RETHINKING FLEXIBILITY AND SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP IN THE CARIBBEAN:

THE ROLE OF HUCKSTERS IN THE INFORMAL MARKET

AFTER THE FALL OF THE BANANA REGIME

BY

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The Purpose of the Thesis

The history of the Caribbean shares a common thread of European colonialism, the plantation system, African slavery and the relentless influences of external power (D’Agostino 85). The labor of women has produced whole economies in countries such as Dominica and St. Lucia in the Windward Islands. Histories show women’s labor in the Caribbean has included everything from picking cotton to performing roadwork to midwifery. Today the labor is the same but it has increased to include the ever increasing pressures of globalization. Although there is an emphasis on the economy and various global contributions of work women invest in their said countries, the purpose of this thesis is to provide a preliminary analysis of rethinking what happened to hucksters at the end of the bananas regime through the definitions and practices of flexibility and citizenship.

The argument of this paper is not to find fault in Jeffrey Mantz’s entire analysis of flexibility but rather to add the rhetoric and reality of citizenship to further complicate his argument. Mantz argues that flexibility in huckstering (and essentially in other informal markets) is understood to embody ideals of autonomy, perseverance, creativity and “personal expressiveness” as resistance to capitalist discipline (Mantz 22). Although this paper acknowledges these active characteristics of flexibility in huckstering, I will argue to reveal the complex role that flexibility and social citizenship play in transforming these ideals in the face of developing globalization and transformation of
citizenship after the fall of the Banana Regime. This paper will attempt to connect the rhetoric and reality of various forms of citizenship to flexibility and highlight how its function in the informal huckstering labor force can no longer be “morally creative and autonomous” with global human movements that are dependent on the same states that confer and deny citizenship and “whose sovereignty is being erased by transnational forces” (Amit 576). In other words, Mantz practice of flexibility cannot be stretched to other forms of labor in the Caribbean because of rhetoric and reality of citizenship. In the case of this paper, I will look at informal huckstering market in Dominica and St. Lucia and the formal farming markets of the Windward Islands including St. Lucia.

**Theoretical Framework**

This paper will use Jeffrey Mantz’s article “How a Huckster Becomes a Custodian of Market Morality: Traditions of Flexibility in Exchange in Dominica” as a framework for the argument of this paper. Mantz’s argument of the practice of flexibility in Dominica is applied and analyzed in other sectors of women’s labor in the formal and informal markets of the Caribbean. His definition of flexibility differs from other usages of the term in the social sciences of “late modernity” where flexibility connotes a kind of “simultaneously physio-psychological disciplining” as well as response to capitalist building (Mantz 21). Instead Mantz offers a different argument for the development and practice of flexibility. By contrast, flexibility is a culturally indigenous process that has emerged through a much longer engagement with capitalism in the Caribbean in the same vein as capitalism’s growth on the backs of slave economies of the Americas.
The process of flexibility emerged in its relationship to historic struggles in plantation production, slavery, and the development of capitalism (Mintz). According to Mantz, the practice comes to be “constitutive of flexibility under conditions of extraordinary physical and economic limitations” (Mantz 21). Specifically, I will discuss how the practice is understood to embody ideals of autonomy, perseverance, and personal expressiveness that have been heralded in a resistance to capitalist discipline.

Because this thesis attempts to add citizenship to the equation of flexibility after the downfall of the Banana Regime, it is important at this point to define what kind of citizenship will be functioning in the thesis to further the goal of rethinking huckstering and flexibility after the fall of the Banana Regime. I use two scholars to aid me in this construction of citizenship. First, I use Saskia Sassen’s two essays on denationalizing citizenship to discuss how *formal* citizenship or the scholarship on citizenship claims a necessary connection to the national state. More specifically Sassen’s definition of citizenship is tied directly to the legal relationship between the individual and the polity (Sassen 278). I will discuss how this formal citizenship is transformed in the two major ways in huckstering in Dominica and farming and huckstering in St. Lucia and the Windward Islands. I will also discuss how this transformation leads to what Adelaida R. Del Castillo calls *social* citizenship or the practice of the expression of social rights that defy the state’s political and sometimes juridical standards of that society. In fact, those that are practicing social citizenship are acting beyond the state level (Del Castillo 15). These definitions will aid in reframing hucksters back into the rhetoric of citizenship to
further understand how hucksters’ positions changed after the fall of the Banana Regime.

