

THE CARIBBEAN IN EUROPE: CONTRASTING PATTERNS
OF MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN BRITAIN,
FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS

by

Ceri Peach

Research Paper in Ethnic Relations No.15

Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations
University of Warwick
Coventry CV4 7AL

October 1991

Dr Ceri Peach is Lecturer in Geography at the University of Oxford and Fellow of St Catherine's College. He has published extensively on migration movements, urban segregation and social interaction.

Mel Thompson is the editor of the Research Papers in Ethnic Relations Series. The aim of this series is to publish papers based on research carried out at the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations at the University of Warwick. It will also publish papers from external authors, and the editor welcomes manuscripts from other writers and researchers (including research students) working in the field of race and ethnic relations. The main emphasis of the series will be on original research that will be of interest and relevance for students of race and ethnic relations and for those implementing equal opportunity and anti-racist policies.

Acknowledgment

This work is based in part on research carried out under ESRC grant R0023 2777.

Thanks are due to Philip Ogden and S. E. Condon for permission to quote extensively from the unpublished papers referenced in the text. Thanks are due also to Hans van Amersfoort for permission to reproduce two maps of the distribution of Surinamese population in Amsterdam.

There are at least two books which include the idea of the Caribbean in Europe in their titles (Lamur and Speckmann 1978; Brock, 1986). Yet despite their titles they are both rather partial accounts, with much fuller details being given on the British situation than on France or the Netherlands. It is difficult to find systematic or detailed material about the Antilleans in France, although work by Ogden and Butcher (Butcher and Ogden, 1984) and Condon and Ogden is beginning to fill in the gaps. Ogden and Condon have been particularly generous to me in sharing some findings of research in preliminary drafts of papers (Condon and Ogden, nd a, b, and Ogden, nd). Cross and Entzinger's book comparing Caribbean experience in Britain and the Netherlands (1988) is particularly useful, however, in addressing areas of common interest. The Dutch literature has burgeoned since the 1970s and it has the great advantage for the anglophone audience of containing large amounts written in English.

There were in Europe in 1991 just over one million people of Caribbean origin. About half of them live in Britain and the other half are almost equally divided between France and the Netherlands. As Lowenthal (1978) has pointed out, they form very small proportions of the European countries in which they have settled, but they represent significant proportions of the territories which they have left. Caribbeans form less than one per cent of the population of Britain, but represent about 10 per cent of the population of the former British West Indies. Those born in Guadeloupe and Martinique represent about half of one per cent of the population of France but 40 per cent of the population of those islands. The Surinamese form less than 2 per cent of the Dutch population, but their numbers in the Netherlands equals more than half of the population of Surinam. The impact of their departure is thus proportionately much greater on the sending than on the receiving countries.

Not only do they form small proportions of the population of European countries but their presence has to be seen as part of the major influx of labour that marked the development of western Europe in the period from the post war recovery of the 1950s until the oil shocks of the 1970s. In Britain, the Caribbean population is outnumbered two to one by the South Asian migrants; in France, the Caribbean population is very small in comparison with the North African and Portuguese population and in the Netherlands, although the Surinamese are the largest single ethnic group, Dutch West Indians are outnumbered three to two by the Mediterranean labour migrants, including the Turks and Moroccans.

West Indian migration to Britain effectively started in 1948, (although it has much longer antecedents) peaked in the early 1960s and was effectively over by 1973. By this time, the population had reached about 550,000 (see table 1). Migration to France and to the Netherlands started ten to fifteen years later than from the British Caribbean. In France, the Caribbean-born population in the early 1950s (about 15,000) was similar to that in Britain and although it doubled during the 1950s and 1960s it was not until the 1970s that the major expansion in net migration took place. By the census of 1982, the Caribbean population in France was estimated at 266,000 (see table 2a). The migration to the Netherlands began in the early 1960s when the British movement was at its height, peaked in 1975, when the movement to Britain had ceased and decreased in the 1980s although some family reunion has continued since then (compare figures 1 and 5). By 1988, the Caribbean population of the Netherlands was estimated at 308,000 (see table 2b).

Table 1: West Indian Population of Great Britain 1951-1988

Year	Caribbean Birthplace	UK Born children of of WI born (est)	Best estimate Caribbean ethnic pop. person
1951	17,218		18,000
1961	173,659	26,000	200,000
1966	330,780	50,000	380,000
1971	304,070	244,000	548,000
1981a	295,179	250,565	545,744
1981b	268,000	244,000	519,000
1984	242,000	281,000	529,000
1986-1988	233,000	262,000	495,000

Sources:

1951	Census
1961	Census
1966	Census (10 per cent count)
1971	Census
1981a	Census
1981b	<u>Labour Force Survey 1982</u>
1984	<u>Labour Force Survey 1988</u>
1986-88	<u>Population Trends, 1990 60, 35-8</u>

Migration from the British Caribbean was sandwiched between two periods of migration to the Americas (Hennessy 1988, 38; Richmond, 1988) whereas the French and Dutch migrations seem to have been the major exodus affecting those territories apart from much more localised movements within the Caribbean Basin. Britain is thus just one of a number of destinations for the anglophone Caribbean, whereas France and the Netherlands represent uniquely important destinations from the Dutch and Francophone regions.

Contrasts in Processes of Migration

The processes of migration affecting the three different groups are surprisingly different. The movement to Britain was characterised by free market labour economics; that to France by paternalistic government sponsorship and that to the Netherlands by politically motivated flight. This is not to say that sponsorship played no part in the migration from the British Caribbean nor that demand for labour played no part in the state sponsorship of migration from Martinique, and Guadeloupe or in the movement from Surinam. Nor is it to say that political considerations were not of critical importance in determining the peak of Caribbean migration to Britain, just as they were later to determine the peak of Surinam migration. Nevertheless, the generalisation holds true and the critical determinants of migration were very different in the British Dutch and French cases.

Finally, although there are many similarities between the situations in which these separate Caribbean populations find themselves in their respective European countries, each group has much more in common with the population of the country in which it lives than with the Caribbean population in other European countries. The insularity of relationships in the Caribbean is reproduced in the European setting. Culture is more important than race in this respect. The Dutch ethnic Caribbean population, however, is distinct from the British and French. East Indians represent a rather small proportion of the Caribbean population in Britain and France whereas they are far more significant in the Surinamese population in the Netherlands and the Javanese-Caribbean population is unique to the Netherlands.

This paper will review the movement of the Caribbean population to each of the countries in turn. It will then draw together the threads and try to see the movements in the Caribbean and European perspectives.

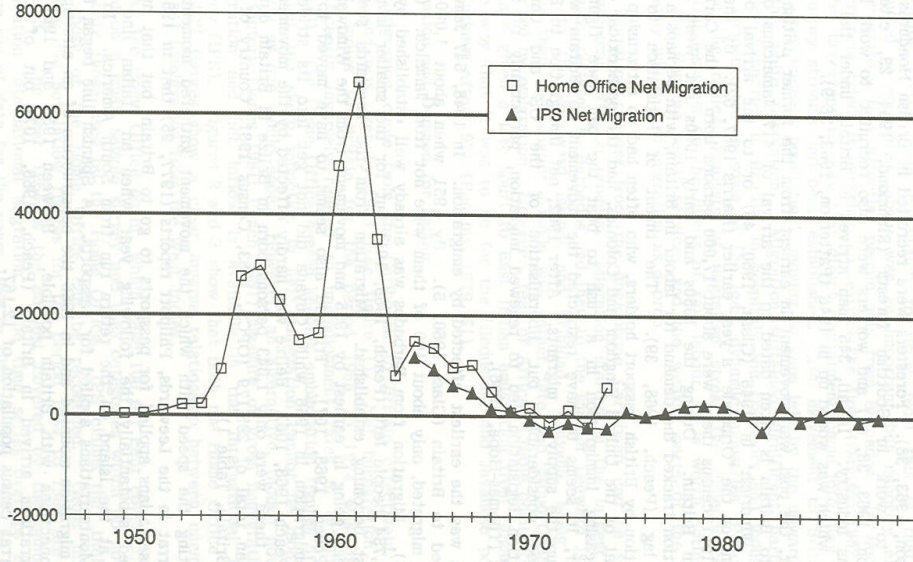
GREAT BRITAIN

Caribbean migration to Britain was essentially powered by free market labour forces, but it had its origins in government sponsored war time recruitment. Post war direct recruitment by British Rail, London Transport and the National Health Service, although not numerically dominant, were important in shaping the movement. In Barbados, for example, the island most affected by direct recruitment, just under a quarter of the emigrants in 1960, left on sponsorship schemes (Peach, 1968, 20). However, these schemes were introduced after the migration had got under way. Family and island social networks were by far the most important channel of diffusing information and arranging initial footholds in Britain (Davison, 1962; Byron, 1991).

