases of citizenship by registration by marriage between 1987 and August 1999. One hundred and six of these were women. While it was not always possible to tell, most such marriages appeared to involve Antiguan-born nationals and Dominicano women, while the male registrations appeared to be the spouses of Dominicano women who had Antiguan citizenship by descent.

18. See, for example, "El Problema Espanol," editorial in *The Daily Observer*, Antigua, March 25, 1999, p. 2.

19. See, for example, an excerpt from the Report of the Nevis Constitutional Committee 1998, presented to the Nevis Island Administration, Charlestown, Nevis, June 12, 1998. "Article 4 speaks to the automatic acquisition of citizenship of Nevis by virtue of being born in Nevis. This met with unanimous approval by the public... many members of the public suggested that the bestowal of citizenship on an individual who had no nexus with Nevis other than that his or her grandparent (s) was/were born on the island was too liberal in the circumstances and would unnecessarily render many who lacked allegiance to or connection with the island automatic citizens. The Committee was persuaded by the logic of this argument. The Committee proposes and recommends that the bestowal of citizenship on the principles of *jus sanguinis* should extend only to parents and should not embrace grandparents since to do otherwise would arguably open the floodgates ....." This process of preparing a Constitution for Nevis naturally ended with the failure to gain a 67 percent majority in the Referendum on secession from St. Kitts, held in August 1998. It is possible, however, that

the issue of changing the constitutional grounds on which an individual qualifies for citizenship could arise again in any future process of constitutional reform.

20. This was confirmed in interviews with both the Association of Dominicanos in Nevis and with the officials of the Nevis Island Administration.

21. Interview with the head of the Immigration Department, St. Johns, Antigua, August 1999.

22. Interviews with officials in the Ministry of Foreign and Home Affairs, and with Messrs Henry Lopez and Adolfo Thomas, Liaison Officers to the Dominicano Community, August 1999.

23. Interview with Dominicano Liaison Officer, Antigua, August 1999; documentation from AIDS secretariat.

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