Outline of Major Arguments

The thesis is broken into two sections as I will be looking at two distinct authors that discuss huckstering before and after the downfall of the Banana Regime. It is important to note that these sections are very interconnect and should not be thought of as two separate entities. In the first section, I will layout a brief history of the Banana Regime as it stood before and after its collapse and also how preferential trade agreements were a major source of stress for the economies of many Caribbean countries including Dominica and the Windward Islands due to the collapse of the Regime. I will layout the enormous impact that huckster workers had on the economy of Dominica following a series of World Trade Organization decisions that devastated the banana industry, its major export earner. The framework of flexibility will be used in relation to the practice of various forms of citizenship in the informal market of huckstering in Dominica to show how social citizenship can be transformed and how it is interconnected to characteristics of flexibility. This section will also show how flexibility and social citizenship can be eroded by national citizenship practices utilizing Sassen’s articles on “denationalizing” citizenship. The second section of the paper will relate heavily to the first section-as the whole paper is looking at huckstering after the fall of the Banana Regime. In this section the loss of flexibility and social citizenship are looked at through a gendered frame of citizenship provided by scholar Nira Yuval-Davis. Citizenship is reframed around the ideas of public and private domain and how these
domains changed according to structural shifts in the farm labor. It is my intention to highlight and rethink flexibility in terms of different kinds of citizenship that are being discussed by varying scholars to see how huckstering after the Banana Regime can be rethought in new, more complex ways.

**Before and After the Collapse the Banana Regime: Hucksters on the Hustle in Dominica**

Work—no matter how dead-end—has meaning and value for women—*Women and Development* (Bolles 257).

**Background on the Banana Regime**

The relationship between Caribbean banana markets and the European banana market grew out of a series of national measures that wanted to protect favored companies and sources of supply (Sutton 6). There were three main sources of supply: (1) EU bananas. The market of bananas is grown and marketed within the EU itself, for the major producers the Canary Islands and the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe (the French Departments d'Outre-Mer or DOM). The DOM was responsible for 10% of market share in 1990; (2) growers in Africa and the Caribbean (part of the Africa-Caribbean-Pacific group of countries, or ACP), of which the Caribbean accounts for 11.2%; and (3) Latin America, with 57.9% of the market (Sutton 7). In sum, bananas are an important export from the Caribbean to the EU. However, the relative importance varies from country to country (Nurse). Although in future sections the Wind-ward Islands will prove to have the most extreme dependence (Nurse).
The formation of the European Union and the surfacing of a single European market were the first markers of change in the banana producing countries. Specifically, the Caribbean Islands under preferential treatment agreements with Europe felt the transition the most (Cricklow 37). These Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs) under the Lome convention (trade and aid agreement in February 1975) were a cooperation agreement between the EU and the seventy plus countries in the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group of states (Pantin 140). In the late 1990’s, the European market sought to have a central network, the New Banana Regime, which according to a system of tariff quotas and licenses, facilitated European importation from former colonial countries (Cricklow 37). In other words, under this system, ‘dollar bananas’ from Latin America were evaluated a 20 percent tariff while all other imports suffered a tariff of approximately 170 percent. In 1996 the United States severely objected the New Banana Regime as a “violation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (since replaced by the World Trade Organization [WTO])” (Cricklow 38). Domineering U.S. companies such as Dole, Chiquita, and Del Monte, which were all ‘dollar bananas’ from Mexico, Honduras, Ecuador and Guatemala were successfully argued by the United States before the WTO. It was ruled in 1997 and again in 1999 that the New Banana Regime was in violation of the rules of world trade in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific countries. The violations were highlighted as “unfair advantages” over other banana producing countries such as Mexico, Honduras, Ecuador and Guatemala (Cricklow 39). This ruling resulted in a major restructuring of banana industries in the Caribbean that came into effect in 1999. When the New Banana Regime fell, the African,
Caribbean and Pacific countries found themselves in no position to compete on a global scale in the international market (Cricklow 38). One of the countries that were devastated by this collapse was Dominica, geographically located in the Windward Islands, east of the Caribbean Sea. Before the collapse, small farmers thrived primarily because of the protection of the preferential trade agreements (Sutton 10).