Of major significance for the history of Caribbean settlement, was Britain's active recruitment of labour in the Caribbean to help the war

FIGURE 1

NET WEST INDIAN MIGRATION TO BRITAIN 1948-1988



effort: 8,000 men were recruited to serve in the RAF (Glass, 1960, 7). Patterson refers to 7,000 Jamaicans serving overseas in the armed forces while smaller numbers volunteered from other parts of the Caribbean (Patterson, 1963, 38). Foresters were recruited in British Honduras (now Belize) to work in Scottish forests (Richmond, 1954, 23, cited by Patterson, 1963, 38, n3) and workers were also recruited to work in the munitions industry. In all, 345 men arrived in Britain under the latter scheme, which was wound up in 1946 (Patterson, 1963, 38-9).

However, the post war movement in earnest from the former British West Indies to Britain is often dated to the arrival of 417 Jamaicans on the 'Empire Windrush' in 1948 (Glass, 1960, 46) or to the arrival of 100 Jamaicans on the 'Ormonde' a year earlier (Harris 1987, 62). By the time of the 1951 census there were about 17,000 persons born in the Caribbean living in Britain. During the 1950s and early 1960s net West Indian immigration tracked the demand for labour in Britain, with perhaps a three month lag (Peach, 1968, 39). The threat of legislation to curb immigration by British passport holders, who often had no citizenship other than that of the United Kingdom and Colonies, had the paradoxical effect of increasing immigration in a rush to beat the ban (see figure 1). However, it seems to have restricted the movement to Britain without drying up the supply of migrants. After 1962, net immigration to Britain decreased considerably, but liberalisation of the US and Canadian immigration legislation led to renewed migration, particularly of skilled workers (Thomas-Hope, 1986).

Jamaica was the earliest affected by emigration. In 1948, 547 Jamaicans emigrated to Britain (Glass 1960, 5). By 1951 when about 1,000 West Indians migrated, only about 100 of them were not from Jamaica. (Glass, 1960, 5). Migration from Barbados was already well established by 1955 when 2,754 people left (Peach, 1968, 101) but for the smaller islands it was just becoming established. Migration from the Leewards seems to have been going in earnest by 1955 and movement from the Windwards by 1956 (Peach, 1968, 107). Trinidad also seems to have moved to large scale emigration in 1956 while Guyana did not get into its stride until 1960 (Peach 1968, 106). Belize was hardly affected by the movement and in 1981 there were only 1,043 persons born in Belize in Britain out of a Caribbean total of 295,179 (OPCS, 1983, Census 1981, Country of birth, Great Britain, Table 1).

Illustrating the speed with which the movement gathered momentum in Montserrat in the Leewards, Philpott reports (1977, 95) that in 1952 only 6 Montserrattians applied for passports to go to Britain, but that numbers increased substantially the following year when an Italian line began calling at the island on the return run from South America. In 1955, 1,145 Montserrattians applied for passports. A Spanish line began to call as the migration mounted and in 1956 the construction of an airstrip made air connections with Britain possible. Between 1955 and 1961 3,835 Montserrattians arrived in Britain (Peach, 1968, 107) out of a 1960 Montserrat census population of 12,167.

Direct recruitment of labour by British agencies post - dates the beginning of the serious emigration. The Barbadian government set up a sponsorship scheme in 1955 under which British Transport Commission, the London Transport Executive, the British Hotels and Restaurants Association, and the Regional Hospital Boards received workers. London Transport Executive sent a direct recruiting team to Barbados in 1956 (Glass, 1960, 68) and by 1958 it had recruited almost 1,000 workers. By the end of 1961 it had recruited over 2,000 Barbadians (Patterson, 1963, 96). Between 1955 and 1960, the Barbadian government scheme had sponsored 3,680 workers of whom 40 per cent went to the London Transport Executive. The main conclusion to draw from this is that directly recruited or sponsored labour was an important but minority element in the migratory flow affecting people only from Barbados. In Jamaica, the government tried, if anything, to restrict the flow (Davison 1962, 30). It is also important to note that direct

recruitment came into play after the migratory streams had been established. The movement to Britain acted as a 'replacement population', moving to gaps left by the upward mobility of the white population. Migration sustained significant parts of the service industries in Britain, in hospitals and transport and industrially it was concentrated in some of the least dynamic industries (Peach, 1967). Since the radical analysts of migration stress the dependence of the capitalist system on the inputs of raw labour, it is worth noting that it was the flagging social services and the weaker parts of the industrial economy which used migration as a prop.

The migration process from the anglophone Caribbean can be seen as a hierarchical diffusion process. Migration started in the largest territory Jamaica, diffused to Barbados and then to the smaller Leeward Islands and then to the Windward islands and Trinidad. Guyana, being relatively richer than the smaller islands was rather late and proportionately less affected by emigration. However, fear of African Creole domination seems to have given a late spurt to East Indian emigration from Guyana in the same way that it was to do for the Hindustani and Javanese populations of Surinam after 1971 (Penninx, 1979, 51).

Migration and Demand for Labour

The migration cycle from the Caribbean to Britain effectively began in 1948 and was over by 1973 (see figure 1). Net immigration from the West Indies to Britain for the period 1955 to 1974 was highly and significantly inversely related to unemployment rates in Britain (Peach 1978/9). The Home Office ceased keeping embarkation figures after 1974, so that the sharp reduction in net immigration cannot be monitored as clearly as one would hope. However, an alternative, though not entirely satisfactory (Jones 1981; Peach 1981) measure of gross immigration, gross emigration and net inflow is available in the International Passenger Survey (IPS). Figures 2 and 3 show that both the Home Office data and the IPS figures show a clear inverse relationship between unemployment and net immigration from the West Indies.

Unlike the Home Office count, which gave 100 per cent cover, the IPS is based on a small sample survey and uses categories which do not exactly replicate those used by the Home Office. IPS claims that their figures and those of the Home Office can be reconciled. Gross inflow and outflow and net inflow figures for the period 1964 to 1988 are given in table 3. The year 1964 is the earliest covered by the annual OPCS publication International Migration. The time series overlaps the Home Office run of data for the years 1964 to 1974 so that it can be seen that there is a high degree of accord for the net figures for these years (see table 3). The Home Office figures show a net outflow of West Indians from Britain for the first time in 1971 and the IPS figures a year earlier. From 1970 to 1988 IPS net immigration to Britain from the West Indies was negative.

FIGURE 2
NET WEST INDIAN MIGRATION TO BRITAIN, 1955 - 1974, AGAINST AVERAGE ANNUAL MONTHLY UNEMPLOYMENT

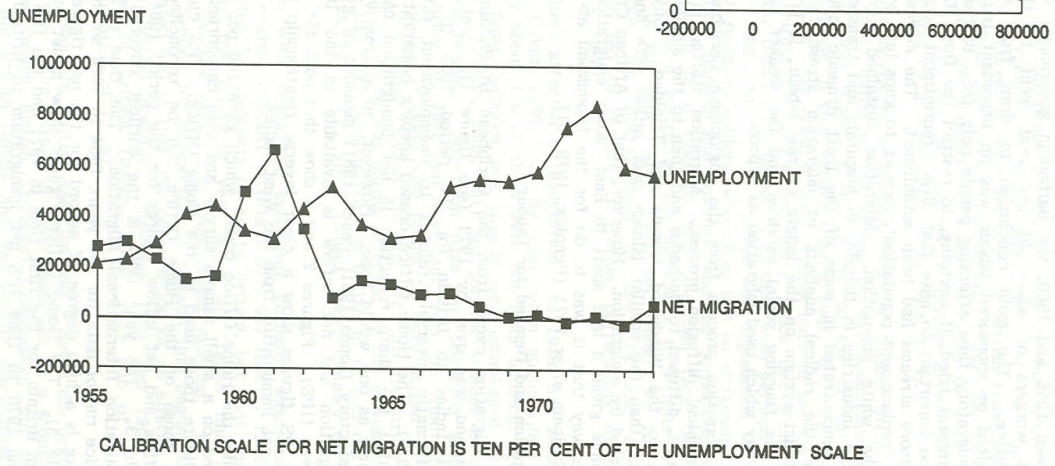


FIGURE 3
NET WEST INDIAN MIGRATION TO BRITAIN PLOTTED AGAINST AVERAGE ANNUAL UNEMPLOYMENT IN BRITAIN (1964-1988)