The table below provides an overall summary of the economic performance of the Caribbean and how PTAs could and did affect specific countries discussed in this paper. According to Dennis Pantin in “The Economics of the Caribbean,” the Caribbean can be grouped into four categories: independent larger states (Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti and Jamaica); smaller states (Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Vincent, and Trinidad and Tobago); mainland states (Belize, Guyana, Suriname) and the twelve dependent territories (Girvan 10). Specifically, this table suggests that out of a number of factors that contribute to the divergence in economic performance, the exchange rate is extremely important to small Caribbean economies. This is important to note because with the fall of the Banana Regime, the Caribbean governments began to rely heavily on imported foodstuff to feed growing populations, “diverting scarce financial resources from other key sectors (Pantin 141).
### The Caribbean: Gross Domestic Product, Population and Land Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Per Capita GDP, 1995</th>
<th>GDP</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Land Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large island states</td>
<td>1,101</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>75.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smaller island states</td>
<td>5,215</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainland</td>
<td>1,174</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent territories</td>
<td>11,099</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,759</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARICOM states</td>
<td>2,923</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-CARICOM states</td>
<td>1,036</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>69.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Norman Girvan, “Reinterpreting the Caribbean,” in *New Caribbean Thought*, edited by Folke Lindahl and Brian Meeks (Kingston: Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2001).

**Note from Dennis A. Pantin:** Weighted averages above

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**Dominica and the fall of the Banana Regime**

Although such crisis occurred with the fall of the New Banana Regime, Dominica seemed unimpaired or rather silent on the international front. According to Mantz, the silence was indicative of “a larger cultural process at work in which Dominicans had long-established and naturalized methods of negotiating such crises” (Mantz 20). Such methods included market laborers in the business of huckstering. Marketing has often stood out as a public “socio-economic activity” historically achieved by Caribbean women (Mantz 21). Huckstering has been, for 250 years, a vocation and continues to be a vocation dominated by women. Locally known as “hucksters” in Dominica, these female small-scale traders in agricultural produce have played a vital economic and
social role as principle exporters accounting for the second largest contribution to export earnings (Mantz 19). Although, huckstering is not considered a formal labor in the global workforce, today 80 percent of persons with a huckstering license are women making the majority of the income for their families and their countries (Mantz 19). Although, huckstering is not considered a formal labor in the global workforce, today 80 percent of persons with a huckstering license are women making the majority of the income for their families and their countries (Mantz 19). Today these hucksters are distinct from “market vendors” which is also a female-dominated labor. Traders who sell domestic goods are often not involved in exporting (Mantz 21). Huckstering is vitally a house-hold based enterprise which generates its “livelihood principally from revenues gained overseas through agricultural exporting” (Mantz 22). In other words, hucksters rely on residue items to fuel their exporting work. For instance, women typically collect and organize the shipment of agricultural goods from their homes in Dominica, often relying on the donations of relatives and neighbors and the cheap physical labor of the underemployed and unemployed youth. Hucksters collect a variety of goods often from several small farmers and arrange the shipping and sale of these products to neighboring islands (Mantz 24). Guadeloupe and its reliance on these goods are the most frequented destination for Dominican hucksters’ products, followed by Antigua, St. Kitts, St. Martin, and the Virgin Islands (Mantz 24). Normally, hucksters prefer to travel with their cargo during the one-to three-day journeys. Trips commonly follow a particular “temporal pattern, usually around a fortnight (two-week period),
corresponding to the nautical cycles of the seafarers who transport hucksters” (Mantz 23).