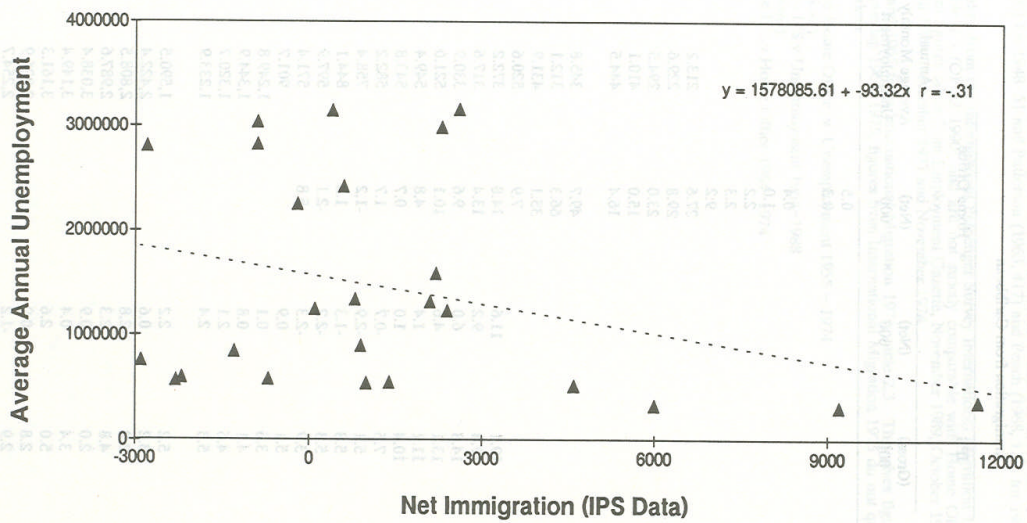


Table 3: Annual Gross immigration to the United Kingdom from the Caribbean and average total unemployment in Great Britain 1955 to 1988

Year	Immigration from Caribbean				IPS Outflow (Gross)
	IPS		Home Office		
	(Gross) 000	(Net) 000	(Net) 000	Annual Average Monthly Unemployment	
1948			0.5		
1949			0.3		
1950			0.4		
1951			1.0		
1952			2.2		
1953			2.3		
1954			9.2		
1955			27.6	213.2	
1956			29.8	229.6	
1957			23.0	294.5	
1958			15.0	410.1	
1959			16.4	444.5	
1960			49.7	345.8	
1961			66.3	312.1	
1962			35.1	431.9	
1963			7.9	520.6	
1964	19.1	11.6	14.8	372.2	7.5
1965	17.4	9.2	13.4	317.6	8.2
1966	14.8	6.0	9.6	330.9	8.8
1967	13.1	4.6	10.1	521.0	8.6
1968	11.1	1.4	4.8	549.4	9.7
1969	10.4	1.0	0.7	543.8	9.4
1970	7.6	-0.7	1.7	582.2	8.3
1971	5.1	-2.9	-1.2	758.4	8.0
1972	5.8	-1.3	1.2	844.1	7.1
1973	5.3	-2.2	-2.1	597.9	7.5
1974	3.9	-2.3	5.8	571.4	6.2
1975	5.1	0.9		901.7	4.2
1976	3.6	0.1		1,249.8	3.5
1977	4.1	0.8		1,344.9	3.3
1978	4.6	2.1		1,320.7	2.4
1979	5.3	2.4		1,233.9	2.9
1980	5.2	2.2		1,590.5	3.0
1981	3.2	0.6		2,422.4	2.7
1982	2.2	-2.8		2,808.5	5.0
1983	4.8	2.3		2,987.6	2.9
1984	2.0	-0.9		3,038.4	2.9
1985	3.4	0.4		3,149.4	3.0
1986	5.0	2.6		3,161.3	2.4
1987	2.8	-0.9		2,826.9	3.4
1988	2.9	-1.2		2,254.7	4.1

(Sources and notes overleaf)

Source: Home Office Immigration statistics from Peach (1978/79) for 1995-1974; from Glass (1960) for 1948-51 and Patterson (1963, 417) and Peach (1968, 112) for 1952-1954.

The IPS figures are taken from the International Passenger Survey International Migration 1988 series MN No 15 table 23.3 (OPCS 1990) and are not strictly comparable with Home Office figures. Unemployment figures taken from Employment Gazette, November 1989, October 1988, December 1986, March 1983, December 1977 and November 1974.

IPS net figures 1964 and 1965 from International Migration 1974, table 2.3/ This gives figures 1964-75, but not the overlap 1966-1975, figures from international Migration 1975 do not quite agree and the later soaken.

Correlation net balance Home Office v Unemployment 1955-1974

r= -0.65 (20 observations)

Correlation net balance IPS v Unemployment 1964-1988

r= -0.31 (25 observations)

Correlation net balance IPS v Home Office 1964-1974

r= +0.92

The growth of the Caribbean population in Britain since the mid 1960s has come essentially from natural increase. The second generation formed 45 per cent of the total Caribbean population in 1971 and has constituted the majority of the Caribbean population in this country since 1984. The size of the ethnic Caribbean population seems to have been stable at about the 540,000 mark from 1971 to 1981. However, while the Caribbean born element has shown a fairly small decrease from the 1971 to the 1981 census (Richmond 1988, 365) what has not previously been remarked is that between 1966 and 1984 the Caribbean born population in Britain has shown a significant decrease and that by 1986/88 the Caribbean ethnic population had decreased to 495,000 (see table 1 and Peach et al. 1988 table 14.9).

Return Migration

There is evidence that the Caribbean-born population, having reached a peak of 330,000 in 1966, is now declining (see table 1). The Labour Force Survey (LFS) estimate for the average of the years 1986-1988 was 233,000 (Population Trends, 60, 35-8). This suggests a decrease of about 97,000 over a twenty-two year period or a loss of about 4,400 per year. The figures are by no means certain since they depend on sample surveys. The loss between the 1971 and 1981 census figures for which we have firm figures (over a shorter, middle period) is closer to 9,000.

Only a small amount of the loss would be due to death. From 1978 to 1983 1,457 persons born in the Caribbean Commonwealth (673 men and 784 women) died in the UK (OPCS Mortality and Geography, HMSO 1990, Table 9.8). This is an average of 364 per year and the equivalent of a death rate of 1 per 1,000 of the Caribbean born population in 1981. For the period 1970-1972 there were 1,326 deaths of persons born in the Caribbean Commonwealth in the UK. This gives an average of 442 per annum. Thus, even taking this higher average figure would suggest only a loss of just under 10,000 persons between 1966 and 1988 due to death. If one takes the census decrease 1971-1981 of about 9,000, about half of the perceived decrease in Caribbean born persons could be due to death, with only 4,500 due to potential return. However, if one takes the less certain figures for 1966 and 1988, death at 440 per year would have still left 86,000 unaccounted for. This would suggest a return migration of just under 4,000 a year over the period 1966 to 1988, or at least migration to a third country such as Canada.

If the figure of 86,000 were correct and if the returning migrants were representative of, and returning to, the sending population (not insignificant assumptions), then one would expect Jamaica to have received 56 per cent of the total (its share of the 1981 census population). This would give it a figure of about 48,000. Barbados would have been expected to have received about 7,000 return migrants on the same basis; Trinidad and Tobago would have been expected to have received just under 5,000 and Guyana about 6,000. The 1981 census does not specify individual Windward and Leeward Islands but the 'Other Caribbean Commonwealth' (12.14% in the 1981 census) and the 'Associated States' (6.64%) sum to 19 per cent or roughly the contribution of the Leewards and Windwards contribution to the Migrant Services Division estimate of 1961 emigration to Britain figure (Peach, 1968, 101-107). These figures are given in table 4 together with the estimated returnee population.

These figures for return migration are speculative. They may include some second generation Afro Caribbeans moving to the West Indies. For

Table 4: Proportion of Caribbean Migrants by Island or Country in 1961 and 1981 as a guide to possible return migration

	1981 total (1)	Per cent (2)	Per cent 1961 MSD (3)	Possible Returnees 1966-1988 (4)
Caribbean	295,179	100.00	100.00	(86,000)
Jamaica	164,119	55.60	65.35	47,800
Barbados	25,247	8.55	8.25	7,300
Trinidad & Tobago	16,334	5.53	4.23	4,700
Guyana	21,686	7.35	3.14	6,300
Associated States	19,613	6.64		16,200
Other Caribbean Comm	35,841	12.14		
Belize	1,043	0.35		
West Indies (so stated)	11,296	3.83		
(Sub Total of Leeward and Windward Islands)				
Antigua			2.06	1,800
St Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla			3.31	2,800
Montserrat			1.69	1,500
Dominica			3.49	3,000
Grenada			3.38	2,900
St Lucia			3.21	2,800
St Vincent			1.89	1,600

Source: Column 1 and 2 derived from Census 1981, Country of Birth, Great Britain, OPCS, HMSO, London, 1983. Column 3 derived from Peach, 1968, 101-107. Column 4 derived from column 2 applied to figure of 86,000 estimated returnees (see text).

example, Nutter's survey of returnees (Nutter, 1986, 201) showed 5 out of his sample of 93 had been born in the UK and a BBC film about returning migrants showed a family with children born in Britain moving to Jamaica. The net IPS figures (Table 3) do not suggest an outward movement on the suggested scale. However, they are not a reliable guide. We are left with a problem.