It is important here to discuss and further dissect hucksters in relation to the state and economic exportation of resources and goods. Huckstering is under an informal and formal classification in the labor market of Dominica. The term “huckstering” has become synonymous with formal “exporter” which, in recent years, has been due to formal licensing of all regional exporting by the Dominica Hucksters Association (DHA). Before this formalization, the dichotomy between the formal exporters known as “merchants” and the hucksters was clear. Since the 1980s this has thus been blurred (Mantz 24). Although these major formal exporters are recognized by the state as under a “peri-governmental” organization, hucksters view themselves as autonomous agents “working outside the rubric of (and of in spite of or even against) the state” (Mantz 24). A huckster from Anse de Mai sums up her attitude toward the state of Dominica:

I like to go by myself, my own load. If I gain, thank you Jesus. If I loss, o.k. My own thing I doing. I buy, I take my boat on my own, and nothing light… I do not follow orders ...[the government ] can’t tell me what to do (Mantz 25).

This disdain for the government is ever-present. In fact, hucksters have seen themselves as the authority of this system for several generations. These female hucksters often fulfill an archetype of unmarried women who rely on “sourcing produce from several farmers to eke out a livelihood for herself and her family” (Mantz 25).

What is important to note here is that this is not a phenomenon by any means but
instead a tradition where women are managers. The market, in many Caribbean
countries, is undoubtedly filled with more women than men. As a former trade minister
turned huckster states, “this is the culture-this is the pattern-that men will produce and
women will sell. They handle the money better” (Mantz 27). This tradition is embedded
in what Mantz calls flexibility. He defines/uses flexibility not as an adaptive/modernized
or globalized relationship between the exporters (hucksters) and the sellers (farmers) of
residual goods but as an internalized historical and cultural trait.

Although hucksters themselves argue that they work outside the rules and
regulations of the state and in fact resent the state’s interference with their work, the
formal licensing of all regional exporting by Dominica’s hucksters by the DHA brings up a
dilemma in Mantz argument of autonomy for hucksters in and outside the boundaries of
their respectful state. Autonomy, in Mantz’s argument functions as the idea of fulfilling
the choice to work “outside” the state the way Del Castillo describes social citizenship to
be. Flexibility and social citizenship are then linked because one can create the other by
informally performing labor and generating income without the “necessary” consent of
the state. But what makes the huckstering in Dominica formal or functioning is again
Sassen’s idea of formal citizenship or what Del Castillo calls “ascriptive” citizenship.
Ascriptive citizenship is the idea that one’s political membership is entirely and
permanently determined by some objective circumstance such as birth within a
particular sovereign’s allegiance or jurisdiction (Del Castillo 15). Hucksters are still
performing informal, personal relationships with farmers within the jurisdiction and
sovereignty of the state creating a formal citizenship for them. However, as Mantz
points out, Hucksters can still perform flexibility (via creativity and autonomy) and thus social citizenship without being crushed by “state sanctioned” citizenship.

Another more complex way to look formal and informal labor in relation to social and formal/ascriptive citizenship is to look at Mantz’s discussion of the “death of flexibility” in relation to globalization. For instance, he refers to the negative effect that states and international administrative legal bodies such as the WTO have on the motivation of entrepreneurial practice (Mantz 35). For example, Mantz discusses Guadeloupe, as historically being the key market for hucksters. In fact more than 70 percent of Dominica’s “non-traditional” (non-banana) agricultural exports go to Guadeloupe (Mantz 34). Moreover, the nearness of Guadeloupe to Dominica’s northern shores (where most huckstering activity originates as mentioned earlier) makes it one of the few markets with “sustainable growth (Mantz 34). However, French laws have eroded the Guadeloupean trade in recent years. Non-French nationals have been restricted from key markets, licensing procedures have been tightened, and it has become “next to impossible to sell in Guadeloupe without permanent residency status” (Mantz 35). Citizenship comes into the equation because Hucksters (along with other labors in the Caribbean) complicate the informality of flexibility by working outside the boundaries of Dominica. When hucksters leave their respective states and perform flexibility outside of their states’ sovereignty, their formal (national) citizenship is also changed with that transfer of flexibility (Sassen 277). For example, Sassen’s article “Towards Post-National and Denationalized Citizenship” she challenges the necessary connection that citizenship has to the state. She attributes the transformation of
national citizenship in two major, partly interconnected conditions. One is the change in the “position and institutional features of national states since the 1980s resulting from various forms of globalization such as economic privatization and deregulation” (Sassen 278). The second is the “emergence of multiple actors, groups and communities partly strengthened by these transformations in the state and increasingly unwilling to automatically identify with a nation as represented by the state (Sassen 278). In relation to Mantz’s discussion of Guadalupe and the death of flexibility, the practice of citizenship has been transformed by the actors themselves (hucksters) to unwillingly participate with formal nationalism but when the state enforces formal boundaries and thus ascriptive citizenship, social citizenship and the practice of flexibility including autonomy are lost.

Economic relationships between hucksters and local farmers of agricultural products are also important to discuss in relation to citizenship because they are often not dictated by formal citizenship. Instead these relationships reflect personalized form of exchange also found in many other markets in the Caribbean. For example, it is noted by Mantz that the farmers themselves typically exhibit an “intuitive understanding” of the difficulties encountered and the flexibility necessary in sourcing these nautical hucksters. In fact, there is an immense level of trust given to the huckster by the farmers. While Mantz delves into detail as to the historical context of flexibility in relation to slavery, I wish to heed more attention to the relationship between the rhetoric of valorizing hucksters in the aftermath of the collapse of the Banana Regime in conversation with flexibility and citizenship. For instance, Mantz’s discusses the theory
of personalization over optimization of profit. In other words, “Dominican flexibility is contingent not on ascetic values in the diligent and productive use of God’s land” for profit but, “rather, on the sourcing of practical solutions to everyday economic struggles” (Mantz 28). I would argue that this was transformed when the Banana Regime fell. When the Regime fell, hucksters literally become one of the main sources of income for the state of Dominica. They were generating the highest income as state sanctioned “exporters.” Previously, the rhetoric was that this form of labor was tradition and internalized as such; that female hucksters were autonomous workers not because of the growth of globalization but because of historical and informal markets that were managed even before emancipation (Mantz 30). However, it is vital to mark that hucksters became illuminated as a necessary formal citizens to the state and were recognized as such after the collapse of the Banana Regime. The practice of social citizenship through flexibility becomes quite a formal act of making GDP, for the state and staying above the marker of a “failed” economic state.

**From Flexibility to Patriarchy: Banana Women Farmers in the Windward Islands**

“Why is emphasis not placed on fair as much as it is placed on market-oriented?” - Ian McDonald

Mantz argues in his article that the practice of flexibility is found in many informal markets in the Caribbean economic culture. He lists examples such as pratik in Haiti as discussed earlier and further research has led to the validation of a cultural tradition that women are often in coalition or alone in breadwinning. In his final section entitled “Implications for Practice: The Death of Flexibility?” Mantz brings the
conversation back to the original main actor—the WTO. Barriers such as those restricting key markets and the tightening of licensing procedures and such implementations as “no selling” without permanent residency, have made huckstering increasingly difficult (Mantz 34). The protections that have been place on free markets such as Guadalupe market is a clear violation of international law by the WTO but Dominica is without the financial and legal resources to pursue a claim in the WTO courts. This is important to illustrate just how much power the state and international law have had on the entrepreneurial practices of formal and informal work. In this next section of the paper it will be argued that not only is flexibility being eradicated from informal and formal practices of labor but even in traditional cultural practices of women being the saver, bankers and money makers (essentially the dominant entrepreneurs under formal state rubrics), there was and is little to no room for flexibility and social citizenship