The more worrying point is that while the literature on return migration to the Caribbean is not large and does not include estimates of the size of the return migrant group (see for example Nutter, 1986; Thomas-Hope, 1986) one would expect a group of about 50,000 persons in Jamaica, for example, to be more noticeable and to draw more comment. There is a research problem of the missing migrants : the West Indian rope trick.

FRANCE

The movement of French West Indians to France is quite remarkable in comparison with the British movement for the direct and comprehensive involvement of government agencies in recruitment, training and placement in France. In the early 1950s, there were about 15,000 French Antilleans in France; by 1982 there were 278,480 of Guadeloupe, Martinique or French Guiana origin, including some 89,428 children born in France (see table 2a). Direct recruitment between 1962 and 1980 had brought over 82,000 people from Martinique and Guadeloupe to France (Butcher and Ogden 1984, 52).

Guadeloupe, Martinique and French Guiana (Guyane) are D,partements d'outre Mer (DOM). This is to say that they are part of metropolitan France with full citizenship rights and free access to the country. Migration between the DOMs and France is regarded as internal movement and is apparently not monitored, although net migration data are available for the period 1959 to 1982 in the *Annuaire Statistique*, when they unaccountably stop. One effect of this situation is that data are hard to come by. Information is available on the basis of birthplace, but there is no direct information on the ethnic population. The French estimates of ethnic population take those born in the islands plus their unmarried children aged less than 25 years living in the same household regardless of place of birth (Butcher and Ogden, 1984 table 4.4b). The census distinguishes between those born overseas and those born in France. This definition excludes those who have left the parental home and must lead to undercounting.

The figures suggest that the French-born Caribbean element amounted to 32 per cent of the ethnic population in 1982. This figure represents a slight increase on the 1975 figures when about 30 per cent of the ethnic population seemed to be French born. This suggests that the French born proportion of the Caribbean population is only just about three-fifths of the British level. Given the fifteen year delay of the French migration on the British, this lower proportion of Metropolitan French born Caribbean population is expected.

Migration to France from the Caribbean had a much stronger element of direct metropolitan recruitment than was the case in Britain. In particular, the role of the state organisation BUMIDOM (ANT after 1982) was of major importance. The Bureau pour le d,veloppement des migrations int,ressant les d,partements d'outre mer (BUMIDOM) was created in 1963 with the aim of relieving population pressure in the overseas departments of France (Butcher and Ogden 1984). In 1982 it changed its title to Agence National pour l'insertion et la promotion des Travailleurs d'outre mer (ANT). Radical opinion has interpreted these organisations as attempts by metropolitan France to cure its own problems of low population by encouraging mass migration from the overseas territories to the metropole (Butcher and Ogden 1984, 50). It has also dubbed the movement 'the new slave trade' (Condon and Ogden nd b).

At all events, BUMIDOM was a comprehensive sponsoring organisation, which selected migrants, arranged jobs, training and accommodation on an unprecedented scale in the French West Indies. Its scale was far greater than anything experienced in the former British West Indies during the height of the 1950s and 1960s emigration to Britain (see figure 4). It was also more systematic than the piecemeal recruitment by various British recruiting agencies and affected much larger numbers of people than were affected by the Barbadian government's sponsorship scheme. Between 1962 and 1980, 83,321 migrants from Guadeloupe and Martinique to France were sponsored by the organisation (Butcher and Ogden, 1984, Table 4.3). Bearing in mind that the total Guadeloupe and Martinique born population living in France in 1982 was 180,448, this suggests that nearly half of the migration from the two islands was directly sponsored by the French Government.

The key to the BUMIDOM/ANT recruitment drive was labour shortage of a very particular kind. France has traditionally been short of labour and in 1988 had 1.6 million foreign workers (SOPEMI, 1989, table B5.4). However, only French citizens are permitted to work in the civil service (Condon and Ogden nd b) and half of the Guadeloupe and Martinique born workers living in France in 1982 were employed in the state sector (see tables 5a and 5b which are copied from Condon and Ogden, nd b table 3). 'This includes two broad categories: the Post office, particularly for men and the health service where women predominate' (Condon and Ogden, nd b). However, state jobs include everything from post office clerks to working in Renault on the production line.

NETHERLANDS

The migration from the Dutch Caribbean to the Netherlands shows a further significant contrast with the movements to Britain and France. If the migration from the British West Indies was predominantly *laissez-faire* and that from the French Caribbean predominantly governmentally directed, the movement from the Dutch Caribbean was overwhelmingly prompted by panic at the prospect of Surinamese independence in 1975. To this was added further flights at the prospect of the military coup in 1980 (see figure 5) and doubtless the latest coup in December 1990 will add its contribution to Surinamese settlement in the Netherlands.

There is a long tradition of migration between Surinam and other Dutch Antillean possessions and the Netherlands, but until the 1970s this movement was essentially that of an urban Creole elite coming from around Paramaribo to the metropolitan country for advanced education (Penninx, 1979; Amersfoort, 1990).

Between 1956 and 1963 Dutch enterprises had recruited labour in the Caribbean but the scale of these attempts seems not to have been great (no more than a few hundred) nor had the attempts met with great success (Penninx, 1979 50). Direct recruitment activity seems to have been more significant in the Antilles than in Surinam and up to 3,000 workers, including 500 nurses may have been recruited between 1964 and

FIGURE 4 NET MIGRATION FROM SURINAM AND THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES TO THE NETHERLANDS, 1960 - 1988

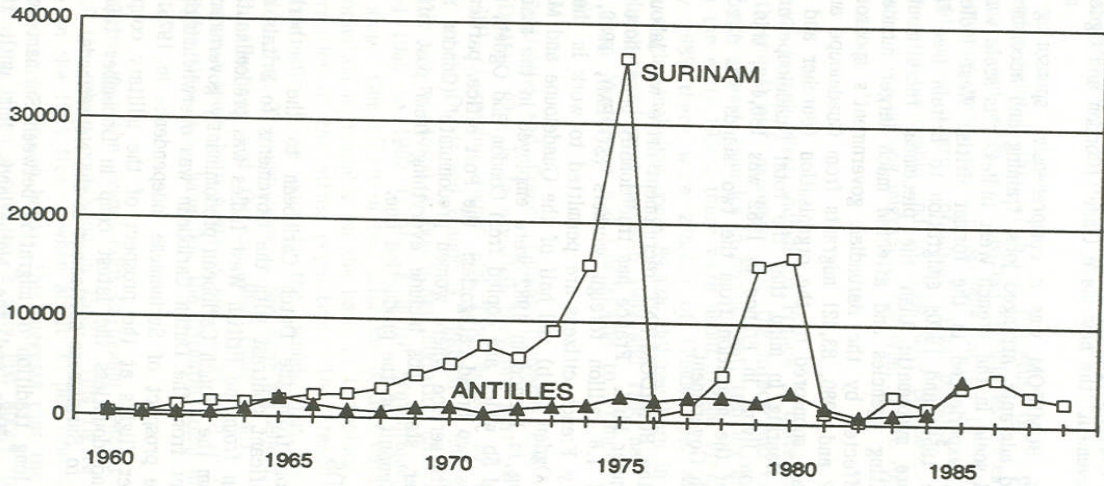


Table 5a: Active population by employment status, population, born in Guadeloupe and Martinique living in France in 1982

Status	Total (122,012)		Male (63,000)		Female (59,012)	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Selected Sections:						
Employers	540	0.44	448	0.71	92	0.16
Employees -						
Private	45,412	37.22	25,920	41.14	19,492	33.03
Nationalised State (1)	5,508	4.51	4,580	7.27	928	1.57
Social Security	2,688	2.20	628	1.00	2,060	3.49
Other State Sectors (2)	29,752	24.38	16,908	26.84	12,844	21.77
Local Authority (3)	21,072	17.27	6,344	10.07	14,728	24.96
Unemployed	14,672	12.02	6,632	10.53	8,040	13.62

Notes

1. Includes e.g. electricity, gas, railways, Renault, Total, Air France
2. Includes civil service and public services
3. Includes, for example, the public hospital service

Source: INSEE (1975), Table 15, p.101, and for definitions, p.36
Condon and Ogden (Unpublished nd b)

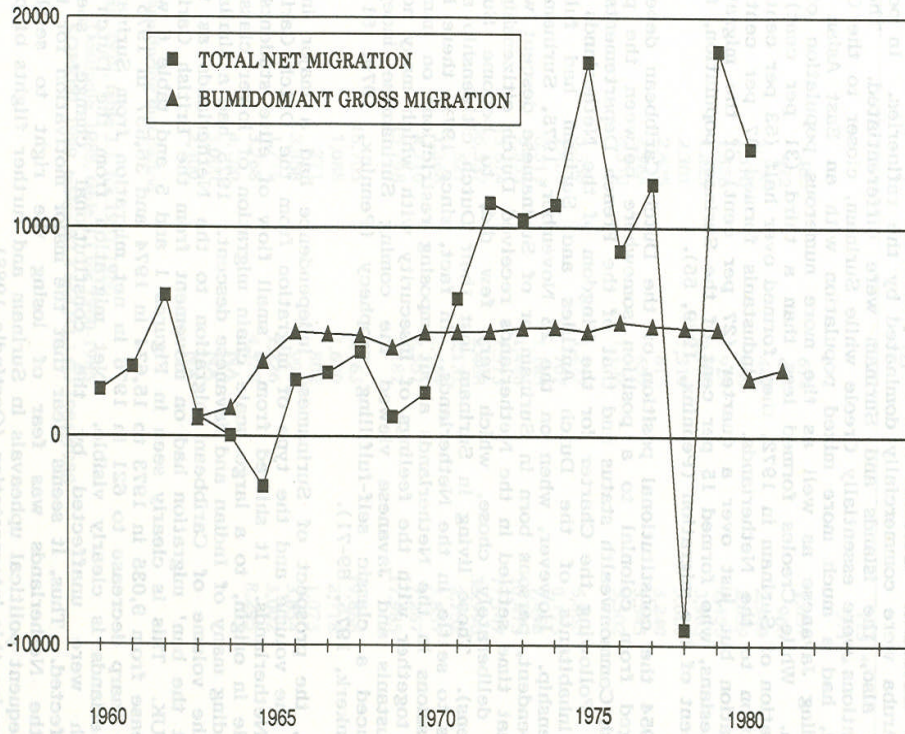
Table 5b: Active population by socio-professional categories and sex: population born in Guadeloupe and Martinique, living in France in 1982

Category (selected)	Total (122,072)		Male (63,000)	Female (59,012)
	Number.	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
<u>Farmers</u>	72	0.06	0.06	0.05
<u>Shopkeepers/artisans</u>	1,348	1.10	1.75	0.41
<u>Professionals/Manager</u>	3,616	2.96	4.05	1.80
<u>Intermediate Professionals</u>	12,264	10.05	10.83	9.22
Health/social work (2)	4,144	3.39	1.63	5.29
Civil Service	1,660	1.36	2.07	0.60
Private enterprise	1,928	1.58	1.89	1.25
Technicians	2,104	1.72	3.05	0.31
<u>Employees</u>	65,268	53.47	35.59	72.60
Public service (3)	37,172	30.45	20.69	40.90
Police and military	4,116	3.37	5.90	0.67
Admin. (private)	16,508	13.52	7.14	20.35
Commercial	2,428	2.00	0.81	3.25
Personal service (4)	5,044	4.13	1.05	7.43
<u>Workers</u>	36,120	29.59	45.69	12.42
Skilled	20,052	16.43	29.07	2.94
Unskilled	16,068	13.16	16.62	9.48

1. Population in work or seeking work
2. e.g. nurses, social workers, technicians
3. Mainly Post Office, health service and related jobs
4. e.g. cafe*, hotel and domestic jobs

Source: INSEE (1985) Table 13, p.97
 Condon and Ogden (Unpublished, n.d. b)

FIGURE 5 NET MIGRATION TO FRANCE FROM MARTINIQUE, GUADELOUPE AND GUYANE, 1960 - 1979 AND GROSS MIGRATION UNDER BUMIDOM/ANT AUSPICES, 1960 - 1980



1973 (Penninx, 1979, 53). Thus, the scale of these operations was closer to that of British institutions in Barbados than to BUMIDOM's activities in the French Caribbean.

The economies and populations of the Dutch Antilles and Surinam were rather different. Surinam was more plantation dominated while Curacao and Aruba were commercially dominated by the refineries. In population terms also, the islands and Surinam were differentiated. The island populations were essentially Creole while Surinam, closer to the Guyanese model, had a much more mixed population with an East Asian majority including Javanese as well as the more numerous population of Indian origin. While Creoles formed less than a third (31 per cent) of the population of Surinam in 1972, they formed over half (53 per cent) of the migration to the Netherlands. Hindustanis formed 37 per cent of the population but just over a quarter (27 per cent) of the migration and Indonesians, who formed 15 per cent of the Surinam population, formed 5 per cent of the migration (Penninx, 1979, 55).

In 1954 the constitutional position of the Dutch Caribbean dependencies changed from colonial to a position somewhere between the pre 1962 British Commonwealth status and that of the French Departements d'outre Mer. Following the Charter for the Kingdom of the Netherlands of 1954, the inhabitants of the Dutch

Antilles and Surinam had full Dutch citizenship. However, when on the 25 November, 1975, Surinam became independent, persons born in Surinam or of Surinamese descent who were at that time settled in the Netherlands received Dutch citizenship (unless they deliberately chose, which very few did, to become Surinamese citizens). Those living in Surinam lost their Dutch citizenship and their rights to settle in the Netherlands. In fact, since 1971, there had been discussions in the Netherlands about imposing restrictions on immigration. This together with the feelings of insecurity with which many non-Creole Hindustanis and Javanese viewed the coming Surinamese independence produced a classic self-fulfilling prophecy (Penninx, 1979, 51 quoting Bovenkerk, 1975, 69-71).

Thus, the prospect of Surinamese independence had a major impact on both the volume and the type of migration from the Dutch Caribbean to the Netherlands. It shifted from a small flow of elite students, largely Creole in origin, to a large scale chain migration of lower class workers including many of Indian and Javanese descent. 1975 had a similar impact on the volume of Caribbean migration to the Netherlands as the 1962 'beat the ban' migration had on movement from the British Caribbean to the UK. This is clearly seen in Figures 1 and 5 and table 6 where the increase from 9,035 in 1973 to 15,674 in 1974 and 36,537 in 1975 followed by a sharp decrease to 621 in 1976 in net migration from Surinam to the Netherlands is clearly visible. Net migration from the Dutch Antilles, which were unaffected by the constitutional change, seems also unaffected. Thus, it seems clear that the major motivation for the flight to the Netherlands was fear of losing the right to settle there. Subsequent political upheavals in Surinam and further flights of population emphasise this interpretation (Oostindie 1988).

The early part of the Caribbean migration, from the early 1960s to the early 1970s was characterised by a period of labour shortage in the Dutch economy (Amersfoort, 1990; Reubsaet, 1988, 107). Thus, economic integration at that stage was less of a problem than housing. However, the oil shocks of the 1970s and the economic restructuring of the 1980s had a disproportionately detrimental effect on the Surinamese and other

Table 6: Net Immigration between the Netherlands and Surinam/ Netherlands Antilles, 1951-1988

Year	Net Immigration from Surinam (1)	Net Immigration from Neth/Antilles (2)	Total (1) + (2)
1951-55			113 *
1956-60			571 *
1960	383	674	1,057
1961	492	474	966
1962	1,156	447	2,569
1963	1,570	489	2,059
1964	1,526	929	2,455
1965	1,825	2,078	3,903
1966	2,301	1,319	3,620
1967	2,425	815	3,240
1968	2,988	657	3,545
1969	4,370	1,132	5,502
1970	5,558	1,277	6,835
1971	7,466	707	8,173
1972	6,313	1,185	7,498
1973	9,035	1,440	10,475
1974	15,674	1,573	17,147
1975	36,537	2,488	38,996
1976	621	2,131	2,752
1977	1,368	2,469	3,837
1978	4,710	2,557	7,267
1979	15,798	2,187	17,985
1980	16,705	3,163	19,868
1981	1,088	1,630	2,718
1982	271	802	1,073
1983	2,858	996	3,854
1984	1,776	1,226	3,002
1985	3,768	4,527	8,295
1986	4,700	NA	
1987	3,000	NA	
1988	2,400	NA	

* Annual average during that period

Source: Penninx, 1979, table 3.1, for 1951-1960

Oostindie, 1988, table 3.1 for 1960-1985

SOPEMI, 1989, tables B2.4 and B3.3 for 1986-1988

gastarbeiter populations (Amersfoort 1990, 25; Reubsæet 1988). The shake-out in the Dutch employment structure and the subsequent regrowth of jobs in the service industries, favoured the skilled workers. The Surinamese were disproportionately concentrated among the unskilled and consequently have very much greater unemployment rates than the population as a whole. Tables 7 and 8 show the concentration of the Surinamese and to a lesser extent the Antilleans in the lower sectors of the employment structure.

Having shown that the main determinants of the migrations were different for the three countries, the next section shows that there are also contrasts in housing and employment.

HOUSING

The main contrasts in the housing patterns of the Caribbean population of Britain, France and the Netherlands stems from the interaction of the process of migration with the tenure systems and housing availability in the receiving countries.

In the Netherlands, although the migration was politically rather than economically motivated, migrants arrived in a country with a highly socialised housing market. In Amsterdam, for example, local authority housing was overwhelmingly predominant with owner occupation being confined to less than 10 per cent of the market (Amersfoort 1990). In Britain, although one fifth of the housing market was publicly controlled at the height of the Caribbean immigration, structural controls of residence requirements excluded most West Indians and pushed them into the most exploitative sectors of the private housing market (Glass 1960; Rex and Moore 1967).