In Michaeline A. Cricklow’s, “Neoliberalism, States, and Bananas in the Windward Islands” she also dictates the harsh consequences of the restructuring of the Banana Regime for the Windward Islands under preferential treatment agreements with Europe. The establishment of model farms in the Windward Islands during the early 1980s “coincided with the reorganization of transnational capital” (Cricklow 39). Such companies as Geest West Indies in the Windward’s and Tate and Lyle and the United Fruit Company in Jamaica (all heavily involved in production since the 1960s) cut connections with producers (Cricklow 40). In response to this transnational withdrawal, Windward States provided loans to wage workers on banana estates “so that they might lease land as property owners and undertake commercial family farm ventures” so-
called model farms (Cricklow 40). The St. Lucia Model Farm (SLMF) later became the ideal farm for developing farms in Grenada and St. Vincent. The model farm birthed as an alternative to large estate agricultural production and as a way to stave off international crisis in the ever precious banana industry (Cricklow 41). Although local farmers had control over the labor process conducted on the farms, such things as marketing distribution, pricing and insurance remained under Geest’s command. This constructed a new class and gender structure essentially eliminating an informal market for huckstering. For instance, although hucksters in Dominica had the ability to work outside the rubric of the state and still be licensed for exportation of products to other countries, farmers in the Windward’s had no control over the timing of their harvest: many did not even have much say in the transportation of their fruit (Cricklow 41). As Cricklow states:

One farmer recounted that on one banana cutting day he lost over US$932 (EC$2,500) because the driver whom he had contracted arrived too late for his bananas to be accepted at the docks. He had therefore “sacrificed” to purchase a pick-up truck in order to ensure that, in the future, his fruit would not be left behind (41).

Many scholars and analyst consider these small farmers’ control over their farms and banana production as “illusory” (Cricklow 43). This is solidified by the stark difference that the collapse of the Regime had on Dominica and the Windward Islands. The transformation from large estates to small farms in particular, changed the agency and citizenship of female hucksters in the exporting markets of the Windward’s. Where
flexibility and a similar social citizenship existed in the division of labor on the on Geest managed estates, there was an increase in the number of family workers employed on the small farms and the independent earning potential of the female worker was eliminated and with it went the practice of flexibility in the informal market (Cricklow 43). Though the tasks whereby women tended to make money were distributed according to gender, they had maintained an independent and flexible wage by producing and selling domestic crops similar to hucksters in the Dominica (Cricklow 43). Women involved in banana production are continually reported to be more heavily involved in the marking of produce. As various sources have indicated-trade in agriculture is largely controlled by women. In fact, hucksters on the Windward Islands controlled “80 to 90 percent of the inter-island trade in agricultural production in the early 1980s” and formed an informal economy that allowed for flexibility between the hucksters and the sellers. Under new small farm regulations, male dominance was re-established and unpaid female labor became a widespread norm. Unlike the hucksters in Dominica who gained a valorizing effect from the fall of the Banana Regime, the female workers in the Windward Islands were forced to revert back to a system of patriarchal hierarchy of production.

More specifically, I wish to look at Nira Yuval-Davis’s article “Women, Citizenship and Difference” to further look at social citizenship but this time through transformed definitions of citizenship that relate particularly to gender. For instance, Cricklow asserts that the gender imbalances and tensions in the Windward Islands were not the same as those that “surfaced in the wake of a society’s transition from pre-industrialization to
industrialization” (44). Instead, patriarchy emerged on model farms a response to the demands of a powerful neoliberal world market (Cricklow 44). This is similar to one Sassen’s arguments for the transformation of formal citizenship pertaining to “the change in the position and institutional features of national states since the 1980s resulting from various forms of globalization” (Sassen 277). In her article Yuval-Davis makes reference to T.H. Marshall, who has defined citizenship as 'a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community, which includes civil, political and social rights and obligations (Yuval-Davis 12). By formally linking citizenship to membership in a community rather than to the state, as liberal definitions of citizenship do, Marshall’s definition enables us analytically to discuss citizenship as a multi-tier construct, which applies to people’s membership in a variety of collectivities - local, ethnic, national and trans-national (Yuval-Davis 14). Such a “multi-tier construction” of citizenship is particularly important because it allows for the question of the relationship between 'the community' and the state and how this affects social citizenship-in particular for women farm workers and hucksters. For instance, in the case of the banana farms, Yuval-Davis’s framework of public/private citizenship work best to explain a certain loss of flexibility and citizenship with the restructuring of the banana farms. In fact, these two dimensions are considered to have often been used in order to describe gender differences in economic hierarchies. For instance, women working in the proletariat model farms could be considered to be public citizens contributing to the larger GDP and global market of St. Lucia in the Caribbean. Women were in a formal market while still practicing flexibility through huckstering. In fact women on these large farms
experienced both social and national citizenship. Publically they were paid by the state and were limited to the borders of their respective state. Their flexibility however might not be existent because they are working in the public sphere of citizenship. Yuval also makes the argument that private citizenship or “not being financed and/or controlled by the state,” is what women proletariat farmers experienced while still working on the large farms. They could still participate in flexibility without the total interference of the public sphere on their “private” goods—although as indicated in the previous section on huckstering. As indicated before with the transformation of the proletariat farms to small farms, the roles of the public and private domain of citizenship changed for women. The idea of private citizenship was not long being financed through huckstering and flexibility but not being financed at all. Women on the small farms were reverted back to a domestic citizenship of motherhood and family oriented chores that paid nothing and was considered frivolous in comparison patriarchal public citizen participation of the male farm worker. I want to make clear here that I do not wish to diminish the agency of the female hucksters and farm works. Nor do I wish to create a single narrative for how women perceived themselves in the public and private sector. Rather, I wish to rethink the definitions of social and formal citizenship by putting them into another framework of citizenship that looks at gender. It is also not my intention to romanticize the public sphere of work on the small farms for men. The side by side work that men and women contributed and the additional income hucksters harvested was eroded with the fall of the banana regime and small model farms. Yuval-Davis’ constructions of public and private citizenship helps to frame citizenship (in all the
various forms discussed) back into a larger picture that involves the influence of globalization as both Mantz, Cricklow and Sassen all include in their analysis.