The chain migration process had produced some geographical differentiation within the Netherlands by the early 1970s so that The Hague had come to be known as the settlement town for Hindustani Surinamese and Amsterdam and Rotterdam for Creole (Penninx 1979, 51 quoting Amersfoort 1970, 113 and Biervliet 1974, 552).

The speed of the Surinamese build up in the period 1973-1975 also produced a distinctive pattern of settlement of the Surinamese in Amsterdam - or rather in its outskirts (see figures 6 and 7 reproduced from Amersfoort 1987). The traditional inner city settlement in Amsterdam was unable to absorb the number of settlers at such a speed. New, high rise but rather spacious apartments in the suburban Bijlmermeer development (in the south-eastern section of the map) had experienced difficulties in attracting tenants. (The middle classes for whom they had been intended, preferred to rent in the City or to buy property further out rather than pay the high rentals demanded). The result was that many of these properties were vacant at the time of the panic flight of Surinamese to Amsterdam. By occupying the flats at a much higher density than the Dutch, they were able to afford to pay the rents.

Thus, Amsterdam's ethnic settlement pattern differs significantly from that found in other west European cities. All such cities have inner city concentrations, but Amsterdam is unique in having concentrations in suburban luxury apartments. In 1982, the Bijlmermeer housed 7 per cent of the city's population but 28 per cent of the Surinamese. The Surinamese formed 20 per cent of the Bijlmermeer's 50,000 population. It

Table 7: Socio-economic status of working population by ethnic group and sex (percentages)

	Antilleans			Surinamese			All other		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Unskilled labourers	12	4	9	21	18	20	6	5	6
Skilled labourers	30	4	19	32	19	28	28	12	24
Lower employees	23	55	36	32	53	39	16	45	23
Small entrepreneurs	5	-	3	2	1	2	12	6	11
Intermediate employees	16	25	20	8	8	8	21	20	21
Higher professionals	14	12	13	4	3	3	17	12	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(74)	(49)	(123)	(321)	(156)	(477)	(351)	(113)	(464)

Source: Reubsæet and Kropman 1985; Reubsæet, Kropman, and van Mulier 1982
Reubsæet (1988), 110

Table 8: Occupation sector of working population by ethnic group and sex (per cent)

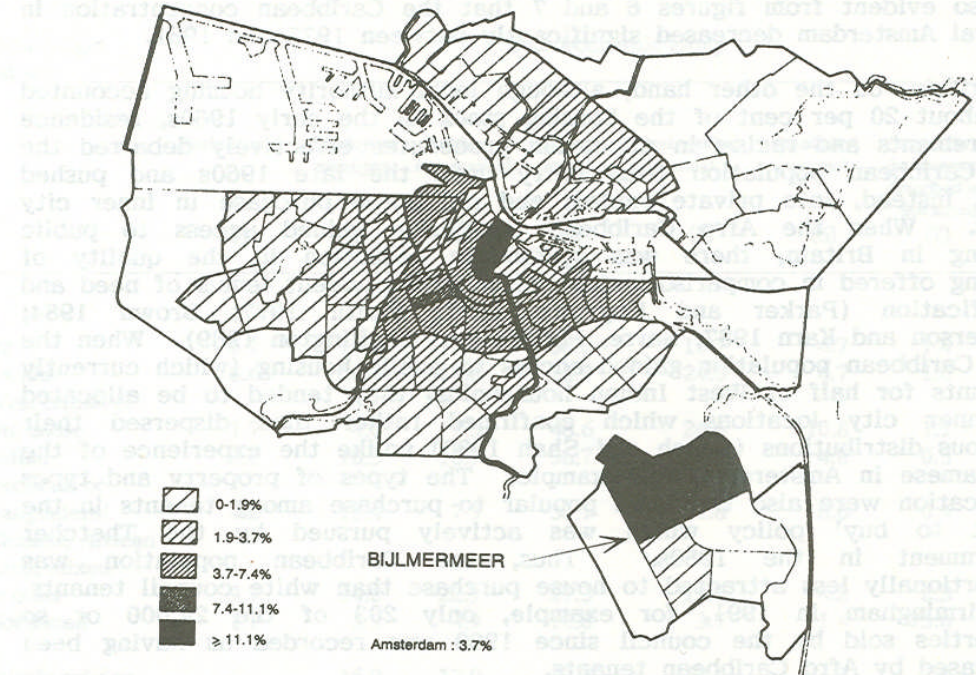
	Antilleans			Surinamese			All other		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Industry jobs and crafts	45	0	27	56	18	43	38	7	31
Trade and traffic	4	8	6	4	3	4	16	13	15
Administration, finance, organization, and management	18	29	22	26	42	31	19	35	23
Caring professions	4	6	5	3	12	6	3	6	4
Medical and social professions	10	43	23	5	22	10	3	19	7
Education	7	10	8	2	4	3	7	13	8
Agrarian care for plants and animals	1	0	1	-	-	-	5	1	4
Administration, military, etc	4	2	3	2	0	1	2	0	2
Artistic, scientific, mass communication, recreation, worship	8	2	4	2	0	1	2	1	2
Unknown	-	-	-	1	0	1	4	4	4
Total (N)	100 (74)	100 (49)	100 (123)	100 (321)	100 (156)	100 (477)	100 (351)	100 (113)	100 (464)

Source: Reubsæet and Kropman 1985; Reubsæet, Kropman, and van Mulier 1982

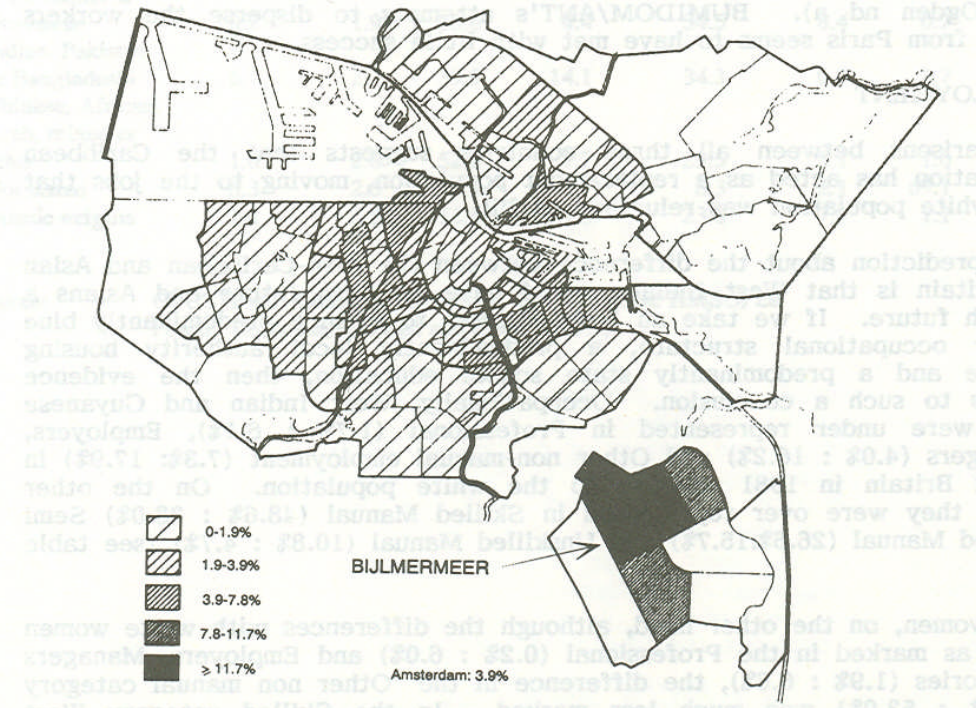
Reubsæet (1988),

111.

FIGURES 6 AND 7
1-1-1976



1-1-1982



is also evident from figures 6 and 7 that the Caribbean concentration in central Amsterdam decreased significantly between 1975 and 1981.

In Britain, on the other hand, although local authority housing accounted for about 20 per cent of the housing stock in the early 1960s, residence requirements and racism in allocation procedures effectively debarred the Afro-Caribbean population from entry until the late 1960s and pushed them, instead, into private rentals and old house purchase in inner city areas. When the Afro Caribbean population gained access to public housing in Britain, there was systematic reduction in the quality of housing offered in comparison with whites of equivalent levels of need and qualification (Parker and Dugmore 1977; Smith 1977; Brown 1984; Henderson and Karn 1987; Sarre, Phillips and Skellington 1989). When the Afro Caribbean population gained access to public housing (which currently accounts for half of West Indian households) they tended to be allocated to inner city locations which confirmed rather than dispersed their previous distributions (Peach and Shah 1980) unlike the experience of the Surinamese in Amsterdam, for example. The types of property and types of location were also the least popular to purchase among tenants in the 'right to buy' policy which was actively pursued by the Thatcher government in the 1980s. Thus, the Caribbean population was proportionally less attracted to house purchase than white council tenants. In Birmingham in 1991, for example, only 203 of the 24,000 or so properties sold by the council since 1980 was recorded as having been purchased by Afro Caribbean tenants.

In France, BUMIDOM/ANT was much less successful in providing housing than it was in providing training and jobs. There is little overall quantitative evidence, but many of the Caribbean workers lived in hostels and workers hotels or in extremely cramped rented accommodation (Condon and Ogden nd a). BUMIDOM/ANT's attempts to disperse the workers away from Paris seems to have met with little success.

EMPLOYMENT

Comparisons between all three countries suggests that the Caribbean population has acted as a replacement population, moving to the jobs that the white population was reluctant to fill.

One prediction about the difference between the Afro-Caribbean and Asian in Britain is that West Indians would have an Irish future and Asians a Jewish future. If we take an 'Irish future' to mean a predominantly blue collar occupational structure, a predominantly local authority housing tenure and a predominantly state school education, then the evidence points to such a conclusion. Occupationally, West Indian and Guyanese men were under represented in Professional (1.7% : 6.1%), Employers, Managers (4.0% : 16.2%) and Other non-manual employment (7.3% : 17.9%) in Great Britain in 1981 relative to the white population. On the other hand, they were over represented in Skilled Manual (48.6% : 38.0%) Semi Skilled Manual (26.6% : 15.7%) and Unskilled Manual (10.8% : 4.7%) (see table 9).

For women, on the other hand, although the differences with white women were as marked in the Professional (0.2% : 6.0%) and Employers, Managers categories (1.9% : 6.6%), the difference in the 'Other non manual category (50.0% : 53.0%) was much less marked. In the Skilled category West Indian women were again behind white women (4.4% : 7.4%) but ahead in the Semi-skilled (34.5% : 23.4%) and about the same in the Unskilled

Table 9: Persons aged 16 and over in employment by socioeconomic group, ethnic origin and sex, Great Britain, 1981 (percentages)

Ethnic origin and sex	Socioeconomic group							
	Professional (1)	Employers managers (2)	Other non-manual (3)	Skilled manual (4)	Semi-skilled manual (5)	Unskilled manual (6)	Armed Forces inadequately described and not stated (7)	All groups (000s) =100 % (8)
Men								
White	6.1	16.2	17.9	38.0	15.7	4.7	1.4	13,325
Non-white	6.6	10.4	14.6	36.7	24.0	6.7	1.0	476
West Indian or Guyanese	1.7	4.0	7.3	48.6	26.6	10.8	1.1	120
Indian	9.0	10.5	16.9	36.7	21.8	4.8	0.3	174
Pakistani or Bangladeshi	4.2	15.4	7.9	31.7	31.8	8.6	0.4	69
Chinese, African Arab, mixed or other	9.7	14.0	22.9	27.3	19.7	4.2	2.3	114
Not stated	1.7	3.3	4.9	10.0	3.7	1.4	75.0	161
All ethnic origins	6.0	15.9	17.0	37.7	15.8	4.7	2.2	13,962
Women								
White	1.1	6.6	53.0	7.4	23.4	8.1	0.3	8,945
Non-white	1.7	2.9	47.2	8.4	33.5	5.6	0.6	281
West Indian or Guyanese	0.2	1.9	50.0	4.4	34.5	8.4	0.7	107
Indian, Pakistan or Bangladeshi	6.7	2.3	39.9	14.1	34.3	0.0	2.7	10
Chinese, African, Arab, mixed or other	1.8	2.8	52.2	7.7	29.5	5.1	1.0	70
Not stated	0.3	2.5	16.1	1.7	8.3	2.1	69.1	102
All ethnic origins	1.1	6.5	52.5	7.3	23.6	7.9	1.1	9,328

Source: OPCS (1982) Labour Force survey, 1981 (London: HMSO) 22
Peach, Robinson, Maxted and Chance (1988).

category (8.4% : 8.1%). The women's figures suggests, perhaps, the development of a shear fault within the women's employment and between their pattern as a whole and that of the men. If the division between manual and non manual is critical, it seems that women have had more success in breaching it. It is possible that West Indian women have a greater chance of a white collar future than men. However, West Indian women's employment also seemed to be more polarised than that of the West Indian men with women being under represented in the skilled categories (4.4%: 7.4%) and over represented in the semi skilled categories (34.5%: 23.4%). At the unskilled end of employment, women were again slightly over represented relative to white women (5.6%: 4.7%).

To sum up, in Britain, West Indian men were under-represented in the non manual sectors and over represented in the skilled manual, semi skilled and unskilled sectors. Women had a more promising but bi-polar distribution. They were under represented in the Professional and Employers/Managers sector but just about held their own in the large 'Other non manual' sector. On the other hand, they were under represented in the skilled manual sector but over represented in the semi skilled sector.

The picture for the Dutch West Indians (tables 7 and 8) differs for the Surinamese and the much smaller Antillean population. The Antilleans are much closer to the Dutch average, while the Surinamese are skewed towards the bottom end of the unskilled and the 'lower employees'. This seems true for both men and women. Tables 5a and 5b have already shown how the French Antillean population had been drawn in as a replacement population, particularly in the state sector. Condon and Ogden (nd b) point out that they are not at the bottom of the economic hierarchy; that position is occupied by foreign workers and the French citizenship of the Antilleans is crucial in this regard. However, it seems notable in all three countries that women seem to occupy a better status niche in the economy than men and there are comparisons to be drawn here with Foner's work in New York (Foner 1985).

CONCLUSION

The 1 million Caribbean presence in Europe is small in comparison with their presence in North America where they number perhaps 5 million and are drawn from a much greater variety of sources. In the USA there are 2.5 million Puerto Ricans, 1 million Cubans, half a million each of Dominicans and Haitians and perhaps nearly as many from the Anglo Caribbean.

The experience of the Caribbean populations of the three countries has been very different. The dominant processes of migration have varied from *laissez faire* to *dirigisme* to political panic. The movement to Britain was only one of a large variety of destinations taken from the Anglophone Caribbean, whereas the movement to Europe has been the dominant and preferred destination of the French and the Dutch West Indies. The British movement had almost finished before the Dutch and French movements got into their stride and as a result, the British Caribbean movement has achieved demographic stability probably ten years ahead of the other two. Not only is a majority of the Caribbean population in Britain native born, but the Caribbean population as a whole is decreasing.

The Caribbean, as a result, is experiencing a larger reflux of population from Britain than before. However, the results of what seems to be partly retirement and partly working migration are unclear at this moment. In the case of the French Antilles, and of Surinam, population movements seem to be more at the haemorrhage level than the transfusion stage. Each political convulsion in Surinam produces more flight to the Netherlands and return migration does not seem to be on the agenda. The obfuscation of French migration statistics, prevent us from seeing the movement between the Caribbean and France very clearly, but apart from a rather dramatic, but unexplained net outflow to

Guadeloupe in 1977, there does not seem to be evidence of a substantial return migration..

In summary, French West Indians seem to have fared best in terms of employment, but probably worst in terms of housing; the Dutch Caribbean population probably fared best in terms of housing, but worst in terms of jobs. The British Caribbean community had an intermediate position in both. French West Indians were recruited specifically for white collar jobs, although not in a high status sector of employment. British Caribbean men were notably under-represented in white collar occupations, although Caribbean women did much better in this respect. to the extent that there seems an incipient gender/class divide within the community. The economic restructuring of the 1970s and 1980s had an adverse effect on the Caribbean population in all three countries. Table 5a shows that 12% of French Caribbean men and over 13% of Caribbean women were unemployed in 1982. Figures for West Indian men in Britain at about the same time show rates of 21% although the rates for women were slightly lower than for French Caribbean women at 11% (Brown 1984, 184-5). Comparable figures for white unemployment in Britain at this time was half that of West Indian levels. In the Netherlands in 1979, unemployment among the Surinamese labour force was thought to be running at 25 per cent (Reubsaet 1988, 109).

Viewing the three countries mainly involved in Caribbean migration to Europe, Britain is the one where the impact has been greatest. Immigration has been racialised in Britain, France and the Netherlands, but Britain is the only country where confrontation has brought conflagration to the cities. Race riots have been experienced in Britain since the end of the First World War (Little, 1947) and the early days of post Second World War immigration were marked by the Notting Hill and Nottingham riots of 1958. However, the St Paul's riot in Bristol in 1980 and the subsequent riots of 1981 and 1985 marked a significant change in the direction of the missiles. Up to 1980, blacks were on the receiving end; after 1980, they were on the sending end. Up to 1980, blacks were the victims of white pogroms; after 1980 they were fighting back against a racist police force. Nothing of the scale of the British city riots occurred involving the Afro-Caribbean population occurred in any of the other European countries. Ominously, however, given that the Dutch and French situations are ten to fifteen years lagged on those in Britain, French cities have seen serious riots in 1991, but involving the North African rather than the Caribbean population. Similarly, in the Netherlands, riots (although occurring at an earlier date) have been aimed at or have involved Turks.