**Rethinking other Frameworks in the Future**

The work that this thesis has done to rethink hucksters and their labor after the fall of the Banana Regime is not enough to conclude. In fact, because research on hucksters is so scarce, there is plenty of ground work to be made in the Caribbean to understanding the lives of hucksters as global markets begin to affect the informal and formal work of these women and men. There are still plenty of questions to be asked and much research to be done. In fact after reading a lecture by Norman Girvan done in 2008 entitled “The Effect of the Economic Partnership Agreement On the CSME ‘The Fork in the Road,” more questions for future research were developed. The argument put forward in this lecture is that the Caribbean Community is at a “particular historical conjuncture” where it is confronted by two paths of development that lead in different directions—a ‘Fork in the Road’, so to speak (Girvan 45). The paths relate to the manner of globalization as discussed in this paper with social citizenship and flexibility. One path leads to “growing integration, gradual convergence in levels of development” and greater autonomy in dealing with the global community. The other path leads to increasing differentiation, fragmentation and loss of autonomy (Girvan 46). Now, it is not my intention to introduce a new scholar and new idea but rather I want to think about some of the research questions that can be extracted from this lecture and rethought in relation to huckstering. Girvan is looking at the broader CARICOM and CSME picture but what happens when hucksters, whose flexibility is
already dying, in the larger global communities? Is the Caribbean on the path of losing political autonomy in the formal market? How does this essentially affect huckstering in labor sectors of the Caribbean? Will hucksters lose even more autonomy than after the Banana Regime? And more importantly how does the scholarship of citizenship (that is also transforming because of globalization and the movement of people across borders) get changed or transformed for Hucksters once again?

I hope to answer these questions in the future using the framework that Girvan provides to continue to explore hucksters. Although this thesis did not delve deeply into it, I wish to look through the scope of gender more closely to understand why it is that women make up the majority of hucksters. I wish to look at the dynamics of historical oppression to see why women are indeed the breadwinners and the bankers of their communities. As indicated by the farms in St. Lucia and the Windward Islands, the communities and markets were not inherently patriarchal but transformed that way by global, formal markets massively restructuring themselves.

This thesis has encouraged me to go beyond written scholarship to ground work. It is a deep fear that I might ever create a universal narrative for the women laborers in the Caribbean or make a direct parallel between women in the Caribbean and women in the Western Hemisphere. There is no doubt that at some points of my work, I have. It is detrimental to the agency of women. Instead, I hope to complicate my research by rethinking women’s work in the Caribbean to include genuine research from ground work not just from the shelf of a library.
Bibliography