The point that emerges from this survey is that citizenship is of enormous importance to the Caribbean populations of all three countries, but its importance is particularly apparent in France and the Netherlands. In these two countries there is a lower stratum of gastarbeiter, North Africans in France, North African and Turkish in the Netherlands, who cushion the Caribbean population from the underclass position. In France, the Caribbean population has been selected because of its citizenship; in the Netherlands, the migration took place in order to preserve its Dutch citizenship. In Britain, government activity has taken place to circumvent the rights of citizenship and. lacking an unenfranchised gastarbeiter population, the situation for the Caribbean population has been correspondingly harder.

What we may call the radical school of migration analysis, including Clive Harris (1987) and Bonilla and Campos (1981) have seen Caribbean movement to western industrial countries as not simply the product of the pull of capitalist countries, but the undermining of their economies by those capitalist central powers. The argument is also to be found in Wallerstein's core periphery argument and in Robin Cohen's New International Division of Labour argument. The argument is that the developed and the underdeveloped do not simply exist at the same time but that the developed cause the underdevelopment of the less developed. It seems to me that there is some justice in the argument, but that

it is less complete than its proponents suggest. It ignores, for example, the presence of many third world workers in formerly socialist states. The marxist writers have little to say about the Vietnamese in Czechoslovakia, the Mozambiquans and Angolans in what was East Germany. Although West Germany was part of the centre and Turkey part of the periphery, it is difficult to argue that Germany was directly responsible for the lower development of Turkey which contributed to the movement of one million migrants from one to the other. However, the biggest paradox is that the sectors of the economies which drew in Caribbean workers in Britain and France were essentially the socialised sectors of the economy. It was the health sector and public transport in Britain; it was the civil service and the nationalised sector in France. It was citizenship in the Netherlands. It was socialism, not capitalism, which gave rise to the Caribbean exodus to Europe.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

GENERAL

Brock, Colin (ed) (1986) *The Caribbean in Europe: Aspects of the West Indian Experience in Britain, France and the Netherlands*, London, Frank Cass.

Bonilla, F and R. Campos (1981) *A Wealth of Poor : Puerto Ricans in the New Social Order*, Daedalus, Spring, 133-176.

Cross, Malcolm and Han Entzinger (eds.) (1988) *Lost Illusions: Caribbean Minorities in Britain and the Netherlands*, London, Routledge.

Lamur, Humphrey and John D. Speckman (eds.) (1978) *Adaptation of Migrants from the Caribbean in the European and American Metropolis*, Co-publication of the Department of Anthropology and Non Western Sociology of the University of Amsterdam and the Department of Caribbean Studies of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, at Leiden, Netherlands.

Levine, B.B. (1987) *The Caribbean Exodus*, New York, Praeger.

Lowenthal, David (1978) *West Indian Emigrants Overseas*, in Lamur, Humphrey and John, D. Speckman (eds.) *Adaptation of Migrants from the Caribbean in the European and American Metropolis*, Co-publication of the Department of Anthropology and Non Western Sociology of the University of Amsterdam and the Department of Caribbean Studies of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, at Leiden, Netherlands, 2-24.

Foner, N. (1985) *Race and Color: Jamaican Migrants in London and New York City*, *International Migration Review*, 19, 708-27.

Richmond, A.H. (1988) *Caribbean immigrants in Britain and Canada: socioeconomic adjustments*, *International Migration*, 26, 4, 365-386.

SOPEMI (1989), Paris, OECD. (Continuous reporting system on migration).

Thompson, Melseta E. (1989) *A case study in Labour Migration - Reluctant Settlers : Jamaicans in the West Midlands : 1948 - 1984*, PhD thesis, University of Warwick.

GREAT BRITAIN

Byron, Margaret (1991) *Social Networks and Housing : West Indians in a British City*, unpublished paper delivered at the Association of American Geographers 1991 Annual Meeting, Miami, Florida, April 13 -17.

Davison, R.B. (1962) *West Indian Migrants*, London, Oxford University Press.

Foner, Nancy (1977) *The Jamaicans: Cultural and Social change among migrants in Britain*, in James L. Watson (ed.) *Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Glass, Ruth (1960) *Newcomers: The West Indians in London*, (assisted by Harold Pollins), London, George Allen and Unwin.

Harris, Clive (1987) *'British capitalism, migration and relative surplus-population: A synopsis'* *Migration*, 1, 1, 47-90.

Henderson, J. and V. Karn (1987) *Race, Class and State Housing: Inequality and the allocation of public housing in Britain*, Aldershot, Gower Publishing.

Hennessy, Alistair (1988) Workers of the night: West Indians in Britain, in Malcolm Cross and Han Entzinger (eds.) Lost Illusions: Caribbean Minorities in Britain and the Netherlands, London, Routledge, 36-53.

Jones, Peter (1981) 'British unemployment and immigration: two case studies' New Community, 9, 1, 112-16.

Little, Kenneth L. (1947) Negroes in Britain: A study of race relations in English society, London, Kegan Paul.

Nutter, Richard (1986) 'Implications of return migration for urban employment in Kingston, Jamaica' in Russell King (ed) Return Migration and Regional Economic Problems, London, Croom Helm, 198 - 212.

OPCS (1990) Mortality and Geography, London.

Patterson, Sheila (1963) Dark Strangers, London, Tavistock Publications.

Parker, J. and K. Dugmore (1977) Race and the allocation of public housing: A GLC survey, New Community, 6, 1-2, 27-40.

Peach, G.C.K. (1967) West Indians as a Replacement Population in England and Wales, Social and Economic Studies, 16, 3, 259 - 294.

Peach, Ceri (1968) West Indian Migration to Britain: A Social Geography, London, Oxford University Press.

Peach, Ceri and Samir Shah (1980) The contribution of council house allocation to West Indian desegregation in London, 1961 - 1971, Urban Studies, 17, 333-41.

Peach, Ceri (1981) 'Ins and outs of Home Office and IPS migration data' New Community, 1, 117-9.

Peach, Ceri, Vaughan Robinson, Julia Maxted and Judith Chance (1988) Immigration and Ethnicity in A.H. Halsey (ed.) British Social Trends since 1900, London, Macmillan, 561-615.

Philpott, Stuart B. (1977) The Montserratians: Migration dependency and the maintenance of island ties in England, in James L. Watson (ed.) Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Rex, John and Robert Moore (1967) Race, Community and Conflict, London, Oxford University Press.

Sarre, Philip, Deborah Phillips and Richard Skellington (1989) Ethnic Minority Housing : Explanations and Policies, Aldershot, Avebury.

Thomas-Hope, Elizabeth (1986) 'Transients and settlers: Varieties of Caribbean migrants and the socio-economic implication of their return.' International Migration, 24, 3, 559-571.

FRANCE

Butcher, Ivor, J. and Philip, E. Ogden (1984) West Indians in France: Migration and demographic change in Migrants in Modern France: Four Studies edited by Philip E. Ogden, Occasional Paper 23, Department of Geography and Earth Science, Queen Mary College, University of London, 42-66.

Condon, S.A. and P.E. Ogden (nd a) Emigration from the French Caribbean: the origins of and organized migration, unpublished typescript.

Condon, S.A. and P.E. Ogden (nd b) Afro-Caribbean migrants in France: employment, state policy and the migration process, unpublished typescript.

Ogden, P.E. (nd) Immigration to France since 1945: Myth and Reality, unpublished typescript.

NETHERLANDS

Amersfoort, Hans van (1990) Ethnic residential patterns in a welfare state: Lessons from Amsterdam 1970-1990. Paper presented at the World Congress of International Sociological Association, Madrid, Spain, 9-14 July, 1990.

Klerk, L. de and H. van Amersfoort, (1988) Surinamese settlement in Amsterdam 1973-1983, in Malcolm Cross and Han Entzinger (eds.) Lost Illusions: Caribbean Minorities in Britain and the Netherlands, London, Routledge, 147-163.

Oostindie, Gert J. (1988) Caribbean migration to the Netherlands: a journey to disappointment? in Malcolm Cross and Han Entzinger (eds.) Lost Illusions: Caribbean Minorities in Britain and the Netherlands, London, Routledge, 54-72.

Penninx, Rinus (1979) Towards an overall ethnic minorities policy? Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy Part B of Ethnic Minorities, The Hague.

Reubsaet, Theo (1988) 'On the way up? Surinamese and Antilleans in the Dutch labour market' in Malcolm Cross and Han Entzinger (eds.) Lost Illusions: Caribbean Minorities in Britain and the Netherlands, London, Routledge, 106-125.